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INDIAN REVIEW

FOUNDED BY G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 52.

JUNE 1951

No. 6.

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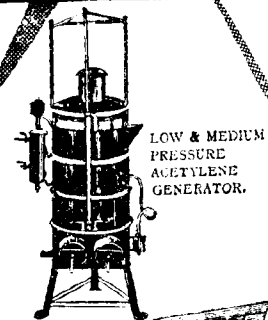
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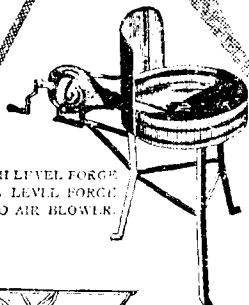
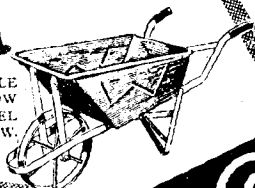
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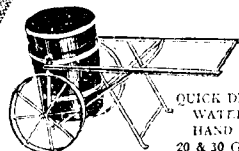


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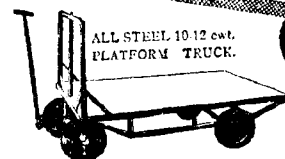
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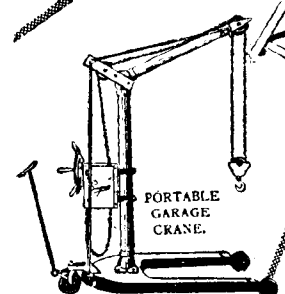


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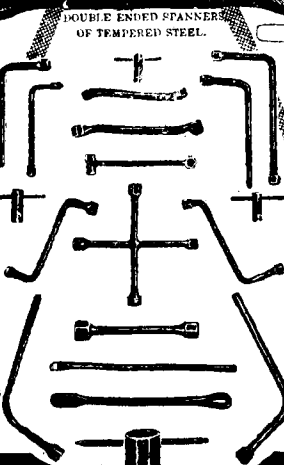
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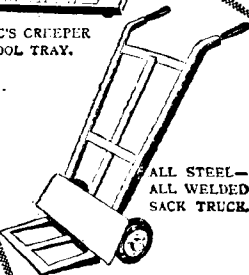
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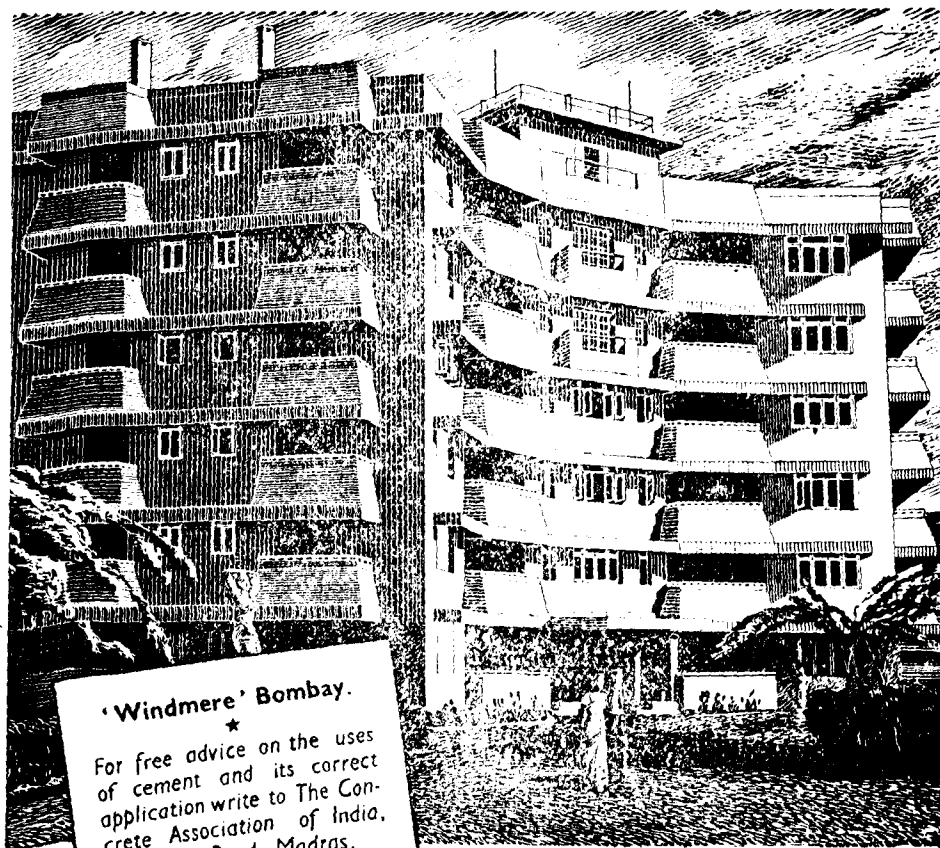
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JUNE 1951

[No. 6.

POPULATION PLANNING IN INDIA

BY DR. R. M. AGARWAL, M.A., Ph.D.

—: z :—

ACCORDING to a special study conducted by the United Nations Secretariat, there is a danger of the earth's population of 2,400,000,000 with a natural increase of about 25,000,000 a year outgrowing food supplies. Human beings still obtain nearly all their food from the soil and the existing food producing areas of the world, at the rate of 2.5 acres of cultivated land to feed one human being according to expert opinion, can support only between 5,600,000,000 to 13,800,000,000 people. And nowhere else is this danger more apparent than in India where, during the fifties, population has recorded a growth of 121.89 million, that is from 235.50 million in 1901 to 356.89 million in 1951 or 61.5 per cent. over the 1901 Census, excluding the States of Jammu and Kashmir about 4.87 million and Part B tribal areas about 0.56 million.

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1921	248.16 "	- 0.89 "	- 0.3 "
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1941	314.83 "	+39.31 "	+14.3 "
1951	356.89 "	+42.06 "	+13.4 "

As against this, the agricultural position in India is as follows:—

Crop.	Acreage (000 acres)		Production (000 tons)	
	1950-51	1949-50	1950-51	1949-50
Rice	62226	71660	—	21913
Wheat	"	23627	—	6110
Jowar	21555	37438	—	5760
Bajra	17733	21461	—	2554
Maize	6888	7837	—	1959
Barley	"	7641	—	2198
Ragi	4156	5416	—	1438
Gram	"	20678	—	4580
Sugarcane	3922	3641	5102	4904
Groundnut	8829	9672	—	3399
Sesamnut	3380	4615	—	379
R. & Mustard	"	4677	—	735
Linseed	"	3864	—	425
Castor Seed	"	1383	—	118
Cotton	10047	11793	—	2165*
Jute	"	1158	—	3117*

(* 000 bales)

Although in view of the various reclama-
tion and "grow-more-food" programmes
undertaken by the Central and State
Governments the above picture of our
agricultural position can by no means be
taken as complete and final, still it gives
a fairly good idea of the immensity of
the problem. Moreover, while seeking
extension of the "grow-more-food"
schemes for a further period of two years,
that is, upto March 31, 1954, our Food
and Agriculture Minister Shri K. M. Munshi
told the Parliament recently that since
partition the per capita area under cereals
had declined by 10 per cent. in spite of
an increase of 8.5 million acres in the

area under cereals. During the same period, according to the figures supplied by the State Governments, the production of cereals had declined by 3.4 million tons thus effecting a per capita fall in production of about 18 per cent. The comparative figures of per capita agricultural area and forests and woodlands in India and elsewhere are also given below!

Country.	Percentage of World area.	Percentage of World Population.	Per capital Agricultural Area.	Per capital forests and woodlands.
India	2.4 percent	15.1 per cent.	0.77 acres (all arable)	0.24 acres
Indonesia	1.4 "	3.3 "	0.34 "	3.77 "
Pakistan	0.7 "	3.2 "	0.68 "	0.10 "
China	7.3 "	19.4 "	1.53 acres	
Japan	0.3 "	3.5 "	(arable 0.49 acres) 0.21 acres	0.45 " 0.74 "
Other Asian countries	8.0 "	8.9 "	(arable 0.18 acres) 1.85 acres	0.29 "
Brazil	6.3 "	2.1 "	(arable 1.02 acres) 7.59 acres	19.83 "
U. S. S. R.	16.6 "	8.3 "	(arable 0.94 acres) 4.38 acres	7.88 "
U.S.A.	5.8 "	6.3 "	(arable 2.82 acres) 7.43 acres	0.48 "
			(arable 2.92 acres)	

Thus, it is obvious that our existing per capita distribution of 0.77 areas of cultivated land where 2.5 acres are required to feed one human being is quite insufficient to cope with the food requirements of our teeming millions. Of course, it is true that every inch of this area is arable and we can considerably increase our yield of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities which as shown below has so far been very very poor when compared with other countries of the world by replacing our old and primitive methods of farming by modern scientific and mechanized cultivation, improving irrigation facilities and using better seeds and manures. But this cannot take place unless and until we first overhaul our agrarian policy and consolidate the scattered and uneconomic holdings in India. And perhaps that is one of the reasons why the "grow-more-food" programmes after wasting a good deal of tax money have not only failed but failed miserably, leaving a deficit of 9.1 lakh tons of foodgrains during 1951-52. Moreover, while envisaging any increase in our agricultural production we cannot possibly ignore the laws of diminishing returns and

the vagaries of Nature which always try to foil the attempts of the human beings. Besides food we also require clothing and housing for our teeming millions being the three basic and primary necessities of life. The production of cloth during 1951-52 is estimated at 3900 million yards mill-made and 1900 million yards from handloom, a total of 5100 million yards. Out of this

production 800 million yards are proposed to be exported during 1951, leaving 4160 million yards for internal use giving a per capita consumption of 11.7 yards as against the per capita consumption of 17.75 yards in 1939-40 and 1948-49. This figure will further go down in view of an ever increasing number of our people. Of course, we can considerably increase our production of cloth by also utilising the excess capacity which is now lying idle and by running three shifts instead of only two as at the present but wherefrom to get the raw material, that is, cotton whose requirements fall short of 77 lakh bales per annum at the current level of production (demand 42 lakhs bales, supply 25 lakh bales). As regards housing, no systematic data is available but according to the National Planning Commission the present shortage of houses for workers employed in large scale industries, excluding the large number of workers employed in small establishments and undertakings as well as workers working on daily wages or in individual occupations is not less than a million. Consequently, to start with, the Commission is planning to construct, during the next two years, 1 lakh houses in 27 towns 4 in Bombay,

(4 in West Bengal, 4 in Madras, 4 in Uttar Pradesh, 4 in Madhya Pradesh, 4 in Bihar and in East Punjab) involving in all 1588466 industrial workers to complete one million houses during the next ten years. But in the present day undeveloped industrial condition of India, industrial workers do not constitute more than one-tenth of our total population.

Hence, if the Government of the country wants to safeguard our teeming millions which are practically living on starvation level from any further deterioration, it must immediately and necessarily devise some suitable and definite policy to effect a planned distribution of human beings. The counting of heads during a Census is not an end in itself but simply a means to achieve the maximum social welfare of the people at large. Of course the Central Government sponsored National Income Committee has recently estimated the total income of the country at Rs. 9500 crores in 1948-49 as against Rs. 6200 crores in 1945-46 and Rs. 7400 crores in 1946-47 meaning thereby a per capita income respectively of Rs. 270, Rs. 180 and Rs. 217 during the three years thus indicating an upward trend in the standards of living of our teeming millions but the general inflationary conditions and soaring prices prevailing in the country have more than offset any rise in the income of the people and further worsened their living and economic conditions. Moreover, even the money income of Rs. 270 per head is much less when compared with Rs. 603 in Germany, Rs. 621 in France, Rs. 980 in Australia, Rs. 1031 in Canada and Rs. 1406 in U. S. A. Thus the importance of formulating a population policy cannot be exaggerated in the Indian economy.

Population planning in India, whether quantitative or qualitative or both, cannot but imply some sort of check over the growth in the number of the people.

This can be done either voluntarily by the people themselves or compulsorily by social legislation. In the former instance, it may result from late marriages so as to avoid the fertile and productive period, very little indulgence in sex habits or only during the safe periods use of contraceptives and other means of birth control and artificial sterilization.

None of the above devices can be said fool-proof and their success depends upon those making use of them. But the voluntary methods of checking births may not have the desired results because in the poorer and rural societies of India, who constitute the main stay of our population, children are taken as assets and a means of supplementing their economic conditions. Moreover, in such people, in the absence of any other facilities for recreation and relaxation like clubs, cinemas, theatres, etc. sexual indulgence is the only means of enjoyment thus increasing fertility and giving rise to more births. The belief among orthodox Hindus that they cannot rest in peace after death unless and until they are cremated by their own sons also foils any attempt to check population growth.

In the latter case, the Government has already passed legislation (vide Sharda Act) fixing the minimum age limits for boys and girls and marriage before this age is punishable under law but its violation is an open secret and those remaining bachelors upto this age are socially looked down upon. Therefore, they should be more careful while enforcing this law and treat any violation with severe punishment. Besides this, the Government should levy some sort of children tax like the income-tax over a certain minimum at progressive rates and give bonus awards to those who produce lesser number of children. They should also provide facilities for compulsory sterilization through artificial measures and arrange cheaper and adequate availability of contraceptives and launch educative propaganda through papers, lectures, cinema slides and such other media against the evils of too many births.

There is yet another way of bringing about a decline in population which Malthus, the exponent of the famous Malthusian Doctrine, used to call positive checks. They are none of the affairs of either the people or the State and come of their own accord just as War, famine, earthquake, disease, pestilence, infanticide, etc., but normally the states should try to avoid their occurrence by such precautionary measure as enumerated above because the after effects of these positive

checks are very very demoralising leaving an unhealthy effect over the progeny. There is still a fourth method to check further growth in population, that is by emigrating in large numbers and colonising in new areas but the racial discrimination practised these days by the so called civilized nations of the world put at naught any such idea. Moreover this cannot be viewed as a permanent cure.

Some people are still in the habit of thinking that we have ample natural resources which when mobilized and properly developed will more than provide a fair living standard to everyone in the country. But they are all the talks of the past. Moreover we require both a positive and a negative solution of this vital problem. While the former devolves upon us the responsibility to develop our available economic resources to the fullest possible extent, the latter requires some check over the growth in the number of the people. Both the measures are equally important while dealing with our population problem because they supplement one another and any single device may not bring forth the desired result. Only by taking recourse to the positive and the negative treatment of the said problem we may be able to produce a society of good people, physically strong, materially well-to-do, mentally sound and morally high.

Again some people do not commend any check over births on the plea that the

democracies of the West are doing the otherway. But why should they forget that the population problem in India is basically different from that in the West? While they are faced with a falling population we are faced with a rising one. Moreover, while the decline in their numbers and reordering of the sex and the age groups has been augmented recently by the Second World War, we did not face any such calamity in the immediate past save the dreadful Bengal Famine. Finally, while they are coping with the shortage of their man power by suitable scientific and mechanical developments, are we also going to provide amenities to our people to the same extent by developing our economies if the present trend in our population growth continues any further?

Hence, a suitable population policy designed to limit any further growth in the number of our people is the need of the hour. Without this we can neither be internally happy and peaceful nor externally strong and powerful. The recent food riots in Cooch Behar resulting in the death of five persons and the threatening food, cloth and housing famine in the other parts of the country cannot but force us to go abegging to other countries of the world. And so long as this continues we cannot possibly safeguard our economic freedom for any considerable length of time.

CHINESE NAMES FOR INDIA

BY PROF. YUN YUAN YANG

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WE read with great interest the first clause of India's Republican Constitution as saying "India, that is Bharata, shall be a Union of States". It reminds us of an ancient civilized India with various denotations and designations specially in Chinese literature. As early as the seventh century A.D. Hsuan Tsang, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist master and pilgrim to India, could not but say in his record of the Western Region (Ta-T'ang-Si-Yu-Chi),

"On examination, we find that the names of India (T'ien Chu) are various and perplexing as to their authority". Then, after rejecting the old names for India, he said that the only name for India with significance should be Yin-Tu, which has since been employed in China for naming India. There had been something perplexing in the Chinese designations for this country before Hsuan Tsang, and there was no less confusion even after him.

Only recently, Thomas Watters, the eminent oriental scholar in this work on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India scrutinized Hsuan Tsang's statements about the terms for India he quoted as used in China. We are really indebted to Watters for the rich primary sources he traced and some of his shrewd criticisms about them. Mr. Watters, however, entertained so many doubts that scarcely one single name for India in Chinese literature could be accepted as originally representing India. Apparently, the somehow controversial subject is still worth discussing.

We must make clear, first of all, the usual Chinese methods of rendering foreign words, including proper names, into Chinese. Generally speaking, one is the translation of the original sense of a foreign word, the other, simply its transliteration. Regarding the latter, the characters adopted may make good sense or be meaningless, but, as a rule, are not to be in bad taste. Yet the wording in translation or transliteration depended much upon the mind and pen of the author. Owing to the specialization of every language, one language may often have some exclusive sounds not provided in certain other languages: in these cases, letters adopted for transliteration can only be considered as more or less corresponding to the originals. So was the Chinese practice in dealing with Sanskrit. In the Chinese version of Buddhist text we often come across certain characters which are remarked to be read otherwise than the original sounds. Furthermore, the Chinese phonetical system has undergone many a change in the course of ages. Even in the same period of antiquity there were naturally different dialects. All this will account something for the diversity of the old Chinese names for India.

Now it is not unnecessary to study them systematically and historically.

I. SHEN-TU

Shen Tu, the earliest Chinese appellation for India, appeared in Shih Chi (Historical Record), the earliest chronicle of China, in the account of Ta Hsia (Bactria), given by the famous envoy Chang Chien who was sent there in the year of 122 B.C. It was in Bactria where the Chinese

envoy learnt this name of India and some idea of her geographical situations, state affairs, as well as an interesting story of the trading between India and China. In the first authoritative community of Shih Chi a scholar Hsu Kuang 352-425 A.D. was quoted as saying that besides Shen Tu there were three alternative initials of this ancient name for India in other editions of the same chronicle, namely HO TO CHI TU and CHIEN TU.

II. TIEN CHU

The second historical Chinese name for India, well accepted both literally and popularly, is T'ien Chu. It was first related by a scholar of Wei in third century A.D., then officially listed among other states in the Record of Western World in later Han Shu, the annals of the later Man Dynasty. Under the then new name T'ien Chu, the later Han Shu, besides repeating the old description of Shen Tu in Shih Chi, stated further about the faith of Buddhism in this state, its natural products and its contact with Rome. T'ien Chu which can be restored as "Heaven Chu" had a somewhat sacred association which should have appealed more to the devotees of Buddhism. It is why it continued to be the general literal designation for India, although the pronunciation is a bit different from that of the original name of India. The Buddhist India was thus referred to as "Western Heaven" by the Chinese people and the second syllable Chu was often taken as a prefix to the Chinese names of Indians indicating their nationality, for instance, Chu-Fa-Lan (Dharmaraksha) and Chu-Ta-Li (Mahabala). Lately the Poet Rabindranath Tagore during his visit in China was named Chu-Chen-Tan after these historical examples.

In the same period along with the name T'ien Chu two other variations of the name T'ien Tu and T'ien Tu have been occasionally recorded.

Consequently, under this second name for India we need only accept T'ien Chu and its two variations. In this connection we should mention too that "Five T'ien Chu" or five divisions of India, viz., north, south, east, west and

the central, were made known to China by the Chinese pilgrims in T'ang dynasty.

III. HSIEN TOU

We are told by Hsuan Tsang that next to Shen Tu and T'ien Chu another old name for India used before him was Hsien Tou. This term did not differ much from Hsin-Tu as I-Tsing, the second eminent pilgrim to India some twenty five years after Hsuan Tsang's visiting, once unfavourably remarked in his Record of Travels. "The northern tribes (Hu or Mongols or Turks) alone," I-Tsing said, "call the noble land Hsin Tu, but this is not at all a common name. It is only a vernacular name, and has no special significance. The people of India do not know this designation. . . This two-character term seems to us somewhat disagreeable, so far as the Chinese phraseology is concerned. Naturally, it has never been well accepted.

IV. YIN TU (OR IN-TU)

The right pronunciation as well as a general designation for India, according to Hsuan Tsang, is Yin Tu. Much stress was laid on its significance when the great Buddhist master wrote, "In Chinese this name signified the moon." He made it clear by explanation, "just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-Tu"; in other words, the name Yin Tu denotes the moon thus implying that the saints of India illuminate the rest of the world. But I-Tsing immediately after him disagreed about it, saying "some say that In-Du means the moon, and the Chinese name for India i.e., Indu (Yin Tu), is derived from it, although it might mean this, it is nevertheless not the common name. As for the Indian name for the great T'ang Dynasty, i.e., China, it is only a name and has no special meaning."

Now it is easy for scholars to point out that the learned Sramana has misrepresented the Sanskrit word Sindhu. The mistake was probably made from the confusion between the word Sindhu and Indu, which means moon.

Names above for India are mainly transliterations. Then there were a

series of designations or literary names which, denoting the faith or the sacred aspects of India, appeared here and there in the Chinese Buddhist texts.

I. FU-TU-HU THE FOREIGN COUNTRY OF BUDDHA

It may be regarded as the earliest literary name for India in Chinese, as it was mentioned by Men Kang of Wei in the third century, A.D., in his commentary on Shih Chi. India was well known as the land of Buddha or the spring of Buddhism when the Buddhist teaching struck root in China. In the record of Western Region in later Han Shu India was introduced as a land of Buddhism, where no fighting or war occurred at that time.

II. HSI TU HSI FANG OR HSI T'IENTHE WEST, THE WEST LAND OR THE WEST HEAVEN

I-Tsing refers to India generally as the West, occasionally as the West Heaven which has since been used by the Chinese people for what they knew the most well-known country to the West of China, i.e., India. "West Heaven" must have its origin from "Heaven Chu" or T'ien Chu". As a result of the affection towards the mother-land of Buddhism, "Gone to the West Heaven" has become in Chinese an expression for death, sometime in a sense of irony.

III. ARYADESHA OR NOBLE LAND

From the Epic age, as history tells us, northern India was said to bear such a sacred name as Aryadesha. It was the name for India I-Tsing cherished, as he wrote "the most suitable name for India is the Noble Land (Aryadesha)". Further he said, "The Aryadesha. Arya means 'noble', desha, 'region', the noble region, a name for the West. It is so called because men of noble character appear there successively, and all people praise the land by that name.

IV. MADHYADESHA THE MIDDLE COUNTRY

Second to Aryadesha, I-Tsing recommended Madhyadesha as a proper name for India somewhat geographically, I-Tsing said, "It is also called Madhyadesha, i.e., the Middle Land, for it is the centre of a hundred myriads of countries. The people are also

familiar with this name". The so called Madhyadesha is now identified with the United Province.

V. INDU-KALA OR INDICA

In the Chinese Buddhist text India was sometimes named as INDU-KALA or INDICA, which meant a digit of the moon or a crescent.

VI. INDRAVARDHANA

Indravardhana or Indrabhavana, referring to India, was explained by the region where Indra, the God, dwelt.

VII. PO-LO-MEN-KUO The country of the Brahmins.

Because of the Brahmins who played a noble part among other castes in this land, India was spoken of as Po-Lo-Men-Kuo or the country of the Brahmins. It was introduced by Hsuan Tsang and I-Tsing in their travels and confirmed in the T'ang and Sung Annals.

VIII. FU KUO The land of Buddha.

As early as the beginning of 5th century A.D. India was written as Fu Kuo, the land of Buddha, by the first eminent Chinese pilgrim to India in his Record of Fu Kuo or Travels in India. Up to now scholars are apt to use it for India in literature and sometimes put it more correctly as Ku Fu Rao, i.e., the eminent land of Buddha.

IX. THE COUNTRY OF MAGADHA

We know that Buddhism originated and developed in Magadha, which covered a

large area in Northern India. In the record of the Western Region Hsuan Tsang gave a full account of this kingdom, with which the T'ang dynasty of China had diplomatic contacts. Yet the court of Sung, ignorant of the political change in this country in the mediæval age, continued to address India as Magadha, as one of the Chinese inscriptions, dating in 1033 A.D. in Gaya, recorded. And the author of the Sung Annals seems to have no hesitation in treating Magadha as identical with India.

Some of these above are rather like religious titles, conferred on India by those Buddhist devotees, and the other names perhaps were first employed by Buddhist scholars and have been popularized since then.

Now for clarifying the object we may take the historical stock in brief. Evidently the earliest Chinese name for India is Shen Tu or Chien Tu: the antique names specially used in literature and somewhat popularized until now are T'ien Chu, Fu Kuo (Land of Buddha), and Hsi T'ien (The West Heaven.) While a historical appellation from Hsuan Tsang, a name for India which continued in use and coincided with the name India, is Yin Tu. The number of Chinese names for India therefore has been enough to constitute a nomenclature in the Chinese Buddhist lexicon and would doubtless bear witness to the close and deep relationship between the two great nations, India and China, for the past two thousand years.

The First Opposition to the Congress

BY

SRI P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY,

Bihar Civil Service.

ALMOST immediately after the Indian National Congress was born as an institution there were forces of opposition and within the first few years when the Congress movement created for itself a tremendous hold on the educated public in India it had also excited the opposition forces combined into an organised party headed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and others. This opposition move was backed by the private and official influence of

the Anglo-Indian community and at times, by some of the hard-boiled English administrators.

HELPFUL PRESS IN ENGLAND

The opposition camp took upon itself to preach through a section of the Press in England that the Indian people are not in sympathy with the demands of the Congress and that the Congress had been trying to bring the Government into contempt. So strong was the opposition

move at one time that the liberty of the Press sympathetic to the Congress or to the popular demands was threatened. In this campaign a certain section of the official and European elements had also joined.

SYED AHMAD KHAN

By the time the third session of the Indian National Congress was held in Madras there was a considerable force in the oppositionist party and thanks to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan there was great attempt to describe the Congress institution as a Hindu body. It is however remarkable that inspite of all this propaganda the third session of the Indian National Congress was presided over by that great Mohamadan Badruddin Taiabji and was attended by a considerable number of Mohamadan delegates from all parts of India.)

ST. JAMES GAZETTE ON SYED AHMAD KHAN

A reference could be made to some of the pungent criticisms in the English Press regarding the Congress. *St. James gazette* hailed Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as "one of the leading Mohamadan gentlemen and landowners of Upper India. When the Mutiny burst Syed Ahmad Khan was enabled to save the life of a number of Englishmen and women. From that day Syed Ahmad Khan has remained one of our truest friends. At the same time, he has never ceased his efforts to promote the welfare of his own countrymen specially those of his own faith. A strict Mohamadan gentleman, though without the least bigotry he says that if Mohamadanism in India is to hold its own it must be equipped with intellectual weapons and training of the day. The foundation of a large Mohamadan College for the education of the upper classes of Mohamadans is due to him.

"What Sir Syed Ahmad says is this:—

It is time that we Mohamadans should assert ourselves. These Bengali Baboos, clever as they are, never ruled India yet; and if they want to rule us, the descendants of men who fought and ruled under Moghal Emperors, they are mistaken. The Government of India has hitherto for the most part dealt with fairly all classes. Lord Ripon, indeed a kindly man, but weak and impractical, did no little mischief; but we can

afford to forget this if we only resolve to keep a better lookout in future. We must not be talked down by these Bengalis. They are not the nation and can never be the nation.

LONDON TIMES

The Times had something more bitter to say:—

Both the Bengali and the Bengali's admirers in this country have forgotten the fact India is a country made of races which we found in a state of continual feuds.... The Mohamadans would see themselves practically deprived of the share of Government to which their position and influence entitles them, and they would find their condition intolerable.... Sir Syed Ahmad's address is on the whole, an important political event. It shows that the Mohamadans are waking up to the sense that they are not making the best of their advantages on their capacities.... We welcome a sign that Mohamadan loyalty of which the Nizam and the other Princes have recently afforded so brilliant an example, is asserting itself as a counter-poise to Bengali factiousness.

MORNING POST'S COMMENTS

These sentiments expressed by the Times so far back as 1888 have a very common familiarity to those who have followed current events in the last two decades. The great idea of "Divide and Rule" and exciting the Mohamadans against the Hindoos were seized with alacrity by the ruling power. In 1888 immediately after the third session of the Indian National Congress was held in Madras the *Morning Post* wrote, "The agitation in short, is an agitation founded and carried on by the Baboos."

NAWAB MEHDI HASAN'S VIEWS

Just at this time Nawab Mehdi Hasan Fatah Nawab Jung wrote a letter in *St. James Gazette* re-opening the discussion on the subject of the political attitude of the landlords of India towards the British Government and the English race respectively. He was of the considered opinion along with Sir Sir Syed Ahmad that great dangers attend the premature spread of radical ideas in India. He however had the frankness to say:—

The sentimental cause of our alienation for the purpose of the National Congress is what I must admit to be a narrow minded feeling. We are aware that the Hindus are far superior to us in intellectual education while we are superior to them in other qualities which are requisite in a nation of rulers. Thus it is impossible for either to rule the other."

HOW THE AGENCY IN ENGLAND WAS VIEWED

An agency was established in 1888 at 25 Craven Street, Strand, London with William Digby as the agent to interpret the Congress in England. A number of Englishmen helped in the work of the Agency and two of them were Sir W. W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth who wrote a series of articles on the new India. They did not escape notice. *Homeward Mail* referring to the activities of Hunter and Garth wrote:

But both are dangerous, the one from his ambition and the other because of sincerity. Much in their own way they are now actively helping the Baboo agitation which has been started in England. We do not say that the combination we have sketched is formidable but it can do a good deal of mischief and the time has come when it should be met by counter agitation.

CALL TO ANGLO-INDIANS TO JOIN

This paper went a step further and wanted not merely an attitude of patronage to the opposition in India against the Congress but wanted that the Anglo-Indian journals and the Anglo-Indians should actively join hands with Sir Syed Ahmad and his colleagues. The Journal also wanted an effective counter-move in England. It wrote:

Agitation must be met by agitation. Speeches must be answered by speeches, lectures by lectures. The Mohamadans must be forced to study the issues and qualify themselves for meeting the organisation in the other side."

Homeward Mail even in that distant year of 1888 openly suggested that the Englishmen in any way interested in India should begin to organise a resistance to the perilous demands of the National Congress. Almost prophetic were the words of this reactionary paper:

Valuable as is the opposition of the leading Mohamadans and the leading native princes and men of wealth of India to those demands, it would be a grave error in tactics to put them forward in this country as the chief antagonists of the Congress agitation. The real character of the agitation must be brought home to the masses in England, Scotland and Ireland. The absurdity of handing over India to a minority of half-educated Babus, must be clearly exposed. That can only be done by an Anglo Indian organisation acting in concert with the Mohamadans and Hindus.

This is how the encouragement came for the founding of the European Association or the Planters' Association in India.

NIZAM'S AGENT IN ENGLAND

In 1888 Moulvi Mehdi Ali Mosin Ul Mulk Bahadur, representative of the Government of Nizam was in Brighton and he published a few of the interviews he gave to some of the English papers regarding the opposition to the Indian National Congress which had been started by Sir Syed Ahmad. He also gave out that the Indian National Congress had originated with the so called Baboo or educated Bengalis. He was however cautious in his analysis and said that the Bengalis and the Parsis or the educated few who were sponsoring the Congress had neither an experience of administration nor they had anything to do with the military class who mostly came from among the Mohamadans. He painted a lurid picture when he said,

if the day of danger ever comes to England in India upon whom England can rely, not on the timid Baboos but upon the Mohamadans or Pathans with their loyal sword.

BOGEY OF RUSSIAN GOLD FOR CONGRESS

Another favourite theory of the Opposition to the Congress in the first few years was that the Russian gold was being employed for the agitation. Sir Edward Watkins gave an interview to *Pall Mall Gazette* and openly vouched for this theory. He said that

I was also struck by the numerous pictures of the Tzar and Tzarina who are to be found in private dwellings in many of the places I visited and I am strongly of opinion that the Russian gold is being circulated perhaps not in large quantities but among these native agitators of whom you admire much. You can compare this with the American dollars in Ireland.

Mr. A. O. Hume that great Englishman who was the General Secretary of the Congress at that time contradicted this in a lengthy letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he mentioned that

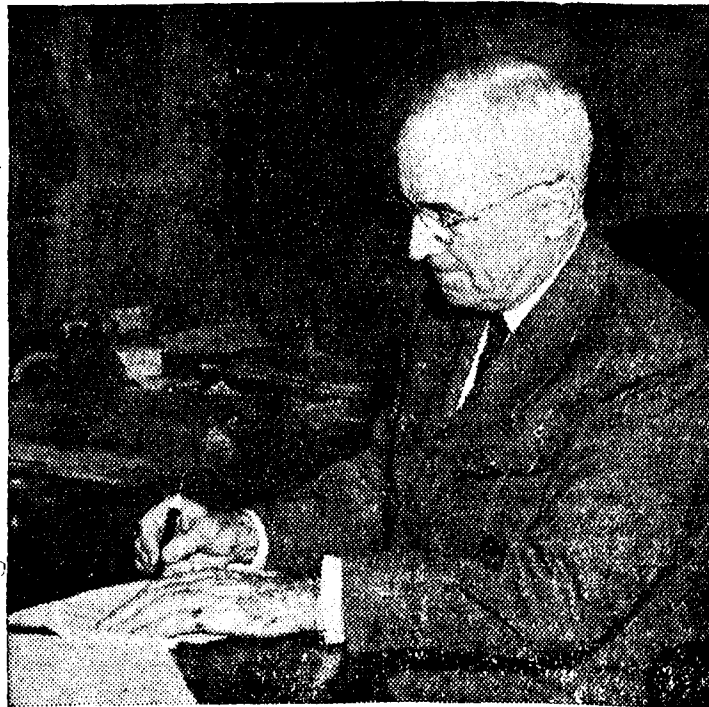
"the growth of the Congress movement means the destruction for ever of Russian hopes if she really entertains such of (it will not say of invading India) giving England trouble by creating riots in India. Sir, be sure of this, Russian gold may be employed to oppose the Congress and never a grain of it be given to support it"

William Digby also contradicted this theory of Sir Edward Watkins in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He described the charges "as a fabrication of inequity."

CONCLUSION

It will be seen that the seed that was sown by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the die-hard element in the Europeans both officials and non-officials and the Conservative English Press sprouted quickly as an opposition force to the Congress and the various nebulous ideas such as the cry that the Moslems will be no-where soon, the British interests will suffer or

that foreign influence or money was encouraging the Congress movement quickly crystallised and nursed by a few brainy people later on took a definite co-ordinated shape. In the earlier years of the twentieth century there was an ebb in the tide of the opposition so far as the Muslims were concerned but in the later years this was the biggest factor as we know. This is another story but what we want to emphasize is that the opposition to the Congress took a pattern which was deliberately given the shape by the three elements mentioned above.



At his office in the White House in Washington, D. C., President Harry S. Truman of the United States signs the document proclaiming the existence of a national emergency in the United States. The proclamation was issued because "recent events in Korea and elsewhere constitute a grave threat to the peace of the world, and imperil the efforts of the United States and those of the United Nations to prevent aggression and armed conflict." President Truman declared that the military, naval, air, and civilian defenses of the Nation would be strengthened as speedily as possible. He called upon all citizens to "be loyal to the principles upon which our Nation is founded, to keep faith with our friends and allies, and to be firm in our devotion to the peaceful purposes for which the United Nations was founded."

Looking Back: Australian Reminiscences

BY SIR GILBERT MURRAY

[In this Jubilee year of the Commonwealth of Australia, the eminent classicist and President of the United Nations Association, Professor Gilbert Murray, O. M. recalls the pioneering history of his own family, and its association with Australia.]

It is a very long time since I was in Australia; I feel rather ashamed when I think how long. I suppose I am an item in the list of 'intellectual exports' about which Australia is sometimes chaffed. But my family roots reach deep down in



We often laughed at a story he told; how he found that some precious books which he had sent out to him from London were being stolen and sold for drink in a 'pub' in Goulbourn. He suspected a particular convict, and one day caught him in the act. The convict came at him and my father, who was a very strong man, felled him to the ground with a blow. The man lay unconscious. 'And that' my boy, 'he used to say,' was a great lesson to me. After that I never struck them, I always took them by the throat.' An improvement in degree, one might say, but not in kind.

However, he told us that there was a general feeling of companionship among them all. And; of course, there were among the convicts some who had been transported for political offences, which no one would now consider criminal. I can remember two of this sort, who lived with us afterwards.

In due course Sir Terence Murray became Speaker and then President of the Upper House, and lived to take part in some of the questions of our own day.

THE MURRAY TRADITION

Australian history, far beyond the particular half-century we are celebrating.

My grandfather came out to command the troops in Port Philip soon after the battle of Waterloo. The sword he had worn in that battle used to hang up in the hall of our house in Sydney. In 1828 he sent for my father to come out to him. My father was then eighteen and had just—I am proud to reflect—got a prize for Greek verse in some examination in Dublin. He was immediately made a frontier magistrate, and sent up to a remote and almost uninhabited place in the bush, which is now called Canberra, with a number of ticket-of-leave convicts as servants. The convicts were not very inspiring companions, and there were not many others. It was a rough life.

My grandfather, my father, and then my big brother, Sir Hubert, for thirty years Governor of Papua, make a long line of Murray tradition, by no means falling off in Sydney University and elsewhere.

The great step forward in my father's time was the achievement of responsible government in 1860. I find in his papers many notes on this question. Evidently people found the whole idea of responsible government or self-government within the Empire, rather difficult to understand.

There was a strong party which wanted simply to 'cut the painter,' as the phrase ran. That meant, to sever all connection with the mother country and set off as an independent nation or, preferably, as six separate independent nations.

Indignant at this idea, there was a party equally unreasonable, which held that the Australians ought to be content as they were: loyal subjects of Queen Victoria and the British Parliament.

We have grown so naturally and easily into the habit of free self-government within the Commonwealth that we can hardly see why anyone should find it hard to understand, but most European nations do.

During the first world war, when I happened to be in Sweden, some Swedes asked me with great interest how the British Government made the Australians come and fight; did we send out a force to Australia to fetch them? And at the end of the war a kind American lady suggested to me that, after the noble way in which the Australians had behaved, might not England now grant Australia her freedom?

Certainly the Commonwealth is a wonderful creation. Most political critics, particularly some Germans, used to feel sure that a union so loose, so free, with no element of compulsion in it, could not possibly stand up to any strain.

CLOSER UNION

That sounds logical. Yet, as a matter of fact, the strains have come, plenty of them, and as heavy as they could well be; and we have not only stood up to them but have been welded by them steadily into a closer and more unbreakable union.

This first great step in Australia's political advance was taken in 1860. The next constitutional change was federation. It was recommended as necessary by a Commission which sat in 1852, and then was dropped out of sight for a generation or two. Federation was not actually passed by all the colonies until September, 1900. It had taken nearly fifty years to accustom people's minds to an idea which now seems an obvious, commonsense necessity. No doubt federation is a process that always makes work for lawyers. However, Australian unity is now a fact, and has proved a fact of cardinal importance for the next great change in her status.

I may be misled by my personal interest in the great movement which produced first, the League of Nations and, afterwards, the United Nations Organisation. But it seems to me that Australia's membership of the League and U. N. gave her for the first time a definite position as one of the co-operative rulers of the world.

She had, indeed, taken a momentous step in entering the world war of 1914. That was a great acceptance of responsibility, but it might have been a transitory one. When once the war was over Australia might have gone back, with a sigh of relief, to her old state of peaceful indifference to the quarrels of other continents. But no: she wholeheartedly joined the League, and became, thereby on the Assembly, on various Committees, and at times on the Council itself—one of the powers with a right and a duty to watch over the peace and welfare of the whole human race.

Such rights and duties were new. They were utterly outside the range of such statesmen as old Sir Henry Parkes or even Sir Edmund Barton.

MORE PRACTICAL

How surprised they would have been to hear that India and Pakistan had nominated an Australian High Court Judge to be their adviser on the differences about Kashmir; he showed them the road, and I expect both governments would have taken it had they not had to consider the fanatical multitudes behind them. And how would Parkes or Barton have taken the news that an Australian Minister, like Mr. Spender at Colombo, had explained to all the members of the Commonwealth that they ought to join in a munificent campaign of help to the nations of south and south-east Asia, and that Great Britain had accepted his advice and set aside a sum of three-hundred millions to help in carrying it out. I think the voice of Australia has steadily increased in importance in the League and its great successor. The Australian delegation was always more interested in practical social questions than in the delicacies of diplomacy.

CIVILISATION IN PERIL

But there is now another danger threatening the world beside the cold war and the menace of its breaking into fire. Europe has been terribly weakened; and, with Europe, the old liberal and Christian civilisation of Europe. That whole great tradition, rooted in three famous cities of the past, Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem; and handed on to the new world of America and Australia, has been brought into peril. Barbarian governments, ruling by dire violence over body and soul to an extent unheard of before, have spread in this century over vast regions of the world.

The soul of our civilisation is in peril: we have to defend it not only against armed attack but from the infection of that moral poison, like that which has raged in Hitler's Nazis and Stalin's Communists, and has stolen so strangely far during these thirty years of terror and violence, war, and the fear of war. I see Australia, with her humanity and commonsense, her young outlook and her old tradition, her love of art and her great gifts of intellect, as one of the firm pillars to uphold our threatened civilization.

Our common work for peace was defeated by the ambition of German and Italian Fascists, and the war-party in Japan. But the war, even the two wars, did wonders for the unity of the Commonwealth. That burden of blood and tears bequeathed to us, as Mr. Churchill has said, a blessed inheritance. We in England learned to feel Australia as part of ourselves, to know that she was there, always to be trusted, never to fail in danger or hardship: we learned to feel a profound gratitude and brotherhood.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN INDIA

BY SRI N. V. ESWAR

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THE birth of Free India was heralded by strikes of all sorts. Postmen, Students, Government employees, Scavengers, transport workers, railwaymen, all struck work. To cap it all, the teachers also went on strike. The teachers' strike is at once our shame and the last dreg of desperation to which the idea of strike can be and has been carried in this unhappy country.

We cannot, however, dismiss these strikes as mere symptoms. For the future of Industrial India is deeply involved. If the very little industrial advance India has achieved is hindered by such a vast amount of industrial unrest in the initial years themselves, what would be the

future, when India is certain to take longer strides industrially?

In the year 1921, there were 396 Industrial strikes, involving 600,351 workers and a total loss of 6,984,426 workdays. The number of strikes shot up to 848 in 1945 which involved 782,192 workers. Though workdays lost stood only at 3,340,892, the increase in the number of strikes is a clear pointer.

There was a phenomenal increase in the number of factories and workshops. The number of workers employed also shot up by leaps and bounds. This increase has certainly contributed to the increase in the number of strikes and disputes. The table given below indicates the industrial

expansion that has taken place in India during the last few years:

Year	No. of Factories	No. of workers
1930	8148	1,528,302
1935	8831	1,610,932
1938	9743	1,737,755
1939	10466	1,751,137
1943	13207	2,436,310
1944	14071	2,522,753

In 1950 the number of factories increased to 20,000 and workers employed to well nigh 11,000,000.

India has now to look forward to the export market rather than think of importing her requirements. This means the erection of factories and workshops in larger numbers. It is safe to predict that the number of factories and workers would increase double and even treble-fold. Several branches of Industry were shut off to Indian enterprises under the British regime. All these are opening up.

With the increase in the number of workers and factories, there is bound to be a corresponding increase in the number of industrial disputes and strikes, unless something is done now to make industrial strikes an unnecessary thing.

Lost workdays are a loss not only to Management and to workers. It also represents a loss to the customers—Management is obliged to throw all the losses incurred by it during Strikes on to the price structure, and the consumer has to foot the bill by paying increased prices for commodities.

If, on the other hand, the machinery was working full blast, the price level could be kept down progressively. Lower price levels mean wider market. Higher price levels have always a tendency to constrict the scope of the selling market, whereas progressively lower price levels send the market expanding in circles. With expanding business and consequent higher earnings, workers could bargain for and hope to get more benefits. A strike necessarily means the voluntary liquidation of the very resource from which workers hope to get a share.

What Management loses, it passes on to the shoulders of the consumer. This means that a strike declared by the

workers is really a strike against the consumers and not the Capitalists. It is no longer a fight between exploited workers and the insatiable Greed of the unscrupulous Capitalist, as all workers are content to believe in like Gospel Truth. It is War on the consumers.

In all previous strikes, the public took a deep interest and even aided the strikers in all possible ways. Now the public not only does not offer any encouragement to the striking workers but sets its face against them. This is not because the general public has lost its social consciousness or that it also has become the evil capitalist, with all his opaqueness towards the squalor and filth in which the worker is condemned to live. This is simply because the consuming public is sorely affected by the strike.

A strike amounts to taking away from its hands what it wants and then asking the general public to help the workers who did the actual snatching. This is a ridiculous situation. In striking work, the workers fight to get a better share in the money exploited out of the consumers by the so-called capitalists. And then the general public—the consumers—find the price levels going up in direct proportion to the loss sustained by the Management through the strike. Thus it is not the workers who are really exploited by the capitalists. It is the consumer who is fleeced both by the capitalists and the workers who now find themselves in an unnatural alliance, working, apparently at cross-purposes, but actually for the very common object of exploiting the consumers. When there is such a lot in common with the Workers and Capitalists, could there be anything in common between the general public and the workers?

It would be well for the workers to realise this strange role of being active partners in exploiting the general public, before the latter becomes acutely aware of the true status of the workers. Such a clear perception of the true role of the workers is bound to lead to a persistent war between workers and consumers. In such a war it is easy to imagine on which side Victory lies.

There is already a vast fund of social consciousness generated in the mind of every one. This fund is daily increasing in volume. The workers should no longer treat themselves as something separate from the general stream of life, hold aloof from it and claim special attention and treatment, and at the same time divest themselves of all social responsibilities. This aloofness is a great anomaly in a world endowed with thorough individual responsibility.

Since strike is a great evil and a war, the responsibility for a breakdown in negotiations rests squarely on the shoulders of the workers in an equal measure with the Management. Both Management and workers are at fault in allowing such an evil thing as the strike to reign supreme in the Industrial life of the country. Actually, since a strike is declared entirely at the discretion of the workers themselves, the sole responsibility for starting this evil necessarily rests with the workers. This purposeful subjection of society to the evil of Strike is a wanton negation of all responsibility.

Modern Society already knows what is due to the workers. And as an earnest of this realisation, and of its own volition, it has made and goes on making progressive legislation to alleviate the lot of workers. When a body acts on its own, to draw its continued attention to the lot of a particular section, by means of this evil weapon of strike, only means an unnecessary infliction of one injury upon another, until it reaches the point of laceration. Workers cannot hope to gain anything worthwhile through lacerating the mind of the public.

The idea of fighting the enemy should disappear completely from the minds of the workers. There are no enemies. There are only human beings. A realisation of this simple truth is equally important in the Industrial field as in the Religious, Social, Political, Philosophical and Economic fields. As human beings, workers have to actively assist in building a better world, instead of setting themselves up into a separate block of eternal opposition and clamour for redress.

The class, loosely called Capitalists, did not create themselves. They just came

on the scene in the course of Evolution. They are children of circumstances. Similarly, workers also did not will themselves into existence. They just happen to be workers. Actually, Workers, Capitalists, Bureaucrats and other types are only so many false labels fixed by feverish brains trying to create a semblance of order in an Evolving World.

Infallible scientific truths are exploded every minute of the day into mere nonsense and chimera. If this is the case with the very scientific mind which tries to classify by attaching false labels to vague objects, how could we believe that the class theory is infallible? This vast universe is only a bewildering conglomeration of different individualities. It is foolhardy to attempt to classify and generalise them into a fixed pattern.

Nevertheless there appear on the surface some nebulous masses in the shape of capitalists and workers. We need take them only as precipitate matter on the disturbed waters of our social life. Our duty then is to look beneath these masses to see the crystal clear water of life. It is for us then to add such solvents as will make these masses dissolve in the water of life.

In America, where Capitalism can be said to have reached its optimum development, Management-Worker co-operation has become an accomplished fact. If such a highly Industrialised Capitalistic country could accomplish this miracle, there is no reason why India should not be able to create an Industrial Heaven, especially when the cleavages here are less marked and sharp.

I hold no brief for Capitalists. Management simply does not count. If workers and consumers combine together as fully developed social beings and work along proper and healthy channels, Management is bound to disappear. The clamour for a greater share in the profits is not anything different in principle from the so-called Capitalist's desire for creating greater profits for himself. It is necessary that this Truth should be learned and re-learned by workers now, before it is too late.

PROBLEMS OF FILM DIRECTION

BY MR. DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

INDIA claims to have the second biggest film industry in the world, yet few persons will make any tall claim in behalf of the quality of our films. For the truth is, we have hardly produced any top-notch films, which in matters of art, technique, photography or direction could compare favourably with Hollywood, Scandinavian, Swedish, French or Russian films. Apart from many other reasons, such as the utilitarian outlook of our film producers, the gay, Bohemian attitude of the artistes, the lack of a living and vital stage, the weakness for cheap breezy music at the expense of drama etc., the chief reason for the poverty of our films is the mechanical, unintelligent and lifeless direction of the films. Film direction is a difficult and complex art and a film director requires not only experience and industry but also the eye of a painter, the ear of a musician, the sensibility of a poet and wide, comprehensive understanding of a novelist.

For film is indeed a multiple or complex product and a film director is at once an artist, a photographer, a designer and an entrepreneur. He must understand not only the technicalities of film-craft but also human psychology. Like a novelist, he should be able to break the veneer or the upper crust of reality and dive deep into the sea of conscious and sub-conscious life. Life is bewildering in its complexity and a film which is but a photographic interpretation of life, is thus bound to have the subtlety, the multiplicity and the variety of life. A film director should thus be equipped with a mind, which can understand and reveal the hidden springs of human actions, the conflicting currents and under-currents of life, the so-called complexes, taboos and inhibitions, to use the jargon of modern psychologists.

A story, and that is what a film seeks to portray, has so many loose threads and it is the business of the director to weave them into a homogeneous pattern. For this, he requires a synthetic imagination that can piece things together. By juxtaposition of vital scenes, symbolic touches and suggestive situations, he can heighten the effect and enliven the human interest of the story.

But above all, he must have a dynamic mind, which can create telling and dramatic effects and give a tempo and speed to the events as they unroll themselves in the story. A dynamic mind is not satisfied with fixities and dead sureties. It is not warped and woofed by the set traditions and symbols in the realm of thought. It seeks out new land-marks and new mile-posts in the flux of life. Thus, it is essential that a great film director should have a historical perspective—that vantage ground from where he can have a bird's eye-view of contemporary life, as it develops and shapes out of the vital past. Thomas Hardy has said somewhere that great poetry must reflect 'emotions of all ages and the thought of its own age'. This applies to all forms of Art equally well. A film director should therefore be able to present not only the subtle nuances and ripple-marks of life, but also the living thought and philosophy of the age. He should, like the poet, be able to produce a work of art not only with a feeling of contemporary awareness but with a feeling of other generations in his bones' to use T.S. Eliots' words.

But that is not all. A dynamic mind is a progressive mind. It has a revolutionary slant and a progressive outlook on life. A film director must, therefore, select stories that have a new bearing and new dynamic values. There are, of course, some eternal themes and problems of life as old as the hills and the water and they will continue to baffle and fascinate the artists of all generations, but in the present context of realities, we should produce art which voices the fond dreams and longings of the disinherited of this earth—the dumb peasants and the soul-weary proletariat of this earth. Romance and love and scandal are not the only realities of this life. There are vast fields of human endeavour and numerous dynamic problems crying to be put into the celluloid. A film is essentially a social art—an art of the people. It should not serve as a drug—an opium to lull the sex-hungry masses into wishful day-dreaming. It has a direct contact with millions of people all over the world

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and as such, its appeal should not be esoteric or ratiocinative but general and wide. We should not have themes that are divorced from reality. That does not mean that there will be no scope for fantasy, dream and Utopian idealism in a film; for after all dream and fantasy are as much a part of our life as hunger and sex and love. What is required is the integration of reality with dream. Pure reality robs life of aesthetic enjoyment and pure dream leads us into the mazes of unreality and wishful thinking. Poetic realism is thus the best weapon with which a modern artist, and a film director is an artist first and last, can deal with contemporary reality. In this connection, I may mention some Russian films like 'Childhood of Maxim Gorki' and 'Stone Flower' and some fine Swedish documentaries. They have that poetic realism which makes them such an aesthetic treat. Shanta Ram's 'Dr. Kotnis' has also that symbolic and lyrical realism, which makes it an outstanding film. To sum up, a film should thus be a poem in celluloid.

After centuries of slumber, India is slowly waking up and trying to find itself. We should produce pictures which reflect this new awakening, this renaissance in Indian culture. We want pictures which provoke courageous and independent thinking. In short we require problem-films. That does not mean that we should produce high-brow stuff, which leaves the masses cold and dry. All that we want is a complete break with the past rotten themes. Simple, healthy and revolutionary themes are abounding. We need only pick up some new threads and produce new patterns of life. Once again, an ancient country like India is rich in folk-lore, folk-dance and folk-tales, which can be artistically woven into the texture of a fantasy-film. Russia, and some of the other North Atlantic countries, like Sweden, Norway and Scandinavia have produced fantasies in celluloid and translated the poetry of the folk-tales by means of a clever cinematographic technique. Something of that kind could certainly be done in India if we could exploit the rich ore of our national life.

WRITING FOR A LIVING

BY MR. WILLIAM HOOKENS

WRITING for a living is what every writer looks forward to, particularly after the sheaf of articles he has written—all of great worth and value if only editors have the time and the patience to read them through and dish them out for popular consumption!

Beginners are liable to forget that there is a great deal of mountain-climbing to be done before they get anywhere and especially is this true of writing which is as much the job of the specialist as any other. To know the elements of reading and writing is not enough. One must also know the art of thinking and what is more important, co-ordinating all that one sees, hears and feels before the senses register beautifully lasting impressions ready for the press and life.

Editors are daily inundated with letters that cry for help and howsoever much the editor feels for the writers there is always the bread-and-butter problem of the editors themselves that have to be considered. No editor worth his salt will take a third rate article when first rate ones are forthcoming unless he wants to be sacked. Editors know their jobs and expect writers to know theirs. They barely have the time to send them rejection slips!

Oliver Goldsmith wrote a sad story round the writer who was on his death-bed and who refused to be consoled by the priest who came to administer extreme unction to him. "How can God exist," cried the writer, "when he forgot me all the while I was living!" and died. The lives of all writers from the beginning of

the world till now have been similar because writers are in a way too good-natured to care for money or earthly rewards. They are too much dedicated to the beautifully true and eternal verities and only after their death do they get so much as their due. These are the days of hot topicality and sensationalism when morals can go the winds and scruples, too!

Industry does help one to be a writer but mere industry is of no avail unless the writer has a bag of shekels by him and is willing to learn the A B C of writing. Weeks, months, even years pass before any of his articles is accepted and even after acceptance all is not roses. There is the question of payment and in India payment is far from being lucrative. More often than not writing in India is a mug's game unless the writer tries his hand at the best papers or sends his contributions abroad. But most writers are so taken in with the idea of making money from writing that they do not learn the lesson of their lives till it is too late. If only they realised that writing is never a fulltime hobby of anyone unless one knows that writing pays, writers would not have come to grief or have committed suicide.

As I said before writing is a specialist's job and it all depends on what and who you can write before you demand payment. A writer today has not only to write, he has also to see where his writing will sell. And he has got to be a cute salesman if he is to make writing his livelihood. He has not only to write but also to create an interest in the people for whom he is writing—which means, he has to know what the average man, woman and child want from life and he has to give them the essentials without either wasting his time or theirs. In a word, he has to be service-minded and improve his output.

The more a writer writes the more he will realise what a difficult thing writing is and how he has to bring freshness to subject-matter and treatment before he serves it to the public. What is more he needs to have control over words and use them to express his mood and personality. This is not easy, and he has to

read the masters of literature to realise how beautifully they use words to express their subtle emotions, weaving lovely harmonies of thought in sentences of sparkling grandeur.

Beginners want to write of life as seen through the spectacle of books and no wonder they "dither" all through life. They do not want to see life at first hand or to thrill with experience. They are far too conventional to improve, and education has not taught them to see under the surface of things. With such writers anything printed is sufficient guarantee that it is good, although the writings may be no more than a two penny paper of thrilling yarns or true romances!

Wordsworth thought that a good life is the essence of good writing and this is what a beginner should aim at before he tries to make himself popular or successful. "Look within yourself and see the treasures of earth and heaven" should be his guiding principle. Writing is a gift as precious as any other gift and only writers know that and they perspire after it. Writing is also a means of self-expression and as such a writer controls his thought and expression before he wields it to beautifully novel purposes. He becomes another Maugham, Blunden and Anand, showering largesses of novels, dramas, short stories, essays by the dozens. What is more such a writer sees the continuity of writing and traditionalises the present. He bejewels his life and that of others in writings that never die.

THE COINCIDENCE

Blushing, she hid her face on her father's shoulder. "He loves me," she said.

"Then I suppose he wants to marry you?" the old man grunted.

"Yes, father."

"What's his income?"

She started. "I don't know," she murmured, "but the coincidence is very strange."

"What coincidence?" asked her father.

"Anand," she answered, "asked the very same question about your income."

Coomarswamy—the Cultural Ambassador of India

BY SRI BIMAL KUMAR DATTA, M.A.,

Visvabharati Central Library, Santiniketan.

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARSWAMY'S contribution to check the waves of Western commercial onslaughts on Indian culture and life is tremendous. Ignorance, indifference and sometimes vindictiveness cause European writers to depict a gloomy and semibarbarous picture of Indian life before the peoples of the world. Ruskin is a notorious example of this kind of criticism.



DR. ANANDA K. COOMARSWAMY

Western interest in Indian art and culture is a growth of the last half-century and the handful of wise western scholars like Havell, Rothenstein, Max-Muller and Aureil Stun's deep love, true understanding and profound scholarship stimulated the interest deeply. Though Dr. Coomarswamy came late in the field his activities based on his deep learning and true spirit let no opportunity pass emphasising the need and importance of disseminating some of the vital ideas of ancient India that hold good for all times and which the erring and suffering world needs to no small extent.

Late Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomarswamy, the keeper of the Indian art, Boston Museum, Massachusetts was born on 22nd August 1877 in Colombo. His father Sir Muthu Coomarswamy was the first Hindu Barrister and unfortunately Sir Muthu died before his son was two years old and the young Coomarswamy was brought up in England by his British mother. He received his education first at Wycliff College at Stone House in Gloucestershire and later at the University of London. He received his degree of Doctor of Science in Geology from the said University. At 22 he was appointed Director of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon. From 1905 to 1917 he travelled widely both in Europe and Asia.

In 1917 he was appointed Research Fellow in Indian, Iranian and Muslim art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Since then Dr. Coomarswamy had written and lectured expounding all that is truest, noblest and best in Indian philosophies and arts. He is the author of more than sixty books of which—The History of India and Indonesian Art, Sinhalese Art, Dance of Shiva, Buddha and Buddhism, The arts and crafts of India and Ceylon are the most outstanding productions. He being equipped with a wide scholarship in Indian history and religion and gifted with a felicitous pen attempted successfully, for the first time to depict the many-sided achievements of Indian art and culture comprehensively and very sincerely. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston due to his untiring zeal is to day the repository of perhaps one of the most comprehensive collections of Indian art in the world.

His tall, slim and graceful figure, his intellectual and refined features and his Indian attire upon a foreign looking body attracted the common attention. He was a mixture of opposite tendencies and qualities. He was a scientist by training and an artist and philosopher by nature. The fact that he was brought up and educated in England and had foreign blood in his veins became more and more

emphasized as a contrast to his deep understanding and burning love of Indian culture and civilization.

He married twice. His present widowed wife, Dona Louise Coomarswamy is Argentine by nationality and is a brilliant scholar. His only son Rama Coomarswamy till a few years back was in India studying Sanskrit and Hindi in the Gurukul near Hardwar, U. P. He is treading in his venerable father's footsteps.

The morn of the twentieth Century was a period of great enthusiasm for Swadeshi movement following the agitation against the Partition of Bengal. Though Dr. Coomarswamy did not take any active part in the freedom movement yet his services in that field were of considerable value and importance. Through his unceasing writings he awakened a sense of pride and dignity in the minds of the Indian youths by unfolding before their very eyes the glorious past histories of Indian culture and civilization. He stressed upon the true Indianness of Indian culture which Indians inherited since long and according to him—"Her (India's) great humiliation would be to substitute or to have substituted for this our character". Whatever he wrote he always brought his readers to consider all things as rooted in the central quality of Indian conception.

As a cultural ambassador, he contributed a lot to make India understood by the western world and hence he was also a great worker. Misunderstanding grew up between the East and West as there was no Indian to explain the cause of India before the world. Coomarswamy, though not an Indian by birth took up the cause seriously and his lectures and books addressed to the western people present India in the fairest possible terms which ultimately paved the way for compromise and mutual understanding. Dr. Coomarswamy always insisted upon the fact that Indians want freedom not only for bread but for the sake of being what they have in themselves to become. To the western world he talked of India as a missing link in the chain of human history and civilization and presented her case on the ground that neglecting her contribution,

her culture and her freedom there can be no lasting peace in the world.

Though he lived far away from us in his country home in America in the outskirts of Boston, we thought of him as constantly present in our midst to shape and awaken the sleeping energy of the Indian youths. Sometimes he was also amidst us. The great Art Exhibition organised by him at Allahabad in 1910 is a landmark in the cultural history of this century as an eye opener to the Indian youths of their past glory and heritage. How few patriots were there in India who had caught the true spirit of India's past glory and had faith in her immense possibilities in the future! It is high time to repeat the words written by Dr. Coomarswamy years back—"What shall it profit India to gain the whole world if she lost her own soul in her effort to gain it?"

WHEN NIGHT FALLS ON PRIORY WOOD

By MR. EDWARD A. JAMESON

When shadows fall on Red Copse and the
downs
Draw their deep purple from the sweet
wild thyme,
Darkening the blue eyes of violets, believe
me, even now,
Within the soft dusk of this Sussex scene—
By the white chalk cliffs and the sparkling
sea—
I see her among the wild thyme when
night falls

On Priory Wood.

Believe me, even now, when from this
shadowed patch,
Where woodchucks gambol and the small
birds scold,
I look toward the dark road lost among
the distant gloom,
Where lie rose petals scattered by an
evil wind,
Like tokens cast upon the hard sad
ground. . . .
Believe me, memory. I see her when
night falls.

On Priory Wood.

—From "Poems."

PRESS FREEDOM VITAL FOR INDIA

A.I.N.E.C. PRESIDENT OPPOSES MOVE FOR RESTRICTIONS

[The attempt to curtail the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression was opposed by non-official members during the debate in Parliament on May 17 on the Prime Minister's motion to refer the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee. Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, complained that the organisation was not consulted or taken into confidence before the Bill was drafted. He referred to the apparent contradiction in the speech of the Prime Minister at the recent A.-I.N.E.C. conference, when he preferred "a completely free Press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom," and his remarks when moving the Amendment Bill. Mr. Gupta recalled the role of the Press in the fight for freedom and the code of conduct evolved by the A.-I.N.E.C. Press freedom was essential for democracy and he asked the Prime Minister to have faith in the good sense of the people and the Press. Below is a summary press report of Mr. Gupta's speech in Parliament.—ED. I. R.]

FREEDOM OF PRESS

MR. DESHBANDHU GUPTA (Delhi) said the proposed amendment to Article 19 relating to the fundamental rights to the freedom of expression, was against the national interest. He was not convinced by Mr. Nehru's arguments. It was "a curb on the freedom of expression, which implies also the freedom of the Press".



SRI DESHBANDU GUPTA
President A. I. N. E. C.

The Prime Minister had asked what the Government should do to put a stop to the vulgar activities of an irresponsible section of the Press?

"The question, is whether this section of the Press which, has not behaved well is an exception in the case of our country or is it not in existence in other countries to-day?"

Mr. Gupta next referred to the Prime Minister's speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, where he said, "I would rather have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of the freedom than a suppressed or regulated Press."

"Having heard these words only a few months ago some of us are in the embarrassing position of not knowing whether to place our faith in the author of these remarks, or in the sponsor of this Bill that is before us."

It could not be said that the problems which necessitated this Bill had cropped up during the last four or five months. Then what had happened to justify this measure seeking to curb the liberty of the Press, he asked.

A.-I.N.E.C. NOT CONSULTED

Mr. Gupta said the A.-I.N.E.C. had adopted a positive code of conduct for the Press, and had employed moral persuasion to see that the code was adhered to. It had employed its good offices in creating a joint code for the guidance of newspapers in India and Pakistan, and the Prime Minister had paid tributes to the efforts of the A.-I.N.E.C.

Mr. Gupta complained that the A.-I.N.E.C. was not consulted or taken into confidence before the Bill was drafted. He said it was strange that the proposed

Select Committee did not contain even one member who had anything to do with the Press.

During the last 150 years the Press had fought for the repeal of various laws which sought to restrain or repress it.

"We can today raise our head with pride and say that this country, which had in the unhappy past the largest number of repressive Press laws on the Statute Book, has complete freedom of the Press. Let that freedom be maintained."

The Prime Minister, by these amendments, was opening the way for the reviving of all these repressive laws.

LACK OF FAITH IN PEOPLE

"He wants us to have faith in Parliament. Instead of asking members of this

House or the Press to have faith in Parliament, I invite him to have faith in the good sense of the people we represent, and the Press which has stood by the country and fought the battle of freedom all these years."

The amendment betrayed lack of faith in the good sense of the people. It also betrayed a sense of fright and fear. That did not augur well. Mr. Gupta concluded:

"Let not the Constitution, which today has this important right of freedom of speech and expression, be sullied by this amendment. Let it enjoy the distinction which it does to-day. Let us not be frightened into action of the type that he the (Prime Minister) proposes to take."

RELIGION AND FEAR

By DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO M.A., D.Litt.

Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

FROM the dawn of rational thought secular savants have identified the fear instinct as the sole cause and sustainer of all religions and their sanctions. Lucretius defined religion "as the disease born of fear and the source of untold misery to the human race." Man always loves security. He feels that he is most free when he is most securely enchained. God, according to Freud, is the unconscious projection in whom man takes refuge. Oscar Pfister's *CHRISTIANITY AND FEAR** is a challenge to the rationalist diagnosis and cure of the fear instinct. The solid, scholarly and sumptuous volume of this great German pastor and thinker interprets Christianity afresh. He feels that there is nothing wrong with the *psycho analytic* method of Freud but does not subscribe to the Philosophy of Freud. He finds Christianity a *paradox* (why it is the same with all religions)—"the Christians set themselves to hate in the cause of love, to use compulsion in the name of freedom and to become practising materialists for the inculcation of spiritual principles". Bishop Gore

*CHRISTIANITY AND FEAR. By Oscar Pfister. 30sh. Allen & Unwin, London.

observes it is true most lamentably true, that since the days of Constantine the church of Christ has dared absolutely to reverse the method of his master and thereby lost its ethical distinctness and moral power. How utterly, on the whole, has the official church failed to exhibit the prophetic spirit? It should make a tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and on so wide a scale to behave as the champions of the oppressed and the weak for having so often been on the wrong side.

For a period of thirty-six years Pfister had applied himself to the study dealing with the nature and history of Christian love as applied to the single and important problem *fear*. Fear, according to the refreshing analysis of Pfister, is [due to the inculcation of terrible dogmas and doctrines e.g., the stake, Hell fire and eternal damnation. Institutional and dogmatic Christianity failed to stress the central message of Christianity namely the unity of love through faith and faith through love which was the essence of teaching of Jesus and of which His life was the Pattern. What needs to be stressed today is the universal element of love and through it

the fundamental oneness of reality. Once men realise the fundamental oneness of reality, fellowship of men becomes the code of conduct. For this we want a religion of Love and not of fear. "The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" but not its end. It was the Poet Francis Thomson who said "all can feel the God that smites. But ah, how few the God that loves?" Pilate's question to Jesus, "what is truth?" has a visual answer to the non-blind. "It was the man before him. It is Christ i.e. Love.

The range and the sweep of Pfister's study of theology is encyclopaedic and he makes the scientific application of the *Psychoanalytic* method to remove the neurotic traits of the believers by the use of the Principle of Love. Pfister finds that fear determined fancies and cases of *compulsion neurosis* are best treated by Love. "Perfect love casteth away all fear."

Oscar Pfister's book is a scholarly and illuminating study of Christianity and its relation to the fear instinct. W. H. Johnston's English translation is readable

and impressive. The chapters on Jesus, St. Paul, Martin Luther and Calvin are profound. The central theme of the book is stated in the third part "The Hygiene of Religion" and is the most original and constructive part of Pfister's thought.

Once again we have known that scientific methods are not opposed always to religion. Religion is not born in fear, but in its true sense is the *destroyer of fear*. The Hindu mind holds that religion gives us *abhaya* (freedom from fear). The antidote to fear is love. The great Psychiatrist Jung clinches the central issue in the following observation: "When the modern physician is confronted with a neurotic patient he sees only too clearly why his patient is ill—it arises from his *having no love* but sexuality, no faith because he gropes on the dark, no hope because he is disillusioned by the world and life, no understanding because he has failed to read the meaning of his existence—*what the patient needs is Faith, Hope, Love and Insight.*"

HERO IN THE MAKING: A STORY

By MR. MICHAEL HERVEY

NORMAN Puller had welcomed the advent of the Second World War. He was by no means militant or blood-thirsty by nature, but he did thirst for the acclaim that is accorded the conquering hero. Many might be content to sit in safe places and vegetate, but not so Norman. He dreamed of taking cities by storm, rescuing fair women from their castle dungeons, and explorers from the most inaccessible of jungles. Even to rescue the Prime Minister from drowning at Blackpool would be better than nothing!... A thousand such heroic visions occupied his thoughts, but unlike many dreamers, he was prepared to go to any lengths to realise them.

Fate, however, was against him, and had so far decreed that he should be frustrated at every turn; but with the advent of war his hopes were again elevated to the skies. Here at last was his chance to shine, or even dazzle, for that matter. And should he die in the attempt a posth-

umous V.C. would be better than none. Roseate visions again crowded on him: there would be machine gun nests galore to be stormed singlehanded, bayonet charges to lead, wounded to rescue under withering fire, generals to capture—even Hitler himself with luck. If on the other hand he were drafted into the Air Force, there was every chance of becoming an Ace; he could easily picture himself knocking enemy planes out of the sky with the nonchalance of a Dick Tracy. Should the navy claim his services, there was nothing to prevent him taking a submarine out one dark night and sinking half the German Fleet.

And so Norman volunteered. The Army gratefully accepted his services, and in due course he found himself attached to a sanitary squad! The shock almost drove him out of his mind, and for weeks he refused to leave the camp, brooding within his Nissen hut on the unkindest blow that fate had yet dealt him. As time

went by he grew more depressed, and finally went off his food altogether. Time after time he applied to be transferred, only to be told that he could serve his country equally well in his present capacity. And so for six long weary frustrating years poor Norman helped to erect countless latrines and other sanitary establishments, miles from every front.

No member of the Fighting Services was ever more glad to get his discharge. The whole period had been absolutely wasted, and many were the nights in civvy street when he squirmed in bed, consumed with mortification and bitterness, aggravated all the more by the homecoming of his friends all bedecked with medals, and equipped with stories of hair-raising adventure.

Norman wandered from one form of employment to another, dismissing each in turn as quite unsuitable to provide him with the opportunity to become a hero. He spent much of his spare time down by the canal in the hope that somebody might fall in, and thus give him the chance to effect a dramatic rescue. But he was willing to go through fire as well as water, and took to chasing fire-engines, in the hope of rescuing an entire family from some burning building. Alas, the firemen always hogged what rescue work there was going, and all he got was holes burnt in his clothes, or a drenching from the hose.

Then he thought of joining the police and arresting an armed murderer or two, but gave up the idea in disgust after certain little 'incidents' of which he was the central and unheroic figure. The trouble arose when he started following bank messengers about, on the chance of frustrating a 'snatch and grab' robbery. Unfortunately his motives were misconstrued, and after being arrested three times 'on suspicion', he decided they could do without his services. It was their loss, anyway, as he had all the makings of a master detective.

Smarting thus at the scurvy treatment he had received from the police, he decided to get even with them by beating them at their own game, and showing them up for the incompetent fools they were. A dangerous footpad who had been

at work for some weeks in the neighbourhood was to be the medium of his revenge. The fellow was still at large, terrorising the district with his robberies by violence, and all sorts of excuses were being made for the failure to arrest him. Shortage of men, lack of lighting in the streets, the tremendous increase of crime since the war, all served their turn. But Norman was determined to show the world how empty these excuses were, by capturing the man himself, and to this end he took to haunting the more badly lit areas every evening after dark.

For once his patience and initiative were rewarded. Whilst patrolling one particularly gloomy alley he suddenly heard nearby cries of 'Help!'. He increased his pace and was finally able to discern two figures struggling in the shadows. One was large and bulky, the other small and slight, and the latter was decidedly getting the worst of it.

Norman wasted little time, and was soon in the thick of things. He had at one time belonged to a boxing club, and had no difficulty in dodging most of the haymakers flung at him by the bulky one. Also, the knowledge that right was on his side, and that here was the opportunity he had been waiting and praying for, served to infuse in him the strength of ten men, and he lashed out like a heavy weight making yet another come-back. Try as he would, however, he could not make the hulking brute release his victim until, more by luck than judgment, he succeeded in connecting a real beauty on the other's jaw.

His adversary grunted, and slowly toppled over, dragging the victim of the original attack to the ground. Norman rolled the former over, and helped the little fellow to his feet.

"Are you all right?" he asked.

"Yes, mate," panted the other. "You came along just in time. I'd 'ave got away with it if I 'adn't slipped on that piece of peel."

"Got away with what?" asked Norman.

"This," replied the little man, producing the large man's wallet. "I reckon we ought to share what's inside of it!"

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Amending the Constitution

IN another page will be found the statement of objects and reasons for the Prime Minister's Constitution Amendment Bill and his reply to criticisms in Parliament. After a highly controversial three-day debate the Bill to amend the Constitution was referred to a Select Committee whose report is now before Parliament for approval. At the outset, it may be said that while the validation of the Zamindari abolition acts commanded wide support the strongest criticisms of the Bill centred round the restrictions sought to be imposed on the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression. This is as might be expected. For the Press which in British India suffered terribly with pains and penalties for sins of omission and commission had hoped for better times under the new dispensation, and the disillusionment comes with the shock of an ill-disguised malignancy. The case for freedom of the Press, particularly at a time when the country is set on the path of self-rule and self-respect is self-evident. The President of the A.I.N.E.C. who headed the deputation in protest against the unwanted amendment has clarified the position of the press with admirable candour and moderation which can not fail to impress the authors of the move for curtailment of press rights. There are various factors which make this new infringement on the freedom of the press altogether obnoxious. In the first place tampering with the Constitution barely 16 months after its inauguration is not the way to set the right standard of tradition or convention for a Democracy in the making. It was with a view to make it difficult to attempt such tinkering with the Constitution that the framers of the original Constitution insisted on requiring special majority in all such cases. When we think of the dazzling array of legal and administrative talent that hammered out the clauses step by step and the haste with which we try to tamper with them lightly we are struck with dismay as to what may happen, if party leaders in the

future, with none of the high idealism and undoubted integrity of our Prime Minister, take it in their heart to sully the sanctity of the fundamental rights with crotchets of their own for the expediency of the hour. Secondly it is tragic to think that it should be left, of all persons, to the Prime Minister so reputed to be a stalwart of freedom to be associated with a bill designed to curb that freedom. Mr. Nehru says that Government were not thinking of the Press at all while proposing the amendment and that Government were prepared to ensure so far as they could that no adverse effect was produced on the Press by the amendment. We accept Mr. Nehru's words—but now that he is made to realise fully the implications of the amendment it is time to drop it. Why should he bring in the new amendment and then try to check its adverse effect? In the course of the debate in Parliament Pandit Kunzru pointed out that the proposed amendment to Article 19 would amount to a complete abrogation of the right of free speech and expression. One of the arguments advanced by Mr. Nehru in support of the Bill was that it would merely clarify the authority of Parliament. It was highly unlikely, he added, that the present Parliament or Government would take advantage of the new provisions. He was only thinking of "the succeeding Parliament and the younger generation." Dr. Mookherjee retorted that if the Prime Minister was not in a hurry, why was he opposing the circulation of the Bill? If something is being done for the future Parliament and the younger generation why should not the Prime Minister wait for a few months until the general elections are over and a new Parliament begins to function? The elections are said to be impending. A delay of a few months is not going to upset the plans of the party or the fortunes of the country. We can certainly carry on just as we have done till now. The Prime Minister's hurry to get the Bill passed into law is certainly inconsistent with his

contention that it is meant for the future and not for the present.

Weaker and still more unconvincing was the Prime Minister's apology in support of Cl. 4 in Art. 15 and the Select Committee's recommendation that the provision against discrimination by birth in Art. 29 (2) may be disregarded for the purpose of the advancement of "socially and educationally backward classes". A frank admission that the amendment was in response to an S. O. S. from Madras, after the judgment of the Madras High Court on the Communal G. O., was coupled with a genuine tribute to the sound and valid reasoning of that judgment. Unlike the Law Member the Prime Minister is in whole hearted approval of the Courts' judgment against communalism. Yet he thought fit to give the G. O. a new lease of life in the Constitution because the Select Committee had cherished an "earnest hope" that this amendment would not be used for making invidious distinctions of caste and community in regard to educational institutions. The Prime Minister could not, of course, guarantee that this clause would not be put to any undesirable use, and he was deeply alive to the danger. But he revealed to the House, he had an assurance from the Chief Minister of Madras that the interests of the various communities would be safe in his hands.

Could anything be more naive than that?

The Dispute over Persian Oil

There is certainly widespread sympathy in India with the Persian claim that an independent country has an undisputed right to nationalise its industries. Nor can the Socialist Government in England, so keen on nationalising its home industries deny the same right to a foreign nation. But Britain can hardly concede the Persian claim that "the right to nationalise an industry can override the implications of any existing agreement" between Persia and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Teheran has rejected any proposal for arbitration and is furious with U. S. for its intervention in the affair. If negotiations fail what next? Unilateral action on a matter of this kind can hardly be

sustained in an international court. To attempt to seize the Company's property in the face of Anglo American opposition is to invite trouble. Britain which owns 52 per cent of the Company's stock and whose lease runs until 1993 has a legal right to demand that she may not be disturbed. But in questions of this kind, she recognises that sticking to legalistic formulas will not do. She knows that the Persian Government derives its main revenues from the oil industry. Although the Supplemental Agreement between the Company and the Iranian Government has not been ratified, the Company agreed to pay advance royalties in 1951 in excess of those due under the 1933 Agreement. A payment of £28,500,000 has been agreed upon and the first instalment paid. Thus the British Government seems ready and willing to make further concessions and come to an agreement on a fair and equitable basis that would be mutually satisfactory.

But Teheran in her excited mood, seems determined to ignore all appeals to argument. The Persian Cabinet, goaded by hot heads, is shaky and uncertain. The Prime Minister, seeking refuge in the Majlis and making strange pronouncements and undiplomatic gestures does not seem strong enough to face facts and to be able to carry a definite policy of his own to a successful issue. Nor can it be said that Persia has either the financial resources or technical skill necessary to maintain the outturn and proper distribution of oil in the same old way. And oil now, in the context of the world situation to-day, is the one thing for which there will be a war to the knife in mid Asia. And such a war is bound to spread and hasten world war III. Hence, in the absence of competent statesmen in authority to handle the situation with tact and firmness it devolves upon the Shah himself to give a clear lead to the country and bring it safely through the impending chaos. For lack of firmness and statesmanship at this hour will plunge the country into dire disaster while wisdom and foresight on the part of the Shah can yet save Iran from the fate of another Korea where foreigners will be prepared to fight to the last Iranian,

Sanctions against China

The sanctions resolution passed by the 12 nation committee of the United Nations approving an embargo on strategic war materials to Communist China and North Korea doubtless carried the whole-hearted support of such committee members as Venezuela, Brazil and Mexico, who as *Capital* shrewdly observes, have neither trading nor political relations with China worth the name but must immensely complicate the affairs of those who have. That sanctions involve the risk of actual war is generally admitted, and perhaps the fundamental difference between American and non-American opinion is that the former in any case regards a state of war as existing between the democratic world and China, whilst the latter does not--as yet.

Britain has acted under the compulsion of events, and in agreeing to economic sanctions she makes it clear that in her judgment earlier hopes of negotiating with the people's Government at Peking must now be abandoned. Proportionately also her own casualties in Korea have recently been extremely heavy, and this would undoubtedly weigh greatly with public opinion which is not prepared to see its young men slaughtered by those from whom its merchants wax fat.

The U.N. decision, says our contemporary, is unlikely to produce any profound emotional reaction here, but some practical difficulties may arise for the Government of India who may be confronted with the effects of sanctions at one remove.

China's Pact with Tibet

The 17-point agreement between China and Tibet signed on Wednesday May 23 at Peking, between representatives of the Central People's Government and the Tibetan Regional Government, puts the stamp of "legality" on the stationing of Communist Chinese troops in Tibet. Under the agreement, Peking promised not to interfere in the "present internal administration" in Tibet nor with the position of the Dalai Lama as Tibet's spiritual ruler.

The treaty made the following concessions to Peking:

(1) Tibet recognised the overall sovereignty of Peking and agreed to be treated as a "Provincial

Government"; (2) Tibet agreed to the stationing of Chinese "liberation" troops in Tibet; (3) It agreed to strip itself of its armed forces which would be merged into the Chinese Communist armies; (4) Tibet agreed that its diplomatic affairs would be handled by Peking's Central Government; (5) It agreed to the establishment of a joint Chinese-Tibetan Military Government Commission and Army Headquarters in Tibet. The Tibetans on the Commission will be subject to the approval of Peking and will be appointed by Peking.

In return, the Chinese Communist Government promised:

(1) It would give the Tibetans autonomy; (2) it would not interfere in the present internal administration of Tibet and the Dalai Lama's position; (3) it would not interfere in the reforms carried out by the Tibetan Provincial Government provided it acted on them "voluntarily"; (4) it would not prosecute Tibetan civilians and Government officials who collaborated in the past with "imperialism and the Kuomintang" if they would sever their connections.

The Dalai Lama, temporal leader of the Tibetans and other high officials would retain their posts and the Panchen Lama traditional spiritual leader, who has lived on Chinese territory since his appointment would go to Tibet to assume office.

The announcement by the Peking Radio and the tone of the agreement maintained the Chinese Government's position as the Central Government to a local subsidiary administration.

Congress Resignations

There is no doubt that the resignation of stalwart Congressmen like Acharya Kripalani and Sri Prakasam from the Congress is a distinct loss to that great organisation and deep regret will be felt everywhere that such defections could not be avoided.

The Congress is already split with ever so many Congressmen walking out of it. The reasons are not far to seek. As they are organised at present the splinter parties says, "Homa" of the *Hindustan standard* are only of provincial importance and they work with the immediate object of fighting the coming Elections.

Most of them look to Acharya Kripalani to form an All-India party, but it is not yet clear whether they would discard their provincial identity. A combination of splinter parties is unlikely to succeed to convince the electorate of a stable government. The Congress still holds the chance of surviving if only it could abandon its philosophic attire and transform itself into a political party of men who have a definite programme.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE: The Vedic Age, prepared under the directions of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan President, Honourable K. M. Munshi and Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. D. Pusalker. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London.

Is there a need for a new history of India? If the older histories of India suffer from one kind of bias is it not a warning that the re-writing of that story from another angle will result in another kind of bias? Yes, there is that obvious danger and the learned editors and collaborators in this new series of historical volumes are certainly alive to it. Their main task, therefore, is to set themselves resolutely against any patriotic bias and present truth and only truth, the fair unclouded face of truth, without passion or prejudice. In this task the editors can happily count on the co-operation of a team of scholars, each distinguished in his own sphere and all reputed for their learning and integrity. Mr. Munshi's dream of a history of India in the true sense of the word—as the record of the life and achievements of men whose exploits become the beacons of tradition; through the characteristic reactions of the people to physical and economic conditions, through political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions which operate upon life, through characteristic social institutions, beliefs and forms, through literary and artistic achievements

is to be realised in the ten volumes contemplated by the Academy.

Now what was the stuff of the older histories, even the monumental CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA? Scraps from notes and diaries of foreign travellers from Greece and Persia and China, extracts from Persian and Arabic histories with a political objective, the rise and fall of dynasties and kings, and British writers presenting reports of their conquest and glorifying the benefits of their rule in a land torn with divergences of every kind!

Fancy 4000 years of Pre-Muslim history, so full of the first fine adventure of early

settlers with their institutions that have come down to us unimpaired through the ages, their mighty conquests and achievements in culture and philosophy all dismissed in a few pages, while 500 years of Muslim adventure is described in as many pages! and barely 200 years of British rule swells into a grand epic covering the bulk of their volume! Surely this could be no history. This is propaganda with a vengeance, carried to absurd lengths. There was a total lack of historical perspective in all these attempts in which the vast bulk of the people, their hopes and fears and struggles, and their clash of interests and reactions to new situations find little place.

Now all this is attempted to be remedied in the new volumes. The first volume of this great project dealing with the Vedic Age opens with the necessary geological, geographical and biological background and then proceeds to the first stage of human activity. Then follow general considerations on Indo Aryans and a political history of the period. The next section deals with language and literature followed by other sections on political and legal institutions, social and economic conditions and religion and philosophy. In short the volume, packed with contributions from a dozen writers, covers what may be roughly described as the Dawn of Hindu Civilization.

It is an ambitious task worthy of the Academy which may be depended upon to fulfil this great undertaking with credit and distinction. We have no doubt the remaining volumes will be looked forward to with keen interest by students of Indian history.

The Russian writer, Maxim Gorky, was at one time living in a lodging house in southern Italy. He complained to the wife of the owner that his bed was infested with vermin which were driving him out of his mind.

The indignant landlady replied, "No, Sir, that is impossible. We have not a single bug in the house!"

"No, madam," retorted Gorky, "not single. They are all married and have very large families too."

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THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. By G. N. Joshi. MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London.

The new Indian Constitution with its 395 Articles and 8 Schedules is perhaps the longest and the most complex constitution in the world. It embodies a comprehensive and detailed declaration of fundamental rights and directive principles. There are provisos, limitations and saving clauses for many of them. Now that attempts are being made to amend it in important particulars the importance of understanding and appreciating its implications can hardly be exaggerated. Mr. Joshi's treatise seeks to expound this constitution in its historical setting and to lay bare its legal and constitutional aspects for the benefit of citizens and students of law. Now that the Indian Constitution is prescribed as one of the subjects for Law and Arts Examinations in some universities, the need for a comprehensive text book of this kind is apparent. We have no hesitation in commending this handy book as one that will meet this demand admirably.

THE EVOLUTION OF LAW. By Sri Navachandra Sen Gupta. Published by Uttarayan, Ltd., Calcutta.

This is a very interesting contribution to the study of a great subject. The treatment afforded is more modern than Maine's. The transition of law from one administered by the priest and the aristocracy in ancient times to that of the lawyer and the judges in modern times are succinctly portrayed by the author.

The author's knowledge of comparative Jurisprudence and politics has come in handy in marshalling the different phases dealt with in this thesis. The growth of law in its various aspects—Marriage, Sonship, Procedure, Crimes, Property, Contract, Succession and joint family—has a lucid and candid treatment at the Author's hands. Special mention should however be made of his views on Marriage and Sonship. The author states that the development of the secondary sonship in adoption is a sequence of the ancient theory of the proprietorship over the son by the father. The references to the Roman law and the texts of the Vedas are elucidation of his theories. The book is a distinct and valued contribution to one's library.

A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE. By Pyarelal. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

"A Pilgrimage for peace" is the very appropriate name given by Pyarelal to a handy volume giving an authentic account of Gandhiji's five week stay and tour of the North West Frontier Province.

In response to a longstanding invitation Gandhiji honoured the Khan Brothers' country with an extensive tour in 1939. He was accompanied throughout by the Khan brothers, his own staff and the higher ups of the Khundai Khitnatgers. His tour was also intended as an inspection of the work done by the Khan brothers in spreading the message of non-violence. Naturally on almost every occasion non-violence and its technique formed the subject of discussion, discourse and speech. Pyarelal has faithfully recorded these and presented them. The Pathans being a very simple lot Gandhiji had to explain his views in language which could be understood even by children and therefore the value of the book lies in providing a complete discussion of non-violence as practised and understood by its greatest exponent in a very elementary fashion.

The book is not a mere accumulation of dry—as—dust discussions about abstract imponderables but, as was the case with Gandhiji, full of touching episodes.

It closes with very touching epilogue dealing with the lives of the Khan Brothers after the partition not altogether without pathos.

IN THE LAND OF THE BLUE HILLS. By Homi J. H. Tata Yarkhan, Orient Longmans Ltd, Madras Rs. 2-4-0.

This is a tourist guide book to the Nilgiris—Ootacamund and its environs—packed with information and written with a keen eye to the beauty of its hills and downs. The brochure is attractively got up conjuring up an inviting picture, showing the beauty spots with an unerring instinct for the picturesque. The Sketch map of Ooty and other illustrations are an additional attraction.

Here amid solitude and shade we wander,
Through the green ailes, or stretched upon the sod,
And, awed by silence, reverently ponder the ways
of God.

A sort of Nature's Cathedral!

DYMER: A POEM. By C. S. Lewis. Dent & Sons, London. 7s. 6d.

This is a reprint in a new format of Professor C. S. Lewis' poetical allegory of the world as he saw it as a young man, quarter of a century ago. The hero, Dymen, is a man escaping or rather seeking escape from illusion. He supposes the universe to be friendly from sundry incoherent pieces of evidence but soon finds enough to rouse a fierce and ferocious disgust. Discovery of the futility of revolt against an entrenched but essentially inhuman and unjust order breeds pessimism when a soothing bribe of satisfaction and recapture of the early rapture is offered and for a while pleases. But the hero is now too mature to be deceived. He recovers himself and confidently faces his destiny. The story is told in seven-line stanzas in nine cantos. The verse moves with a bracing rapidity, smoothness and ease which recall some of the greatest masters of narrative verse.

EVERYBODY'S BOOK OF LAW. By S. Ramaswamy Iyer, Madras Law Journal, Madras.

India's new Constitution and the Adult franchise now bestowed on her citizens carry with them not only the right to certain undoubted privileges but definite obligations which they are in duty bound to fulfil. These rights and duties can hardly be observed in the right spirit without a knowledge of the law and constitution which it is the business of every citizen to be acquainted with. Everybody's Book of Law is a vade mecum for the common man touching as it does and illuminating every aspect of the life of the new citizen. Much labour and thought have gone into the making of this book, which is at once so comprehensive and intelligible to the average Indian. The function of law in society, rights and duties of citizens, crimes and punishments, civil and criminal trials, family law and problems of land tenure and the intricacies of commercial transactions—all these are explained and illustrated in a way seldom handled in such a simple and popular fashion. And then we have clear and concise accounts of our new constitution, the principle and methods of legislation, laws governing the defence forces, the rules of international law and the

Charter of the U. N. O. Indeed the sweep and range of the subjects covered by the author, and the lucidity of his exposition of even intricate processes of law and procedure are altogether remarkable. One would wish that a book of this kind is translated in all the vernaculars and the light the author sheds on topics of wide and deep concern to all citizens is made available to all people. As it is, only the English knowing people can participate in the knowledge and information presented in the volume. In the new dispensation under which we are living there is urgent need for authorised versions of this treatise in all the languages spoken in the country.

CERVANTES' DON QUIXOTE. A new Translation by J. M. Cohen, The Penguin Classics.

Don Quixote is one of those inevitable classics which no library can be without and it is something of a surprise that there has yet been no complete or contemporary Edition of it in English. What we are familiar with are the abridged edition of Smollett—and Smollett had no Spanish. It is therefore most welcome to have this fine classic in its entirety done into contemporary English by a translator who has an evident enthusiasm for Spanish literature. This elegantly printed volume of 910 pages is an excellent addition to the Penguin classics.

WHERE NO WOUNDS WERE. By Goronwy Rees, Chatto and Windus, London. pp. 816. 9s. 6d.

Nazi psychology has interested many experts and novelists in the postwar period. Rees' latest is the study of the mental processes of Richard Adam Lipansky, ace German pilot, product of the Hitler Youth Movement, devout, stubborn, unquestioning Nazi, who betrayed his younger brother to the Police and was proud of it. He crashlanded in England because of blue funk, collaborated with the R. A. F. because of disillusionment and desired to fight Germany to atone for past sins. His is a curious personality, but then wasn't the Nazi an unknown quantity?

UNITED NATION'S PRIMER. UNITED NATION'S READER. Compiled by B. N. Banerjee Secretary, Calcutta Association for United Nations, Mukherjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta 12.

The purpose of these pamphlets is to prepare the youth of to-day "to participate consciously and actively in the building up of a World Society." The Primer contains a brief account of the origin of the United Nations and the work of the Special bodies created under its auspices. Both booklets are illustrated. The first 40 pages of the Reader contains the summary presented in the Primer while the rest of the booklet gives the text of the documents relating to the U. N. Charter, Statute of International Court of Justice, the Declaration of Human Rights, North Atlantic Pact, Unicef in Asia, Role of W. H. O. and other relevant papers. Besides their educative value to students they are valuable as books of reference to journalists and public men, interested in the work of this great organisation with its many subsidiary bodies which are engaged in promoting peace and happiness of nations great and small.

SHEAVES. By Rabindranath Tagore, Translated by Nagendranath Gupta. Hind Kitabs Ltd, Bombay 4-12.

Rabindranath's own English version of his Bengali songs is a model of what a good translation should be—catching the tune no less than the spirit of the original—a task by no means easy. Nagendranath Gupta has done this with excellent taste and judgment—his translation reflecting the beauty, grace and dignity of the poet's renderings. A scholar himself, fifty years of comradeship with the poet entitles him to write with unusual knowledge and understanding of the poet's mind and art. What is of more than usual interest in this volume of delightful lyrics is the fact that most of the songs and poems are rendered into English for the first time. We can never have too much of the poet and the publishers deserve the thanks of the public for this welcome addition to the poet's works in English.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE PHILOSOPHICAL PREDICAMENT. By Winston H. F. Barnes (Adam & Charles Black), Macmillan & Co. Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2.

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. By P. S. Joshi, 40, Bree St., Johannesburg, S. Africa.

NEW HOMES FOR A NEW INDIA. By R. R. Kumaria, M.A., P.E.S. Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmir Gate, Delhi.

SHEIKH MD. ABDULLAH AND THE KASHMIR MUDDLE SCRAP THE CONSTITUTION AND OTHER ARTICLES, THE IRON CURTAIN IN KASHMIR, and TO CRITICISE GOVERNMENT IS MY RIGHT By Horlal Saxena, Published by the Nationalist office, Ferozi Shah Road, New Delhi.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN INDIA. By S. R. Mohan Das, The Democratic Research Service, N.I.P. Press, Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

RURAL UNIVERSITIES FOR INDIA. By Dr. K. N. Kini, M.A., Ph.D., T. C. E. Journals and Publications Ltd., P. O. Box 63, Lucknow.

EDUCATION THROUGH THE EYES. By S. A. Tahir, Office of the Educational Adviser to Bombay Government, Bombay.

PASSION AND PHILOSOPHY. Sonnets by Radhakrishna Moorthy Challa. Bhimalapuram via Palakol Southern Railway.

WHY HINDU CODE? By T. K. Tope and H. S. Ursekar Dharina Nirnaya Mandal, Lonavla, Poona.

TEARS OF EARTH. By B. D. Shastri, Sujata Publications, Maigra (Gaya).

THIS EUROPE. By Girija Mookerjee, Saraswati Library, Publishers and Booksellers, 18 and 19, College Street, Market, Calcutta.

WAYS TO PEACE. By Prof. Tan Yun-Shan, The Sino-Indian Cultural Society of India, Santiniketan, India.

GLIMPSES INTO OUR PROBLEMS AFTER INDEPENDENCE. By K. R. Veeraswamy, M.A., Secunderabad.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIAN REPUBLIC. By Prof. A. K. Banerjee, H. Chatterji & Co. Ltd., 19 Shyama Charan de St., Calcutta, 12.

INDIA AND NEW ORDER. By Sri Chandra Chatterjee, University of Calcutta.

ARCHITECT AND ARCHITECTURE THEN AND NOW. By Sri Chandra Chatterjee, University of Calcutta.

THE IDEAL LIFE AND MOKSHA. By Swami Narayanaanda N. K. Prasad & Co., Rishikesh, U. P.

COMMENTARY ON THE INDIAN CONTRACT ACT. By Desh Raj Mahajan, Atma Ram & Sons Delhi.

THE OPEN ROAD TO FREEDOM. By Lionel Curtis, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London.

COLLECTED IMPRESSIONS. By Elizabeth Bowen, Longmans Green & Co., London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. Dr. Frank Graham appointed U. N. Kashmir Mediator.
- May 2. Shah signs Nationalisation of Oil Bill.
- May 3. Festival of Britain opens to-day.
—Nehru's advice to dissolve Democratic Front accepted by Acharya Kripalani.
- May 4. Parliament sets up Finance Commission for allocation of revenues between Centre and States.
- May 5. Pakistan protests to U.N. against Kashmir Government's plan for Constituent Assembly.
—Muslim Convention in Calcutta reaffirms faith in Nehru's leadership.
- May 6. A.I.C.C. meeting at Delhi sets up Central Election Committee.
- May 7. Central Government turns down Madras proposal on Communal G.O.
- May 8. U.S. rejects Soviet proposal for Jap peace treaty.
- May 9. Persia rejects British move to halt nationalisation of oil.
—5 year rice pact with Burma agreed.
—Nepal Prime Minister in Delhi.
- May 10. Delhi Conference decides to set up Conciliation Board to settle Bank disputes.
—Britain bans rubber export to China.
- May 11. Somnath idol installed with due ceremony, President Rajendra Prasad inaugurating.
- May 12. Tandon-Kripalani correspondence released.
—(ten. Marshall testifies before U.S. Senate Committee that China is backed by Soviet.
- May 13. Persian Premier takes refuge in Majlis.
—Prime Minister introduces Bill amending the Constitution.
- May 14. Visvabharati Act comes into force from to-day.
—America warns Persia against hasty action on oil issue.
- May 15. Japan admitted to W.H.O.
—Military seizes power in Bolivia.
- May 16. Nepal crisis resolved: Rana to continue as Premier.
—U.S. Senate resolves to send 2 million tons of foodgrains on loan basis.
- May 17. Acharya Kripalani resigns from Congress.
- May 18. Amending Bill referred to Select Committee.
—Maulana Azad, Education Minister, leaves for U.K.
- May 19. U.S. requests India to re-inforce U.N. forces in Korea.
- May 20. A.I.N.E.C. deputation waits on the Prime Minister to oppose amending the constitution.
—Mr. Prakasam resigns from the Congress.
- May 21. Detenus given the right to vote.
—President's decision confirms withdrawal of recognition of Ex-ruler of Baroda.
- May 22. Third grain purchase agreement with China for 400,000 tons signed.
- May 23. U.K. seeks India's intervention in Iran oil dispute.
- May 24. U.S. House votes loan to purchase foodgrains for India without conditions.
—U.N. troops cross Parallel for third time.
- May 25. Prime Minister presents Select Committee's report on amendment Bill.
—Indo-Pak finance Conference opens at New Delhi.
- May 26. Britain and A.I. Oil Company seek decision of the Hague Court.
—U.S. assures non-intervention in internal affairs but urges negotiation with Britain on oil dispute.
- May 27. Dr. Prasad presents President's Colours to Indian Navy in Bombay.
- May 28. 17 point Peking-Lhasa Pact released.
—Tehran denies Hague Court authority to deal with oil crisis.
- May 29. Prime Minister defends revised Bill in Parliament.
—No agreement reached in Indo-Pak. parleys.
- May 30. Rioting in Capetown following Mass demonstration before Parliament against Coloured voters' Bill.
—Hague Court takes up issue on oil dispute.
- May 31. Britain gives qualified approval to oil nationalisation in Iran.
—Anglo-American-Iranian talks on oil at Teheran.



READERS' DIGEST



DECLARATION ON CULTURAL FREEDOM

The Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom concluded its four-day session at Bombay on March 31 with a declaration calling on the nation to "defend its heritage of cultural freedom against incursions of Totalitarianism."

In a 600-word resolution, the Congress warned India that "indifference or neutrality towards Totalitarian tyranny amounts to renunciation of Indian tradition and a betrayal of all spiritual values."

The Declaration thus outlined the Congress attitude towards cultural freedom, individual liberty, State control and checks.

Culture has both an individual and a social content. Individual culture is an attitude to life on the part of a human being who seeks awareness of himself and of the world. Social culture results from the integration of the culture of the members of a community and of the social relationships emerging from the geographical environment and historical tradition which define the community. Neither individual nor social culture can be complete unless it rests on the underlying unity of mankind.

Culture can only flourish, find its best expression, and be secure in a free society. A society is free in which the integrity of the individual is recognised and respected as a primary ethical value, with all the guarantees of social justice, including equality of opportunity, which this principle implies. All spiritual pursuits and attainments arising from culture are rooted in this fundamental principle.

While culture has a universal basis, its expression is as particular and varied as the communities themselves. This variety is inherent in the creative genius of peoples, and enriches the content of human experience, on which universal culture is based.

Each concrete social unit which has geographical environment and a historical tradition, must enjoy independence and be able to evolve its own culture, and afford and maintain the necessary freedom for its members and for their individual cultural progress.

It is the duty of the individual, says the declaration, to protect and develop the conditions, mentioned above, necessary for freedom of culture. Freedom of cultural pursuits is of intrinsic significance, not

only for the individual but for the community as a whole.

The best expression of a free culture presupposes an attempt to widen, deepen, and perfect the individual's awareness of himself and of the world. In modern times civilisation has been mostly governed by an undue emphasis on externalities and a tendency towards standardisation of human life. Totalitarianism, an extreme expression of this evil, has carried it into the social and political fields.

At no period of time and in no region has perfection of cultural freedom been attained. But the recognition of the integrity of the individual as a primary ethical value provides the basic condition for the march towards perfection. While social tyranny has existed in the past and continued to exist in greater or less measure today, it is obvious that in a society where the basic political, economic, and social conditions of individual freedom are accepted and respected culture may develop, while in societies where these basic conditions have been denied or destroyed, even the possibility of a contemporary culture ceases to exist.

The effect of modern tyranny, according to the declaration is more insidious and destructive than any tyranny in the past, inasmuch as the modern tyranny of Totalitarianism seeks to dictate not only the form in which truth, both aesthetic and scientific, may be expressed, but truth itself.

In such a tyranny truth itself ceases to exist and have meaning. It is made sub-servient to political belief, economic advantage and expediency.

The new tyranny founded on the theory and practice of the Totalitarianism is the gravest challenge man has faced in civilised history.

The defence of cultural freedom is, in the main, the defence of free society against this challenge.

Indifference or neutrality towards this Totalitarian tyranny amounts to a renunciation of the Indian tradition, and our human heritage, and a betrayal of all spiritual values.

WHAT DO YOU WANT TO LIVE FOR ?

"Do you think I shall live until I'm ninety, doctor?"

"How old are you now?"

"Forty."

"Do you drink, gamble, smoke, or have you any vices of any kind?"

"No. I don't drink. I never gamble, I loathe smoking; in fact, I haven't any vices."

"Well, what do you want to live another fifty years for?"

FOIBLES OF THE FAMOUS

When Julius Caesar became bald, he constantly wore the laurel wreath with which we see him represented on medals and coins, in the hope of concealing the defect, writes Ben Berkey in "Life Today" (New York).

Queen Elizabeth left more than three thousand different dresses in her wardrobe when she died: and during many years of the latter part of her life, would not glance into a mirror for fear that she would notice the ravages of time on her face.

Mozart, whose blond hair was his most prominent feature as a young man, wore it very long and flowing down between his shoulders, with a coloured ribbon catching it at the neck.

Napoleon was vain of his small feet.

Lord Byron's life was one long piece of egotism from beginning to end. He was proud of his genius, his rank, even of his vices: and was particularly vain of his expert horsemanship and his handsome hands.

Socrates, Plato, and Aristophanes, famous in Greek history, drank wine to a surprising extent; and of the illustrious three, Socrates remained sober longer than any of them.

The great genius of the piano, Handel, ate enormously; and whenever he dined at a tavern, he ordered dinner for three. On being informed that the repast was ready as soon as the company would arrive, he would indignantly exclaim: "The dinners are for me alone!"

Cardinal Richelieu was often found jumping with his servants to see which could leap the highest.

Spinoza delighted to see spiders fighting against each other, and would laugh uproariously at beholding the insect warfare.

Dr. Samuel Johnson was so fond of his cat that he would even go out himself to the fish market to buy oysters for his pet, because his servant was too proud to do so.

Goethe kept a tame snake, but hated dogs.

Coleridge was content to sit from morning till night, threading the dreamy mazes of his mind.

Beethoven would splash in cold water at all times of the day, until his bedroom was swamped and the water oozed through the flooring to the rooms beneath. He would also tramp the dewy fields at night or early morning in his bare feet.

Shelley took a great delight in floating tiny paper boats in any pond he happened to be near.

Last, but not least, Oliver Cromwell, whose visage in his portraits gives evidence of a stern-minded man, indulged in childish pranks with his daughters before sending them to bed.

TRUMAN AND MACARTHUR PROGRAMS

One of the basic differences in the Truman and MacArthur programs for Korea seems to be the entirely different attitudes they have toward the United Nations, says the *Denver Post*.

President Truman's program hinges upon United Nations action. His attitude is that this is a UN war, and must be fought as such. He has given assurances that no new action, not even use of the A-bomb, will be taken without concurrence of the United Nations.

Gen. MacArthur's program seems to be a program for United States action in Korea. Perhaps that is not the case, but the inference is that this is so. At least a number of the general's most voluble supporters in Congress are trying to enact his program as a national program.

To do that would be to court disaster in to-day's world. The war in Korea is a United Nations war. The British Commonwealth, for example, has sent 35,000 men to Korea to fight. Other countries have sent thousands of troops.

It is true that the United States is carrying the great burden of the Korea war, and that is why we have more to say about its conduct than any other nation. Yet should not the other nations who have sent men to fight and die in Korea have a voice in this decision, too?

Americans and the American Congress should not lose sight of the fact that in Korea the United States is part of a team. Our nation is leader of the team, but it is not dictator. If the UN team is to be held together, we cannot take any action that all the other teammates refuse to take, and we cannot ignore their feelings.

WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE

An International Press Institute was formally constituted at Paris on May 16.

The statutes of the new organisation were adopted at a meeting of representatives of the international Press held under the chairmanship of Mr. Lasteg Markel, Sunday Editor of the *New York Times*, who was also elected President of the Institute's Executive Bureau.

The International Institute which aims at ensuring better understanding between newspapers, will carry out research work of interest to newspapers throughout the world and will organise gatherings of journalists for the purpose of exchanging views. Its main objective will be: defence of the freedom of expression, development of free transmission of news and perfecting journalistic practices.

The headquarters of the Institute for the first three years will be in Zurich in Switzerland and the first general assembly will be held in Paris before March next year.

The Institute Secretariat which will be a permanent body will conduct inquiries into such questions as freedom of the Press in the various parts of the world, the possibility of obtaining objective information about the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and the present situation of the Press in Argentina.

The organisation's statutes stipulate that members of the Institute must have journalistic responsibility in a newspaper and must represent newspapers respecting freedom of the Press.

Fifteen newspapermen representing as many different countries were appointed to the Institute's first Executive Bureau.

Representatives of the Indian and Japanese Press were elected members of the first Executive Bureau of the Institute which was formally constituted. They were: Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan of the *Hindu* of Madras and Mr. Chicago Honda of the *Mainichi Shimbun* of Tokyo. The other members of the 15-man Bureau represent the Press in the U.S., France, Australia, Finland, Sweden, Brazil, Switzerland, Chile, Belgium, Britain, Turkey and Western Germany.

PAK REACTION TO SOMNATH RENOVATION

Pakistan's reaction to the consecration of the idol of Siva at the rebuilt shrine of Somnath as reported in *Hindustan Standard* reads as follows:

"All babies born on May 11 in Karachi were named 'Mahmud' after the Muslim conqueror of Sind, Mahmud of Ghazni, who sacked Somnath temple about a thousand years ago."

At a public meeting held under the auspices of Junagadh Liberation Committee on May 12 a resolution was passed characterising Somnath renovation as an act of aggression. It was pointed out that Junagadh was a Pakistan territory and that the coming up of Somnath was an insult to Muslims.

The ancient Mandir and its traditions were painted in the blackest of colours and the Mandir was shown as a place of corruption which had justified Mahmud's action.

Poems were recited at the meeting to belittle India's successful shaping of her monumental work. Those who addressed the meeting maligned the Hindu rulers of ancient India and Mahmud Ghazni was described as a pious man spreading the light of Islam.

Slogans raised at the meeting were "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Somnath Murdabad."

A WILSON STORY

Woodrow Wilson, at a dinner at Spring Lake, said of the multi-millionaire:

After all, most of his health is superfluous. When I think of a multi-millionaire's millions, I'm reminded of a story about Gobsa Golde.

"I have four English men-servants," said Gobsa Gold, on the terrace of his marble cottage at Newport; "four English men-servants, whose sole duty it is to look after my sea bathing."

He cleared his throat pompously and continued: "The first has charge of my bathing suits, the second takes care of the bath and the showers, and the third, in a small boat, acts as a kind of lifeguard to me."

"But the fourth—what does the fourth do? a listener asked."

"Oh he takes my bath. Sea bathing always has a depressing effect on my heart'."

INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION

The problem of food shortage in India is getting increasingly complicated. Instead of becoming self-sufficient in foodgrains by the end of this year, says Mr. S. N. Agarwal in the *Modern Review*, the Indian people have to put up with a reduction of rations by 25 per cent and stretch the begging bowl to foreign countries. The level of production shows the tendency to go down because the producers according to Mr. Agarwal, do not feel the glow of economic incentives in a system hedged in with controls on all sides. This has happened even in an enlightened and progressive country like Britain. In a poor country like India, therefore, the uneducated agriculturist is not expected to respond only to patriotism and appeal for sacrifice. Adequate economic incentives ought to be regarded as pre-requisites for making the "Grow More Food Campaign" a practicable proposition and a success. How could this be achieved? The writer has a very definite and concrete suggestion to make:

The Government should abandon the existing policy of procurement and introduce a system of open market and limited sale of rations at controlled rates. The State should undertake to provide cheap rations only to those who cannot really afford to pay the 'open-market' prices. For instance, persons earning less than Rs. 200 per month might be regarded as falling within this category. This figure will, of course, vary from region to region. The Government could also publish scheduled rates of foodgrains available in the ration shops from month to month; the rates could vary with the different levels of income and the quantities purchased. Moreover, only coarse, though clean, foodgrains (i.e., second or third quality, but not rotten or mixed with grit, earth, etc.) may be made available in these Government shops. In order to discharge this responsibility, the Government, instead of procuring foodgrains at lower rates, should purchase them from the free or open market and sell them at cheaper prices in the ration shops. The loss incurred by the State in the process would be in the nature of a subsidy. Even at present, such subsidies are being paid by the Government on foodgrains imported from foreign countries. The money goes out of the country and the poor Indian farmer is not able to derive any benefit out of this additional expenditure from the public exchequer. Instead, the Government ought to subsidize food-grains purchased from our own agriculturists and allow the tillers of the soil to feel that they can reap the full fruits of their hard work on the land. The State will be obliged to make suitable arrangements for cheap ration shops in the cities, specially in the deficit areas; in the rural regions only landless labour will be allowed

to enjoy such facilities. The rest of the people in cities and villages will be free to make their purchases of food-grains in the open market.

Such a scheme will have several distinct advantages.

First, the ignominy of the "black market" and the consequent chain of moral degradation would automatically disappear. Secondly, the State will be able to recover a substantial portion of money spent on subsidy through a suitable system of sales-tax and graded income-tax realized from merchants who will be entitled to conduct their business in the open or free market. Thirdly, the poorer sections of the population will continue to receive rations at controlled rates and the well-to-do people will get the satisfaction of making their purchases in the "white" market in place of the existing "black market".

In suggesting this scheme, the writer does not claim any originality. During his European tour last year, he found such a scheme working successfully in Czechoslovakia. The existence of a free market side by side with some cheap and subsidized ration shops for the poor people had, he says, eliminated black-marketing from the country and the State was able to augment its public exchequer in substantial measure through sales-tax and income-tax on the business transactions in the open market. He therefore sees no reason why a similar experiment could not be tried in India as well.

TANJORE MUSLIM'S GESTURE

Referring to an appeal issued in the columns of the *Harijan* calling on beef-eaters to give up the practice voluntarily as a gesture of goodwill and fellow-feeling towards Hindus, Sri T. Vijayaraghavacharya narrates an incident that happened some forty years ago.

Forty years ago, he writes, when I was Chairman of the Tanjore Municipal Council, a petition was put in to allow a beef market in the city. When this was put before the Council, all the Muslim members spoke strongly against granting it. This surprised me. They told me that they had been so well treated by the Hindu kings of Tanjore, that they had of their own accord given up beef-eating as a gesture of appreciation and goodwill. In proof of their statement, they produced a stamped and registered document in which a Tanjore Muslim, while giving his daughter in marriage to a Lucknow Muslim, demanded and obtained an agreement that she would not be asked to eat beef at her new home.

CHINESE IN KOREA

What is the secret motive of the Chinese in entering the war in Korea? Is it just to have control of Korea? *News Week* of U. S., reporting on Korean war, says that the goal of the Chinese and Soviet is not just Korea but ultimate control of Japan.

While Washington gropes for peace in Korea, it has some apprehension of war in Japan, it writes. American officials dealing with the Far East have no doubt that the goal of the Chinese and the Russians is not Korea, but Japan. They have, therefore, noted with concern these developments.

1. It is known that the Chinese have been pressing the Soviets to intervene openly in the Korean war, not only with planes but with ground troops as well.

2. An increase in Russian troop concentrations in the Far East in general, and around Vladivostok in particular, has been observed.

3. The Soviet Air Force on Sakhalin has been strengthened and other signs have been noted of a build-up of Russian strength on this strategic island just north of Japan.

All these could be warning signs that Russia is preparing to substitute a policy of open aggression in Korea and Japan, in place of its tactics of disguised intervention in Korea and obstruction in Japan.

Such intervention would almost certainly mean global war. It would, therefore, be logical for the Kremlin not only to intervene in Korea but to invade Japan as well, with the object of wiping out the entire American force in the Far East at one great stroke.

This is what is feared. But it is not seriously expected. All other available evidence indicates that the Soviets are not ready to risk a world conflict.

FLYING SAUCERS

A navy scientist has revealed that "flying saucers" actually exist and are the bases of huge balloons used for cosmic research.

Writing in a recent issue of *Look* magazine, Dr. Uner Liddel, of the Office of Naval Research declared that the saucers "are part of the basic research programme of the Federal Government

which is as important if not so dramatic, as the visitation from Mars feared by the imaginative public."

Dr. Liddel wrote that his office is in charge of the saucers programme and stressed that there was no longer need for secrecy. He wrote that the flying saucer was the base of a huge balloon, 100 feet in diameter called "skyhook."

The balloons carry high precision instruments for study of the cosmos. He wrote that the balloons travel at 200 m.p.h. at heights ranging to 19 miles.

Dr. Liddel recalled the death early in 1948 of an air force pilot, Captain Thomas Mantell, who had apparently died of lack of oxygen after he crossed the 18,000 foot line in pursuit of a "saucer." He said, "Our studies show that Captain Mantell was pursuing a balloon of the skyhook type. Captain Mantell could never have reached the height at which the balloon was travelling."

Dr. Liddel who is chief of the Nuclear Physics Branch of the Office of Naval Research wrote that "flying saucers" were engaged in research aiming at harnessing atomic energy from decomposition of the atmosphere rather than for producing the atom bomb.

"THE MAHA BODHI"

The Vaisakha Number of the *Maha Bodhi* which is also the Diamond Jubilee number of this excellent monthly teems with articles and illustrations touching different aspects of the life and teachings of Buddha and the vital influence of Buddhism in the life of the East. Dr. Ambedkar, who is reported to have embraced Buddhism is represented by an article on the Rise and Fall of the Hindu Women, in which the learned Doctor takes infinite pains to prove that while Buddhism tended to elevate the status of women in India the Code of Manu forbade their emancipation. The hundred pages of this well-got-up issue are crammed with articles and notes and quotations from Buddhist scriptures which offer a budget of interesting reading.

THE ROLE OF EGYPT IN THE U.N.

In the special issue of the *United Nations World* devoted to Egypt there is a full and interesting account of the part played by Egypt in the United Nations. Ambassador Mahmond Fauzi Bey, Egypt's Permanent U. N. Representative, points out in the course of his article on the Role of Egypt that during her membership in the Security Council the questions considered by the Council included those of Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Indonesia, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Palestine, Trieste, membership in the United Nations, Korea and Formosa.

On the question of Palestine

Egypt did and still does deplore the violation of the Charter and of human rights which is symbolized by the fate of and the treatment meted to the Arabs of Palestine. It will therefore not be surprising to know that until today Egypt does not recognize Israel.

On the Korean and other questions of the Far East, Egypt takes the position

that the United Nations and its members should face the issues squarely and deal with them as they really are, namely, phases of the deep-rooted and ever-explosive contest between the big powers. The proper approach is therefore to redouble efforts for rapprochement and understanding between these big powers.

The stand taken by Egypt—together with many Asiatic countries representing nearly six hundred million peoples and representing territories extending from the Far Eastern confines of Asia westward to the western-most points of that continent and through parts of Africa—in favor of finding a solution of the question of Korea and other questions of the Far East, before resorting to other means, is in complete conformity with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter unequivocally ordains that, before launching upon the road of coercive measures, the United Nations should explore and exhaust all means of peaceful solution. This stand was, however, not supported by those members of the United Nations who saw fit to condemn Communist China as aggressor, and who voted for a resolution to that effect, against the warning by Egypt and her sister Asiatic countries that such a condemnation would probably jeopardize the hope for a peaceful solution.

Another question, which has particularly occupied the attention of Egypt, is that of membership in the United Nations.

Egypt has always maintained that all applicants which are worthy, according to the requisites of the Charter, should be admitted to membership in conformity with the principle of universality of the United Nations.

10 TOP SCIENCE ADVANCES

The 10 most important science advances during the past year as picked by Watson Davis, Director of Science Service, are:

1. Beginning of intensive development of the "hydrogen" superbomb.
2. Dating of archaeological objects up to 25,000 years old by radio-carbon atomic "calendar".
3. Inauguration of weather fore-casts for 30 days ahead by U. S. Weather Bureau, issued twice a month.
4. Decision by the FCC authorizing the commercial broadcasting of color television.
5. Measurement of seven factors of temperament; impulsiveness, pressure for activity, masculinity, dominance, emotional stability, sociability and reflectiveness.
6. Development of new blood processing method that separate red cells, white cells, platelets and essential plasma fractions within six hours.
7. Two new elements, numbers 97 and 98, created by atomic bombardment, berkelium and californium.
8. Discovery that Proxima Centauri, star nearest solar system, has frequent and gigantic flare-ups.
9. Discoveries of large meteor crater in Quebec and lofty mountain range on floor of Pacific.
10. Continued successful use of cortisone and ACTH in rheumatic diseases and other conditions.

NIZAM'S WEALTH

H. E. H. the Nizam possesses a diamond by name Yaqub, the approximate price of which is estimated to be not less than rupees one crore. Similarly the Asafjahi sword is studded with pearls and other precious stones, the blade of which is made out of steel brought from Isfahan. Its price is estimated to be Rs. 15 lakhs. He also possesses a pearl necklace the size of whose pearls is that of pigeon's eggs. At one time it was worn by the Queen of Iran. The total cost of his jewellery is estimated to be Rs. 85 crores. A trust consisting of three persons would control its future custody. Its duty would be to safely preserve all the jewels of the Asafjahi kingdom.

THE MIND OF NEHRU

"Americans, on whose affairs and prospects the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru has considerable influence would like to understand that mind" says *Time* in its feature story appearing in the May 7, issue.

"In many ways," *Time* says "Nehru is a deeply appealing figure to Americans. He acts as a statesman, politician and diplomat, but he often speaks as a moralist."

Time reports on Nehru's background—his education, his feeling about religion—and discussed his attitude towards Socialism. *Time* also quotes him as saying:

It is a positive and vital policy that flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. How can peace be preserved? Not by surrender to aggression, nor by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by talking and preparing for war.

In spite of this Gandhi-like Doctrine, Nehru's Government, the paper says has fought one successful war (against Hyderabad) and maintains, a large army, poised for fighting in Kashmir. The key to this contradiction is the fact that Nehru has to govern India, and Gandhi never did.

"To the uneasy liberals of the West," *Time* concludes,

Nehru represents conscience, a constantly reproachful presence in an evil-ridden world. But sooner or later conscience must act, and often sooner than it likes. The American way of life is not to be confused with God's way—granted; but it begins to be evident that the world is going either in America's direction or in Russia's, Nehru will not admit that hard historic choice, as far as Asia is concerned, Asia he cries must go her own way.

EFFECT OF DRUGS

A new electrically powered dissecting needle has been developed in the United States. It is delicate enough, according to the *Journal of Commerce*, to be used in operating on the nervous system of a chick embryo. The needle, developed at the Armour Research Foundation of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, will be used to separate the hindbrain of a chick embryo and prevent the development of nerve cells in the heart walls. Scientists will then be able to tell whether certain drugs affect the nervous system or the muscle tissue of the heart.

CLOTH THAT KEEPS CLEAN

A new chemical process developed by American scientists protects cotton fabrics from permanent dirt stains. When the process is applied to clothes, it leaves them with a thin coating that prevents dirt from coming in close contact with the fabric but does not affect the texture. The method is used when clothes are being laundered either in the home or by commercial laundries.

The chemical is a low-cost cellulose derivative called carboxymethyl cellulose. About three table-spoons of it are mixed in a gallon of laundry rinse water to make a 0.25 per cent solution, and the cotton clothes are rinsed in the mixture.

At the Institute of Textile Technology at Charlottesville, in the state of Virginia, workers took white fabrics that had been rinsed in the solution and dried and soiled them uniformly with carbon black. When the fabrics were washed again they returned to their original whiteness. Untreated fabrics similarly soiled could not be washed cleaner than a dull gray.

The method was developed by the Institute in co-operation with the United States Department of Agriculture.

WHAT MAKES A CONGRESSMAN?

The A-I.C.C. has laid down the following as the essential qualifications of a Congressman:

The minimum age limit for primary membership, 18 years; for active membership 21 years. An active member should be a habitual wearer of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi. He should be a teetotaler; he should not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form, he should believe in equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, caste, creed or sex and should be a believer in intercommunal unity and have respect for the faiths of others.

He should devote regularly a part of his time to some form of national, community or social service otherwise than for personal profit or to some constructive activity, as laid down from time to time by the Congress. He should not be a member of any political party, communal or other, which had a separate membership, constitution and programme.

Judge: "In addition to stealing this money you also took a lot of Jewellery, I am told."

Prisoner: "Yes, your honour, I was always taught that money alone does not bring happiness."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON ISSUES

There should be no difficulty in adjusting and accommodating the demands of both India and Ceylon, provided the desire to resolve the issue is there", said Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor of the "Swadesamitran" and a former President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, interviewed by the *Daily News* at Colombo on May 1, during his visit to Ceylon in connection with the Tamil Festival in Jaffna.

"India recognises your right to lay down the qualifications for citizenship of your country," he commented. "She does not ask you to grant to every Indian who comes over citizenship of your country."

"I also doubt whether any one would be foolish enough to renounce citizenship rights in his own country and claim similar rights where they may have come for purposes of temporary employment."

He also emphasised that India did not want any complimentary citizenship to Indians because of good neighbourliness or past friendships.

The real problem, he added, was that people, who had been here for one or two generations and had no moorings of their own with the country with which they are now identified, had a just right that citizenship in the country of their birth and labours should be granted to them, if they wanted it.

This was an issue however, of a limited character and should not be beyond the limit of good neighbours to resolve.

The feeling in India was that whenever this matter was raised it always commanded sympathy and goodwill from the responsible sections of Ceylon, but had rarely been reflected in action.

It was this lacuna between the recognition of the principle and its implementation that was responsible for much criticism in the Press and among the public of India, he said. In the interests of good neighbours, therefore, it should be resolved early without any mental reservations.

West Indies

RACIAL POLICY OF MALAN GOVT.

Reports reaching Delhi say that the South African Government's policy of racial segregation has come in for strong criticism in the West Indian colonies, recently, in the legislatures of Jamaica.

In a resolution condemning the Malan Government's racial policy, the Jamaican House of Representatives characterised that Government's action as "both an insult and threat to all persons of African or Asiatic descent." Stating that the House is "uncompromisingly opposed to any type of racial discrimination" it called upon the Jamaican Government "to ban all imports from South Africa."

The Barbados House of Assembly, in an address to the Governor, protested against the enactment of segregation laws in South Africa and expressed their "profound abhorrence" of these measures. The legislature of the Dominican Republic also passed a resolution affirming that the Union Government's policy was "contrary and directly opposed to the declaration of human rights adopted by the United Nations."

South Africa

"WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY"

Prime Minister Dr. Malan said in Capetown that South Africa is essentially a white man's country and will always have to remain so. He told the House of Assembly on May 18, the big difference between the Union and Northern African territories was that the latter were almost all colonies belonging to European Powers.

It was right to acknowledge that these territories were mainly native countries, formulating their future on that basis. But South Africa was in another position because she was essentially a white man's country. Dr. Malan said: "The population in this country cannot be considered as overseas people who are here only temporarily. We are here permanently and we have no other homeland."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE CONSTITUTION (FIRST AMENDMENT) BILL

The following is the statement of objects and reasons for the Bill to amend the Constitution introduced by the Prime Minister in Parliament on May 12:—

During the last fifteen months of the working of the Constitution, certain difficulties have been brought to light by judicial decisions and pronouncements specially in regard to the chapter on fundamental rights. The citizen's right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed by article 19 (1) (a) has been held by some courts to be so comprehensive as not to render a person culpable even if he advocates murder and other crimes of violence. In other countries with written constitutions, freedom of speech and of the press is not regarded as debarring the State from punishing or preventing abuse of this freedom. The citizen's right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business conferred by article 19 (1) (g) is subject to reasonable restrictions which the laws of the State may impose "in the interests of the general public." While the words cited are comprehensive enough to cover any scheme of nationalisation which the State may undertake, it is desirable to place the matter beyond doubt by a clarificatory addition to article 19 (6). Another article in regard to which unanticipated difficulties have arisen is article 31. The validity of agrarian reform measures passed by the State Legislatures in the last three years has, in spite of the provisions of Clauses (4) and (6) of article 31, formed the subject-matter of dilatory litigation, as a result of which the implementation of these important measures, affecting large numbers of people, has been held up.

The main objects of this Bill are, accordingly, to amend article 19 for the purposes indicated above and to insert provisions fully securing the constitutional

validity of Zamindari abolition laws in general and certain specified State Acts in particular. The opportunity has been taken to propose a few minor amendments to other articles in order to remove difficulties that may arise.

It is laid down in article 46 as a directive principle of State policy that the State should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and protect them from social injustice. In order that any special provision that the State may make for the educational, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens may not be challenged on the ground of being discriminatory, it is proposed that article 15 (3) should be suitably amplified. Certain amendments in respect of articles dealing with the convening and proroguing of the sessions of Parliament have been found necessary and are also incorporated in this Bill. So also a few minor amendments in respect of articles 341, 342, 372 and 376.

A.I.N.E.C. AND ARTICLE 19 (2)

The proposed amendment to Article 19 (2) of the Constitution, curtailing the freedom of the Press has thrown Newspaper editors into a panic. They have, therefore, launched a big fight against the amendment. They have written strong editorials condemning the move.

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, meeting in New Delhi, passed a resolution that the proposed amendment to Article 19 (2) of the Constitution is "unwarranted and uncalled for." The Committee authorised the President of the A.I.N.E.C. "to take such further steps as he may consider necessary to protect the liberties of the press." A deputation of Editors saw the Prime Minister and discussed the matter with him.

MR. NEHRU ON THE AMENDING BILL
Prime Minister Nehru, replying to the three-day debate on the motion to refer the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee, said on May 18 that he had introduced the Bill with full conviction and wished to proceed with it. Referring to the criticism of the Bill that it introduced further restrictions on the Press and the individual, the Prime Minister said:

Far from changing the Constitution these amendments give full effect to the Constitution as we intended it to be.

I say with full faith that what was implicit in the Constitution, what we discussed again and again in the Constituent Assembly, and what is implicit in every Constitution, is said here in these amendments.

Speaking about the amendment to Article 19, relating to the freedom of speech and expression, Mr. Nehru said there was no such thing as hundred per cent. freedom for any individual to act as he pleased in any social group.

In a democratic society, the idea of individual freedom should always be balanced with social freedom and relationship of individuals with social groups.

The basic concept of freedom was given in Article 19 (1) and Clause 2 was a restriction on the bald statement of freedom, he said. Those restrictions were not the only possible restrictions, but an indication of what other restrictions might legitimately have to be applied. Now some doubts had been cast, due to certain judicial decisions, about "other implied, necessary and inevitable" restrictions and it became necessary to clear the doubts. No Constitution, Mr. Nehru said, could take away the right of the State to defend itself against external or internal enemies. It could only take away the right of undue and unfair exercise of such powers.

Speaking about the use of the words "friendly relations with foreign powers", Mr. Nehru said there was no act at present covering all restrictions with respect to it. No State, in the name of freedom, could submit to such freedom of speech or expression which might result in wholesale war and destruction.

So far as our policy goes, it is a policy of friendship with other nations. Therefore, it becomes necessary that we should not encourage activities which will lead to the injuring of our relations with other powers.

Mr. Nehru said that short of this "danger mark" he did not wish to inter-

fere even with severe criticisms of foreign States, using strong language.

As regards "public order", he said, they were merely indicating the power of Parliament to legislate on the subject and clearing certain doubts in this matter cast by the Bihar and the Punjab High Courts.

So far as I am concerned and Government are concerned," said Mr. Nehru, "we believe firmly in the freedom of the Press. But there is another matter. We talk of the freedom of the Press but how much freedom of the Press have we got today? One thinks that the freedom of the Press only means suppression or lack of suppression by Governmental authority. But when huge Press chains spring up, preventing all individual freedom of the Press, when practically the Press in India is controlled by three or four groups or individuals, how much freedom of the Press is there?"

Coming to the validation of the Zamindari Abolition Acts, the Prime Minister said that the object of the Constitution was deliberately to take away the question of zamindari land reform from the purview of the courts. The Bihar High Court had declared that State's Zamindari Abolition Bill to be void since under Article 14 of the Constitution, the State could not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of the laws.

This question of land reform, he said, was also most intimately connected with food production. Neither the poor zamindar nor the poor tenant could do anything about it if there was uncertainty and instability. Therefore, these long delays and arguments and repeated appeals are dangerous from the State point of view, the security point of view, the food production point of view and from the individual's point of view, whether it is that of the zamindar, tenant or any intermediary.

Referring to the amendment to Article 15, adding the words, "or for the educational, economic or social advancement of any backward class of citizens", Mr. Nehru assured it was not intended to be a communal amendment or to help in any way a communal approach to the problem.

Mr. Nehru said in conclusion that a number of other members had been invited to come and assist the Select Committee and he hoped they would do so.

The House rejected Sardar Hukum Singh's motion for circulation and referred the Bill to a Select Committee with instructions to report to the House on May 23.

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON AMENDMENT BILL

The Prime Minister presented to Parliament on May 25 the report of the Select Committee on the Constitution Amending Bill together with six minutes of dissent by Mrs. Durgabai, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Mr. Hukum Singh, Prof. K. T. Shah and Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad.

Members from Madras are keenly interested in the widening of the scope of the amendment to Clause 3 of Article 15 by the inclusion of Article 29 (2). The suggestion is made by the language of the revised amendment that the educationally and socially backward classes are those to whom a specific reference is made in Article 340.

The Select Committee has also expressed the hope that the amendment "is not likely to be, and cannot be misused by any Government for perpetuating any class discrimination against the spirit of the Constitution or for treating non-backward classes as backward for the purpose of conferring privileges on them."

PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY OF MAHASABHA

The special session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Jaipur unanimously adopted the official resolution to include non-Hindus in the Parliamentary activities of the Mahasabha.

The resolution said: "The object of the Sabha is to establish a really democratic Hindu State in Bharat (India) based on the culture and traditions of the land, to organise and consolidate all sections of the people into an organic whole, and to establish a social order in which all the nationals will enjoy equal rights and opportunities and share equal responsibilities."

The Sabha feels that the achievement of the objectives will be greatly advanced by associating non-Hindus with its Parliamentary activities.

The Sabha hereby authorises its Working Committee to enlist the suffrage and support of non-Hindus, and to set up candidates, wherever possible, from among them, subject to their acceptance of the Sabha's election manifesto."

DEMOCRATIC FRONT DISSOLVED

The Democratic Front, after four hours' hard thinking and discussions, decided to dissolve itself unconditionally and await further developments. The following is the text of the resolution:

This meeting of the Congress Democratic Front has given its earnest consideration to the developments that have taken place in the country since its formation last November. It notes with regret that, instead of co-operating in the Front's efforts to democratise and energise the Congress, those in authority have adopted a hostile attitude. The Congress Democratic Front never considered its formation unconstitutional and still holds the same view. The Working Committee considered the question of its legality at several meetings and has not declared it unconstitutional.

Great hopes were roused in the minds of Congressmen by the Ahmedabad Unity Resolution. The Front's leaders have made sincere and honest efforts to implement this resolution, but have found little response from those in authority. The lengthy correspondence that ensued between the Congress President and the President of the Democratic Front brought no results. Nor have the various meetings between the members of the Congress High Command and the leaders of the Front proved fruitful. The preponderating opinion of this meeting of the Front was in favour of secession of its members from the Congress. However, in deference to the wishes of the Working Committee and particularly of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who thought that the dissolution of the Front would create a better atmosphere for unity, it is decided to dissolve the Front. We, however, apprehend that the dissolution of the Front may give rise to separatist tendencies in the Congress. But the responsibility for this will rest on the Working Committee. Friends who met here will consider their future course of action in the near future.

Acharya Kripalani has since resigned from the Congress.

NEPAL AGREEMENT

According to an External Affairs Ministry Press Note complete agreement on the solution of the Nepal Ministerial crisis was reached at a joint meeting of the Nepal Ministers with Prime Minister Nehru on May 16.

The Press Note says:

H. H. the Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. B. P. Koirala, and other Ministers of the Nepal Government who have been in Delhi for the last few days had a joint meeting with the Prime Minister of India this afternoon. There was complete agreement that the Nepal Cabinet should work in a co-operative and progressive spirit for the political development and economic prosperity of Nepal. The Prime Minister of Nepal and other Ministers, who are shortly returning to Khatmandu will in consultation with their colleagues, determine what changes are necessary to ensure stability and progress.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

The test of religious belief for entitling a person to admission to Benares Hindu University is soon to be removed by a Bill, to amend the Benares Hindu University Act, 1915 introduced in Parliament by the Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The University will be open to all classes, castes and creeds.

Religious instruction, under the Bill, is to be given only to those who wish to receive it as required by Article 28 (3) of the Constitution.

According to the statement of objects and reasons, the Government of India have decided not to change the names of the Benares and Aligarh Universities. However, the disqualifications imposed on non-Hindus and non-Muslims being members of the Courts of the respective Universities will be removed. The Court is the supreme governing body of a University in administrative matters.

The Benares Hindu University Act is being amended as a first step towards giving effect to the recommendations of the University Education Commission which have been generally approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

Under the amending Bill the President of India will be the Visitor of the University while the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, who is now the Visitor, will be the Chief Rector. The present Council will become the Executive Council of the University and the Senate and the Syndicate will be merged in the Academic Council.

VISVABHARATI UNIVERSITY

On May 2 Parliament completed the second reading of the Visvabharati Bill. After a prolonged debate, the House accepted an amendment substantially reducing the directive powers of the President in academic matters.

The President will be the Paridarsaka or Visitor of the University.

The amendment was moved by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in agreement with the Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Dr. Mookerjee said that from the University's point of view, this would be a very substantial change for the better.

CANADIAN SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

The Government of India have accepted the offer of the Canadian Government for certain scholarships and fellowships under the Colombo Plan.

The following are the subjects for which the awards may be availed of (1) Scholarships for post-graduate study in Agricultural Engineering, with reference to farm machinery and equipment; Electrical Engineering with reference to power generation and transmission; Electronics; Civil Engineering with reference to advanced structures or hydraulics; Mechanical Engineering with reference to power plant engineering; Bio-chemistry; Physics any branch or low temperature physics, thermodynamics, meteorology or instrument technology; and Geology with particular reference to Geo-physical prospecting

(2) Travelling fellowships in Forestry, Irrigation, Electrical Transmission, Hydro development, Textile Production, Social Security and Welfare.

Further particulars can be had of the Scholarships Division of the Education Ministry, Central Secretariat, New Delhi.

RECRUITMENT OF HARIJANS FOR I.A.S.

The Home Minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, told Mr. Jungde in Parliament that one Harijan was successful in the I.A.S. examination. He was ranked 48th in the general list and was being appointed to the I.A.S.

The Minister said that out of 2,707 candidates who appeared at the examinations for I.A.S., I.F.S., and the Central Service Class I, 240 were declared to have qualified on the basis of a minimum standard adopted by the Union Public Service Commission and were now being considered for appointment to the available vacancies in the various services.

Replying to a supplementary by A. M. Rathnaswamy, the Home Minister said that 83 persons from the Scheduled Castes and two from the Scheduled Tribes had applied for the examinations. Out of them, 51 Scheduled Caste candidates and two Scheduled Tribes candidates appeared and only one Scheduled Caste candidate was declared qualified.

MADRAS APPEALS REJECTED

A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on May 5, by a majority of four to one held the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as amended by the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill, 1951 to be *intra vires* of the Constitution.

The Court in view of this finding, dismissed the *habeas corpus* petitions filed on behalf of P. Venkateswarlu, M.L.A., M. R. Venkatraman, Secretary of the Madras Communist Party and 12 other Communist detenus of Madras as well as nine Communist detenus of Assam challenging the validity of the amended Preventive Detention Act.

The majority judgment was delivered in two separate but concurring judgments. The Chief Justice adopted the view of Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri and Mr. Justice Das that of Mr. Justice Mahajan, Mr. Justice Bose delivered a dissenting judgment.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MAN CHALLENGED

The point that the law which enabled a court to send an adulterous man to jail for adultery, while not enabling it to proceed against an adulterous woman, without whose cooperation adultery could not be committed, was discriminatory, and, therefore, void, raised in a criminal revision petition before Mr. Justice A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, has been referred to a Bench for an authoritative decision.

A petitioner of Gobichettipalayam, filed the criminal revision petition against his conviction for adultery, and sentence of six months' rigorous imprisonment, passed by the Additional First Class Magistrate of Erode and confirmed by the Sessions Judge of Coimbatore.

U. P. ZEMINDARI BILL HELD VALID

The Allahabad High Court declared on May 10 the U. P. Zemindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1951, as valid.

The Court held that the Uttar Pradesh Legislature was competent to pass the legislation, and the Act was for a public purpose.

Their Lordships dismissed all the applications filed by the Zemindars of the U. P. challenging the validity of the Act.

PROHIBITION ACT HELD VALID

A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on May 25 unanimously held that the Bombay Prohibition Act, 1949, was *intra vires* of the State Legislature. It also reversed the finding of the Bombay High Court that Section 39 of the Act which authorised the State Government to grant exemption to the military personnel was void since it contravened Article 14 of the Constitution which guaranteed equality before law to all the citizens of this country.

The Bench which delivered the judgment was presided over by Mr. Justice Fazl Ali and consisted of Their Lordships Patanjali Sastri, B. K. Mukherjee, S. R. Das and Vivian Bose. The judgment of the court was delivered by Mr. Justice Fazl Ali.

RAZVI'S ACQUITTAL

At the Hyderabad High Court on May 18, Mr. Justice Srinivasachari delivered judgment in the Shoebullah Khan murder case appeal holding that the judgments of the Division Bench delivered on April 13 were operative as far as accused Syed Kasim Razvi and Moshin Raza were concerned and that he, as the third Judge, would hear only the case against Abul Munim Khan, third accused in the case.

It will be remembered that the Division Bench of the Hyderabad High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Siddique delivered judgment in the appeal acquitting Kasim Razvi and Moshin Raza. But there was difference of opinion with regard to the guilt of the third accused, Abul Munim Khan, between the two Judges. While the Chief Justice acquitted him, Mr. Justice Siddique held him guilty and sentenced him to undergo rigorous imprisonment for life.

NEW JUDGES FOR MADRAS

The President is pleased to appoint Mr. P. N. Ramaswami, I.C.S. (District Judge), Mr. T. L. Venkatrama Aiyar, Advocate, and Mr. K. Ramaswami Gounder (District Judge) to be Judges of the Madras High Court with effect from the dates they assume charge of their respective offices.

NATIONAL INCOME OF INDIA

The national income of India during 1948-49 was Rs. 8,710 crores, according to the first report of the National Income Committee, which was presented to Parliament by Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister on May 5.

The per capita income works out to Rs. 255. The calculation of the income has been based on an estimated Indian population of 311.04 millions during the year 1948-49.

The committee has estimated that of the total national income of Rs. 8,710 crores, probably about Rs. 4,600 crores or nearly 53 per cent, is being utilised as consumer expenditure on food. This high proportion, "shows in a general way the underdeveloped character of our economy."

The committee, after taking into account the total "working force" under different occupations has estimated that about 132,731,000 persons engaged in occupations as principal earners plus working dependants, contributed to the total working force.

NATIONAL INCOME FIGURES AT A GLANCE

Population 311.04 millions.
 Net National Income Rs. 8,710 crores.
 Per Capita Income Rs. 255.
 Net Domestic Product at Factory Cost Rs. 8,730 crores.
 Net National Product at Market Prices Rs. 9,170 crores.
 Net Output per engaged person in
 (A) Agriculture Rs. 500.
 (B) Mining and Factory Establishments Rs. 1,700.
 (C) Small Enterprises Rs. 600.
 (D) Commerce, Transport and Communications Rs. 1,600.
 Professions (including Miscellaneous Services) Rs. 600.
 Government Services (Administration) Rs. 1,300.
 Domestic Service Rs. 400.
 Net output of:—Government Enterprises Rs. 300 crores.
 Government Administration Rs. 460 crores.
 Private Sector Rs. 7,970 crores.
 Government Share in National Expenditure Rs. 840 crores.
 Government Draft on Private Income Rs. 690 crores.

PENSIONS PAYABLE IN BRITAIN

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, estimated India's liability for the payment of civil and military pensions in England in 1950-51 at Rs. 795,000.

The Finance Minister said in Parliament that as regards India's other external obligations on account of sterling and dollar companies exporting profits and earnings of insurance companies incorporated outside India, the profits of sterling companies operating in India in 1948 were Rs. 25.5 crores and of dollar companies Rs. 2 crores. Earnings of the insurance companies were Rs. 90 lakhs. Not all the profits earned during a year were necessarily remitted abroad. Some part was usually retained in India. It was, however, not possible to give even an approximate estimate of the profits so retained during the period.

INDIAN COINS IN PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Government have decided that with effect from July 1, 1951, all categories of Indian coins shall cease to be legal tender throughout Pakistan.

Offices and branches of the State Bank of Pakistan at Karachi, Dacca or Peshawar will, however, accept for exchange Indian coins up to a further period of three months if reasons for the non-tendering of the coins before the stipulated date are offered to the satisfaction of the Bank authorities.

NO REVALUATION OF RUPEE

The Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, told Parliament he had come to the conclusion that at the moment it would not be in the interests of India to revalue the rupee. "If we revalue now", said Mr. Deshmukh "we will probably be worse off instead of being better off". The problem of revaluation could, however, never be "put on the shelf" and, he added, "you can only take a decision from time to time".

MEMBERSHIP OF PARLIAMENT

Mr. R. K. Chaudhuri (Assam) invited a storm of protest from women members in the Union Parliament on May 12, when he raised the question of disqualifying women for the membership of Parliament.

While speaking on the Representation of the People Bill, Mr. Chaudhuri said it might be held that the Constitution did not allow discrimination against women, but "we must remember that in the British Parliament women members were allowed only in 1918, that is, centuries after Parliament came into being."

Srimati Durga Bai said: "Is the member so uncivilised as to suggest this?"

She wanted members who violated the spirit of the Constitution to be disqualified.

Mrs. Renuka Ray demanded that "any one who does not follow the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution should be disqualified from speaking in the House."

MRS. KRIPALANI RESIGNS

Following the resignation of Acharya Kripalani Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani has severed her 20-year-old connection with the Congress and submitted her resignation from the A.I.C.C., U.P.C.C. and the primary membership.

Mrs. Kripalani had been a member of the Congress Working Committee for two years. She has been associated with the various relief committees and organizations set up by the Congress since the 1934 Bihar earthquake.

In her letter of resignation, Mrs. Kripalani says the Congress seemed to have "no plan or policy but mere drift" and whatever its past achievements it "no more inspires the country or enthuses the young."

LADIES AND WOMEN

The Law Minister, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, drew a distinction in Parliament between ladies and women. Ladies, he suggested, would need a conveyance to travel a couple of miles while women could walk the distance.

COLLEGE GIRLS WHO DRINK

College girls who drink have more dates but fewer of them become engaged than non-drinkers.

A study made of 336 college girls in a co-educational institution showed this was an important difference between the two groups. The results were presented by Carol A. Hecht, Ruth J. Grine, and Sally E. Rothrock, under the direction of Dr. Jessie Bernard at the State College of Pennsylvania, in a report made in the "Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol."

They divided the women into five groups: women who never drank; infrequent drinkers, who had had nothing to drink within the last two weeks of the study; occasional drinkers who had drunk once in this period; near-regular drinkers who had two drinks within this period; and regular drinkers.

This revealed that there were twice as many regular drinkers, as total of 90, as non-drinkers.

Other facts brought out by the study were:

The infrequent drinkers had begun to drink in their 19th year while the regular drinkers started earlier, the average age being 17.

The girls who did little or no drinking attended church more often but the study was not conclusive on this point, the investigators stated.

Most of the young women who drank did so with the knowledge of their families.

Those who did the most drinking also had the most dates.

All these facts show a widespread change in middle-class standards, they said. The traditional tea party has given way to the cocktail party. This study although limited, "represents a socially important group, namely college women," they said, adding "they come for the most part from middle-class homes and thus reflect middle-class standards."

It's wise to apologise to a man if you're wrong—and to a woman if you are right.

—J. Calgary.

GEN. RIDGWAY—THE NEW C-IN-C

Lieutenant-General Ridgway who has succeeded General MacArthur as Supremo in the Far East established a reputation for independent military thinking during World War II when he commanded airborne troops dropping them into Sicily and Normandy.

His military education includes graduation from the United States Military Academy in 1917, the Infantry School Company Officer's Course in 1925, the Infantry School Advance Course in 1930, the Command and General Staff School in 1935, and the Army War College in 1937.

He was Deputy Army Chief of Staff for Administration in Washington from August 1949.

A married man, with a daughter, General Ridgway is a favourite with all ranks for his interest in their welfare.

His decorations include the Distinguished Service Cross with Oak of Cluster.

MUSLIMS JOIN HINDU MAHASABHA

Thirty-six Muslims have joined the Lucknow branch of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and signed its pledge following the Mahasabha's decision to admit non-Hindus in the organisation.

A newly enrolled Muslim member of the Mahasabha expressed the hope that "more educated Muslims will join the party in large numbers so as to win the confidence 'Hindus in India.'"

CONGRESS AND ELECTIONS

Congress will contest all the 4,700 seats in the Central and the State Legislatures in the ensuing General Elections, *Globe* understands.

The party expects to spend about Rs. 4,00,00,000 for the elections. Each candidate will "cost" Rs. 10,000 to be shared by the Central and Provincial parties, and the candidate. The party is said to be more anxious about selecting the "right type" of candidate than about the chances of winning the elections, which—according to Party estimates—are 80 to 90 per cent.

THE EX-RULER OF BARODA

The Government of India have informed Sir Pratap Singh Gaekwar, ex-Ruler of Baroda, that the President is satisfied that the withdrawal of recognition of Sir Pratap Singh as the Ruler of Baroda is fully justified.

A communique issued from the Ministry of States says:

The President has carefully considered the submission made by Sir Pratap Singh Gaekwar, ex-Ruler of Baroda, and the subsequent representations he has made, both in writing and in his interviews with the Minister for States, the Prime Minister and the President. The ex-Ruler asked for sympathy and for being given another chance, but did not want any further enquiry into, or further particulars about, the charges against him. The President is satisfied that the withdrawal of recognition of Sir Pratap Singh as the Ruler of Baroda is fully justified by the facts.

He has accordingly declined to reconsider the order dated the 12th April, 1951, which, therefore, stands. Any requests which the ex-Ruler may make in respect of allowances, residence, titles, privileges and the like, having regard to his altered status, will receive sympathetic consideration from the Government of India along with other outstanding matters arising from the merger agreement.

In advance of consideration of any such requests which may be received, the President has been pleased to decide that the ex-Ruler be permitted the title of "His Highness" as a matter of courtesy.

It has already been decided by the President that Her Highness Maharani Shantadevi will continue to retain her titles, privileges and dignities.

MAULANA AZAD

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, Government of India, left Bombay for London by air on May 19. He was accompanied by Prof. Humayun Kabir, Joint Secretary to the Ministry of Education.

Maulana Azad will be away from the country for two months touring the United Kingdom, the Continent and the Middle East. The object of his Middle East tour is to establish cultural contacts and create goodwill and friendship to India.

STALIN PRIZE FOR RED DEAN

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the "Red Dean" of Canterbury, who was one of seven winners of the Stalin Peace Prize, said that he would work "more vigorously still" for peace.

Each of the seven prizes is worth 100,000 rubles (about \$25,000).

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Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-Shiromani Raj Jyotishi M.R.A.S. (Lond.) has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

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