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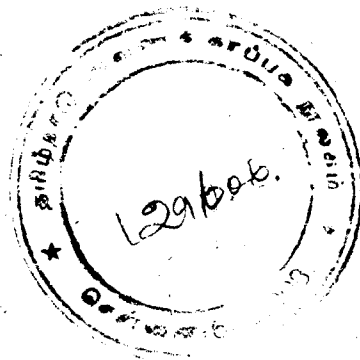
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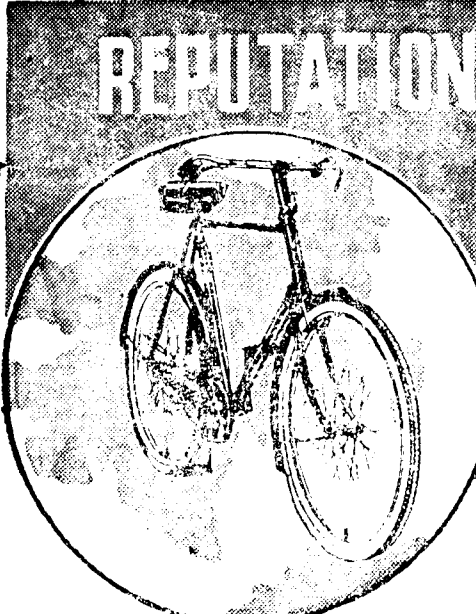
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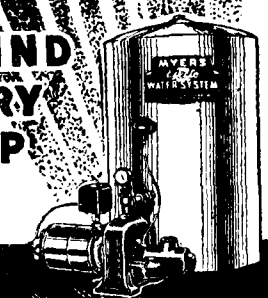
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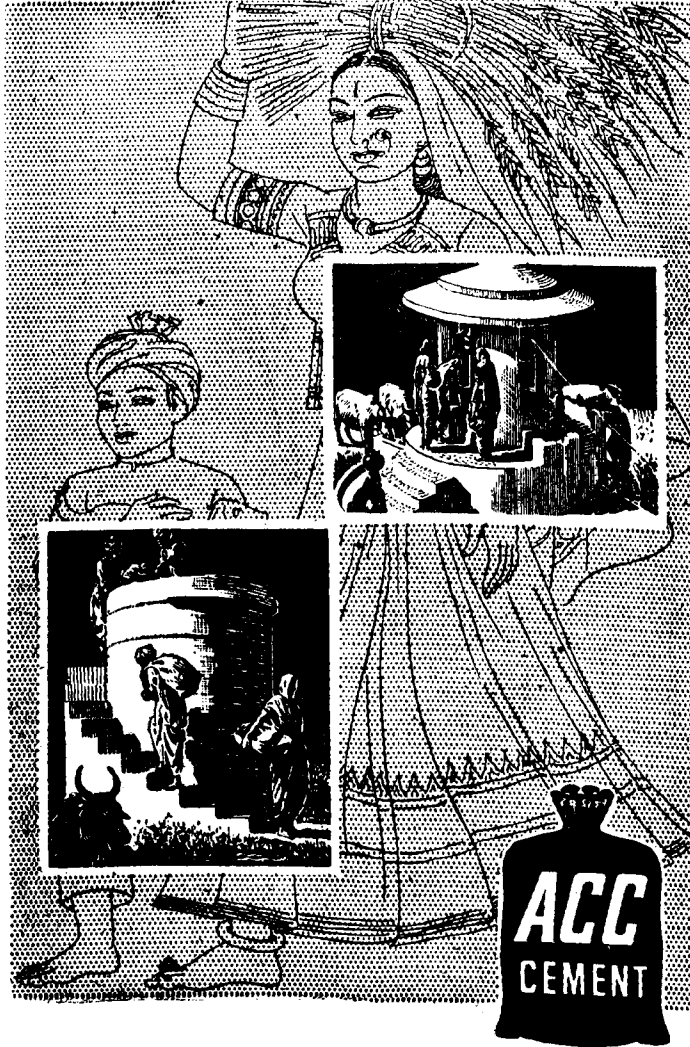
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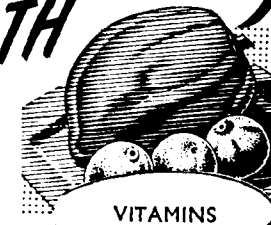
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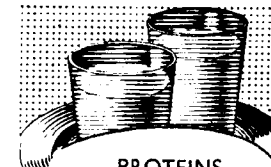
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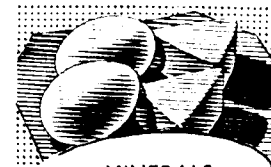
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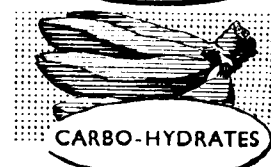
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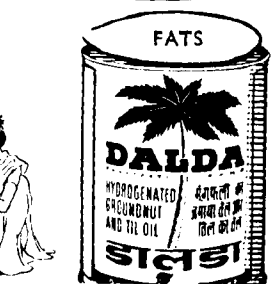
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RURAL MEDICAL RELIEF IN INDIA

BY MR. FRED. W. CORBETT

"RURAL people are medically under-privileged," so said Mr. A. B. Shetty, Minister for Health, Madras, at the 18th Andhra Provincial Medical Conference held at Tenali in May last.

This is a gross under-statement. Rural People are not only medically under-privileged,—they are medically neglected. There is hardly any organised medical relief in the rural areas, and a great part of the medical "treatment" is provided by those who have no professional qualifications. The number of doctors of modern medicine is far short of requirements, and they are mostly concentrated in towns and cities. Several dispensaries in the rural areas remain closed for want of medical men.

What is the remedy? The answer obviously is, more medical men, better terms to attract educated men and women to the medical profession, and the provision of more facilities for training them in much larger numbers. The Bhore Committee on Health Survey and Development, published its report in 1946-47. making elaborate and detailed recommendations for improvements in the Health Service. Like all similar reports of Committees, it appears to have gone into cold storage, because, in the five years that have elapsed, little seems to have been done to give effect to even a few of its many excellent recommendations.

This is the fault with all such Committees. As masterpieces of literature they are excellent, but they reach out to the heavens of idealistic conditions, ignoring the realistic mundane facts at their feet, and make grandiose recommendations aiming at perfection and impossible of attainment in less than two generations, even if carried out with

vigour and determination. The common man wants to see some tangible improvement in his condition today, instead of being fed with dreams of the remote future. It is no consolation, for instance to an ailing man whether in town or village, to be told that his grandchild or great-grandchild will probably have complete medical relief in the dim distant future. What he requires is immediate medical relief for his simple ailments at a cost within his reach.

This is where medical Licentiates of both sexes could and would have proved most useful, but unfortunately, this class of medical practitioner is being extinguished, and the medical schools which produced them have been abolished through what appears to be a mistaken policy of providing only one class of medical practitioner, and that the best. The average rural dweller does not need, nor can he afford, the ministrations of a medical graduate. His ailments are usually simple, and all he needs is prompt and cheap treatment of fevers, colds, coughs, stomach complaints, cuts, bruises, etc. The Bhore Committee in its report states, that a statistical survey over a period of six years in the Bhopal State, revealed that 83% of the total ailments were amenable to simple treatment if given in time, that 13% needed hospital treatment, and only 4% required specialised treatment. The same proportion must more or less prevail throughout India. It is grossly unfair therefore to deprive the average rural dweller of all medical relief until such time he is provided with a highly qualified doctor whom he neither ordinarily requires nor can afford to pay. It would be just as absurd and impracticable if we were to immediately

abolish all bullock carts and ploughs and insist on tractors and lorries, or if we were to close all village schools until such time only trained graduates are available, or to insist on concrete roads and concrete houses in place of the present ones of simple and readily available material. Progress and up-grading in all these directions should be gradual, and geared to the finances and the needs of the countryside. It would appear therefore, that we have to go back to the Medical Licentiate if we are to provide even a modicum of medical relief to the rural population in the immediate foreseeable future.

In making this suggestion it is fully realised that the Bhoze Committee, the Medical Graduates, and the Licentiates, have all recommended the abolition of the Licentiate. In doing so they were no doubt actuated by the laudable desire to provide only the best medical aid to the entire population, but probably did not sufficiently consider how impossible this was of attainment, because of the limitations imposed by the lack of funds and of trained personnel. A sufficient supply of medical Licentiates should suffice for the needs of the rural population for the next fifty years, and perhaps for ever. In Russia, where conditions are similar to those in India the "Feldsher" type of doctor, corresponding more or less to our Licentiate is reported to have proved a valuable part of the medical organisation. Here in India the position is, as already stated, that in rural areas, a great part of medical treatment is given by those who have no professional qualifications, and the Planning Committee are desirous that they should receive much greater attention than in the past. How is this to be done when there are not enough of medical men to go round? And is the position to be worsened by depriving the countryside of the ministrations of even qualified Licentiates until such time a sufficient number of Graduates in medicine is available?

Nearly two-thirds of the number of Registered Medical Practitioners in India are Licentiates, and they have served the people well. Many of them are as good

as the graduates in the practice of their profession, and not a few have attained to eminence as physicians or surgeons. Many are today holding responsible positions in the service, and not a few are in command of a practice which many a graduate cannot aspire to. To have abolished this useful class of medical practitioner at a time when the country is crying out aloud for medical men, is a grossly mistaken policy however laudable the intention behind it. Hundreds of dispensaries have already had to be closed because of the want of a doctor. Hundreds more are short staffed for the same reason. Doctors everywhere, whether in public hospitals or in private practice are overworked. It is a common sight to see in the waiting rooms of our hospitals and of private practitioners large numbers of patients who have been waiting for hours. It is also a common experience to have to wait several hours for a doctor called to the house in an emergency, much to the distress of the family of the ailing one, and often with disastrous results to him. When this is the position how can we expect doctors to leave their lucrative practices and their ailing patients and to maroon themselves in the villages where there are no social amenities, no educational facilities for their children, and no proper communications? No man or woman who has become accustomed to the conveniences of urban life as a result of long years spent in a college town can be expected or be forced to serve in a village as has been seriously suggested. By the same count graduates in teaching, law, engineering and other professions also should be compelled to do so. Such a suggestion has only to be made to be dismissed as impracticable. The remedy lies not in conscription, but in making available in the shortest period of time a sufficient number of medical Licentiates, to produce whom there is ample material waiting to be utilised. The problem of the educated unemployed has now assumed alarming proportions. The latest statistics published tell us that there are no fewer than 14828 unemployed graduates and 101,038 unemployed matriculates registered for

employment in our employment exchanges. This excludes a large number not registered. At least ten percent of the unemployed matriculates, will, if given the opportunity make efficient medical Licentiates. This gives a wasted potential of 10,000 unemployed matriculates alone waiting to be employed in useful channels. A large number of the unemployed graduates also will be glad to be trained as medical men, and the fact that all these men are seeking employment indicates that they cannot afford to pursue their studies further. Why not make use of them?

Taking the Madras State alone there are said to be 20,985 unemployed matriculates registered. Ten per cent of this number will give us about 2100 potential medical Licentiates waiting to be given the opportunity to serve. We may make use of them by selecting a determined number by means of a simple competitive examination, and then giving them a stipend of say Rs. 60 or 70 per month for a four years' course in medicine. Medical schools for this purpose may be located in the larger towns and industrial areas, where sufficient clinical material will be available. These schools should be so spaced as to serve two or three contiguous districts. Some of the larger industrial towns can provide accommodation and clinical material for two or three such schools. The teaching staff may be obtained from among the private practitioners and the large number of retired medical men who have settled down all over the country, and who will be glad to serve as instructors both for the sake of rendering service and also of the honorarium or remuneration that may be offered.

It may be mentioned here, that some of the finest doctors in the country to-day were originally trained as Licentiates with the aid of scholarships, especially in the now defunct Indian Medical Department. Many of them were not even matriculates, but were selected by means of a simple competitive examination, and given a four years training at the cost of the Government and then drafted into the Army as Warrant Officers in the Military hospitals. Many of the more ambitious and capable among

them went in for higher training even to the taking of high foreign degrees, and are today employed in responsible positions or in lucrative private practice as physicians or surgeons. All these men would have been lost to the country but for the initial training they received at Government expense. We can still do the same with our proposed licentiates. We can train them as licentiates first, then the more competent among them may be given further training to qualify as graduates. This will serve to eliminate professional jealousy, or inferiority complex or a sense of injustice or grievance etc., which have been advanced as one of the reasons for the abolition of the Licentiates.

It must be emphasised here, that this is not a case of special pleading for the Licentiate, but an argument and a plan for the immediate provision of medical attention for the countryside which is now totally neglected, and which is all that matters. The Licentiates will attend to the simple ailments of the villagers. The more difficult cases will be passed on to the larger hospitals where there are better facilities for treatment. Travelling dispensaries will also have to be provided to serve a group of villages until such time there are a sufficient number of medical men, which will be many years to come. Even if this suggestion is taken up with vigour immediately, and a batch of say 2000 suitable men are selected for training, it will take four years, that is, the end of 1957 before this first batch of 2000 men are available for service. From the fifth year onward 2000 more men will be available each year, provided the rate of recruitment is maintained at the same level. This applies to the Madras State only. For the whole of India if say, 20,000 men are trained yearly, we will have 20,000 Licentiates by the end of 1957, and a further 20,000 every year thereafter. This is better than having to wait fifty or a hundred years to train and provide graduates who are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that it takes only four years from the matriculation stage to produce a Licentiate, whereas it takes eight years

from matriculation to produce a graduate. It will cost Rs. 1,000 per year or Rs. 8,000 to train a graduate, whereas it will cost much less to train twice the number of Licentiates in the same period, because the training of a Licentiate will be a little cheaper. As ~~these men~~ ^{these men} will be trained at Government expense they can be required to serve a few years in the rural areas, whereas it would be grossly unfair to compel the present graduates, who have educated themselves at great cost to do so.

The same policy may be adopted for the training of nurses and midwives, of whom the country needs an even greater number. Here too, there is no need to insist on a matriculation certificate or its equivalent as a prerequisite for training. Many of the most capable matrons and nursing superintendents of today do not possess a matriculation certificate. If the educational standard is lowered and a stipend and other facilities provided a large number of suitable women will be forthcoming for training. Nurses today are required to provide even their own uniforms, which is absurd. It must be remembered that women seek employment because they

cannot afford to maintain themselves or to study further, and to expect a high educational standard and also to expect them to pay for their uniforms etc. only tends to prevent many suitable women from taking to this profession. If the Armed Forces and the Police etc., are provided with uniforms, it is unreasonable to ask prospective nurses to provide their own uniforms. There is no need to weary the reader with oft repeated statistics to show the paucity of nurses and doctors in India. Millions with the aid of an unqualified and ignorant *dai*. To state all this leads us nowhere. The task before us is to provide a sufficient number of doctors, nurses and midwives in the shortest period of time, not only to serve our rural areas, but also to serve our towns and cities which are equally in need of them. This article is a humble attempt to point the way in which this can be done. There is no need to attempt the impossible. It will be sufficient if we give the common people what they need and can afford, and what the country in its present state of finances can afford to give them.

THE COMFORTERS

BY MR. GEOFFRY JOHNSON

They come in dreams, they come and comfort me,
The high-born souls who kept their lofty way
While the world's hirelings fawned and bowed the knee
And took their dreary pay.

Sorrow has made them beautiful and wise;
Like moonlight flooding darkness from behind
Burns the cool splendour of their ageless eyes;
Their words are firm and kind:

"Even as now", they murmur, "men had choice
Of Truth, with cold indifference for their pains,
Or low complaisance with the vulgar voice,
And cheap material gains.

"We laboured naked, and the worm and clown
Were clad in purple, their riotous nights were long;
We could not keep the vision, and be glad
To lick the hands of wrong."

They come in dreams, they come and comfort me;
They move in light thrown from a city afar:
"You cannot join our starry company
And worship things that are.

"Your war is ours: you do not fight alone;
Your mite of challenge to the serried odds
Is answered by far battle-trumpets blown
For Victory: they are God's."

THE LOST LEADER!

OR

GANDHISM - A BOON OR A MENACE TO INDIA

BY 'KEITH AUSTIN'

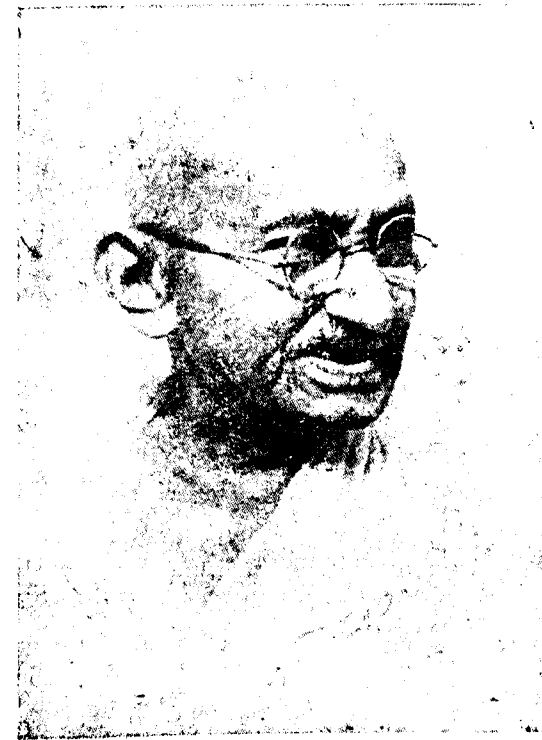
THE fact that Mahatma Gandhi was an Indian is a source for legitimate pride. But it is also a tremendous responsibility, for it places on us, who survive him, the burden of living up to the high standards he set, and being worthy of him. We must not only praise and reverence his memory

This, unfortunately, is exactly what is tending to happen in India today. Fame is a double edged weapon, and may be a power for good or for evil. Even during his lifetime the Mahatma had become something of a legend; now that he is no more with us, he is in danger of becoming a myth.

A new cult is in the process of being fashioned, the cult of "Gandhism." God knows there are enough Isms in the world to confuse and mislead men, without India adding her contribution to the quota. But that is precisely what is being done, before one's own eyes. And no one is raising a finger to stop it.

A classic has been defined as a book which everyone praises and no one reads. Gandhi's sayings and writings are in danger of attaining this rather doubtful position of honour. Few public speeches are complete without a reference to what the Mahatma had to say about the subject; or, what is worse, what the Speaker thinks he taught, or what he has twisted his words to mean so that they may lend an aura of authority to the series of half-truths he is striving to "sell" to his audience. The Mahatma wrote prolifically and the record of his sayings and writings furnish an inexhaustible store for finding props and justifications for almost any point of view. And this is, alas, the abuse to which they are being put. . . .

The Devil, it is said, can quote Scripture to suit his own ends, and indeed the Bible has been used to justify things as diverse as polygamy and celibacy. The same thing is happening with the voluminous works of the Mahatma. He wrote on almost every conceivable subject and, so anyone who reads may find, tucked away in some corner of a yellow-coloured edition of the *Harijan*, an apt quotation, or misquotation, with which to bolster up his arguments. In fact any one can, and almost everyone does, interpret Gandhi's



MAHATMA GANDHI

but follow the path he marked out for us, else he will be Mahatma without disciples, or a Father without children. And this is the last thing Gandhi would have wished. He was prepared to die, and did die, for the happiness of his fellowmen; he would cheerfully have sacrificed his immortality had he known he was to be revered but not obeyed, worshipped but not followed, exalted but betrayed, idolized but ignored.

writings to fit in with his own ideas, or as a blind to conceal flaws and blemishes in his way of thinking and living. Thus within the last few years we have seen the Mahatma's authority invoked to justify almost everything from Harijan uplift to Socialism, from Communist tactics to a Capitalist Budget. Gandhi's writings may contain "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind", but this is no excuse for the prey of plagiarists who are ransacking his works, and debasing the pure metal they find there for their own selfish ends, making the Apostle of Truth, in effect, the father of their own lies.

The Mahatma, were he alive, would have every cause to pray "Lord save me from my professed friends." During his lifetime he never claimed infallibility, and, like the truly great man he was, he had the humility to acknowledge his mistakes when they were brought home to him, even if they were "Himalayan blunders." He was human and being human was fallible; and even his closest followers and most ardent admirers like Pandit Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari, often differed violently from him. The course of events, too, has shown that the Mahatma was often mistaken, and, had he been alive, he would have been the first to admit it.

But what the Master never dared to claim, his so-called disciples and followers are claiming for him. They quote him as if he were the last word on everything, and imagine that a quotation from his writings is the end of all rational thinking and a veto against all further argument. This attitude of mind must change if India is to make any progress in the field of ideas and of actions and to grow to political and human maturity. Gandhi was undoubtedly the wisest man of our generation in India, if not in the world; but though seldom blinded by passion or prejudice, he was very often mistaken, and many of his statements are half-truths. Gandhi meant his writings to be a spur and an incentive to further thinking and discussion, not as a drug or as a sedative; and above all not as the

Vox Dei on any and every subject. He had a passion for truth at all costs, and would never compromise with error, even his own errors. We must preserve and extend his dispassionate search for the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, if we are to push back the frontiers of ignorance and dispel the clouds of error that lurk in old established customs and traditions. The world is changing rapidly, and the new Republic of India still more rapidly; much of what Gandhi wrote will endure for all time, but much will pass and perish like all earthly things. We may mourn its passing but it would be false to the spirit of the Mahatma's teaching to resuscitate it and preserve it to mislead posterity. Unthinking "Gandhism" in the realm of ideas and ideals must be checked before it proceeds much further. There is an urgent need for the intellectuals of India to sift the wheat from the chaff, and to revalue and re-interpret his thoughts and ideas to suit new times and new men. It is characteristic of a great thinker that every generation finds in him something new and vital to inspire and direct it. The India of 1952 is not the India of 1930 or 1940; and those aspects of Gandhi's teachings which were most fitting then may not have the same relevance to us now while others may have acquired a new relevance and may need re-emphasising. The need for interpreting Gandhi anew for our epoch is an urgent one; it should not be left to every demagogue or budding orator who wishes to justify his misdoings, or score a point in a debate.

Uncritical "Gandhism" in the realm of ideas is bad enough; in the realm of action it is almost fatal. The Mahatma was a unique individual who used unique methods to achieve his political ends. Many of these such as the Hunger Strike and Satyagraha can scare or be objectively justified on strictly ethical grounds. The Mahatma's unique personality, high ideals and passionate sincerity perhaps afforded justification for these methods; at least in his own conscience he was without guilt, for his motives were pure.

But the moral validity of these actions is nevertheless questionable, even in the light of the Mahatma's own principle that the means make the end, and that good ends never justify bad means. Hunger-strikes, which Pandit Nehru spoke strongly against in Parliament in the debate on the "fast unto death" of Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena, are except in extraordinary circumstances considered in the light of cold logic, a form of political blackmail, and a fantastic confession of weakness masquerading as strength. They are objectively equivalent to hitting below the belt, for no one is so inhuman as to see a fellow man slowly starve to death before his eyes and do nothing about it. Sooner or later a compromise has to be effected; and it is generally a compromise with error and injustice quite foreign to the Mahatma's teaching.

Fasts and hunger strikes undertaken by sincere and selfless men for a great cause may have some shadow of justification. As practised in India to-day they are almost a joke, except that they are a joke carried too far! For the most trivial things, people are daily resorting to them and a headmistress who cannot agree with her governing body or a labour leader unable to get his way with the Government feel they are quite justified in resorting to a hunger strike; while Communist prisoners frequently use this method of blackmail on their captors to obtain their demands. This travesty of what was in the Mahatma's hands an intimate weapon to be used only as a last resort, has gone far enough. It must be stopped by force if necessary and newspapers would do well to ignore such happenings, so that even as advertisement stunts" or as a quick way to cheap popularity they will cease to be effective.

Satyagraha is another of the Gandhian methods which needs to be revalued, and controlled. Gandhi wielded this weapon magnificently to overthrow British imperialism; it was the only weapon he could and would use; and since he used it in a state of undeclared war, a great deal of justification can be found for it, even by sticklers for the "Law". But the weapons of war are not the weapons

of peace, no one uses a handgrenade to settle a peaceful argument. The war period is over, and to win the peace, as Pandit Nehru is never tired of repeating, hard work and sustained effort are necessary. Yet, consciously or unconsciously, Satyagraha is being widely used in India today by all types of people—by Industrial workers and through "Go Slow" strikes in Government offices—it takes 3 weeks to get a reply even to a routine enquiry!—in fact everywhere. Everyone who has a grievance against the Government or his employer, feels he is justified in using Satayagraha; after all didn't the Mahatma give his blessing to the use of this method? Laziness is one of the worst traits of our Indian character; it is partly innate, partly the product of our environment and climate. Only when we acknowledge this and cease calling it by a fancy name, and make a real effort to overcome it shall we be able to get down to the hard work "the blood, toil, tears and sweat" which our Prime Minister and the country demand of each one of us.

Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest boon a kind Providence gave to our country. Uncritical "Gandhism" is fast making him a menace, for while all men quote him, and only one in a million dreams of practising what he preached. We want not the letter of the Mahatma's teachings but their spirit; his spirit of love, tolerance, broadmindedness, his passion for truth and hatred of cant and hypocrisy. Otherwise Gandhi may be revered as an Avator, but he will cease to be a real, vital and lasting influence over the lives and thinking of his countrymen.

WORKER'S PLAYTIME

The news that Joe had lost his job got around quickly, and a nosy friend asked: "Why did the foreman fire you?"

"You know what a foreman is"—Joe shrugged,—"the one who stands around and watches the other men work."

"What's that got to do with it?" his friend wanted to know.

"Well, he just got jealous of me," Joe explained. "People thought I was the foreman."

REORIENTING THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

EDUCATIONISTS and Parliamentarians are generally apt to overlook the far-reaching influence that the films exercise on the public mind and more specially on the younger generation. Many of us who are not film-goers delude ourselves into thinking that the film industry is not worth our attention and study. Most of us are not aware of the fact that there are at present about 3,250 permanent and temporary cinema houses in India where approximately 16,00,000 persons witness the numerous films every day. About Rs. 41 crores are invested in the Indian film industry which is second only to Hollywood in its dimensions. The annual revenue of this industry with 60 studios and 38 processing laboratories amount to Rs. 20 crores and the State Governments earn about Rs. 5½ crores per annum by way of entertainment tax. We have in India more than 200 producers who prepare on an average 250 films in Hindi and other modern Indian languages every year. Could any educationist who is vitally interested in the impressionable personalities of youngmen under his care afford to be indifferent to the quality of entertainment that is dished out to them daily?

In fact the films are even more powerful than the Radio and the Press. While the radio could be used by only the comparatively rich class people and the press utilised only by the literate, the cinema halls are open to all and sundry. Moreover, audio-visual impressions last much longer and create a deep sense of emotional experience. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that the low quality of films produced in our country are proving to be a great menace to social and moral standards specially of the young boys and girls. I have no manner of doubt that much of the deplorable moral condition of our students in the schools and colleges is attributable to the "sexy" and cheapish films shown in the cinemas. The boys and girls take delight in imitating the heroes and heroines who instead of

presenting any high ideals before society only tend to fan the flames of carnal passion and excitement. Even tender children below the ages of four and five are heard singing amorous film songs! I do not know whether to describe this feature of modern society as a comedy or a tragedy too deep for tears.

The producers generally tell us that their aim is to provide entertainment and not education. But they sadly forget that the essence of good entertainment is its cultural and educational value. It is further argued that the film industry is after all a business proposition and the producers will naturally prepare films to suit the prevailing tastes of the public. This again is a fallacious and, perhaps, a wilfully distorted reasoning. Speaking in New Delhi a few weeks ago, Shri Debaki Bose, a leading Director and producer, observed that "there was nothing wrong with the film-goers". "The producers must change their ways; in their anxiety to amass wealth they forget certain basic values of life. An attempt to create artificial hunger and take ordinary people away from real life was to play with fire. That led to many unhappy events in the social and political life of the country". I am shocked to find that a number of recent Indian films have a tendency to glorify acts of violence including dacoities and murders. The working of Censorship appears to be extremely lax and even irresponsible.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not against the use of audiovisual or pictorial education. As I have already pointed out, I regard the film industry as one of the most potent instruments of social and moral education. It can either be used for raising moral standards or vulgarly misused for degrading public conscience. I am not a regular cinema-goer but I do see occasionally a few films which are reported to be of a high standard. Some of these films have influenced me greatly and I would certainly like our youngmen to see them. But other films which were reputed to be good shocked

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me because of their vulgarity and indecent characterisation. Unfortunately, the number of such films is on the increase with the result that our sense of morality is being debased at a fast speed. I would, therefore, plead with the producers as well as the Films Division of the Government of India to strain every nerve to prepare interesting but instructive films for furthering the cause of National education in Free India. We want numerous films instilling the ideals of civic sense, social responsibility, co-operative endeavour, quest for knowledge, thirst for discovery and inventions and above all, the supreme need for putting in hard and honest work for the lasting welfare and prosperity of the nation. Entertaining stories could be woven round such themes which would combine recreation with re-education.

In order to re-orient the Film industry for the achievement of these objectives, it is absolutely essential to evolve a new system and procedure for Censorship. Under the existing Cinematograph Act of 1952 the Central Board of Film Censors "examines and certifies films as suitable for unrestricted public exhibition or for public exhibition restricted to adults." There are a few Regional Boards for advising the Central Board in this respect. There is at present no check on the producers in the initial stages of film-making, with the result that the Censors find it very embarrassing to cut down or totally reject films on the production of which about three to four lakhs of rupees have already been spent. As has been recommended by the Film Enquiry Committee, it is necessary to establish a Film Code Administration consisting of representatives of the Government, the producers, artistes and educationists, on the lines of a similar institution in the U. S. A. so that the "shooting script" could be approved by the Administration before the film is actually shot. This would considerably help in eliminating chances of "head-aches" to the Censors at a later stage. Under the Act of 1952 the Government of India is the final authority for censoring the films. Wherever

and whenever necessary the Government should not hesitate to ask the Central Board of Censors to reconsider their decisions and, if required, to alter those decisions in the best interests of the country. In this connection, the recent speeches of the Information Minister, Dr. B. V. Keskar are to be welcomed as the signs of new times. I do earnestly hope that the Minister would do all in his power to overhaul the existing set-up of Film production in India so that the audio-visual aids instead of being serious hindrances in the way of national reconstruction may prove to be positive contributions to the arduous tasks of re-building the country on sound foundations.

In addition to the establishment of a Central Film Council and Production Code Administration in terms of the recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee, it is imperative that a Central Training and Research Institute for Films is started with the joint effort of the Producers and the Government of India. It is rather curious that the Indian film industry which is the second biggest in the world should have no properly co-ordinated plans for imparting adequate training to the actors and artistes. Attempts should be made to harness the best available talent in the country for producing high-quality films in Indian languages and even in English for international use. If the producers are prepared to co-operate with the Government in raising the standards of films, the State should also, in turn, render the necessary assistance to the industry by establishing a Film Finance Corporation. The possibilities of manufacturing raw films and other equipments in India may also be explored.

These are only a few suggestions. My main object is to draw the attention of the Government, the producers, the artistes, educationists and the public in general to the urgent need for re-orienting the Indian Film Industry on a more sound and healthy footing in the larger interests of the nation. The sooner this is done the better for all concerned.

The Inevitability of India's Foreign Policy

BY MR. K. KURIAN, M.A.

MUSSOLINI observed in 1924: "Foreign policy is never original. It is determined by a certain order of facts, geographical, historical, and economic." Critics of India's foreign policy are too prone to ignore this dictum; they seem to display an eagerness to explain away foreign policy in terms of world politics. In other words, they labour under the illusion that the foreign policy of a country is conditioned solely by external circumstances prevailing outside the country. How often one hears of opposing power blocs in the world, and the worn-out argument that India will have to throw in her lot with one or the other! Yet, a careful analysis of our history will show that our foreign policy is the logical consequence of historical forces and not the result of the unaccountable whims and fancies of an unpredictable Foreign Minister. Uncharitable critics who maintain stoically that India's foreign policy is based on a surprising mixture of mistrust, jealousy, goodwill and fear will easily find that all these elements spring from historical origins which cannot be dismissed in the gibberish claptrap which has become the characteristic of statesmen the world over.

It is too often forgotten that the Indian nation took shape out of fifty years of struggle against an alien power. The battle remained peaceful most of the time, thanks to the non-violent policy advocated by Gandhiji and other leaders, but isolated outbursts of violence were not uncommon. Although the gesture of the Attlee Government took away much of the bitterness from the long struggle, the continued process of opposition had left its impression on the Indian mind; but the open hostility which marked the events of the past gave way to a kind of half-acknowledged goodwill for the country which had yielded with grace, and an unacknowledged mistrust engendered by Britain's policy in regard to Pakistan.

The decision of the Government of India to continue within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations is perhaps not so surprising when one takes into consideration the nature of

the struggle against Britain. Looking back over the fifty years during which the Indian Independence movement gathered momentum, one cannot help discerning a pattern—a pattern in which "the rules of the game" were observed by both the parties, and constitutionalism outgrew terrorism. At no time was there a bitter feud between the two countries, as between England and Ireland, and wanton acts of terrorism were condemned by the saner elements on either side. The feud, if there was any, was between Indian patriots and the Muslim League, Britain looking on all the time with a leer, openly egging them on. The transition, therefore, from an attitude of hostility to goodwill was not as difficult as was generally imagined, because the seeds of hate, before they could germinate and sprout were removed and destroyed.

But goodwill did not bring in its wake trust, and the sneaking suspicion that Britain was still on the other side of the fence remained. This was strengthened by the British attitude towards Pakistan. If the Muslim League had been profiting from Britain's "divide-and-rule" policy in India, the creation of Pakistan was but the fruition of that policy, and the heart-burning caused by the vivisection of India among genuine patriots was not helpful in engendering the spirit of complete trust. Had there been no Pakistan, Indo-British relations would have been on the firmest footing, but in Pakistan the Indians saw the projection of Britain's policy while they were in power, and any move by Britain in an issue in which Pakistan was involved, would naturally be suspect.

This explains India's mistrust of Britain on international issues, in spite of general goodwill over the Indo-British affairs. The Kashmir question is an example. No amount of cajoling or diplomacy will convince Indians that the British are following a disinterested policy in this matter in world assemblies, and the oft-repeated charge that the "Anglo-American" bloc is conspiring against Indian interests is founded on Britain's traditional policy of setting off

the Muslim League against the Congress. In Kashmir, Indians see only the extension of Britain's old tactics, supporting the Muslim League in order to thwart the Congress and thus holding the balance of power, a principle cherished by that nation since the days of Wolsey. Thus, in matters of dispute between India and Pakistan which have a world significance, British intentions are always open to question; at any rate their good intentions are never taken for granted.

Is it surprising, therefore, that this attitude of suspicion, despite goodwill, should be extended to the allies of Britain as well? France is suspect; the United States is suspect; and the umpteen smaller states which always throw in their lot with either Britain or the United States cannot but be suspect. Diplomats may fly to New Delhi in a long procession, but it will take years before the clouds of suspicion finally move away and disappear into another horizon. Very often the democratic countries in the west are puzzled that India, herself a democracy, should feel hesitant to hitch her wagon with theirs: but they forget that seeds of undemocratic methods can thrive in the very bosom of a democracy; a hundred and fifty years of British rule in India bear eloquent testimony to this modern truth.

These hundred and fifty years of British occupation have made the Indian mind extremely sensitive—perhaps over-sensitive—to exploitation of one country by another. The theme of our national struggles has been not only political freedom, but freedom from external interference as well; the two are but inter-related. Having achieved this coveted state of things all by ourselves, it is but natural that we should extend the hand of sympathy to nations that are still striving for their political independence. There is a common bond which appeals to the romantic mind of the Easterner, existing between nations of common destiny. Take Indonesia, for example, a country which can be said to be more or less under Indian influence today. It was in the fitness of things that Indian leaders took

sides over the question of Indonesian independence, expressing themselves strongly in favour of those who were resisting the Dutch regime. The warm friendship between Indonesia and India is the result of a common struggle, the battle for objects similar, trials of strength ultimately resulting in the achievement of popular government. Our attitude to Indo-China—the ever-growing sympathy for Ho Chi Minh and his satellites as opposed to the established regime set up to counter the demands of absolute independence—also is to be explained away on the model of Indonesia.

The self-same over-sensitiveness to external interference is responsible for our reaction to the recent resurgence in Iran and Egypt. A nation which was being exploited by Britain for over a century could not but offer its sympathies to Iran in the latter's efforts to free herself from British tentacles. Britain, like a hurt dog, goes about whining about the treatment received at the hands of the Iranians and the acid comments made by Indian statesmen and journalists over the oil issue; but if she had any hope of enlisting the sympathies of the Indians whom she trod over for over a century she was under-estimating the power and influence of historical forces. The spontaneous sympathy for the Egyptians who were seeking to throw off the yoke imposed by the conscienceless Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was but another manifestation of Indian feelings developed over a long period of exploitation.

The Americans alone have been slow to realise the force of history on the Indian mind in this matter. They are bewildered and puzzled, in their new sense of economic power, when India displays an aversion to foreign aid without strings, seeing as they do the abject misery in which the average Indian lives. The remarkable agility with which countries like France and Italy jump at American aid is set off against the half-heartedness with which Indians welcome such assistance. The Americans who seem to stick to the old saying "Beggars

cannot be choosers," are astonished by the independence displayed by Indians even in such fundamental matters like food, which was a matter of life and death till not so long ago. If they are to understand the jealousy with which India guards her newly-won freedom, they have only to go back a few years in their own history—the years following the American Declaration of Independence bear a marked resemblance to the years following the withdrawal of the British from India in 1947.

India's policy towards the Communist countries has come in for the bitterest criticism both within and without the country. Politicians in the United States can never understand our friendliness for our neighbour, China, which they like to hold up to the world as an example of Kremlin's expansionist policy. India's deep-rooted goodwill towards the Chinese people is not based on the political philosophy prevalent there; Chiang Kai-shek was hailed by Indian leaders, especially our present Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, not because he represented the democratic philosophy, but because he was a popular leader guiding his country to a goal which was very similar to India's. When Chiang failed to come up to the expectations of the people, and when he fell into a Western clique following the worst aspects of colonialism, it was but natural that the loyalty of the people was transferred to a more reliable hero, Mao Tse-tung. The very conception of two power blocs in the world—the Communists and the non-Communists—each opposing the other and finally bound to annihilate the opposing bloc, is a comparatively recent one, used more for its propaganda value by the western democracies. It would be only foolish to expect the Indian people to shed their sympathy for the Chinese with whom they have so much in common, merely on the ground that they have gone the Communist way and are perpetrating atrocities which are described by imaginative American journalists like Edward Hunter as unbelievable and inhuman—the Indians are only too well aware of the atrocities which were being perpetrated, and which are still being

perpetrated, by the kith and kin of these great champions of Human Goodness.

It will be noticed, however, that the same warm friendliness was never extended to the Soviet Union. There was never much cultural affinity or intercourse between India and Russia, and the latter remains to Indians as the symbol of what can be achieved under collective effort. As a country which has translated some of the commendable aspects of Marxism into action, Russia is much admired in this country, but their actions in the past decade or two have been eye-openers, and have led to much disillusionment. Our attitude to Russia, therefore, is one of guarded admiration mingled with the envy of an up-and-coming people, but wholly devoid of any warmth or attachment, which one finds in our relations with China or Indonesia.

My own prediction is that India will be forced to continue its policy of partial neutrality till she becomes sure of her friends and foes in the world. Nothing would be more foolish than precipitating matters by identifying ourselves with one group or another on impulse or what might appear for the moment to be clear logic—a young and pretty girl is likely to be courted by several young men, and it would be hardly prudent on her part to run away with the first person who makes her feel dizzy.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 600 words.

All contributions and books for review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, George Town, Madras.

The Constitutional Anarchy in South Africa

BY SRI LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B., R.J.S.,

Addl. District and Sessions Judge, Jaipur.

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THE racial discrimination laws in South Africa, introduced one after the other, have reduced the Negroes and the Indians of that Union, formed in 1910, to the status of slaves. The Malan Government have come up against not only the protest of two-thirds of the people of their own country, but also against the enlightened public opinion throughout the world. While condemning Dr. Malan's efforts to subvert the constitution, *Ivestia*, the leading official paper of the U.S.S.R., in an International review, pertinently and concisely remarked:

The South African inheritors of Hitler have earned the hatred of all honest persons.

Much light has been thrown on the importance of the judgment pronounced, on August 29, 1952, by Judge-President J. E. de Villiers and his colleagues C. Newton, Thompson, and G. Steyn of the Supreme Court of South Africa, declaring invalid Dr. Malan's High Court of Parliament Act. It is yet too early to assess the full worth of significance of the verdict. In any event, the decision marks off law from politics and history, and it goes a long way to influence the interpretation of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, throughout the Commonwealth. The judgment is also of singular consequence from the standpoint of general jurisprudence.

To understand as to what the High Court of Parliament Act is, we have to fall back on Act No. 46 of 1951 (the Separate Representation of Voters Act), having been passed by a majority of vote in the House of Assembly and in the Senate sitting separately, and having received the assent of the Governor-General as a matter of course. The scheme of the Act is to wipe away the common Voters' roll for Europeans and non-Europeans and to create two distinct rolls, one for the former and another for the latter. Each of these sets of voters has to elect separately a number of members of the House of Assembly.

On an appeal filed by four coloured people, including Mr. Harris, against the validity of the above law, the South African Court of appeal, presided over by Contliver C. J., had to consider whether Sections 35 and 152 of the South Africa Act, 1909, enacted by Parliament of the United Kingdom, were binding on Parliament of South Africa, in view of Section 2 (2) of the Statute of Westminster, 1931. The relevant provision of Section 35 of the South Africa Act provides that no law, disqualifying any person from enjoying certain franchise rights on the ground of race or colour, be considered as valid, unless the Bill, embodying such disqualifications, be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both the Houses. Section 152 of the Act lays down that no repeal or alteration of the provisions contained in Section 35 shall be valid, unless the Bill embodying such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both the Houses sitting together, and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both the Houses. Section 2 (2) of the Statute of Westminster afforded that no law passed by a dominion Parliament would thereafter be held invalid on the ground that it is repugnant to the laws of the United Kingdom or to any future act of the British Parliament. Until 1931 it was the privilege of the Crown to veto or disallow, on the advice of the British Cabinet, any dominion statute, though such action was not common but the power was there.

The pith and substance of the judgment delivered by the South African Court of Appeal is that notwithstanding the passing of the Statute of Westminster, the measure, known as the Act 46 of 1951, is invalid, null and void and of no legal force and effect, unless passed in accordance with the procedure prescribed

in the entrenched Sections. The Court had to encounter no difficulty in concluding that the Separate Representation of Voters' Act disqualified the voters from remaining on a common roll on the ground of their race or colour. Leading lawyers of the world have paid tribute to the independence, promptness and impartiality with which justice is administered by the Tribunal.

By what process of reasoning was the above conclusion reached?

The Union of South Africa and its Parliament were created by the South Africa Act of 1909, passed by the United Kingdom Parliament. The Parliament of South Africa, as such, materially differed from that of the United Kingdom in respect of powers and mode of legislation. The limitations *ab initio* were: (a) the overriding authority of the British Parliament; (b) the incapacity to legislate in conflict with the terms of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865; and (c) incompetency to legislate with extra-territorial effect. In a word, the Union Parliament began its career with certain limitations. In England, Parliament enjoyed the right to make or unmake any law and that no person or body had had a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament. Lord Balfour once regarded the Union Parliament "equal in status though unequal in stature." But in actual practice this was not the case.

The second point of difference is that in England an act may competently be passed with the assent of the Crown and by a majority vote of the two Houses, sitting separately. In South Africa the appropriate procedure in respect of certain Bills is a joint session and a two-third majority vote.

The Statute of Westminster, which has been termed as the Magna Carta of the British Dominions, has indubitably terminated the British Parliamentary supremacy in the Dominions and has enlarged the powers of the South African Parliament, removing all restrictions to legislate repugnantly to the British Statutes or to make laws with extra-territorial effects. But this does not signify that it has changed or altered

the South Africa Act of 1909. The Statute of Westminster did not purport to introduce any new enactment within the country. The essential features of the legislative, executive and judicial organs, set out in specific terms in the Act of 1909, remained in tact and they would remain inviolable unless amended or altered in the manner found in the entrenched Sections. In the matters of electing Parliament, constituting the Council of Ministers, regulating the lives of the people and discharging the day-to-day functions of the law courts, the Act continued in force, as the supreme law of the land, in spite of Shakespeare's famous saying:

When men ride a horse, one must
ride behind.

It may also be stated *inter alia* that a nation may be free and independent in spite of the existence of certain limitations on the powers of each separate branch of the Government taken as a whole. This is more true in cases of United States of America, Canada, and India. Nothing would be more ridiculous than to say that these three great countries are not sovereign states or that their sovereignty is impaired or thwarted simply because their Parliaments are fettered with certain restrictions or that they cannot pass legislation which they please. To say that South Africa would be a non-sovereign State, dependent on England, on the basis that the origin of the Act of 1909 was Britain tantamounts to holding that South Africa is subservient to Holland or Rome which provided a major portion of the laws in force in the Union. "The question who is legal sovereign," as Lord Bryce observed, "stands quite apart from the questions, why is he sovereign?" (*Vide* Vol. 2, page 57.) Mr. Mitchell further deals with the point crisply in an article in the *Judicial Review*, 1951, page 70. In short, the Act of 1909 must be regarded either as binding as a whole or as not binding at all.

On these groundworks the Supreme Court of South Africa held Act No. 16

of 1952 ultra vires: *Vide* Hands Dinges 1952. I.T.L.R., 1245. Later, with a view to overrule the judgment of that Supreme Tribunal the Malan Government pushed through Parliament a Bill, which created the High Court of Parliament. This measure according to the *New York Herald Tribune* "is the evil product of narrow-minded men who try to set themselves above law". Eventually the High Court of Parliament saw the light of the day and it gave a ruling, on August, 27, 1952, amid a gigantic campaign of passive resistance, to the effect that the Government's apartheid law was perfectly constitutional. Dr. Malan thus obtained two contradictory verdicts by two courts, each claiming to possess the ultimate right of legal interpretations.

The four coloured Cape Town Voters, including Ganief Harris, again referred the matter to the Supreme Court, urging that the High Court Act was circumventing the Appellate Court's decision on the last March. Two days after the judgment of the High Court of Parliament the Supreme Court held that the High Court of Parliament Act, being contrary to the provisions of Sections 35 and 152 of the Act of 1909, was invalid. No legislature, the court added, could transform itself into a court of law. To the complete repudiation of the Rule of Law comment on this crucial decision was stopped by the Government's notice to appeal, making the whole question sub-judice over again. Thus we now have the spectacle of appealing, for the second time to the Appellate Division, the matter which has already been adjudicated upon.

No doctrine could be more alarming and sinister than that the head of the Executive Government could flout the authority of the highest judicial Tribunal in South Africa. It is a mockery of the Constitutional procedure. The President of the United States of America readily obeyed the behests of the Supreme Court in another recent case of great constitutional significance: *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., V. Sawyer* (1952). In less than 24 hours after the Supreme Court of U.S.A. had delivered its judgment, President Truman directed the Secretary of Commerce to return the

Steel Mills to their owners. The President did not respect the doctrine of Dickinson that "the Judges began by setting aside laws and ended by making them." On the other hand, to Dr. Malan with his intolerant racial policies and his dream of a white Afrikaner Republic law is a hindrance. If Dr. Malan takes steps to close down the Supreme Court, to whom will its ordinary appellate powers go? To add the complication of a conflict with the judiciary he says:

The road we want to follow is being obstructed by the courts.....to do what world opinion demands would mean suicide by white South Africa.

The *New York Times* suggests that Dr. Malan "is busily lighting fires that he cannot hope to quench." The effects of subverting the constitution, which is the basic foundation on which the structure of the Union is built, fighting with the courts and defying the laws will, apart from precipitating a clash, lead the country from one shattering crisis to another. None would be safe so long as this concept is allowed to go without challenge. Sane and responsible statesmanship calls for a more positive approach.

A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

Canon L. J. Collins, Chancellor of Saint Paul's, London, preaching at the Evensong Service at the Cathedral on September 7, called upon all Christians "to come out boldly in support of the liberal forces who were taking a stand against Dr. Malan's policy of racial discrimination in South Africa."

Canon Collins said: "The whole evil fabric of racial discrimination, wherever it exists, is a clear challenge to the Christian way of life, and it demands from each Christian action to destroy it." . .

Canon Collins added: "The gauntlet has been thrown down. Are we to let it lie? No longer can we do what was done by so many of us during the Nazi tyrannies—pretend to know little or nothing of what was going on. Nor, surely, are we prepared to let Dr. Malan and his associates get away with the insinuation that those in South Africa who oppose his policy are Communists and fellow travellers. We need a breakaway from our neutrality, a determination not to be content with words of protest."

Ceremonial Friendship Amongst the Aborigines

BY SRI CHARULAL MUKHERJEA, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

ANY one who has observed the manners and customs of the various Proto-Australoid and Dravidian tribes of the most interesting museum of races, the Chotanagpur plateau, must be struck with their well-knit social system and kinship organisation, evolved to cement their bonds in society. As if not content with this, they have devised various other artificial relationships with non-relatives and even neighbouring aliens to achieve the utmost social integration. Such ceremonial bonds of relationship are no less sacred than actual kinship to the tribal eye, as the contact-parties take a vow to remain constant to each other till death do them part.

FLOWER-FRIENDSHIP

Thus Santal girls have their flower-friends, called by the endearing names of many fragrant flowers and green leaves. In some areas this passes by the name of *Phul patao* (forming a flower-friendship), which follows a folk-ritual when two maidens of the same age swear eternal comradeship with mutual presents of clothes and edible things. Community feasts and drinks synchronise and the two girls stick a particular flower of their choice, into the knot of the hair mutually. Now between them, their maiden-names cease to exist: they address each other by their flower-names e.g. *Keya Baha* (the keya flower), *Akar baha* (a flower of a plant found in moist places, *Limnophila Roxburgiana*, G. Don). *Karam dar* (branch of the *karam* tree, *Adina Codifolia*) relationship is formed by Santal flames during the *Karam* festival when they tweek two *karam* leaves mutually in their hair.

Similarly flower and tree friendships of the forms *Keora*, *Gulaichi* and *Karamdiar* are prevalent amongst Kharia maidens. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy notes a social significance in the "Goi" of friendship between girls as it may lead to exchange-marriages in as much as a Kharia's brother and his wife's sister

and his sister and wife's brother are also related as "Gois". Birhar girls follow suit by the mutual insertion of *Karam*-leaves or barley-shoots grown for the purpose of the *Karam* festival. The Hill Bhuiyan girls have also their *Karamdiar*, *Bairkor* and *Makar* forms of forming eternal friendship. The Oraons have "Goi". And when they get married, the husband one *Goi* addresses the husband of the other with the same term.

BETWEEN MARRIED WOMEN

Coming as they do from different villages, the wives of Oraons are not often very friendly to one another. The society has therefore evolved an interesting device to create an artificial union between families in the absence of a natural bond of affection. Such friendships between married women are ceremonially contracted every third year after the harvesting of low-land paddy. Proclamations are sent round that at least one woman of each family must choose a *Sahia* from amongst the women of another Oraon family of the village. On the day fixed, *Sahia*-friendships are established after elaborate ceremonials and a fortnight later, tribal feasts are held in celebration of the alliances. These contracting families are henceforth debarred from entering into matrimonial relationships: although no blood is exchanged these are considered as tantamount to blood-relationship between the two families.

Santal mothers of an equal number of children form the *Saika* form of union followed by mutual presents and feasts and drinks. There is a similar custom amongst the Jaghi Birhor (mothers of an equal number of children), but the attending ceremonials follow the Oraon's *Sahia* form, although not so elaborately.

BETWEEN MEN

As the aboriginal boys work in the fields, graze their cattle, play on the flute, sing, dance and hunt beasts and birds in groups, formation of life-long

friendships is only natural. But although the Santals sometimes stop here, the allied tribes cement them with ceremonials when vows are taken. Thus Birhor boys form flower-friendships by mutually sticking their favourite flowers above each other's ears and calling each other "my flower." On the morning following the *Titia* Puja day, a *Titia*-leaf is stuck above the ear, from the branch planted in the court-yard and thus is contracted a second form called "*Titia dair*" friendship. Added to this they have the *Prasad* and *Ganga-jal* forms, clear culture-loans from the Hindus, friendships contracted with their neighbours of other tribes and castes. The Birhors regard them "as real and sacred as actual blood relationships. Two such 'friends' are not permitted to take each other's name. Each observes all ceremonial pollutions and taboos of the other's family at birth, death and marriage." (The Birhors, S.C. Roy, P.533.)

Pauri Bhuiyans bearing the same name often enter into the *Maitra* form of cordiality by making gifts of a handful of sun-dried rice with a few pieces of turmeric and saluting each other saying "Johar Maitra". In a second pattern, called *Mahaprasad*, each boy puts the rice with a few petals of flowers inside the mouth of the other, while in the third, *Jamdiar*, they mutually put a tiny *jam*-twig (*Eugenia Jambolana*) on each ear of the other.

Such eternal unions are contracted by Kharias by sprinkling of water with mango-leaves from a brass-jug, either with others of their tribe or with non-Kharia neighbours. Feasts, drinks and exchange of cloths are invariable parts of the programme with swearing of life-long allegiance.

Coming to the Oraons, we notice that when a boy feels the urge of swearing ever-lasting loyalty to a comrade in the "iar" or "sangi" fashion, he seeks the consent of his parents. This is readily given but on the warning that he should have to be steadfast in his devotion. He gets his friend as an other self at a feast by offering him presents of

cloth with some cash, cemented further by drinks of rice-beer with a roasted pig. A return repast follows soon after with similar gifts from the other iar. Later, like bosom-friends as they are, they keep together at all festivals and even their wives address themselves as "iarins" or "sangins" as the case may be. And although such friends may belong to different clans, no matrimonial connection is permissible between the two families.

Lastly, the Santals have a variant of such relationship, called *Nata*, in Mayurbhang, formed between neighbours, to pay sufficient respect to superiors and corresponding affection to juniors, as would be proper in a common fraternity in the clan. Thus a younger man addresses an elder as "uncle" and a younger girl will choose to hail a senior woman as 'elder sister.'

Thus it is that the tribal people of the central Hill belt of India, have by magico-religious rites enlarged the circle of their friends within the frame-work of the tribe and established lasting contacts even with members of other tribes and castes, all the while building up a new synthesis in the pattern of greater humanity, that is our India. Tribal solidarity and co-operation being their first concern on this planet in their efforts to react to the various uncanny and hidden supernatural forces, such artificial friendships enlivened with warmth of heart and insurance of affection, mean an extended prosperity to the individual and the community at large.

IT PAYS

A "Save-Your-Waste-Paper" campaign reminds one of the story of the four men who died on the same day.

One was an author. He left Rs. 5.

The second was a bookseller. He left Rs. 50.

The third was a publisher. He left Rs. 500.

Fourth was a waste-paper merchant. He left Rs. 50,000.

It pays to save "paper".

CRISIS IN NEPAL

BY SRI GOPINATH

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THE political drama which began with the king of Nepal taking refuge in India and the Nepali Congress starting an armed revolt, ended with the proclamation by King Tribhuvan of Nepal on February 18, 1951, announcing a change in the administrative set up. The *de facto* Prime Minister of Nepal whose predecessors were virtually masters of Nepal since 1841, had to surrender the powers to the people.

On February 18, 1951, the first step towards democracy in Nepal was taken. A Council of Ministers was appointed with Maharaja Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana as Prime Minister. The Ministry was a combination of the Congress leaders and the members of the Prime Minister's party. But this position could not remain longer. The democratic forces were bound to win a complete victory. Ultimately a fullfledged democratic Ministry was set up with Mr. B.P. Koirala as Prime Minister. After a cabinet crisis in Nepal, Nepal Premier resigned on 13th November 1951, and a twelve-member cabinet with M. P. Koirala as Prime Minister was set up on November 16, 1951. Since then M. P. Koirala was at the helm of affairs.

The Nepali Congress was, however, itself a house divided. In the Nepali Congress Presidential election Sri M. P. Koirala and Sri B. P. Koirala, the two brothers opposed each other. But good sense prevailed, and Sri M. P. Koirala withdrew. However, the Nepali Congress Presidential Election at Janakpur on May 28th, 52, proved that all was not well in the Nepali Congress. Sri Bhadrakali Mishra, Minister of Communication, accompanied with some other members

of the Nepali Congress Working Committee walked out and later left the congress. Sri B. P. Koirala was elected as the Nepali Congress President.

Things did not end there. Sri M. P. Koirala felt difficulties in carrying the Cabinet in pursuit of foreign and internal policies. The election of Sri B. P. Koirala as the President of Nepali Congress undoubtedly reflected unity in the Congress camp. But in group politics, B. P. Koirala's group was opposed to M. P. Koirala's group. Gradually, rift in the Nepali Congress deepened. On the 18th July, the Working Committee of the Nepali Congress submitted a list of the names to Sri M. P. Koirala for inclusion in the Cabinet and requested the Prime Minister for reconstitution of the Cabinet. Sri M. P. Koirala could not accede to this request and his main contention was that the Prime Minister should be given free hand to choose his colleagues. The Working Committee adopted a resolution on the 21st of July, noting that the country was drifting towards chaos and disorder, through inefficient working of the Government and stating that the team of Ministers was suggested in view of the fact that the present Cabinet chosen by the Prime Minister alone admittedly failed to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the Congress. Finding that the Prime Minister was not willing to accept its decision, the Working Committee called upon him to resign from the Government along with his Congress colleagues. Sri M. P. Koirala reiterated on July 21, his unwillingness to accept the decision of the Working Committee and suggested the early convening of the Congress Maha Samity. The Working Committee adopted another resolution on the 23rd July, calling upon Sri M. P. Koirala and other Congress Ministers to resign within 48 hours, failing which they would be expelled from the Congress organization for a period of three years. In response to the Working Committee directive, the 3 Nepali Congress Ministers (*Viz.* Major General Subarna Shamsheer,

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Sri S. P. Upadhyaya and Sri Ganeshman Singh) resigned from the Cabinet. It is to be noted that the names of the three ministers found place in the list, submitted by the Working Committee to Sri M. P. Koirala for inclusion in the reconstituted Cabinet.

The foregoing recital makes it clear that there are two camps in the M. P. Koirala Cabinet and that the Working Committee was not willing to give a free hand to Sri M. P. Koirala in the reconstitution of the Cabinet. The Cabinet personnel was suggested on the plea that the present Cabinet chosen by the Prime Minister, had failed. There was thus an indirect hint that the Working Committee has lost confidence in Sri M. P. Koirala. Naturally Sri M. P. Koirala did not accept the directive of the Working Committee. The Gentlemen's Agreement to which Sri Jai Prakesh Narayan, the Socialist leader, is stated to have referred stipulated that the Nepali Congress President would not interfere in the affairs of the Government. Sri B. P. Koirala in the course of a statement said, that the personal agreement was not binding on the party and had no constitutional bearing on what the party members do. But on this very agreement, he was elected as President. The all Nepali Congress Committee which met on August 31, ratified the party executive's decision to suspend Sri M. P. Koirala and two former Nepali Congress Ministers from active membership of the Nepali congress for three years.

The exit of Sri M. P. Koirala has undoubtedly weakened the Nepali Congress. The Katamundu Valley Nepali Congress, controlling eleven District branches announced that most of the party branches had passed no confidence motions against Sri B. P. Koirala and the party Executive. A Resolution of the Nepali Congress has authorized the Congress President to withdraw the

disciplinary action at his discretion. This is nothing but mockery.

Thus Nepal is in the throes of a great political crisis. The prestige of the Nepali Congress is rudely shaken. On the frontiers of Nepal there is Communist China. Dr. K. I. Singh is already in China and very likely, he will try to turn Nepal into another Korea. Only recently, 14 Nepali communists were arrested while returning from Tibet and important documents were seized from them. Communism is gaining hold in Nepal. The mere presence of Dr. K. I. Singh in China where he has gone from Tibet is causing concern to the administrators of Nepal who have now to maintain extra-vigilance on Nepal-Tibet border. There are various small parties in Nepal which want a coalition Government of all the parties. The king of Nepal saved the situation after the resignation of Sri M. P. Koirala by proclaiming the rule of Nepal through Advisors. The Cabinet form was scrapped but the contents of Democratic experiments were preserved. The king told the people that the Cabinet Government would be brought back when conditions are suitable for it. The Nepali Congress has asked for the end of the Advisors' rule, and formation of a homogenous cabinet. The present Government is entrusted with the task of running the administration efficiently for some months until the Constituent Assembly is elected and is converted into an interim Legislative Assembly. The Advisory Assembly of Nepal, which was prorogued when the king took over the administration with five advisors was dissolved on September 4. This 61-member nominated Assembly was inaugurated in the first week of July. This means that the rule of Advisors will continue till the elections for Constituent Assembly. The recent visit of the king of Nepal to Delhi was, it seems, to take advice and to discuss matters of mutual interest.

EDITORS IN CONFERENCE

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DR. RADHAKRISHNAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-President of the Union, inaugurating the 10th Session of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Delhi on September 16 observed that it was the duty of the Press to produce the "climate of opinion" which would help the Government to achieve its objectives as stated in the constitution, and accepted by the people.

Addressing the Editors, the Vice-President said:

You must not give the people what they want, but make the public want what you give them. It is my dearest hope, and desire that the Press of India, which has a very high reputation in the world, may continue to do its important work in a responsible way and strengthen our country in national and international spheres.

In a democratic set-up, Dr. Radhakrishnan added, the Press was a powerful instrument of education.

With the inventions of modern science, and the techniques of modern psychology, it is possible for the Press to educate the people for the ideals and purposes which we have set for ourselves. The Press can inflame public opinion, and degrade the taste, or restrain public feeling on controversial issues and raise the standards.

The Indian Press in general, he continued, acted with great courage and skill in the years of India's struggle for freedom. Its task was to make that freedom endure, by instructing properly the ever-increasing number of newspaper readers about the forces at work in this rapidly changing world.

Dr. Radhakrishnan went on to add:

A dispassionate consideration of the problems dividing the world is the great contribution which the Press can make to the maintenance of peace. It is wrong to assume that we are perfect, and equally incapable of improvement.

He said the Indian Constitution was based on faith in democracy and added:

Our newspapers, with rare exceptions, stand for this faith. There are some papers of extreme views, which do not always maintain high standards, but as a class, Indian newspapers have been helpful to the Government and to the people. They maintain high standards of decency and sobriety, and do not offend good taste, and indulge in vulgarity of thought and manner.

The A.-I.N.E.C., Dr. Radhakrishnan made it clear, could do much to raise the tone of the newspapers in English, and Indian languages.

MR. MANKEKAR'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. D. R. Mankekar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, suggested that the A.-I.N.E.C. should, in order to foster better journalistic standards in India, institute an attractive scholarship or two for advanced study in journalism or allied subjects and also substantial annual awards for outstanding work in the various branches of journalism on the lines of the Pulitzer Prizes.

MR. MANI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor of *Hita-vada*, presiding over the Session, observed in the course of a comprehensive address dealing with the different aspects of the Press:

The Press cannot rest content till the recent constitutional amendment relating to freedom of speech and expression is repealed as the powers conferred by the amendment are an invitation to suppress inconvenient opinion.

Referring to the Press Enquiry Commission, Mr. Mani hoped that the deliberations of the Commission would not lead to more restrictions and said if any control was necessary it should be voluntary and self-imposed.

He hoped that the Commission would approach the problem concerning the Press with that breadth of vision and liberality of temper which were necessary for the proper understanding of the difficulties in the way of functioning of the Press in India.

We of the Press and of the profession, said the President,

have a great duty to discharge to Indian democracy. The biggest electorate in the world has been enfranchised and a large part of this electorate is still uneducated. The education of this large part of the electorate can best be done only by newspapers and that, too, by the Indian language newspapers which can touch the mind and the heart of the masses of the country.

He added that if public life was to be developed in India it was not only cities that should have newspapers but also districts.

For an appreciable length of time, district newspapers could be only struggling ventures making mistakes and profiting by them and might

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have to be run in a missionary spirit. The role of these papers must be sufficiently appreciated.

Favouring the revival of the Press Advisory Committees, Mr. Mani said that with the Press Act on the Statute book, it was necessary to have some body which would intervene on behalf of a newspaper, and stay the prosecution if necessary, by pleading with the authorities.

The President spoke with warmth and at some length on the condition of the working journalists.

It is not possible for the A.-I.N.E.C. to work effectively to improve the working conditions of journalists, because its structure and purpose will have to be different. The drive for better working conditions of journalists has largely to be of a Trade Union character dealing with labour legislation, Tribunals and the like, and the A.-I.N.E.C. as it is constituted today cannot be an appropriate body to carry on Trade Union activities.

He concluded with a plea for a professional code for journalists just as they have in the legal and medical profession, so that the high standard set for the profession may not suffer by lack of vigilance.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

Addressing the conference on the second day Prime Minister Nehru emphasised the need for self-discipline in the Journalistic profession.

"I do think," said Mr. Nehru, "that basically it is dangerous to suppress thought and the expression of thought in any way. But believing in that, I come up constantly against instances where freedom of expression is utilised not merely to express the wrong thing but to produce a mental climate of vulgarity which I think is not good and which lowers standards of every type, whether they are cultural standards or other standards. When this kind of thing is done on a large scale and from day to day, I am worried."

Mr. Nehru asked whether under the aegis of the noble doctrine of freedom of the Press, any person could just bring out a sheet and spread all kinds of pernicious ideas.

Would the freedom of the Press support the preaching of gangsterism or just the preaching—that was common enough today in many countries—of hatred of others?

Replying to criticism of the Press Act, Mr. Nehru said:

It is but right that persons in authority should be subjected to ceaseless criticism. But to some extent politicians and newspapermen have much in common. Both presume to talk too much, write too much and deliver homilies. Both,

generally speaking, require no qualifications at all for their jobs. If one has got possibly a certain gift of expression, he gets going, whether there is any content behind that expression or not. Sometimes he gets on simply because he has got the gift of abuse. Some people have the knack of getting hold of the unsavoury things of life and making a fuss about them and, thereby, possibly not only getting on in their profession but making money out of it. Unsavoury things in life should not be covered up but one has to keep some kind of a balance. Some people take a delight not only in the unsavoury things but also in the things which excite or incite and thereby, possibly bring more purchasers for their newspapers.

DR. KESKAR'S DEFENCE OF PRESS ACT

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, pointed out in his speech that

to say that there is no need to have restrictions on freedom of speech and expression in the peculiarly unsettled conditions that prevail in our country today is running away from the true facts of the situation.

Dr. Keskar added:

Every Government has the responsibility of seeing that law and order and the security of the life of the citizen are not threatened; that no upheavals take place which will lead to bloodshed, and disturbances on a large scale, whether they are incited by acts, speeches or writings in the Press. In the peculiarly unsettled conditions that prevail in our country today, it is difficult to agree with your President that rules which might be considered to apply successfully in England or America are sufficient to cope with the situation here. There might be differences of opinion as to what the rules or restrictions should be and Government is quite willing to have them thrashed out in an amicable manner; but to say that there is no need to have restrictions and that the situation here is the same as in U.S.A. or U.K. is running away from the true facts of the situation.

The Minister congratulated Indian newspapers which, he said,

on the whole have shown considerable restraint in the face of continuous provocation from the Pakistan Press which inflames public opinion in that country against India. We are anxious to develop good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and I wish the Pakistan Press would realise that restraint is sign of strength, not of weakness. Fabrication, exaggeration and distortion of facts about India in a large number of newspapers in Pakistan cannot promote understanding and goodwill which the two countries desire. Their example is not worth emulating and I am glad to see that with the exception of a few newspapers to which I have already referred, the Indian Press has shown restraint and dignity in this matter.

Mr. A. D. Mani, President of the Conference, thanking Dr. Keskar for his

address said that there was hardly any difference of opinion among journalists as far as the freedom of the Press was concerned.

The A.I.N.E.C. had nothing but goodwill for the Federation of Working Journalists because among the delegates to the Conference there were working journalists. The Federation, he said, largely worked for the improvement of the working conditions of journalists while the A.I.N.E.C. dealt largely with matters relating to the freedom of the Press and encroachments on that freedom. The Federation was also interested in the freedom of the Press.

The A.I.N.E.C., Mr. Mani added, was fully conscious of its responsibility in the matter of raising the standards of the Press. The Editor's profession was a highly individualistic one but in spite of this difficulty wherever the A.I.N.E.C. has attempted to enforce some kind of professional code the members of the Conference have co-operated. Internal and voluntary control, said Mr. Mani, was much better than any control imposed by governmental authority.

RESOLUTIONS

In the afternoon the A.I.N.E.C. at the open Session adopted ten resolutions including those on the loss sustained by the Conference on the deaths of Desabandhu Gupta and Lajpat Rai. Other resolutions are as follows:

PRESS ACT

In the opinion of the A.I.N.E.C. the amended Article 19(2) (relating to freedom of speech and expression) is liable to abuse. The Conference, therefore, appeals to the Government to take steps to restore the original Article.

The Conference disapproves of the Press Act which seeks to penalise as objectionable the publication of material capable of being dealt with under the ordinary law of the land. It, therefore, appeals to Government to withdraw the Act.

The A.I.N.E.C. appreciates the efforts of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Standing Committee at its meeting on September 6 and 7, 1950, to draft a code of ethics for the profession. While generally approving the principles embodied in the Sub-Committee's draft, the A.I.N.E.C. directs the Standing Committee to examine them in detail and to make such alterations as may be necessary.

PRESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

In view of the need for establishing mutually helpful relations between the Government and the Press, the Conference is of the opinion that Press Advisory Committees should be revived. It, therefore, authorises the President to contact the Central and State Governments and all branches of the AINEC with a view to reviving the Press advisory system with such modifications as may be required by local conditions and needs.

The Conference reminds Government of their repeated assurances that Government advertisements will be placed on a non-partisan and strictly commercial basis and deplores the action of some Governments in departing from these principles. It further requests the Governments concerned to bring their policy in this respect in line with the declared policy of the Government of India.

REFUND OF SECURITIES

This Conference requests State Governments to consider the refund of securities deposited on demand by various newspapers before the promulgation of the new Constitution, as such refund would be in keeping with the spirit of the new Constitution.

SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference regrets the action of the Government of the Union of South Africa in refusing entry to the Foreign Correspondent of the *Times of India* into South Africa and condemns it as a violation of freedom of the Press and democratic rights.

The AINEC resolves that the official languages recognised for the conduct of its proceedings be Hindi and English.

After the resolutions were adopted, Mr. A. D. Mani, the President thanked the members of the Conference for their co-operation in expediting the work of the Session.

NEW STANDING COMMITTEE

The following members were declared elected to the Standing Committee for the year 1952-53,

Mr. A. D. Mani (*Hitavada*, Nagpur); Mr. B. Sen Gupta (*United Press of India*, Calcutta); Mr. J. C. Himkar (*Jagriti*, Howrah); Mr. T. K. Ghosh (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta); Mrs. Violet Alva (*Forum*, Bombay); Mr. Manian Natesan (*Indian Review*, Madras); Mr. Jang Bahadur Singh (*Sher-I-Punjab*, Delhi); Dr. Sachin Sen (*Indian Nation*, Patna); Mr. S. N. Ghosh (*Pioneer*, Lucknow); Mr. J. M. D'Souza (*Free Press Journal*, Bombay); Mr. Devadas Gandhi (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi); Mr. Vishwabandhu Gupta (*Tej*, Delhi); Mr. Suresh Chandra Majumdar (*Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta); Mr. K. R. Malkani (*Organiser*, Delhi); Mr. D. R. Mankekar (*Times of India*, Delhi); Mr. Ranbir Singh (*Milap*, New Delhi); Mr. Pritam Singh Chahil (*Jiwan Preety*, Patiala); Mr. Khushdar Grami (*Biswin Sadi*); Mr. H. R. Moharaj (*Samyukta Karnataka*, Hubli); Mr. Frank Moraes (*Times of India*, Bombay); Mr. K. Narendra (*Pratap*, New Delhi); and Mr. J. Natarajan (*The Tribune*, Ambala Cantt.)

The President also announced in the open session of the Conference the following nominations to the Standing Committee:

Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan (*The Hindu*, Madras); Mr. C. R. Srinivasan (*Swadesamitran*, Madras); Mr. Ramnath Goenka (*Indian Express*, Madras); Mr. G. A. Johnson (*Statesman*, Calcutta) and Mr. J. N. Sahni (*Press News Features*, Delhi).

THE FORGOTTEN FOUR MILLIONS*

BY MR. P. D. SAGGI

MORE than four million of our countrymen live in the various colonies of the British Commonwealth and other countries.

Vaguely we are all conscious of the existence of this great number of Indians abroad. Perhaps on business trips to the various parts of the world or on pleasure jaunts that some of you might have had to these various places, you have either seen or met some of these Indians. Perhaps also you were made conscious of their existence by Mahatma Gandhi, who himself began his life, his political life, in South Africa.

This vague consciousness has been with us for a number of years. But during the past two or three decades, we have been so completely engrossed in the trouble at home that we have neither had time nor resources enough to tackle this problem. There has been a slight shifting of responsibility in this matter which was perhaps unavoidable under these circumstances. It had been said times without number that when India became free the problems of Indians abroad will vanish; that automatically they will obtain the rights of citizenship and other advantages wherever they are; that various countries of the world will fall over one another in offering all sorts of benefits to these Indians. And such was the force of these arguments, that most of us came to believe in them, secure in the knowledge that all we needed to do was to win our own freedom at home and leave the Indians abroad to take care of themselves.

Now that India is free, we all know to our bitter disappointment that all that we expected of this freedom has not come our way. Those of you who are businessmen, industrialists, and leaders in the realm of finance do realise, I am sure, that this is true to a great extent. You are all acquainted with controls,

with shortages, with licences, with red tape and with many other vexations which it is neither possible nor necessary to name here. Some of these things, we all realise, are a necessary adjunct of a new and progressive nation. Others unfortunately are not so necessary but are the result of a muddle-headed approach in which our new rulers have come to specialise. . . .

Most of these Indians went out from here as indentured labourers in the middle of the 19th century. After the abolition of slavery the planters in all the British colonies were unable to find enough labour to run their plantations. The freed slaves refused wage labour. And the rulers of the empire came to India in search of labourers. This labour was recruited in the villages of India, under many false pretences and sometimes by downright cheating. Many devout Hindus were told that they would be taken to places of pilgrimage; many devout Muslims were told that they would be taken to Mecca and the thumb impressions of these illiterate people were put on various contract forms; they were bundled in the holds of ships like cattle and taken thousands of miles from their country to unknown lands and unknown climes, and a life of virtual slavery.

Thousands and thousands of them died of sheer suffocation in holds of these ships; many thousands more perished by the elemental furies in the lands where they worked and lived, many and many more thousands were killed by the whips of slave drivers.

To quote one example. Out of more than 50,000 labourers taken to British Guiana there were hardly 18,000 left after 10 years, although a heavy birth rate obtained among them and supplies were continuously being replenished from India. Conditions of living and working in British Guiana were so terrible that a man who went to work in the morning was not quite sure if he would come back alive; even if he did he was not sure if he would find his wife and children still living. The fame of this colossal death rate

* THE FORGOTTEN FOUR MILLIONS. Address delivered to the Rotary Club Ahmedabad by Mr. P. D. Saggi, General Secretary, Indian Nationals Overseas Congress, Bombay.

reached as far as secure and peaceful London. In one of his famous speeches in the House of Lords, Macaulay referred to plague raging in some part of Britain as killing people as fast as on the shores of Demarara. And such were the conditions on the shores of Demarara that had there been a world news service as we have today, there would have been revolutions all along the line.

But news travelled very slowly in those days and the first horrible tales were brought back to India after many decades by a few labourers who had completed their indentures and managed to get a passage home—a very rare thing. These tales ultimately reached the ears of sympathetic leaders. Then it was, that this problem gained currency in our country and became an essential plank of all political parties then in existence.

Since then we have travelled far. Many Indian leaders have visited the various colonies where indentured labourers work. The late Rev. C. F. Andrews did sterling service to this cause by personally going to Fiji and many other places. The tales of horror that he brought back stirred every drop of blood in every thinking Indian. So much so, that the then Government of India was also moved to send a few deputations and commissions of inquiry to various countries. Even the then unsympathetic Government realised the urgency of the problem and the need to move in the matter. But the planters were powerfully represented in London and many times a measure of reform insisted upon by the Government of India was thrown overboard by the Imperial Government in London.

Even so, in the early decades of this century further immigration of labour was completely stopped. This almost brings us to the present day. What is the situation today? Let me say a few words about every important country.

As most of you know the struggle in South Africa is very acute and demands the Government's immediate attention. Dr. Malan is determined to segregate Indians once for all. Measures are on

the way right now to create ghettos for various Indian communities. They never had any political franchise at all and their limited municipal franchise—that they enjoy in a few towns—is sought to be taken away from them. They cannot work where they like, they cannot go where they like, they cannot live where they like; in fact I can hardly think of anything they can do. In the face of all this, our Government has filed a complaint in the United Nations and has made enough noise to frighten any decent human being. But South Africa is unresponsive and adamant.

In the West Indies some reforms are said to be under way. Even they leave much to be desired according to modern political practices.

Then we have a white Australia, a white Canada, a white New Zealand and various other white commonwealth colonies. Although the U. S. Citizenship is open for Indians, the quota for us is so meagre, it will probably take many years for those Indians already in the States to become naturalized Americans.

What can the Government of India do to remedy this state of affairs? I suggest a two way plan by which a concerted attack can be made on the problem. First, the Government of India should appoint interested and knowledgeable men to these countries, to create a sort of liaison between India and Indians abroad. Through these agents the Government can demand forcibly and as a matter of right, citizenship and other privileges for Indians abroad.

Secondly, the Government can launch a cultural co-operation drive through which to acquaint the forgotten four millions of conditions at home and to acquaint the people at home of the conditions of these forgotten four millions.

To direct all these activities a special department of Indians Overseas must now be created in the Foreign Affairs Ministry and at the head of the department must be kept a man who knows the problem personally and not through reading about it here and there. Only such a method can attack this problem successfully.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

THE GLORY OF ATHENS

Lincoln's Gettysburg oration is generally considered a great speech—a masterpiece of brevity and power. But two thousand years ago Pericles, addressing the Athenian citizens, spoke words, which for wisdom and eloquence, have not been surpassed. The theme was, of course, the greatness of Athens, and Pericles waxed eloquent on the beauty and courage and wisdom and freedom that radiated from that centre of culture and democracy. There was no shorthand in those days and the speech could not have been reported word for word. We owe it to Thucydides, the historian who has put these winged words into the mouth of the Athenian orator—words which have echoed through the centuries with a strange power and potency because of their wisdom and aptness for all times and occasions.

"We are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness. Wealth to us is not mere material for vainglory but an opportunity for achievement; and poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome Let us draw strength, not merely from twice-told arguments—how fair and noble a thing it is to show courage in battle—but from the busy spectacle of our great city's life as we have it before us day by day, falling in love with her as we see her, and remembering that all this greatness she owes to men with the fighter's daring, the wise man's understanding of his duty, and the good man's self-discipline in its performance—to men who, if they failed in any ordeal, disdained to deprive the city of their services, but sacrificed their lives as the best offerings on her behalf. So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is a sepulchre of famous men; and their

story is not given only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives. For you now it remains to rival what they have done and, knowing the secret of happiness to be freedom and the secret of freedom a brave heart, not idly to stand aside from the enemy's onset."

WHISTLER ANSWERED

One day Whistler, the famous artist, sent an urgent message to Sir Morell 'MacKenzie, eminent throat specialist, asking him to call at once. The specialist hurried to the artist, anxious to diagnose his complaint. He was chagrined to find that Whistler had called him to examine a sick dog. However, he said nothing, pocketed his fee, and drove away.

Next day, Sir Morell sent urgently for Whistler, asking him to call immediately. When the artist arrived in haste, the specialist said in a brisk businesslike voice, "How do you do, Mr. Whistler? I am glad you have come. I wanted to see you about having my front door painted."

THE READING HABIT

"My power to read" Gladstone wrote in his eighty-eighth year, when, after his long day, the night was fast closing in, "my power to read for a considerable number of hours daily, thank God, continues. This is a great mercy."

RELIGION

"Religion is human experience interpreted by human imagination. . . . Matters of religion should never be matters of controversy. We seek rather to honour the piety and understand the poetry embodied in these fables."

—George Santayana.

ON LENDING BOOKS.

Never lend books—no one ever returns them. The only books I have in my library are those which people have lent me.

—Anatole France.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

A Code for Journalists

THE appointment of the long expected Press Inquiry Commission with its wide, almost comprehensive terms of reference with an impressive team of members, has given general satisfaction. It may be doubted if conditions in the Indian Press, which after all is not so numerous or so afflicted with corruption as in some other countries one could think of—if conditions in India are so dire as to demand such an exhaustive inquiry. The inclusion of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, a veteran of fifty years of public life with a quarter of a century of administrative experience, is a welcome addition to the Commission which lacks nothing in importance or status. One however fails to understand the omission of any representative of so important and responsible a body of working Journalists as the Southern India journalists' federation. This is a lapse which will be rightly resented.

While there is general satisfaction in the appointment of such a Commission one hopes, with Mr. Mani, the President of the A.I.N.E.C. that the deliberations of the Commission will not lead to more restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression. It is natural that journalists should be anxious that whatever control on publications in the Press may be necessary should come only as a result of the realisation of its duties by newspapers. In other words as Mr. Mani said "the control, if it all necessary must be a voluntary and self-imposed control."

If that is so journalists should not forget their high calling and should always act with a due sense of responsibility. In this connection a sub-Committee of the A.I.N.E.C. has prepared a professional code for journalists—a code which was fully discussed at the meeting of the U.N. Commission at its session held in New York in May last year. Mr. Mani, in his address presented the draft code for consideration and we take leave to quote it in full.

1. As the Press is a primary instrument in the creation of public opinion journalists should regard their calling as a trust and be eager to serve and guard the public interest and the peace of humanity.

2. In the discharge of their duties journalists shall attach due value to fundamental human and social rights and shall hold good faith and fair play in news reports and comments as essential professional obligations.

3. Journalists shall observe special restraint in reports and comments dealing with social tensions arising from racial, religious or economic differences.

4. Journalists shall endeavour to ensure that information disseminated is factually accurate. No fact shall be distorted and no essential fact shall be suppressed. No information known to be false shall be published.

5. Responsibility shall be assumed for all information and comments published. If responsibility is disclaimed this shall be explicitly stated beforehand.

6. Rumour and unverified news shall be identified and treated as such.

7. Confidence shall always be respected. Professional secrecy must be preserved.

8. Journalists shall not allow personal interest to influence professional conduct.

9. Any report found to be inaccurate and any comment based on inaccurate reports shall be voluntarily rectified. It shall be obligatory to give fair publicity to a correction or contradiction when a report published is shown to be false or inaccurate in material particulars.

10. Journalists shall guard themselves against the exploitation of their status nor may they exploit their status for non-journalistic purposes.

11. There is nothing so unworthy as the acceptance or demand of a bribe or inducement for the exercise by a journalist of his power to give or deny publicity to news or comment.

12. Freedom in the honest collection and publication of news and facts and the rights of fair comment and criticism are principles which every journalist should always defend.

13. Journalists shall be ever conscious of special obligations to their fellows in the profession and to persons bearing public responsibilities.

14. Journalists shall not seek to deprive fellow journalists of their livelihood by unfair means or make wrongful or unauthorized use of their work.

15. The carrying on of personal controversies in the Press shall be regarded as derogatory to the dignity of the profession.

16. It is unprofessional to give currency to rumours or loose talks affecting the private life of individuals whose reputation should be respected. Even verifiable news affecting individuals shall not be published unless the public interest as distinguished from public curiosity demands its publication.

OCTOBER 1952]

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The A. I. C. C.

The Indore session of the All India Congress Committee was of more than usual interest in view of the tension that has recently appeared in the relations between the Congress legislative party and the organisational committee of the Congress. In Nepal this tension became so acute as to necessitate the dissolution of the Government. In Bombay and other States it has been threatening to upset the existing set up and make way for the unwanted and undemocratic Governor's rule. Luckily the Prime Minister's tactical handling of the situation in his capacity as Congress President made it possible to secure a satisfactory adjustment of relations which, for the moment, has considerably eased the situation.

The Indore session was a triumph for discipline among Congressmen and the loyalty they felt towards the institution, said Mr. S. K. Patil, Bombay Congress President who raised the banner of revolt in his State.

Indeed many critics of the Congress expected a burst up, but their worst apprehensions were laid at rest by the great demonstration of unity which the session was able to present. Mr. Nehru, in his talks with the Committee members and the members of the Legislature party completely disarmed opposition by his informal and friendly approach to all points of controversy.

I am particularly happy, said Mr. Patil, because almost all the amendments which were suggested by the Bombay P.C.C. were incorporated in the official draft of the Working Committee. This also was the result of the generous attitude of the Congress President who recognised the merits of those amendments. The amended constitution has now to become a better and more powerful instrument of the Congress mind.

The active association of the members of the legislatures with the Congress organisation in the daily functioning of that institution will resolve many of the difficulties which we experience today.

The A.I.C.C. managed to bring about this happy result by amending 16 out of 30 articles of the Congress constitution. The main points of the amendments carried out include the conferring of associate membership of the deliberative committees of the

organization on members of the Congress party in the Central and State legislatures and the deletion of the clause in the constitution which prescribed that one-third of the membership of the Working Committee should consist of Central and State Ministers.

The inclusion of some three thousand Congress Party members in the various legislatures in India as associate members of the party is thus an important landmark in the history of the Congress organisation. It is believed that this would enable greater cohesion and understanding among Congressmen engaged in the various spheres of organisational work, diminish bickerings and accelerate the pace of the work of the Congress.

Another highlight of the session was the classification of the Foreign policy of India in a resolution moved by Maulana Azad. The All-India Congress Committee, after two-and-half hours' debate unanimously adopted the Working Committee's resolution on foreign policy, appealing to the great Powers of the world to meet together with a view to removing the ever-present fear and tension that oppressed mankind and to take some immediate steps towards the solution of the major problems of the day. The amendments were either rejected or withdrawn.

The Grand Old Man of India

The 92nd birthday of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the veteran engineer-statesman, which was celebrated appropriately at Bangalore under the Presidentship of H. H. the Rajapramukh of Mysore, was a fitting occasion to give expression to the country's appreciation of the grand old man's life as a shining example of genuine public spirit and patriotism. Past the Psalmist's three score years and ten Sir Visvesvaraya has lost none of his old enthusiasm for works of public utility and benevolence. Expressing his great pleasure in being able to participate in the function His Highness observed that he had always held Sir Visvesvaraya in highest esteem and affection. Sir M. Visvesvaraya was, without doubt, one of the most outstanding personalities of our time—

perhaps one of the greatest born in Mysore—a fact of which Mysoreans were proud. The 70 years of his working life made one chapter of continuous intense fruitful activity.

Sir Visvesvaraya, in the course of his reply, said that many friends had asked him how it was that he kept himself fit even at this advanced age and lead a somewhat busy working life. He was maintaining his health because he attached great importance to four things, *viz.*,

food at regular hours, sleep of six to eight hours, work for about eight hours a day on an average and exercise in the shape of walking three or four miles. He had attached great importance to his walks, because by such walks, blood got circulated in all parts of the body. He had long believed in exercises in open air, because that helped man to keep fit in body, mind and spirit. "Nature is a huge banking concern. To those who most frequently call on her, she is in a very friendly mood."

Sir Visvesvaraya advocated three C's to get on successfully in this world, *viz.*, cheerfulness, courage and confidence.

Army Rule in Egypt and Lebanon

Army *coups* which have been a recurrent feature in South American history are now becoming pretty common in middle East Asia also. A year ago there was a *Coup d'état* in Syria, which was then thought to be a novel repetition of the Kemal's example in Turkey. And now we have similar *Coups* in Egypt and Lebanon. In all these cases the revolt of the army is attributed to civilian corruption and maladministration. If the army could show a better record it will have justified itself; but history repeats itself: what is won by the sword generally perishes by the sword. If the new regimes could carry the people with them there is no reason why the experiments should fail.

The Military adventure in Egypt started a couple of months ago.

Early last month less than seven weeks after Egypt's strong man General Mohamed Naguib launched his *coup d'état* against ex-King Farouk, he took complete control of the Government after the biggest mass arrest in the country's

turbulent history. He imprisoned more than 50 politicians and leaders at a stroke, and accepted the resignation of Premier Aly Maher and his Government.

On Sept. 18 the Lebanese President, Bechari el Khoury, resigned his post amid allegations of Government corruption and handed over power to the army. His resignation, which came on the third day of a general strike called by the Opposition against political corruption, makes Lebanon the third Middle East State to come within the rule of the army within a year.

General Shehab, Army Commander since the French evacuation of the Lebanon in 1946, immediately on assuming power as Premier and Foreign Minister blamed Khoury's downfall on his hesitation to agree to drastic reforms to appease the people who were discontented with his control of 52 of the country's 77 Deputies.

Kishorilal Mashruwala

"One of that noble band who was not swept away by passing events but kept true to Gandhiji's message"—that was what Nehru said when the news of Mashruwala's death was conveyed to him. That was precisely the reason why they chose Mashruwala to edit Gandhiji's *Harijan* after the death of the Mahatma.

Imbibing the philosophy of Gandhiji as few others of the followers of the Mahatma had done, Mashruwala did not lag behind in times of the intensive movements for freedom. He was jailed thrice—in 1930, 32 and '42. Along with most of the leaders of the nation, he was imprisoned for four years during the "Quit India" struggle.

As readers of *Harijan* are aware Mashruwala always took a detached and impersonal view of Gandhiji's opinions and approach to public questions, even during the Mahatma's life time. A staunch follower and interpreter of Gandhiji, he assumed the functions of a candid friend of Congress Ministers in the Centre and in the State, and he always wrote without fear or favour. One more link with Gandhi has snapped in the passing of Mashruwala, a pious, mildman of rare courage and intensity.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY. By Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

At the age of eighty, as this book shows, Bertrand Russell remains as splendidly alert and alive as ever, with a vitality, versatility and wit which younger men may well envy. The most outstanding characteristic of his writing—which won for him the Alfred Nobel Prize for Literature two years ago—is a magnificent and forceful clarity. Of this quality, this book is an extremely interesting example. Writers on the philosophic implications of modern scientific thought and achievement or on the sociological or political implications of some notable scientific discovery or invention like, say, the atom-bomb are only too often apt to be technical and dry,—even when they are accurate and analytical. Russell's writing combines the accuracy and technical knowledge of the scientist with the imaginative breadth of view of the social philosopher.

The present book deals with the problem of the use mankind has made of science in the arts of peace and of war. Russell rightly castigates the current mistaken conception of science primarily as an instrument of material progress and not as an invaluable instrument for the understanding of the universe we live in.

Discussing the intellectual and social effects of science, he points out how science has immensely increased the scope of human power. The intensive utilization of scientific power has led to an enormous development of world-wide interdependence and of social organization on a global scale transcending the local, national and even continental boundaries and limitation of the last few centuries. To-day one of the major problems is that of the right distribution of power amongst the various entities, *viz.*—the world organization, the state, and the individual. Modern scientific technique gives too vast and too dangerous a power to the modern official in totalitarian

as well as in democratic states, though in different degrees as between totalitarian states and 'free', democratic states.

The other problem is that of the utilization of the techniques of science towards the beneficent enlargement of man's material and physical well-being. This involves the abolition of war, the proper distribution of power and the control of the growth of population. The lust for power of some groups in both sides of the current cold war—and what Russell calls the widely diffused malevolence of mankind are obstacles in the way. A properly organized world regime would overcome both obstacles, according to Russell. There is, however, in this account of a possible solution, a strange remoteness from reality. Russell, in our view, oversimplifies both the problem and the solution therefor.

HOW SMOKE GETS INTO THE AIR: By Terence Heywood The Fortune Press, London.

The poet's mind is a peculiar thing. It works in its own way, and when this way is altogether original or when poet's mind takes sudden jumps the ordinary reader finds it difficult to understand what the poet is after. The poet cannot be asked to write otherwise than he thinks and feels; but then he may give some clues to help the unfortunate reader. When Chesterton explains what Browning meant by his mysterious, "who fished the murex up", everything becomes clear. But till then the reader gropes through, feeling vague tones of beauty and nothing more. That is how it is with this poet also. That there is vigour of thought and expression is clear. That he is drawing poetry and power out of life to-day is clear also. Except for thus seeing darkly and sensing vaguely nothing more is possible in the midst of all the elliptical, serio-flippant writing that is given here.

CHINA TODAY. (A Symposium) Hindustani Culture Society, 145 Muthiganj, Allahabad—pp. 701. Rs. 7-8-0.

When the leaders of Red China invited Pundit Sundarlal and a dozen other peace-loving and democratic Indians to visit peace-loving and democratic New China in September 1951, they could have expected no more than an admirable amanuensis. They were wrong, because the Pundit and his team were so intoxicated by their hosts' crapulous chauvinism and neophytic enthusiasm that the result is a badly printed book of seven hundred pages, quoting at length the long official speeches of the Chinese and the monotonous replies of the guests. Indeed, some of the modest Indians returned highly critical of their own leaders and country after Independence, in contrast to Mao Tse-tung and his New Democracy.

The peaceful superimposition of one culture on another is a tedious process, but if the transformation is violent and sudden there will obviously be some dislocation and suffering. It was therefore inevitable and evident, notwithstanding ingenious attempts at evasion, that the Revolution raised the standard of living of the poor at the expense not only of the rich, but of individual liberty. Recalcitrants were ruthlessly "educated" to toe the line, foci of counter-revolution like priests, and landlords liquidated and reduced to peasantry and labour legislation introduced that does not contemplate strikes even in privately owned industry. It thus emerges that there is liberty for the individual only so long as he conforms to the pattern ordained by the rulers. At the same time, it must be admitted that the Government have largely succeeded in unifying the country and controlling the currency and corruption, which made Kuomintang China look like an operative fantasy. The emancipation of women and the elimination of prostitution and beggary are other achievements of the Revolution. But while acknowledging these salutary results, one cannot share the worshipful wonder of the Pundit for the Chinese. It is puzzling to be assured that the

Russians have no interest or part in the Korea War or that the Chinese army in Korea consists of "volunteers." It is equally difficult to accept the asseveration that American educational Institutions in China were guilty of "cultural aggression," a capitalist prelude to economic exploitation and physical aggression, such as in Korea. When the communists lack argument, they pad their language to confuse and confound. Their methods are infectious, for unofficial leader Pundit Sundarlal, on behalf of 350 million Indians, publicly condemned American aggression, and acclaimed Chinese intervention, in Korea. Fortunately, the polite Chinese did not ask why the official leader of India had sent a Medical mission to work for the aggressor.

RAMBLES IN VEDANTA. By B. R. Rajam Iyer. The S. P. League, Bentinck St., Calcutta.

Rajam Aiyer died at the early age of 26; but he has left work which, judged by any standard, must be pronounced outstanding, both in quality and bulk. It was the time when Swami Vivekananda first emerged as the trumpet voice of renaissance India and Rajam Aiyer was one of the youngest and earliest of his lay disciples. By study and discipline his mind was ready to be lit by the spark that flew from the master's words. It was left to him to bring the message of the Vedanta nearer to the business and bosoms of men in India while the Swami was busy preaching the same message in America. *The Prabuddha Bharata* which he edited with such distinction was Vedanta in popular garb. The wisdom of the scriptures and the lives of the saints and gurus, stories and legends from the Epics and the Upanishads and Bhagavata, are all rendered into easy and simple English for the benefit of its readers. Rajam Aiyer wrote in a style that was at once attractive and inspiring. Thus it was left to him to keep the homefires burning when the master was away on his mission abroad. It is these writings that are here presented in a single volume.

MADRAS AGRICULTURE by C. W. B. Zacharias, University of Madras. Price Rs. 15.

Descriptive Economics is a difficult subject to write about at all times. One has to rescue it from becoming a dull narration of what has been done or not done and support the narration by official figures. Both the narration and the figures become out of date and the book has to be revised and brought up to date year after year. The core of what endures permanently shrinks.

In spite of these defects, it is not impossible to study trends and directions and orders of magnitude of basic economic problems. Indian studies in economics should be appreciated and their value adjudged in the background of these limitations.

Professor Zacharias has made a careful study of the features and the problems of Agriculture in the State of Madras. It is a useful text book for students of Rural Economics. The book deals with all the major aspects of agriculture—Irrigation, tenures, credit, co-operation, prices, labour. Each one of the chapters bears evidence of patient work and an eye for detail.

The Professor, however, should not take what Ministers and officers lay at face value. On page 55 Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddi is quoted as having said that by tank restoration alone food production could be increased by 4 million tons in Madras. 4 million tons is very nearly the total deficit of India. This is an unscientific statement and the value of the book will be evidenced by its elimination. So also in estimating model credit demands it is not profitable to attempt an exact figure. Credit is circumstanced by the price and profit to the agriculturist. It varies from time to time. No one can say more than that, under certain given conditions, it is within a certain range.

These, however, are incidental observations. A study of resources is the basis of a planned economy and from that point of view the book is a welcome addition to the library on the subject.

INDIAN TALES RETOLD. By Tara Sirkar, General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., No. 119, Dharamtala St., Calcutta. Rs. 2.

This is a delightful little book of stories for children in their teens, told with all the warmth and affability of one steeped in the myths and legends of Hindustan. There are giants and fairies in our tales; only they take the form of gods and goddesses always intent in helping the good, the needy and the deserving—as good fairies should do. Doubtless the author has heard these stories told her by the elders—an aunt or a grandmother—and Tara Sirkar's English version has lost none of the charm and spontaneity of the original. Here are half a dozen stories, aptly illustrated and told with unaffected simplicity and unflinching charm.

DAY-TO-DAY WITH BHAGAVAN. From the Diary of A. Devaraja Mudaliar, Manager Sri Ravana Ashram, Thiruvannamalai.

The author of this book was in the Ashram for four years in close touch with the Bhagavan and his doings. The Diary records the Bhagavan's conversation with pilgrims who came to the Ashram for Darshan. The Bhagavan's talk was always unconventional and covered trivial details of daily life as well as speculations on the sublime. The recorded talks reveal the Bhagavan's infinite love for all beings and his intuitive perception of the things of the spirit which he was able to expound with the ease and charm of Sri Ramakrishna of Dhakshineswar, with whom the Maharishi had a great deal in common. These extracts from the the Diary whet our appetite for more and more.

DREAM WOVEN. By J. M. Lobo Prabhu, I.C.S., Development Deptt. Government of Madras.

Mr. Lobo has followed up his propaganda play on Prohibition—what the vintners sell—with another on Handloom industry—Dream woven. Attractively printed and published under Government auspices, the pamphlet is priced Re. One.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

01

- Sept. 1 Delhi reports Pak plans for fresh tribal aggression in Kashmir.
—Colombo announces tightening of exchange control regulations.
- Sept. 2 India Government decide to recognise Egyptian ruler as King of the Sudan.
- Sept. 3 Britain's Trade Union Congress, meeting at Margate, condemns South Africa for complete denial of U. N.'s human rights declaration.
- Sept. 4 King Tribhuvan of Nepal visits Delhi for consultations.
- Sept. 5 East German Parliament decides to send a delegation to West German Bundestag to participate in 4-power talks about Germany.
- Sept. 6 Closure of Portuguese Bank in Bombay ordered as a retaliatory measure.
- Sept. 7 Vice-Chancellors, meeting at Madras, oppose Govt. move to regulate Universities.
—Mahar Cabinet in Egypt resigns; Gen. Neguib assumes Premiership with a new-16 man Cabinet.
- Sept. 8 First World Convention on Copyright signed at Geneva by 35 nations.
—Soviet motion to admit Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and other States in one package rejected by U. N. Security Council.
- Sept. 9 Gen. Neguib appointed military Governor-General of Egypt decrees land reform and reorganisation of parties.
- Sept. 10 Kashmir talks end at Geneva.
—Adlai Stevenson, Democratic Presidential Candidate urges U.S. aid to India.
- Sept. 11 Commerce and Industry Member T. T. Krishnamachari announces Government proposal to set up high powered handloom board.
- Sept. 12 Arab-Asian nations decide to demand full day debate on South African laws in U.N. Assembly.
- Sept. 13 All India Congress Committee meets at Indore.
—U. N. Bombers raid Yalu with British consent.
- Sept. 14 Ceylon Congress decides to suspend Satyagraha for two months paving way to settlement.
- Sept. 15 A. I. N. E. C. meets in Delhi. Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor of *Hitavada*, presiding.
- Sept. 16 Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir accepts Prime Minister Nehru's advice to abdicate in favour of his son Yuvaraj Karan Singh.
—U.S. Govt. refutes Germ warfare charge.
- Sept. 17 Russia vetoes Libyan entry into the U. N.
- Sept. 18 Army Coup in Lebanon: President resigns.
—Soviet vetoes Japan's admission to U.N.
- Sept. 19 Justice Rajadhyaksha to be Chairman of the proposed Press Commission.
—Wafd party in Egypt dissolved to be reorganised on new lines.
- Sept. 20 Govt. of India accept food gifts from China and USSR. to be distributed by Red Cross Society.
- Sept. 21 U. N. Secretary General writes to the Govts. of India, Pakistan and S. Africa in regard to treatment of Indians in S. Africa.
- Sept. 22 President Truman welcomes Indian Film delegation.
—Nahas Pasha asked to quit Wafd.
- Sept. 23 Press Commission personnel and terms announced.
—Dr. Malan repeats his threat to quit U.N.
- Sept. 24 Dr. Graham presents his report to U. N. Council on the result of his talks on Kashmir.
- Sept. 25 Socialist—K. M. P. merger ratified in Bombay meeting of the respective Councils.
—Nehru in Hyderabad defends centre's decision to take over Osmania University.
- Sept. 26 Praja-Socialist party joint Conference ratifies merger.
- Sept. 27 Spanish philosopher and poet George Santayana aged 89 dead in a convent in Rome.
- Sept. 28 Gen. Neguib calls for unity in face of British claim for Suez Zone.
- Sept. 29 President Truman indicts Eisenhower. Stevenson reveals details of his income.
- Sept. 30 Bevanites oust Morrison and Dalton from Labour Executive.



READERS' DIGEST



GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF FREEDOM

In a thoughtful article in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Usha Mehta discusses at some length the concept of Freedom in Mahatma Gandhi's thought. The new social order as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, involves a radical reconstruction of Society on the Spiritual principle of the equal worth and dignity of all human beings. The free man, according to him, is one who is at peace with himself, for he has attained equipoise with his will.

He is therefore capable of directing his will to worthy objects and ends, and diverting it from unworthy ends. He has completely disciplined himself to obey the Moral Law, the law of his being. He may have desires and passions, but they are sublimated by reason. Reason, according to Plato, functions as the controlling and synthesising principle of the spiritual and appetitive parts of the soul. Freedom thus becomes the rational synthesis of desires and passions in an integrated life. It is rationalised self-control—the integration of the heart and the mind, the material and the spiritual. In Gandhian concept it is both Swaraj and Swaraj or Moksha.

Gandhiji however distinguishes between the actual will and the ideal will. The actual will may be capricious and may desire things not worth desiring. It has, therefore, to be held in leash by the real will which being rational has to assume control.

Such control may involve force, but it is force in the sense of self-imposed rational imperative. In other words, true freedom is reconcilable not only with "can" but also with the "ought" and is inseparable from it. Freedom has reference to a will which not only can but also ought to fulfil the law of its nature. Such will is autonomous will in that it conforms to a law which the will itself as reason constitutes. Reason and will become identical in being the expression of the self-realising principle. The will is determined by its object which in turn, is determined by the end. Ultimately, therefore, it is self-determined and free.

Such freedom as Gandhiji conceived it, is a self-conquest. It has to be acquired by effort and won just as knowledge is to be acquired. It is not a gift to be bestowed or conferred by others. It has to be won by constant vigilance and continuous striving, and won only by those who are prepared to wear the martyr's crown.

Gandhiji exhorted his followers again and again that they should shed all external fears and

should be prepared to face bullets. In his opinion the votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He reckons not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practice Ahimsa to perfection. The votary of Ahimsa has only one fear, that is of God. He thus offers no bed of roses but prescribes an arduous discipline. Through self-denial, self-effacement, self-control and self-transcendence is freedom to be won.

The attainment of this freedom is within the reach of all because "in my my opinion," says Gandhiji, "there is no place on the earth and no race which is not capable of the finest types of humanity, given suitable opportunities and education."

PAKISTAN AT THE CROSS ROADS

In a dispassionate study in the XX Century, of the origin and the present set up of Pakistan Dr. Percival Spear discusses the various forces, cultural, political and intellectual which hold that country together in an inner unity. But he concludes that he should not like to give the impression that all is well with Pakistan, that a straight course has been set over calm seas to the heaven of the liberal State. The course has been set, he says, but the seas are not calm.

The external dangers, such as the attitude of the Afghans and the Kashmir problem, are too well known to need comment. Internally, one great problem is the full integration of East and West Pakistan. Another is the stress between the forward-looking, westernizing Muslim and the dead-weight of traditionalist conservative Islam. The backwoodsmen of the Punjab lack leaders but not numbers, and they are the hope of the backward looking *ulema*. They cling to old customs like *purdah* and Muslim exclusiveness, and their thoughts run easily to *jehads* or holy wars. They have done badly in elections but they contain a reservoir of fanaticism of whose exact strength no one can be quite sure. The cry 'Islam in danger' is a nightmare for Pakistani statesmen, as once 'No Popery' was for English ones. Kashmir is a convenient rallying cry. The military plot of a year ago, for all its Communist connections, was not unrelated with this feeling, nor, I think, was the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan. Pakistan has found her soul but her destiny cannot yet be regarded as fixed or certain. She is still, and for some years more must continue to be, at the cross-roads of national fate.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

The wheel set spinning by Mahatma Gandhi has come full circle, writes the *New Statesman and Nation*.

Forty-five years after Gandhi used Satyagraha to protect the interests of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, passive resistance returns to South Africa. And it returns with a weight, prestige, and promise of effectiveness which cannot be ignored even by its most arrogant enemies among the Whites.

Since the end of June this year, when the national organisations of the Africans, Coloureds, and Indians in the Union opened a joint campaign of non-violent resistance to racist laws and regulations, over 3,000 non-Whites have gone to jail for deliberately defying one or other of the many rules of racial segregation. The courts have awarded fines; many have refused to pay steadily, the jails are filling up; and the flood of volunteers shows little sign of abating. On the Government side there is talk of using the lash. But the movement goes on; even if it were checked now, it has already succeeded well enough to set an unforgettable example for the future.

Few or no incidents of violence have marred the campaign.

That is a tribute to the leadership of the three non-White communities—leadership which, in political terms, stretches from Right to Left and takes in almost every current of independent non-White opinion. So true is this, indeed, that the authorities have now found it necessary to arrest Dr. James Moroka, the moderate and non-political President of the African National Congress, whom they seized not at some political meeting or mass demonstration, but in his quiet surgery in the Orange Free State town of Thaba Nchu.

It might be thought that the Nationalists would take thought in good time, before this movement grows to overwhelming proportions or drives them into the fatal exasperation of using violence against non-violence.

But there is no sign that the Nationalists are taking thought. That they are deeply embarrassed is clear from the threats of whipping which Swart, the Minister of Justice, is throwing about.

If the Nationalists can think in terms of nothing better than bigger jails and heavier sentences, the other great party of White South Africa, the United Party, remains in little better case.

Its quiescence at this time is bad for South Africa and bad for itself. A minority in the United Party probably knows this; but the habits of the majority are long established and hard to move. The truth is that most members of the United Party feel themselves on the Nationalist side of this conflict rather than the non-White side. If there has to be a choice, they will choose the Nationalists; and they will choose the Nationalists in the stubborn if quite

erroneous conviction that they are standing thus for civilisation. Preferring not to announce this choice at a time when they are locked in another kind of conflict with the Nationalists, the leaders of the United Party simply say nothing. Yet one of the central aims of the non-White leaders—and of all who wish well to South Africa—must none the less be to achieve some degree of common cause with the United Party in the fight against the Nationalists. For it is the Nationalists who are the immediate danger.

With or without the United Party, this campaign seems certain to go on. It began in the face of United Party opposition and it has continued in the face of United Party indifference. And already, says the *Weekly*, two important points about it have become clear.

The first is that the three non-White communities have proved their ability to work together under joint leadership; and the second is that this newly forged unity of action—overcoming marked communal hostilities in some parts of the Union—is strong enough to persist and grow stronger. Rather than withdrawing before threats of the lash and longer sentences of hard labour rank-and-file volunteers from all three communities have continued to come forward in greater numbers. Thousands of non-Whites have seen the long tradition of quiescence under White supremacy smashed in their own personal experience: voluntarily they have suffered, and are suffering for their convictions, and they are not likely to forget it. What a few can do to-day, many can do to-morrow: the history of modern India has shown that this is a snowball which rolls and rolls larger.

INDO-ASIAN CULTURE

This new quarterly in English, Edited by Dr. A. C. Sen and published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (Hyderabad House, New Delhi) is a welcome addition to periodical literature in India. The first number which opens with a message from the President is replete with articles of striking interest bearing on the cultural relations of India with the countries of the Far East and South East. The relations between these Asian countries, politically, commercially and culturally since the age of Asoka are matters of history but the new freedom that has dawned in India and Burma and Ceylon and Indonesia adds fresh zest and interest to their efforts to forge closer relationship. We wish the Council success in its noble endeavour to strengthen the bonds of old friendship and kinship in culture.

KASHMIR

Mr. K. S. Venkataraman, Editor of the quarterly, *Service* has spared no pains to make the Independence Number as interesting and varied in its fare, as any of the previous numbers. He has gathered together articles on politics, biography and art by writers who command respect. His own observations on Current Events are by no means the least part of this sumptuous issue. Writing on Kashmir which has set people thinking furiously, he points out with refreshing candour that we should not belittle the difficulties that confront Sheikh Abdullah. There is little use now deploring why we took it to the U.N.O. Any one can be wise after the event but we must not ignore the fact that the Kashmir Premier has many points to face—the Moslem Kashmiris; the Non-Moslem Kashmiris; Pakistan and its guardian angels namely Anglo-America; the Indian Public; and the Government of India. In so difficult a situation and so delicate a matter, he has been doing the only

thing he should, fixing his eye on the inevitable plebiscite that is to come, and preparing the people for the vote. He knows full well that as soon as the Plebiscite Administrator is inducted, his own powers are at an end and the latter can draw on Pakistani troops and allow those dreaded Ansars by the hundred thousand to carry in the name of lawful propaganda Islamic fire and sword to the villagers who would not vote for Pakistan. They did so in the Punjab and in the N. W. F. and they are to do so with a vengeance now in Kashmir. Their line of propaganda is to revile the Kashmiri Moslems for being under Hindu Raj; for their not adopting Urdu in language and in writing; for their being subservient to the Kafir State of India flying its flag and losing their own. Under such circumstances he has no choice but to deprive those Ansars of their sails and goings and to anticipate their propaganda.

There, says Mr. Venkataraman, we can see his shrewdness. We who insist on legality are only hallooing before we are well out of the wood.

Let us not count our chickens before they are hatched. Catch the hare first before you cook it. The Plebiscite certain to take place; there is no help for it. And Sheikh Abdullah is wisely educating the people to vote aright.



The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Guest of Honour at a lunch party given by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, in New Delhi on September 17. The Members of the Reception Committee and other distinguished guests who attended the party photographed with the Prime Minister on his arrival. In the front row, to the right of the Prime Minister are: Mr. A. D. Mani (President of the Conference) and H. E. Dr. Najibullah Khan (Afghan Ambassador to India). To the left of the Prime Minister are: Mr. K. Narendra (Secretary, Reception Committee); Mr. D. R. Manekar (Chairman of the Reception Committee) and Mr. Manian Natesan.

JEWISH TRIBUTE TO VINOBA BHAVE

Writing under the caption "India remains a land of wonders" *India and Israel* pays a rich tribute to the work and mission of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. India, the journal writes, cannot be gauged by Western standards alone.

Machines and technical implements may change the face of this ancient country which in the course of time may conform in outside appearances with other so-called modern States. But all this will prove a thin veneer only on the unfathomable spirit of India, where great changes and developments are still possible today—and will be possible to-morrow—without the help of technical devices, without the whole regalia of modern civilisation.

There is one man on a walking tour in these days. From village to village he goes, clad in his simple *dhoti* bent upon his stick.

He collects land—land from big landowners for distribution to landless labourers. There is no force behind him; no law of any kind comes to his assistance. His sole and only weapon is his personality, his simplicity and his ability to appeal straight to the heart of the hardest people.

More than one hundred thousand acres have been given so far to this great land reformer—and this figure is rising day by day.

This man, who is making news today, is Acharya Vinoba Bhave, one of Gandhi's disciples.

His success is unbelievable—at least in countries where the whole complicated machinery of a democratic State has to be moved in order to achieve similar results—and unbelievable likewise in countries where the strong might of dictatorial power is needed to uplift the poor at the expense of the wealthy.

There have been many men in India's history whose pilgrimages have changed the face of the country. The latest and, but for the Gautama Buddha, greatest example was Mahatma Gandhi.

No Indian will easily forget the autumn of 1947 with the terrible days of frenzied slaughter following partition. Nowhere was the position more desperate than in Bengal's Noakhali district at the time when Gandhi started his walking tour through the countryside. He walked without arms and without escort. He spoke to the people and there was peace and an end of the fratricidal slaughter.

Vinoba Bhave is 56 years old. He follows in his life ancient Hindu traditions and as an ascetic is under a vow of celibacy. Gandhi very early already discovered the great potentialities of his

disciple and chose him to start the civil disobedience campaign.

The Government of India is trying hard to effect a land reform and to overcome vested interests and legal hurdles. It is the great achievement of Vinoba Bhave to keep the need for land reform constantly before the public eye—and to prove by his deeds that it is possible to regenerate India's village life by providing the class of landless labourers, which has grown to dangerous proportions with land providing food for their under-nourished families.

Vinoba Bhave has proved that the true India can be stirred by selfless, humble men—without the trappings of governmental power.

Vinoba Bhave would certainly be the first man to protest indignantly against his being placed on a par with his great master.

But Gandhi's equal or not, he is important evidence that Gandhi was not unique, but was a typical product of the India which in her own inimitable way in every crisis produces a man equal to the challenge of his times.

ON MAN AND APE

The press recently reported that a Southport woman is rearing a chimpanzee in the same fashion as a human baby. This kind of experiment has been tried before with results that are both interesting and instructive, writes Geoffrey A Dudley in *Psychology*.

An American psychologist Dr. W. N. Kellogg, brought up a chimpanzee, Gua with his infant son Donald, treating both youngsters alike. His aim was to discover how far the chimpanzee could benefit from human training. Some of the conclusions he reached may be summarised as follows:

1. The child and the animal became genuinely fond of each other.
2. The chimpanzee adjusted to wearing nappies and shoes, to sleeping in a crib and to being fed with a spoon while sitting in a high chair, to taking a bath and to using a tooth-brush.
3. At ten months the human child had two teeth but the chimpanzee had a complete set.
4. The senses of sight, hearing and smell were keener in the chimpanzee than in the child.
5. The chimpanzee learned to walk more rapidly than the child but, although she understood human words, she never learned to talk.
6. The chimpanzee learned to feed herself; turn a doorknob, control bladder and bowel evacuation and solve simple problem-situations sooner than the child.

INDIA—SAFEGUARD AGAINST COMMUNISM

Writing in *Foreign Affairs*, a quarterly published by the influential Council on Foreign Relations Mr. Chester Bowles, United States Ambassador to India says:

For the visitor who looks below the surface there is a new and immensely exciting India—a five-year old democracy of 360 million, working earnestly and with considerable success to solve their country's staggering problems.

The outcome of this great Indian effort will profoundly affect the world in which we live.

Indeed success or failure of the effort being made in India and other Asian countries to create an alternative to Communism in Asia may mark one of those historic turning points which determine the flow of events for many generations.

The challenge to the West, says Mr. Bowles, is to reaffirm "what is best in our long liberal tradition."

Sympathetic, intelligent and patient policies would enable the West to work with most Asiatic nations on a basis of mutual respect and understanding. By shirking the task of understanding Asia and by refusing to recognise the realities of 1952, the West will surely alienate a vast continent and may eventually bring about its own downfall.

Mr. Bowles says the revolutionary challenge of a ruthless Communist dictatorship in China could be met over the years only by the example of other Asian countries able to demonstrate unmistakably that democracy guarantees individuals rights and provides the quickest, most practicable means to raise living standards. Thus the future of Asia, and eventually the world balance of power may rest on the competition between Democratic India and Communist China.

If Democracy succeeds in India regardless of what happens in China, millions of Asian doubters will develop new faith in themselves, in their ancient cultures and in the ideals of the Free-World.

An objective study of the last five years' record must convince any unprejudiced observer that the new Indian Republic is off to a remarkable start," Mr. Bowles said. "Its extraordinary transition had been accomplished largely by persuasion and with almost no violence. It is a tribute to the wisdom of the princes and Congress leaders alike that there were no fifty Kashmirs."

He calls the five years' effort a spectacular achievement for which the bulk of the credit goes to the Indian leaders and people but with a generous share going to British public servants.

7. Although Gua developed more rapidly at first, Donald eventually caught up with and out-paced her.

8. The child proved to be better imitator than the chimpanzee and to show more control over his emotions.

9. The chimpanzee responded more readily than the child to commands, but was unable to remember prohibitions very long.

10. Unlike the human youngster Gua was never bashful when asked to perform before strangers.

In general, we may conclude that although we cannot make a human being out of a chimpanzee, we can at least teach the latter to acquire certain habits more rapidly than a human being can acquire them. The most impressive outcome of this experiment was the amazing speed with which the ape adapted to human life and the amount she learned from her short sojourn man. Though the experiment was halted when Gua was 16½ months old, and Donald 19 months there is little question but that Gua could never achieve such human performances as learning to read, Gua's behaviour could be changed to conform more closely to man's, but she could never be transformed into a human being.

The gap between the two children must widen continually as they grow older.

DREAMS

A survey of the substance of dreams being conducted at Western Reserve University under the direction of Professor of Psychology, Dr. Calvin Hall, shows that most of them are unromantic and commonplace.

The commonest background of the dream picture is a normal room. Very rarely is it the scene of the dreamer's work or is it concerned with work. Generally there are two other persons in addition to the dreamer. Very rarely are these persons unusual or exciting and in 43 per cent. of instances they are complete strangers to the dreamer.

Contrary to the popular conception other men appear in the dreams of men far oftener than do women.

In the 10,000 dreams which formed the material of the survey, about one in three was 'in colour.'

THE GREATER INDIA OF THE PAST

The need to organise research expeditions to find out how far to the west and east Indian civilization had spread in the past, is stressed by Dr. Dharendra Nath Roy in the course of an article in *Prabuddha Bharatha*.

Exactly how large that ancient India was we have yet to know, he writes. It was essentially a cultural sphere which went by the name of India. According to the geographer Hecataeus of ancient Ionia, the western limit of India appeared to be as far as the Caspian Sea, while its eastern limit was the limit of the earth. A little later, the famous Greek historian Herodotus, who travelled extensively in the east, and later still the Alexandrian astronomer Eratosthenes and even Ptolemy gave practically the same configuration of India in their respective maps of the world. As a matter of fact, none of these ancient geographers had any idea of the eastern part of India.

The Greeks and the Romans, who got their knowledge of the world from this sort of geography, were naturally ignorant of it. Even to the whole Christendom of the early Middle Ages, it was practically unknown. It began to be known only after Islam arose and spread east and west as a new cultural power.

The Moslem Arabs travelled by sea as far east as the numerous isles of the Pacific. They took a variety of spices and other commodities from there and carried them away to be sold to the West. All these lands were then within the vast cultural sphere of India, and to the West they began to be known as an integral part of it. Even subsequent to the Moslem conquest of some of these lands, the West knew them as such. That is why when Christopher Columbus sailed away to discover a sea route to India and landed in a new continent now called America, he thought it was India and called its people Indians.

Later the countrymen of Columbus, who soon came out in large numbers to this new continent and discovered that the much coveted spices were not there began to think of India again.

One of them named Ferdinand Magellan sailed from there with a good number of his co-adventurers across the vast Pacific Ocean and finally reached a group of islands which they again thought was India and the people of which they called *Indios* or Indians. Only when some of these islands fell into the hands of the conquistadores, the entire group was given the name of the Philippines after the name of their king Philip II of Spain.

As to whether the continent of America or any part of it did ever come within the cultural sphere of ancient India, there is as yet no established view. Sri

Chamanlal, a much travelled Indian author and journalist, seems to hold, upon his careful study of the old Aztec and the Mayan civilizations in Mexico, that it did. He published well-written illustrated articles showing what he called traces of Hindu culture among the ancient people of Mexico. Later, he wrote a book on *Hinduism in America* giving many illuminating facts in support of his thesis.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the Further India is still very limited, being chiefly, if not wholly, borrowed from some Western research scholars and anthropologists whose kinsmen have got their colonial possessions in this south-eastern region.

Their researches in their respective colonial possessions are no doubt valuable. But to us these give only a faint light of the immense cultural riches that remain unexplored. Those of India who have done some work on this field are hardly any better than mere researchers on these researches. Perhaps few of them have ever been on the soil to see and study things for themselves. What we get from their second-hand productions is just a passing sense of pride that we are the children of a great country whose cultural frontiers were once the furthest limit of the east. Perhaps the blighting misfortune of foreign rule enfeebled our natural impetus to delve out the immense riches of our far extensive history. But happily that is now over, and we are free again.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN INDIA

Recalling certain striking features in his Election Campaign in a Constituency of 342,000 Mr. B. Shiva Rao writes in the *Manchester Guardian* that

Actually 206,000 came to the polls, and voting in the villages was much better than in the towns. Cheerfully the rural voters walked long distances; men and women formed queues outside the polling booths and waited patiently for two or three hours and more for their turn to vote. Moslem women, because of their custom of wearing the veil, had exclusive booths to themselves.

It was in some ways an incredible sight on polling day.

I had been told by my Moslem friends that it would be impossible to persuade more than 2 or 3 per cent of their women to record their votes. Actually, a majority of Moslem women went to the polling booths. They walked through the streets in groups of ten or twelve, with a white sheet held over their heads. Some of our girl volunteers wondered what had suddenly roused them, accustomed as they were to the strict observance of the veil in their homes at their lives, thus suddenly to emerge into the open

Having witnessed this phenomenon all over India and not only in his own Constituency, he feels that after a few general elections of this kind the long-standing practice of the veil will gradually go out of fashion.

That is not the only big social change he expects in India. His constituency vestiges of untouchability still persist, especially in the rural areas, in spite of the progress of Gandhi's reform movement.

We did our best during the months before the elections to persuade untouchables to come to our meetings. Small groups of them would sometimes assemble, but at some distance from the main audience. I did not think the untouchables in the rural areas would attach any great importance to the vote. There again I was in serious error. I visited dozens of polling booths all over the constituency on voting day and found in every queue, whether of men or women voters, untouchables in considerable numbers. That, I thought, was a good sign; but the sequel was even more remarkable and for me significant. To my post election meetings they came in numbers, and this time they sat with the rest of the people.

Adult suffrage in India is thus proving to be a powerful factor in breaking down caste and religious barriers. In our

permanent Constitution we have completely abolished the practice introduced by the British of dividing the electoral lists on a religious basis, Hindus voting only for Hindus, Moslems only for Moslems, and so on.

These general elections we have just had are in a real sense the beginnings of a social revolution. In my constituency we had, as I observed earlier, a Moslem candidate from our party—a young, educated, and earnest man who had never shown any religious bias or bigotry in his life. But the constituency was in the main Hindu, and we were apprehensive that the prejudice against him might prove formidable. But the final result was beyond our expectations. Not only did he win his seat by a comfortable margin but his main support came from areas which our opponents had marked out as their strongholds.

REMOVING SALT FROM SEA WATER

A new, low cost method of removing salt from seawater, which can turn large desert areas into rich farmlands, has been discovered by researchers at the Harvard University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. This process can desalt 1,000 gallons of water by using only 20 kilowatts of electricity—one-fifth of the power needed by the next best-known method.



Moslem pilgrims board a U. S. C-54 plane at Beirut bound for Jidda which is within reach of the Holy City of Mecca. Some read the Koran on their way to the plane. At the request of the Lebanese Government, the United States brought 13 C-54 Air Force planes into Beirut and flew 3,763 stranded Moslem pilgrims to Jidda so they would reach Mecca in time for the Holy Days. "Speaking for myself and 40 million Arab Moslems," said Lebanon's Mufti Alaya to U. S. Minister Harold Minor in Beirut, "I would like to say that this is the turning point of American relations with the Moslem world."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

A. I. C. RESOLUTION ON S. A. ISSUE

At the Indore Session of the A. I. C. C. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant moved the resolution on racialism and satyagraha in South Africa. This resolution reads:

The All-India Congress Committee has viewed with the deepest interest and pride the great satyagraha movement against racialism in South Africa and sends its fraternal greetings and good-wishes to all those Africans and Indians who are participating in it and who have, by their discipline, courage and non-violence, shown themselves to be worthy followers of the great leader, who first gave this new message to the world in South Africa 45 years ago. It is fitting and of historic significance that it should be in South Africa again that Africans and Indians and others should battle non-violently for the affirmation of the basic human right of racial equality and against the doctrine of a master race dominating over others. This challenge of racial arrogance and domination was one cause of the last Great War. Yet racialism in its most extreme and repugnant form flourishes in South Africa and crushes the great majority of the population there.

It is India's basic policy to stand for racial equality and national freedom, without which there can be no enduring peace in the world. The great continent of Africa has suffered more than any other part of the earth's surface from the domination of one race over others. Having patiently endured this for generations, its people have now shown their strength and wisdom not only in challenging this vicious, doctrine, but doing so in a civilised and peaceful way.

Any other course would lead to widespread bloodshed and terrible bitterness and sorrow. It is for all the peoples of the world to appreciate the significance of this great happening in Africa and to lend the weight of their moral support to this righteous struggle.

In Africa, as elsewhere, it is not by the domination of one racial or religious group or community over another that a peaceful and progressive society can be built up, but by co-operation between the different elements in the population in order to build up a multi-racial society in which all have equal opportunities of growth.

Pandit Pant said that the issue of racialism in South Africa had been before the Congress for the last 45 years. It was in South Africa that the weapon of Satyagraha was first tested by Mahatma Gandhi before its use in India.

The resolution was important inasmuch as it affected the foreign policy of India.

Malaya

CITIZENSHIP OF MALAYA

Thirty per cent. of Malaya's 600,000 strong Indian community will become federal citizens by the operation of the law under the new Citizenship Code.

The Code is in the form of amendments to the 1948 Federation Agreement between the British Sovereign and the rulers of the nine Malay States. It also brings in an important change in the status of the 1.2 million Chinese, who will henceforth share the citizenship rights with the Indians, and 2.5 million Malays—sons of the soil.

Ceylon

CEYLON INDIAN SATYAGRAHA

The Ceylon Indian Congress suspended their 142-day-old satyagraha for two months after the Congress leaders and members of the Working Committee, Council of Action and district representatives had completed a 24-hour fast on September 16.

Together with them was a batch of Congress volunteers who had also gone on fast. The fast was ended with prayers and singing of Mahatma Gandhi's favourite hymn "Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram."

Over 5,000 volunteers have so far participated in the satyagraha.

Japan

JAPAN BUILDS HOUSES FOR INDIANS

The City of Yokohama has completed seven two-storey ferro-concrete buildings for the benefit of Indian businessmen in that city as part of its programme to expand the port's activities as the nation's leading export and import point.

Construction of the buildings was financed partly by the City of Yokohama and partly by Japanese import-export business houses. The project is aimed for the mutual benefit of both the city and the Indian businessmen.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

PRESS COMMISSION

The Government of India have announced the appointment of a Press Commission to enquire into the state of the Press and its present and future lines of development. The Commission consists, besides the Chairman, of 10 members:

Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha, Chairman, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Mr. P. H. Patwardhan, Mr. T. N. Singh, Mr. Jaipal Singh, Mr. J. Natarajan, (to serve till Mr. A. D. Mani joins on return from abroad) Mr. A. R. Bhat and Mr. M. Chalapathi Rau.

The terms of reference to the Commission, were to enquire into the state of the Press in the country, its present and future lines of development and in particular to examine:

- (1) The control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, large and small, the periodical Press and news agencies and feature syndicates;
- (2) The working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;
- (3) The effect of holding companies, the distribution of advertisements and such other forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism.
- (4) The method of recruitment, training, scales of remuneration, retirement benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;
- (5) The adequacy of newsprint supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and the possibilities of promoting indigenous manufacture of (i) newsprint and (ii) printing and composing machinery;
- (6) Machinery for (A) ensuring high standards of journalism and (B) liaison between Government and the Press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organisations of editors and working journalists, etc.;
- (7) Freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it and to make recommendations thereon.

The Commission has been asked to submit its report by March, 1953.

DR. GRAHAM'S REPORT ON KASHMIR

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations Representative for Kashmir reported to the Security Council on Sept. 24 that he had failed to effect an agreement between India and Pakistan on the demilitarisation of Kashmir.

Demilitarisation of the area which has been in a state of truce since 1948 must precede the holding of a plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir should be incorporated in India or in Pakistan.

Admiral Chester W. Nimitz has been appointed Plebiscite Administrator but has so far been unable to take up his duties.

Dr. Graham in a series of discussions in New York and Geneva with Indian and Pakistan representatives examined two proposals:

- (1) To establish the number and character of the forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation.
- (2) To establish certain criteria for establishing definite figures on the basis of the functions and requirements on each side of the cease-fire line.

He reported that no agreement had been reached by the two parties on either of these two approaches. The two Governments, according to Dr. Graham's report, also still held a basic difference of opinion regarding their status and commitments under the original agreements of 1948 and 1949.

The position of the two Governments as stated during the conference were:

India—Forces required for internal and external security off Kashmir cannot be lower than 21,000 troops, not including the Kashmir State Militia. On the Pakistan side, remaining forces should not exceed a civil armed force of 4,000 men.

Pakistan—Will accept Dr. Graham's proposal to leave 18,000 Indian and State Armed Forces plus 6,000 State Militia on the Indian side and 6,000 armed forces plus 3,500 Gilgit and Northern Scouts on the Pakistan side.

Dr. Graham's report does not propose any definite action to be taken further,

NEHRU ON KASHMIR ISSUE

Addressing a Press Conference in Madras on Oct. 4, Prime Minister Nehru said that a tribal invasion of Kashmir could take place only with the active connivance of Pakistan. Therefore, a tribal attempt at invasion or a regular attack by Pakistan would both be armed aggression by Pakistan and would be met and resisted to the utmost. He said:

Our attitude and policy in regard to Kashmir have been clear throughout the last four years or so and during the many discussions. Our policy is to avoid warfare and to have peaceful settlement on the one hand and to carry out our obligations on the other.

In August 1948 and in January 1949, the United Nations Commission on Kashmir passed two resolutions which we accepted. We accept them still and we are perfectly prepared to proceed on those lines. Since then, repeated attempts have been made to go outside the scope of those resolutions. We have refused to go back on them. Those resolutions were based on the fundamental fact of aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir and on the obligation of India to protect Kashmir from any such attack. Hence, it was laid down as the first step that all Pakistan troops as well as allied and auxiliary forces should completely vacate the occupied areas of Kashmir. That was an essential preliminary to any other action. When that was done, we promised to reduce our forces from the State subject always to maintain the minimum number necessary for the security of the State. That was the basis of the U. N. Commission's resolutions, which we accepted and which Pakistan also accepted.

NO GOING BACK ON U. N. RESOLUTIONS

But repeated attempts are made to go behind these resolutions, on the one hand by allowing Pakistan to maintain some troops in the territory occupied by them, and on the other by trying to reduce our troops below the minimum necessary. We cannot agree to this, both on moral and on practical grounds. We cannot admit the right of Pakistan to keep a single soldier in Kashmir territory, because that would mean admitting their right to aggression. Nor can we agree to any step which might endanger the security of Kashmir in future. That has been the simple issue debated during the last year or two. Of course, there are many other issues also. But they have not been considered recently.

Every now and then and more specially when the matter is before the Security Council or their representatives, cries of war are raised in Pakistan, presumably to frighten the Security Council or other countries. These cries themselves demonstrate that we cannot endanger the security of Kashmir and take any risks in such a grave matter. They justify completely the position India has taken up. Indeed we had offered to reduce our forces to a very small number. We cannot go beyond that figure.

DEMILITARISATION

It must be remembered that our original agreement was to remove the bulk of the Indian forces from the Kashmir territory after all Pakistani and allied forces had withdrawn from the State. Our offer now is to remove far more than the bulk—indeed to leave only about one-fifth of the forces we had there at the time of the cease-fire.

We have made it perfectly clear that we do not wish to resort to military operations on our part and we want a peaceful settlement. We have also made it clear that any further attack on Kashmir on the part of Pakistan or on its behalf will necessarily result in a wider conflict which we wish to avoid. It is clear that even a tribal invasion of Kashmir can only take place, as it had five years ago, with the active connivance and help of the Pakistan Government. Thus, we do not distinguish between what might be called a tribal attempt at invasion or a regular attack by Pakistan. Both will be met and resisted to the utmost.

It is admitted in law and in fact that Pakistan has committed aggression on the territory of India and Kashmir State. They have thus no right in law or otherwise to remain there and we can never admit any such right. Nevertheless, for the sake of peace, we have sought a peaceful settlement by negotiation and we shall continue to seek that way, because we always wish to avoid war. But if any attack is made on any part of the territory of India, it will be resisted.

TRUMAN ON AMERICAN AID

Accepting the credentials of Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's new Ambassador in U.S., President Truman said:

India's five-year plan to which you have referred seeks to accelerate the progress whereby India's new democracy can bring blessings in a greater measure to the common man in terms of lifting his burden and improving and enriching his life. The raising of India's living standards is clearly a pressing need.

If India succeeds in demonstrating that it can make democracy work on the economic front, as it has already demonstrated that it works in the political sphere, freedom's cause will be advanced everywhere, and particularly in Asia where it is under attack.

It is this which motivates the help we are giving to India. It is this which leads me to believe we must continue to help so long as help is needed and acceptable, and we are able to do so.

I have every confidence, Mr. Ambassador, that the close understanding and co-operation between our two countries will be strengthened and extended in the years to come.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The resolution on foreign policy moved by Maulana Azad at the Indore Session of the A.I.C.C. last month reads as follows:—

The All-India Congress Committee, while reaffirming the resolution of foreign policy passed at its last meeting held in Calcutta in March 1952, reiterates its firm conviction that it is essential in the interests of humanity as well as of individual nations to avoid war. Whatever results may have been achieved by war in the past, the nature of modern war is such that it cannot solve any problem or advance the national interest of any country, as it brings vast destruction and degradation in its train and nullifies the very objective for which it may have been fought. Thus, war is no longer an effective instrument of national policy. It is essential, therefore, for national policies to be directed towards the avoidance of war and the adjustment if solution is not immediately possible, of such problems as are leading to conflict.

In view of the tremendous pace of modern developments in technology and communications and the closer contact which have resulted therefrom, the world is faced with a choice between close international co-operation and interminable and disastrous conflicts which cannot ultimately advance the cause of any nation, that closer co-operation between the nations of the world cannot take place so long as there is fear of aggression and the suppression of national freedom, any form of imperialist expansion or of domination of one nation over another is thus an enemy of peace and of human progress.

The expenditure of vast sums of money on building up armaments at the expense of economic progress is itself a cause of deterioration, leading to discontent and conflict. If the energies of the nations of the world were diverted towards economic betterment, more especially of those countries which need this most, that would be a greater guarantee of peace than any based on armaments.

APPEAL TO U.N.

The committee appeals to the United Nations Organisation, which was founded for the preservation of peace and the avoidance of war, to devote itself to this vital problem of the age and find a way out of the deadlocks, which continually threaten the very cause for which the United Nations was founded. In particular, the Committee appeals to those great nations, on whom a special responsibility in regard to world affairs rest to-day, to meet together with a view to remove the ever present fear and tension that oppress mankind and to take some immediate steps towards the solution of the major problems of the day.

The Committee would especially urge that every effort be made to conclude a truce in Korea and thus prepare the way to a peaceful settlement in the Far East.

While approving of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, this Committee trusts that India will continue to work for peace and international co-operation and will be ever ready to serve this cause, whatever the changing circumstances might be.

TUNISIAN TUSSLE

Mr. Balvantrai Mehta, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. moved the resolution on Tunisia on behalf of the chair.

This committee sends its warmest sympathy to the people of Tunisia and of other countries of North Africa in their struggle for national freedom and trusts that they will achieve their objective through peaceful methods and thus help in lessening some of the conflicts of the world and lay the firm foundations of their national progress.

PRAJA-SOCIALIST PARTY

The merger of the KMP Party and the Socialist Party of India was ratified in Bombay on Sept. 26 by a resolution adopted by the joint meeting of the members of the KMPP Council and the Socialist Party Council, numbering nearly 100. Acharya Kripalani, Leader of the KMP Party presided. After four hours' discussion, the meeting adopted the merger resolution unanimously.

The new party is known as "The Praja Socialist Party." The object of the party will be

To establish through peaceful means a democratic socialist society, free from social, political and economic exploitation.

The new name was formally proposed by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and unanimously accepted.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani was elected Chairman of the Praja-Socialist Party by the joint conference of the representatives of the now dissolved Socialist and K.M.P. parties.

Mr. Asok Mehta was elected General Secretary of the new party.

Besides the Chairman and the General Secretary, 20 members of the defunct parties were elected to the Executive Committee.

The constitution of the new party provides for an Executive Committee of 25, and the three remaining seats will be filled later.

A spokesman of the Praja-Socialist Party said that three seats were deliberately left vacant so that other groups who might want to emerge with the new party could be accommodated.

ADEQUATE STANDARD OF ENGLISH

Twenty-six prominent educationists and scientists of India in a joint letter to Prime Minister Nehru and Education Minister Azad have stressed the need for maintaining an "adequate standard" of English in the interests of high education in this country even after it ceased to be the medium of instruction.

The signatories of the letter include Dr. C. V. Raman, Director, Raman Research Institute, Bangalore, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Director, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, Mr. N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, Mr. Justice N. H. Bhagwati, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Sir R. P. Masani.

The letter expressed "distress" at some of the State Governments "trying to reduce the quantum and quality of English taught in our high schools."

It is regrettable feature of our present-day education in our schools that the standard of English has been steadily going down, which has very seriously affected their study of all subjects, and the low standard of our graduates has become most distressing.

Things are not going to improve by merely substituting Hindi or a regional language as the medium of instruction, unless side by side, we have proper books in the languages concerned, and our students are sufficiently equipped in English, at least to read books in English with ease and understanding.

The letter stated :

If the study of English is killed in our country with an almost indecent haste, the work of a century, perhaps on the whole rather good than bad, will be undone in a few years, and this will seriously affect the quality of our education.

UNEMPLOYED GRADUATES

The problem of unemployed matriculates is "serious", according to the report of a special investigation conducted by India's net work of employment exchanges into unemployment among matriculates and graduates.

The report, reproduced briefly in *Employment News* of August, says that in the category of unemployed matriculates, the supply is clearly in excess of the demand. Either more or a different technical type of education seems advisable until the absorptive capacity of Government and industry increases, adds the report.

At the end of May 1952, the report adds there were 14,828 graduates and 101,038 matriculates among the 36,66,595 unemployed persons registered with the employment exchanges. Unemployed graduates were the most numerous in West Bengal, while matriculates were the largest number in Madras.

West Bengal had 3,322 unemployed graduates and Madras State had 20,985 unemployed matriculates.

According to the statistics given by the report, the number of unemployed was comparatively large in the Madras, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bombay and Delhi regions.

Since all Government jobs have to be filled through the employment exchanges, it is considered that the figures of registered unemployed graduates is fairly representative of the over-all employment position of this class. "This is encouraging in view of the steady demand for about 2,500 educated persons a month and when it is remembered that the universities turn out 45,000 graduates every year."

Among matriculates, the report concludes, the figure may be even higher, since their expectation of absorption in Central and State Government establishments through the employment service "is lower than in the case of graduates."

ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITIES

In order to provide financial assistance to the Indian Universities, the Education Ministry, Government of India, has constituted a fund called "the Prime Minister's Aid to Universities Fund" with its headquarters at New Delhi.

The Fund will be made up of voluntary contributions or donations from associations and individuals—official or non-official.

The Fund will be administered by India's Minister for Education, who will be the Chairman of the Fund. He will appoint an officer of the Ministry of Education to act as the Secretary to the Fund. The Chairman will make grants to the Universities for such purpose and on such conditions as he may deem fit.

PRACTICE OF LAW

An exhortation to the law students to worthily keep up the high tradition of the legal profession in Madras, was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, inaugurating the Madras Law College Representative Council, on Sept. 4, in the premises of the College.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that whatever the English people had done to this country—and they had done many wrongs—they had established a tradition of English law and English legal administration which had no parallel in any part of the world.

Referring to the legal profession, he said :

It was true that to be a lawyer they must know law. They could not get away from it. There was no point in saying that necessity knew no law. Nevertheless what stood a lawyer in good stead was not always a meticulous, encyclopedic, careful and scientific knowledge of the law so much as a wide and miscellaneous reading and knowledge of human nature. The young men should not forget that aspect also. A lawyer, if he had a real point of law to argue, could have recourse to those valuable compendia of digests. But what the lawyer could never do without was a knowledge of human nature and an idea of many things outside the legal horizon.

EMANCIPATION OF TRIBES

Sixteen lakh members of criminal tribes in Uttar Pradesh have been emancipated from their 80-year-old bondage giving them the same status as other citizens, following the lifting of the "veil" of surveillance imposed on them under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, which now stands repealed.

These tribes were bound within settlement camps, and kept under strict surveillance during the last 80 years merely by "virtue of their birth" in a particular caste, clan or tribe.

India's Parliament in February last revoked the Union Act and the States where the Act was still in force were instructed to remove the Act from the Statute book by Aug. 31.

The U.P. Government has granted Rs. 21,000 for a scheme to help some of these tribes to settle down in Gonda district, and to educate them.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

"Religious freedom as contemplated by our Constitution is not an unrestricted freedom. The religious freedom which has been safeguarded by the Constitution is religious freedom which must be envisaged in the context of a secular State."

This observation was made by the Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla, who sitting with Mr. Justice Shah, at the Bombay High Court dismissed two petitions, one filed by a Jain, and the other by the trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties, questioning the validity of the Bombay Public Trusts Act as contravening the fundamental rights of religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution.

Their Lordships delivered separate but concurrent judgments. While the Jain, who is manager of a Jain temple at Vejalpur, challenged the whole Act the trustees of the Parsi Panchayat challenged several sections of the Act as interfering with their right to profess, practise and propagate religion and to manage their own affairs in matters of religion.

The Chief Justice said it was not every aspect of religion that had been safeguarded, nor had the Constitution provided that every religious activity could not be interfered with. Religion as used in Articles 25 and 26 must be construed in its strict and etymological sense.

SAURASHTRA DIVORCE BILL

The Saurashtra State Assembly has passed a Bill providing for the right of divorce among all communities of Hindus in certain circumstances.

All amendments having been withdrawn by the movers, the Bill was passed almost in its original form.

The measure, which follows the legislation on the subject in Bombay State, according to the statement of objects and reasons, has been enacted to meet representations being received by the Government, stressing the urgent necessity of permitting a second marriage, especially in the lifetime of the first wife in certain special circumstances and for making provision for divorce.

C. R. ON RESERVATION FOR HANDLOOMS

"The question of reservation of the manufacture of dhoties and sarees to the handloom industry is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore, of the Central Government", stated Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at a Press Conference in Madras.

I am convinced that this reservation, as I have proposed, is the only proper, just and economically sound solution for the conflict that has arisen between the unprotected handloom industry and the long-protected mill industry. We are concerned not with private feelings, but with the merits of the handloom cottage industry and its present position arising out of its dependence for yarn on the mill industry and the competition of the mills in a field which was entirely the monopoly of the Indian handloom all through the ages up till recently. The mills have plenty of scope to produce cloth that could be tailored and could be used otherwise. Dhoties and sarees are peculiarly Indian and could give adequate employment to the five million people engaged in the handloom industry. The total number of people engaged in the weaving section of all the mills in India would be much less than one lakh of workers. Actually, it has been calculated that they would be only 60,000. The number of men, women and children depending on the handloom in Madras State alone is, I think, five millions. The question is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also.

We cannot allow the handloom industry to languish and die. That is the equivalent of the policy underlying certain statements made on this subject. It is absurd to go abroad for marketing the handloom cloth instead of providing for handloom weavers what is due in their own country within whose social conditions and tastes and manners, their avocation has grown. It has been stated that there will be a cloth famine if dhoties and sarees are reserved for handloom cottage weavers. This is a groundless apprehension. A few months ago, the Handloom Weavers Society in Madras had Rs. 4 crores worth of dhoties and sarees on hand which they could not dispose of and which they wanted the Government to buy. Does this indicate a cloth famine?

NEW CHAIRMAN OF TARIFF COMMISSION

The Government of India have appointed Mr. M. D. Bhat, I.C.S., as Chairman of the Tariff Commission in succession to Mr. G. L. Mehta, who has been appointed Ambassador to the United States.

INQUIRY INTO TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari at a Press Conference in Delhi on Sept. 11 stated that he appreciated the Madras Chief Minister's feelings about the handloom industry "up to a point," and barring the suggested ban on production of dhoties and sarees by the mills, the Central Government would consider any other suggestions.

The Commerce and Industry Minister announced that he proposed to recommend to Government the setting up of a high-powered committee to "go into the whole question of the textile industry, covering the mill industry, powerlooms and handlooms, with fairly wide terms of reference."

Mr. Krishnamachari added that he proposed to make this recommendations in view of the fact that it seemed both appropriate and timely to have such an investigation in the light of the various controversies that had raged over the problem recently.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The new monetary policy initiated towards the end of 1951 has, by and large, achieved its objectives of preventing a large expansion of money supply and enabling the Reserve Bank to have more effective control over the banking system than it ever had, observes the 18th Annual Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India which has been published.

The Report which covers the period July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952, contains a survey of monetary and economic conditions prevailing in India during the period. Some of the important observations made in the Report on the major economic problems that faced the country during the year are:

Although like most other non-dollar countries India suffered, in the second half of 1951, a deterioration in her trade position, her problem was different from that of Western Europe and the U. S. A. It was not one of re-armament but of providing funds for development against the background of general shortages and potential inflation without upsetting the balance in the economy.

WOMEN IN JOBS IN U.K.

According to recent official statistics, over 7,000,000 women and girls are classified as "female employees" in the United Kingdom at the present time.

Of the total of 7,000,000 "female employees", over 3,000,000 are married women; and of the women employees between the ages of 30 and 50 well over 60 per cent. are married—whereas the proportion of married women between the ages of 20 and 25 in the total of female employees is only about 30 per cent. The significance of these percentages lies in the fact that large numbers of young women, between 20 and 25 give up wage-earning employment when they get married. Many of them no doubt remain outside the field of employment while they are bringing up young families. But large numbers go back into employment when their children reach school age.

There were 200,000 more married women at work last year than in the preceding year and this increase is spread over practically every age-group.

There is, too, the factor of the distribution of married women workers in the various types of paid employment. Workers in some industries and occupations are less easily organised than in others. A high proportion of married women find employment in the china and earthenware trades, the next highest proportion being in the textile trades; 51 per cent. of the women workers employed in Britain's textile trades are married and 50 per cent. in the engineering vehicle-building and metal working groups.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Nearly 100 women from 22 countries including India were among the delegates who attended the conference of the International Council of Women which began at Reading University, in Berkshire on September 8.

All well-known in the social welfare circles of their own countries they discussed with their British colleagues problems affecting every aspect of the status and working conditions of women to-day.

STUDY GRANTS FOR WOMEN

The American Association of University Women offers to women of other countries a limited number of international grants for study in the United States. The purpose is, to help women of outstanding ability who may be expected to do constructive work on returning to their own countries.

There is no fixed age limit for these grants. However, preference is given to the candidate who wishes to do graduate studies or advanced research, or desires to make special investigation relating to her professional work. Candidates should have sufficient educational preparation to profit by study in an American University. A good reading, writing, and speaking knowledge of English is required.

The following factors will be given special consideration: the significance of the candidate's proposed plan of work in terms of her own professional effectiveness and benefit to others; evidence of intellectual ability and character; the candidate's ability to interpret her own country to Americans, and also to understand and interpret the United States to her own people; the definite intention of the candidate to return to her country. This is required.

FEWER DIVORCES

The divorce rate which immediately after the war rose to unprecedented heights has since materially declined in most countries, according to a study of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

While the United States continues to have the highest divorce rate, the differential with many other countries has been sharply reduced; Denmark and Germany now have two-third the divorce rate of the United States while a generation ago they had only one divorce against three in the United States; Finland and Sweden have shown an even larger proportionate increase during the last 30 years.

The statisticians predict that the current general decline in the divorce rate will be maintained during the next few years in part due to the fact that most hasty war marriages which didn't work out, have already been dissolved.

GADGIL COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Dearness Allowance Committee appointed by the Government of India has, among other things, recommended the merger with pay of 50 per cent. of the dearness allowance now given to employees drawing salaries not exceeding Rs. 750 per month. Another recommendation of the Committee is that the *ad hoc* increases in dearness allowance given by Government in 1949 and 1951 to employees in the lower pay groups should not be reduced until the all-India cost of living index reaches the figure of 305.

A.I.R. SETS UP TWO PANELS

A panel has been set up for assessing the suitability of musicians for being invited to broadcast music items on the All-India Radio.

The panel, two or three members of which will form a 'jury,' will assist A.I.R. in judging, grading and selecting musicians for giving broadcasts.

The panel will be divided into a northern and a southern section which will deal respectively with Hindustani and Karnataka music.

The Nawab of Rampur will be chairman of the panel, the composition of which will be as follows:

NORTHERN SECTION: Vice Chairman: Pandit S. N. Ratanjankar Members Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Pandit R. N. Haksar, Mr. V. N. Patwardhan, Mr. N. Padmanabha Sastri, Mr. Babu Lal Gupta, Thakur Jaideva Singh.

SOUTHERN SECTION: Vice Chairman: Mr. Justice T. L. Venkatarama Iyer: Members Mr. T. V. Subba Rao, Semmanagudi R. Srinivasier, Chittoor Subramania Pillai, Musiri Subramania Ayyar, Prof. Dwaram Venkataswami Naidu.

U. N. EXPERTS FOR INDIA

India has signed a new agreement with the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration as a result of which six experts would be made available to help expand facilities at the fertilizer plant at Sindri and to promote inland water transportation in India.

RADHAKRISHNAN TO TOUR EUROPE

A Press Note issued by the Ministry of External Affairs says that the Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, will lead the Indian delegation to the annual session of UNESCO to be held in Paris in November this year.

This visit to the Continent will be utilized by Dr. Radhakrishnan to visit Egypt and some European countries where he hopes to meet and exchange views with the heads of the Indian Missions there and local personalities. His visit will be entirely informal, he is not going on any kind of mission.

Dr. Radhakrishnan will visit Cairo, Rome, Berne, Bonn, Berlin, London and Oxford. He returns to India after attending the UNESCO session in Paris early in November.

SIR C. P.'S PLEA FOR REVIVAL OF DANCE

Inaugurating the All India Dance Academy at the Rasika Ranjini Sabha Hall, Mylapore, on August 30, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar said art had been associated with their lives, it was interwoven with their religion, and it was part of their innate, pristine culture. It would not, and could not die.

He referred to the importance of an academy like that for the purpose of maintaining, and continuing high standards, and said that reference had been made of parochial, local, provincial difficulties, jealousies and differences. If art, supreme art, was practised as it ought to be and high standards were maintained, it would be the cure and remedy for parochialism. He had been connected as an observer and sympathiser of dance for many years.

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, told a delegation of civil servants in London it was not possible yet to grant equal pay to men and women in Government work.

The Conservative Party, he said, believed in ultimate equality, but heavy defence and social expenditure made it out of the question at present.

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The translator's note published with the serial contains a rare letter of Rabindra Nath Tagore, giving the poet's assessment of the novel.

THOUGHT has also arranged to reproduce regularly what the soviet and the Chinese Communist press tell to their readers at home about India.

Other features as usual.

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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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A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

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- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. New Business | .. Rs. 3,57,53,858 in 1951 as against
Rs. 3,40,04,194 in 1950. |
| 2. Total Assurances in Force | .. Rs. 24,33,41,332. |
| 3. Policyholders' Trust Fund | .. Rs. 6,86,04,416. |
| 4. Total Claims paid in 1951 | .. Rs. 42,86,366. |
| 5. Expense-ratio shows a fall from 14.2% in 1950 to 14.0% in 1951. | |

Last Valuation as at 31-12-1949 disclosed a *Surplus* of Rs. 28,33,362.

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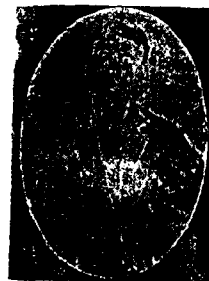
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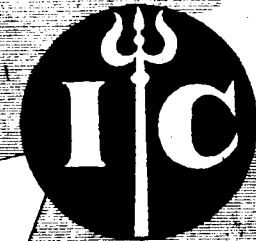
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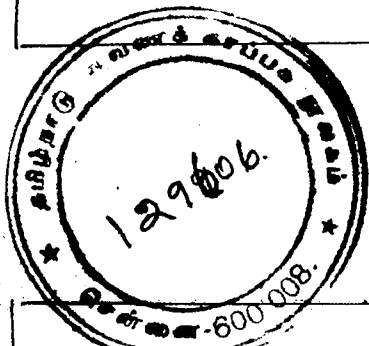
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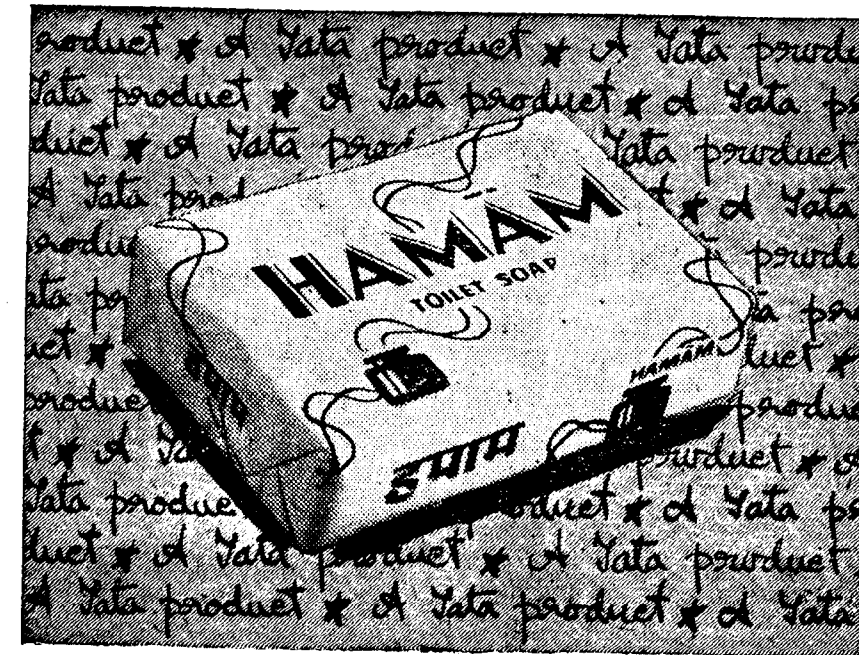
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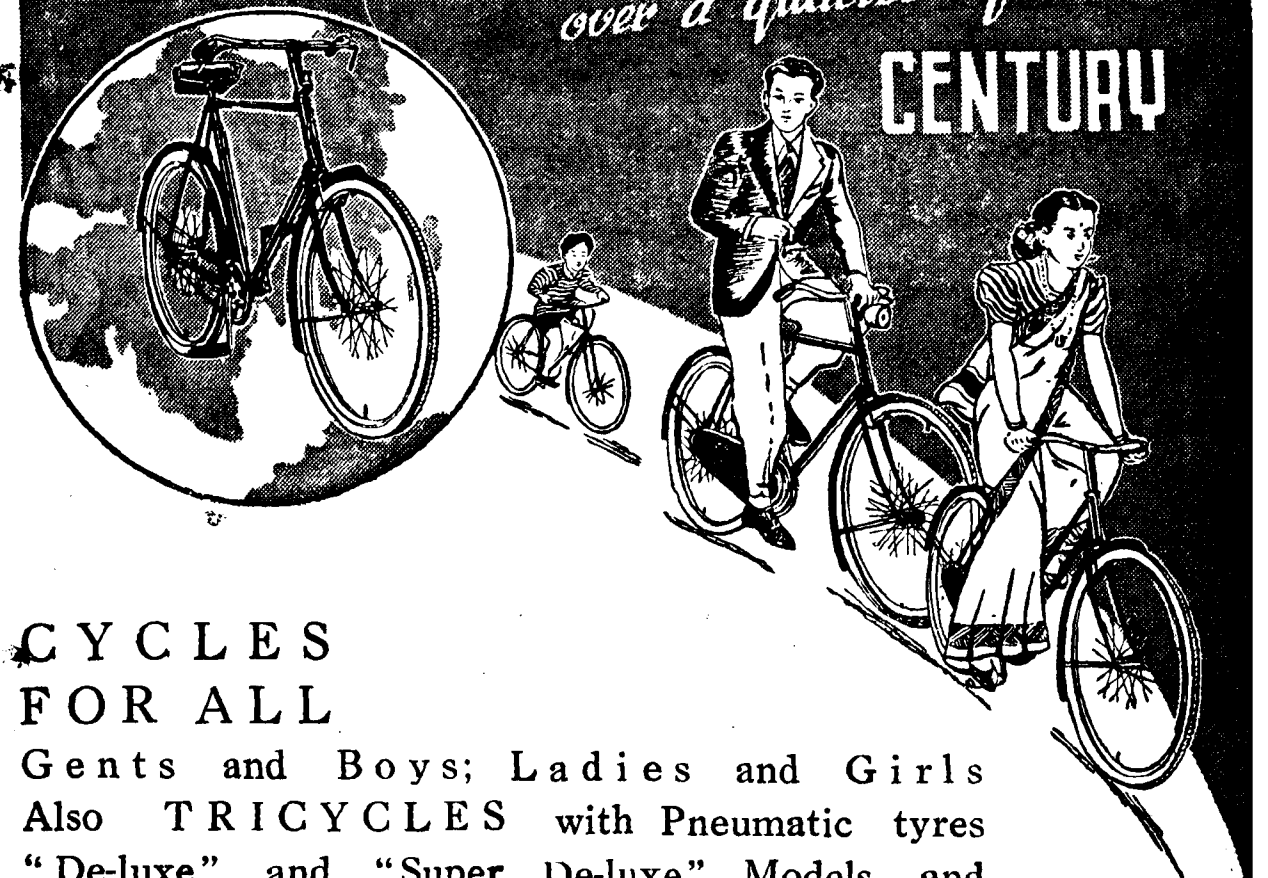
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P. K. ACHARYA'S "GLORIES OF INDIA"

BY DR. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

THIS is the second edition of a very well documented treatise on several aspects of Indian civilisation and culture.

Quite recently, I had to review a remarkable book by Dr. Zimmer on the "Philosophies of India", and with reference to its contents and the treatment of Indian history and Indian scriptures by the authors of the two volumes on the "Vedic Age" and the "Age of Imperial Unity" produced under the auspices of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, I had occasion to remark that there is an increasing and curious tendency on the part of recent writers on Indian themes to rely too exclusively on linguistic and often unverifiable racial and ethnic theories originating from foreign savants. Dr. Acharya has not yielded to this temptation.

Dr. Acharya has established his name as a careful student of Hindu Architecture both in India and abroad and his Manasara series have attained a deserved reputation. It is worthy of note that Dr. Acharya in his endeavour to eradicate the notion that Hindu architecture was based on Persian and other models, has sought to embody in a practical form the results of his researches. He has built two small temples illustrative of his theories and has also succeeded in furnishing a practical example of a residential design on a site and according to a plan which both demonstrate that the Swastika Mansion near Allahabad embodies the ideas of comfort, hygiene and ornament typical of the indigenous inspiration.

In his present book, "The Glories of India," the author defines civilisation as equivalent to Sabhyata, namely, the sociableness or the fitness of an individual to live in a society. With this background he attempts, in his Introduction, to deal with the variegated achievements and the antiquity of Indian civilisation; and thereafter he develops the basic ideas relating to marriage, sacrament and household life in their historical growth

* GLORIES OF INDIA. By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., I.S.S., (Retd.) Allahabad.

from the earliest times. In another chapter, he deals at length with the food, clothes and ornaments, houses and furniture, manufacture and industries and coinage in ancient India and arrives at the conclusion that the economy of India had advanced to as high a stage as any economy in existence prior to the industrial revolution in Europe in the 18th century.

The 3rd chapter in this work is one of the most interesting and deals with political life and the machinery of Government beginning from the earliest times down to a recent date. It must however be admitted that the exigencies of space have compelled the author to collate rather than to discuss the problems that arise from his review of Indian political and spiritual life including the discussion of the various creedal developments in the country. The author, in most of his conclusions, associates himself with those reached by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in several of his notable contributions to Indian history and politics.

It is however in the chapters relating to Basic Arts that the real comprehensiveness and erudition of the author are manifested and the reader will derive much interest and profit from their perusal.

The discussion on literature is, of necessity, somewhat sketchy but Dr. Acharya has attempted to refer succinctly to the chief specimens of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain literature.

In the main, it may be stated that the author's aim is to explain Indian life, achievements and literature as dependent on the stimulus of its philosophic and spiritual concepts. He bases himself on the idea so well expressed by Sir John Woodroffe, namely, that there is no civilisation which more justly and logically balances the claims of the life of the world and the life of the spirit.

As a handy compendium of Indian culture and civilisation, the volume before us is bound to be of assistance to Indian and more so to non-Indian students of our culture.

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The Relationship of Art to Beauty and Truth

BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS

DEFINITIONS of beauty range from the idealistic conception that it arose in the supersensible realm of reality, as voiced by the Bhagavad Gita and Plato, to the realistic conception that beauty is a fabrication of the human mind, as held by, among others Socrates and John Masefield.



JAMES H. COUSINS

It is possible rationally to concede the idealistic claim that all objects are an expression of powers and laws and qualities belonging to a degree of life higher than the object. But it is not easy to concede the realistic claim of self-sufficiency in an object. The truth of the matter, does not, in this case, though it frequently does in others, lie between extremes, but appears to include the extremes of transcendental origin and conscious human instrument, plus the materials provided by nature for the creation of objects of art, and the special process necessitated by the materials. Plotinus in the third century after Christ propounded this view, and it was developed by the German philosophers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The question as to whether beauty is the inspiration of the arts, or art is the creator of beauty is likely to be coloured by temperament. The fact that beauty is felt rather than thought about

would naturally cause the emotional artist to regard beauty as his inspiration. But the artist who deals with ideas, as in poetry, is likely to become aware of incursions from beyond the horizon of his normal consciousness, and to be convinced that the real inspiration of art-expression is transcendental.

Apart from such considerations there is the study of the qualities of created objects that cause them to be regarded as beautiful. The two fundamentals of art-creation are rhythmical vitality and design, in other words life and form. The capacity of the artist to respond sensitively and at the same time formatively to the impacts of the life around him and within him is not a matter of art technique, but of personal discipline modified by natural endowment. But the power to appreciate the external signs of beauty and to shape them in works of art can be developed by study and practice to an extent not at present realised.

In thinking of the qualities usually regarded as signs of beauty, the term "design" has perhaps too static a suggestion. I would substitute for it the term "order", which not only means proper sequence in the mobile arts of poetry, drama, dance and music, but proper relationship between parts in the immobile arts of architecture, sculpture and carving, and painting. Order also implies a unifying idea holding together the diverse aspects of the form. Superimposed on these integrals of beauty are other qualities such as sound, words, lines, colours, figurativeness, textures and materials.

Turning to the relationship of art to truth, from the point of view of creative expression in art, truth does not necessarily mean a sculptural or pictorial representation of an accepted religious or scientific doctrine, though it does not exclude such representation. Truth in art is generally accepted as a faithful representation of nature. But nature is not only objective. It is also subjective, and, truth to the artist's own nature is more fundamental in art-activity than

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truth to external nature. When such subjective truth is in affinity with religion, the great eras in both art and religion are recorded in human history. Through a deep psychological association between religious aspiration and artistic expression, when art deteriorated so also did the practice of religion. Truth to life in the human sense comes second and is frequently sinned against because of the primary lack of truth to the higher nature of the artist. Truth to objective nature comes third in importance in creative art. Even in a representational art like sculpture, in which truth to nature would seem to demand first place, there is a radical modification owing to the fact that its aim is to catch the form of the original rather than the appearance. The descriptive

arts in literature and the drama are never true to nature in the flat sense, since no persons and no events in a novel or play are ever exact reproductions of personality and circumstances meaning by various examples.

Where there is truth to nature both objective and subjective in a work of art, beauty will be its inevitable accompaniment. This was the aesthetical fact behind Keats' famous lines,

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all
Ye know on earth and all ye need to know,"

and the direct way of getting to know both beauty and truth and their essential unity is to participate in the universal creative activity of which one of the most effective versions is the creation of objects of art.



ADLAI E. STEVENSON
Democratic Candidate.



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
Republican Candidate.



HARRY S. TRUMAN
President of the U.S.A.

ROLE OF ENGLISH IN FREE INDIA

BY DR. AMARESH DUTTA

Head of the Department of English, Sagar University, Sagar (M.P.)

—(O)—

REACTION against English can be traced back to the first up-surge of political consciousness and patriotic enthusiasm among the masses of India. But since our political freedom it has become violent, almost fanatic—perhaps as violent as it was in favour of English in the hey-days of British supremacy. This is but natural. Yet matters of culture and education should not be decided by political bias or patriotic insularity. It is, therefore, also natural that a dispassionate and objective study of the situation will follow and avoiding both these crazy extremes a golden mean will be sought. So, for obvious reasons this question of language has been given the full dignity of a highly-important and controversial issue both in the press and platform. But the views are still divided between two opposing groups, each following its own course and contributing its mite to the general confusion. Language-jingoists are writing text-books in vernacular and in convenient groups coining terminology in national language, each suggesting different words for the same object or idea; and educationists in helpless desperation sending frantic and prayerful appeals to the ministers for crying a halt to the crusaders of the new faith. What is worse still, national language is also being reoriented. So mad is our craze for purity that we are now trying to drive away the settled words which migrating from foreign regions, added to and became an integral part of our language-life. New words are being minted in the national laboratories of languages and a highly artificial, stylized language is being manufactured perhaps as free India's gift to her new citizens. Let us only hope that these experiments remain the rewarding pastimes and cloister-fads of these language purists and never affect the easy communication of our everyday life—as, indeed, such experiments have proved elsewhere.

Now that the Britishers have left India with their political equipage, let

us admit in the name of honesty and good sense that the British domination in India was not merely political and that if they have contributed thought to the intellectual life of the country it is mostly through their language which perhaps they introduced to and imposed upon the people with a political motive or for the convenience of administration. They have been banished from their Eden of exploitation. But it is foolish to cast away a treasure acquired through centuries of devotion and hard labour and still cherished with the pride of a genuine acquisition. If we can get out of the nasty habit of associating English with the few ugly specimens of British administrators that we had in India and relate it to Shakespeare and Mill, Wordsworth and Burke, most of our psychological prejudice will be easily washed away. It is certainly not a mean achievement to be able to attain mastery over a foreign language, to earn reputation as writers and express to a larger audience, if not in a better way, the message of our philosophy and religion, our literature and political aspiration, as quite a few Indians have done. Why should we be ashamed of a foreign treasure—when patriotism is not enough, that can buy us intimacy with the outside world or be eager to dispossess a power that breaks our narrow shells and brings us to the infinite space? In fact to be scared and jealous of exotic influence is to go against the tradition of the country which, like a living organism, imbibed and assimilated words and ideas from foreign sources in all the different ages of its history. When finally we close our accounts we may perhaps find our erstwhile conqueror discomfited in his own field and with his own weapons.

Let us then face the fact which is not only unflattering and uninjurious but positively salutary. If we want to establish and maintain any cultural and political relations with the world outside—and any characteristic seclusion is a

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thing of the past in these days of easy communications and involved interests—we will have to learn at least one foreign language. Why should not we then go to the richest language of the world (its amazing richness is the result of unscrupulous and intelligent borrowing) and avail ourselves of the advantage of a long and intimate acquaintance with it? Already it has become the lingua-franca of the intelligentsia of the country. It has also attained, as rightly suggested by some, the indispensability of one of the regional languages. And it will not be an exaggeration to say that it is a world language which the English men now share with others. At this stage of our national growth, discarding English simply because it is foreign will mean a disowning of much of the meagre intellectual life that we have evolved up to this day. A greater mastery over the language, therefore, is not only a sure step towards understanding and knowledge but a challenging thrust at our former rulers and a clear indication of our spiritual courage and intellectual virility. Any wrong step in this regard taken in sick hurry and unwise haste will be a tragic bequest to the future generations, since it is a matter of vital importance both to the present and future.

That education should be imparted through the mother-tongue is a view to which no reasonable objection can be raised by any right-thinking man. But an unbalanced emphasis should not be laid on the medium at the expense of instruction. After all instruction is more important than the medium. I am inclined to believe that more efficient and profitable tuition can be given in mother-tongue in almost all the important subjects even up to the post-graduate standard. But how much does a student learn in the class room? May be some difficulties are better explained and to the greater understanding and benefit of the students, but for a firmer grasp and a deeper knowledge of the subject they

will have to go beyond their prescribed texts. There, English being rich both in vocabulary, expressiveness and translated literature will come to the guidance of the students and open before them a vast vista of valuable facts and ideas. To deprive students of this easily available opportunity will be a great injustice to them and a disservice to the country.

It is very often argued that English is a forcible imposition on our system of education and that real education should abrogate all elements of coercion in it. But compulsion is not necessarily a detrimental factor and in fact some amount of healthy compulsion has been incorporated in all systems of education for the benefit of the students particularly at the initial stage. When we talk of one national for a land of baffling diversities or of its unifying virtue, we do not decry the idea of imposition. And we should not; because this is the only way of evolving a national language. But I for one, fail to understand why we cavil at the imposition of one language for cultural reasons and accept another for purely political motives.

Yet sanity, I believe, will prevail. In free India and in the present stage of nation-building we shall use discretion in a matter of such far-reaching consequences. If we relegate English to the doubtful and neglected position of an optional subject, we do it at the cost of higher education and the many-sided development of the country as well. Medium of instruction may be changed to the vernacular and that will not clash with the proper study of English but English should remain a compulsory subject of study in all the stages of higher education.

In conclusion I would like to draw the attention of the educationists to the fact that our system of education is still essentially English. Sudden vernacularisation of education without adjusting the basic pattern of the system to it, will be evidently incongruous and in the long run may prove even disastrous.

Mahjoor—The Wordsworth of Kashmir

BY ASHA S. DHAR, M.A.

THE other day Radio Kashmir broadcast the stunning news of poet Mahjoor's death. Kashmir lost the greatest poet of modern Kashmir, whose poetry



POET MAHJOOR

had inspired generations of men during the last four decades.

EARLY LIFE

Born in September 1885, in a village Mitragam, about 20 miles from Srinagar, Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad received poetic inspiration from his mother, who was a scholar in Persian. A free thinker in his early life, Ahmad did not see eye to eye with the religious dogmatism practised by his father. Still he continued his early lessons and became a full-fledged *Pir* in his teens.

Home had little charm for the knowledge-seeking youngman. Repeated truancy from home encouraged him to a much bigger adventure, when, shivering with cold, without shade or shelter, he migrated to Amritsar in the company of a party of Kashmiri labourers, to study Persian. Poetry was his first love and he availed himself of every opportunity to contact poets of India, among whom he came in close contact with Ullema Shibli. For a short interval he dabbled in Urdu versification but he later adopted Kashmiri as his medium, using 'Mahjoor'—one who is away—as his poetic 'nickname'.

In 1907 Mahjoor came back to Kashmir. He married a peasant girl whose pristine simplicity and natural charm are reflect-

ed in some of his poems. He found employment in the Revenue Settlement Department. For a time he was posted near the forest-girt meadow of Nilnag whose loveliness of surroundings inspired him. Mahjoor wrote poems in Persian too but as Persian was going out of use, he concentrated on Kashmiri. He devoured whatever came across him; Parmanand, Rasul Mir and Mahmud Ghani struck him as the real founders of modern Kashmiri poetry. Among women poetesses of Kashmir he esteemed and emulated Habba Khatun.

Determined to write in his own mother tongue, Mahjoor used the simple diction of the folk. He became instantly popular. Poem after poem flowed from his pen and won him renown in and outside Kashmir.

MAHJOOR THE MAN

Despite an unassuming exterior—Mahjoor wore *achkan* and *salwar*, and Kashmiri turban was his headgear—Mahjoor had a striking personality. His face was wrinkled with age, labour and travel. There was a glitter in his small intelligent eyes which brightened as he smiled sarcastically. A deep scholar of Persian, he understood English through his son, who acted the translator. The latter helped him in the compilation of the material for writing a history of Kashmir. For this purpose Mahjoor travelled in India last year. In the wake of Kalhana and Zonaraja, Mahjoor acted the poet-historian of Kashmir.

Recognised by the late Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Kashmir bard's fame spread beyond the Vale of Kashmir. Tagore was impressed by Mahjoor's poem, *O! flower* which was brought to his notice by Shri Devendra Satyarthi. Tagore called Mahjoor the Wordsworth of Kashmir. Deserved comparison this for Mahjoor's *The farmer girl* has much in common with Wordsworth's *Reaper*. Mahjoor's poems came on the tongue of Kashmiris all over the valley. Most surprised at his quick success was

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Mahjoor himself—his belief in the strange working of Destiny was reaffirmed. He emerged from the Gul-Bulbul phase to take an active interest in social and political affairs. His poetry epitomised the struggle of Kashmiris.

PEOPLE'S POET

The Kashmiri was 'deep drunk' with unhappiness that came with the centuries-old tyranny. That dead weight persisted. Mahjoor could not speak out. Still he said:

I should have been out-spoken but for the fact,
That the fault-finder is ready,
to jump at any word (from my lips).

And . . .

I fain would closely watch thy path,
(but) they; I know not who, are keeping a
strict eye over my gaze;
(And) I am told they are going to invigilate
over the opinion (lurking) in my mind.

Among the poets of the 'New Kashmir' period Mahjoor ranked the greatest in the love of his motherland. Much earlier than other bards he sang:

The Bulbul hankers after flowers,
The *Bambur* (bee) after the narcissuses,
(but) the Kashmiri is deep-drunk.

Mahjoor believed in God and man. He was a stoic to whom life and death made little difference. Yet he recognised love as the cohesive motive form of life. He felt that the greatest need was intercommunal harmony. The poet of the Kashmiri sang:

Who is the friend and who the foe of your
native land?
Let you among yourselves thoughtfully make
out. . . .

The kind and stock of all Kashmiris is one;
Let us mix milk and sugar once again,
Hindus will keep the helm and Muslim ply
the oars,

Let us together row (ashore) the boat of this
country.

The flora and fauna and natural scenery coupled with the Aryan attractiveness of person of Kashmiris inspired him to sing of beauty. He had views all his own on some subjects of controversy. He propounded a curious thesis that the Chinara was not introduced in Kashmir from Persia but was a produce of the soil. His proof: Chinara has an indigen-

ous name in Kashmir, *Boosi*. Other fruit trees like almond, apricot which were imported in the valley did not have parallel Kashmiri nomenclatures. His funny ideas took occasional shape in his verse. In a poem addressed to the flower Gulala, he put questions to the flower as to the world whence it has come.

To usher in the new era of Kashmir, described as 'New Kashmir' the poet blew the bugle of revolution:

If thou shouldst awaken the habit of flowers,
away with the *Zir-o-bam*—the musical
instrument,
Bring about an earthquake, raise a storm,
thunder aloud and let loose a flood.

When Pakistan hordes pounced upon Kashmir, Mahjoor sang dolefully:

The man-eating wild vultures (of the hilly
tracts) pounced
And killed innocent creatures without number.

He was not downcast, but heartened the fighters for freedom. The invaders were beaten away. A new era was ushered in Kashmir.

Land reform highlighted the construction programme. And, Mahjoor gave vent to the joy of the freed peasant who at last owned the land he tilled:

The period of tyranny and exploitation is over;
Wad-dars and *chakh-dars* have lost their ground;
We have just now got this happy news.

One of Mahjoor's poems, *Baghban* has been adopted as the national anthem of Kashmir. No wonder his name became a household word in Kashmir.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

It may be stated that a page of the *Review* takes in about 600 words.

All contributions and books for review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, George Town, Madras.

THE CRISIS IN EGYPT

BY SRI GOPINATH

EGYPT having a population of about 20,000,000 is today witnessing far reaching changes. On the 26th July 1952, King Farouk of Egypt was forced to abdicate in favour of his seven month old son, Prince Ahmed Faud in a bloodless *coup d'etat* staged by the Egyptian Army led by General Naguib Mohamad. Before the *coup d'etat* events had been moving very fast. For ever since the unilateral abrogation of the treaty of 1936, Egypt and Britain have been driven from one extreme to another. There is no doubt that Nahas Pasha's Government was fanning the passions of the multitude which ultimately ended in riot and incendiarism in Cairo on January 26th, 1952.

The political consequence of these events was the dismissal of the Wafd Government and the appointment of Ali Maher Pasha on January 28th, who was a former political adviser of king as Premier. The new Premier expressed his intention to pursue the two objectives of Egyptain nationalism, *viz.* the evacuation of the British forces from the Canal Zone and the unity of the Nile Valley. However, many difficulties arose and he resigned. A new Government was formed with Hilaly Pasha as Premier in the first week of March 1952. He was a promising Premier. He moved impressively but his anti-corruption drive disturbed Wafd bigwigs. He revived tax evasion charges against top men in Wafd party. He started talks with the representatives of the Mahnbi of the Sudan about Egypt's claim to sovereignty over Sudan and also with Britain for settlement of their dispute over Sudan and British troops in the Canal Zone. King Farouk was anxious to keep Hilaly Pasha in power, but the anti-corruption drive affected the courts also which were jammed with tax evasion cases. Hilaly resigned. Sirry Pasha formed government on July 2nd. Hilaly Pasha came again to power on July 21. Col. Cherin Bey, brother-in-law of King Farouk, was in the Cabinet as the Minister of War. This was an evidence of the Palace-cum Cabinet co-operation.

King Farouk, however, like the Bourbon Kings of France, had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Such a state of affairs could not continue for long. No Egyptian could tolerate this sort of affairs. Now was the time for the army to intervene. General Naguib Mohamed whose appointment as War-Minister was opposed by King Farouk in former Premier Sirry Pasha Cabinet led the *coup* on July 23. The *coup* was a bloodless one and entirely successful. King Farouk was forced to abdicate and leave the country. Hilaly Pasha resigned on 23rd July, and Ali Maher Pasha was installed as Premier. General Naguib declared himself Commander-in-Chief of the army.

With the exit of King Farouk came to end a chapter of palace intrigue and a new race for power began. General Naguib was hailed by Nahas Pasha as the "Saviour of the Nation". On July 27, General Naguib declared that the military movement had nothing to do with politics. But when the army intervenes in politics it cannot keep itself half way. Though Ali Maher Pasha was made the Premier, yet General Naguib was *de facto* and soon differences arose. On August 2, a Regency Council of three was made to rule Egypt in the name of the infant king Ahmed Faud II until he comes of age in 17 years. General Naguib, from the start showed that he was in earnest about the elimination of corruption from Egyptian public life. Next he made a bid for the Agrarian Reform. He demanded limitation of estates to a maximum of 200 acres. But Maher Pasha was against doing things hastily. He refused to rush through reforms, which he claimed were too far sweeping and likely to lead to economic collapse. The Political Parties were also delaying the purge demanded by the Premier.

The result was natural. General Naguib's new sweep followed less than seven weeks after the bloodless revolution against Ex-King Farouk on July 23. On September 7, General Naguib took complete control of the Government after the biggest mass arrests in Egypt's

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history.* All the leading political leaders were arrested. After informing Ali Maher Pasha of his action he demanded immediate action to be taken regarding agrarian reform. Ali Maher refused and resigned, when he learnt that apart from himself and Mustafa Nahas, General Naguib had stripped Egypt of all her top politicians.

General Naguib now became Premier and thus virtual dictator of Egypt. He announced on the 7th September a new sixteen-man Cabinet. Retaining the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian armed forces, he also became War-Minister and Military Governor-General and personally took Egypt's social revolution into his own hands. On September 9, he laid the two foundation stones of his new regime—reform of the political parties and break up of big feudal estates. Under the new decree laws passed on September 9, 1 million acres will be expropriated. Land holdings will be limited to 200 acres per person. But the Waqfs and agricultural companies are excluded from the decrees. The Political Purge Law decreed that nobody, who has been guilty of abuse of power, receiving money from a foreign power or other crime can be a member of a political party. The titles of Bey and Pasha have been abolished. Citizens will be formally addressed as "El Sayed" (Gentleman.) Thus the new Premier took a momentous decision. Egyptian women have also been assured of Parliamentary rights.

Concerning the agrarian reforms, already good progress has been made. A bank has been established to give loans to agriculturists.

* The Egyptian Prime Minister, General Naguib and ex-King Farouk attacked each other in statements seeking to expose the injustice and tyrannies of each other's regime.

Gen. Naguib's statement, issued (on October 17) by the Intelligence Office of the General Headquarters of the Egyptian armed forces and broadcast by Cairo Radio, was the first direct personal attack by Naguib on the monarch he deposed. It was in reply to Farouk's version of the abdication published recently in European papers. Ex-King Farouk, from Santa Marinella (near Rome), made his rejoinder to Naguib, describing Naguib's statement as sounding "like a typical dictator's speech and on the good Kremlin pattern."

Coming to the political side, every party has, by now, registered itself according to the new law. The Wafd Party at first refused to carry the orders of Naguib's Cabinet. At first it purged itself of corrupt elements. It extended its support to the Agrarian Reforms. Then the Wafd Party was asked by the Government not to accept Mustafa Nahas as their leader. Under the new law the Minister of Interior could object to any name in the party list. The Wafd Party refused to accept the order that Nahas should cease to be their leader. According to them there could be "No Wafd without Nahas." Under the new law the names of founder members of a political party have to be approved by the Government. Nahas challenged the authorities to oust him from the leadership of the powerful Wafdist party. He declared "No power, Allah and the Egyptian people excepted can oust me". He also declared that Wafd Party will not be registered till Soliman Hafezi, Vice Premier and Minister of Interior is in power. The reason for the Government's refusal to permit him to be the leader was that he was not taken up as a clean man. However, the Wafd Party had to bow and it decided on October 6, 1952, to register under the new "Purge or dissolve Law" without its veteran leader Moustafa Nahas. Accordingly, it registered itself on October 6. It made Moustafa Nahas Honorary President of the Party for life. The registration of the Wafd Party under new law means that the Naguib Government has won one of the major political triumphs. The Wafd Party in its newly outlined policy has reiterated its adherence to the unity of the Nile Valley and its opposition to any form of common defence plan sponsored by the Western Powers. Naguib on the other hand had always shown moderation in his statements towards Western Powers. He foresees an era of co-operation with Britain and America.

General Naguib's Government is thus coming out successful in his agrarian and political reforms. He has cleared the army of all corrupt officers. All the ambassadors who were more or

less suspected of serving King Farouk more and Egypt less have been recalled. Mr. Ismail Kamal, Egyptian Ambassador in India declared on 10th October that the armies' liberation movement was a very secular movement. Britain and America are also not hostile to the new regime, rather they are looking at it with favourable eyes. British arms are arriving in Egypt to make Egyptian Army more efficient and highly armed. Britain on October 10, made two concessions, one immediate advance to Egypt of 5 million sterling to meet her "sterling crisis" and second, the withdrawal of the British outposts at El Ferdan railway bridges across the Suez Canal. These gestures show that gradually Britain and Egypt are developing an era of Co-operation. It seems that the question of

evacuation of the Canal Zone and also the unity of Nile Valley will also be solved in a friendly way. General Naguib has announced elections by next February, provided by that time the parties and the public bodies have reorganised themselves. Food prices have been heavily reduced. Dealers defying the new official food prices are being severely dealt with. Thus the aim of Egypt's military movement is the building of a sound Democratic life in Egypt. Time only will show the ultimate result. But it is sure, if General Naguib succeeds and remains in power for long to clear Egypt of corruption and complete Social Reforms, his name will go down in the annals of Egyptian history and he will become the Mostafa Kamal Pasha of Egypt.



Dr. James H. Cousins with Lalitha, Ragini, Mr. Gopalakrishnan and Mr. Balachander at the Muhurt ceremony of Nam Kuzhandai of Om Films at Narsu's Studios, Madras.

A SOUTH INDIAN ACADEMY OF LETTERS

BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

THERE is no question raised against the proposition that we want an Academy in India; even the proposal for a South Indian Academy has not been questioned. But there is much of uncertainty regarding the nature of such an Academy and the method of getting the Academy started. It is not enough if we say that we want food; one must also specify what sort of food it is that is wanted and one must also know how to get it ready. The real difficulty that faces us in solving the problem is the confusion that arises in the minds of most people about the nature of "culture" and its relation to language forms and script forms. Few have realised that languages change to accommodate new thoughts and new ways of thinking; scripts too change to represent new sounds and changes in sounds. All the same literature and culture continue without a break.

It is often thought that there are regional cultures in our country; what can be called a national culture is at best only some sort of a loose federation of such regional cultures. If an Indian Academy or a South Indian Academy is to serve any real purpose and if it is to be brought into existence, there must be a realisation of the fundamental unity of Indian culture represented through a variety of language forms; and the unity of South India is on the basis of the affiliation to each other of the language forms in the region. This was the spirit of India all along the history of the country. South Indian culture is nothing but Indian culture presented through South Indian languages, South Indian institutions and South Indian modes of life. The foundation is the same, the Vedas, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the devotional and other literatures etc.

The importance of culture in national life too has not been realised properly in the country. What are termed urgent and important problems relate to politics and economics, and have little bearing on the real life of the people, which has culture as a very important element

in it. In the "planning" too, cultural organisation plays a very subordinate part. The professions of law, medicine and journalism have received due recognition and they are able to organise their professions and effectively influence the policy of the State. The value of Letters has yet to be recognised.

It is true that the work of organising each profession is the primary duty of those who follow that profession; as such the wealth of Letters in the country must be organised by men of Letters. But it shall not be forgotten that the State has a duty to come to the rescue of such enterprises that have been long neglected and that require special encouragement for expansion. Indian Letters have suffered during the past one century and a half, and it shall not be left to those who follow the calling of Letters to improve matters, just as agriculture that has been neglected recently, is not being left to the farmers themselves.

Time was when in India, men of Letters had a position and a very influential position too, in the public life of the country. People who took to the various avocations in national life were themselves men of Letters in the main, and all recognised the value of literature. Time has changed to such an extent that those who have a specialised training in the Indian languages are not recognised as competent to enter public life and occupy responsible positions.

On account of the neglect to which the Indian literatures have fallen, people think of only "our literature", with emphasis on the former part and with inadequate recognition of the latter half in the expression. Our literature may be different from their literature; but our literature and their literature are the same. It is this realisation that brings about unity in the nation. Politics and economics cannot bring about unity; differences and even conflicts, are integral parts of politics and economics, in so far as it is disunity and opposition that brings about success in political and economic life. "Why should we unite?"

This question cannot be answered on pure reason. That is why there is in man an element called a "heart" that feels as distinct from a "mind" that can only reason out. The need for unity cannot be established by argument; it must come as the result of an inner urge, and this urge is brought about by literature and other forms of art, by culture in short.

The departure of the "third party" and the attainment of political freedom have not established unity in the nation, nor has political liberty enabled us to find solutions for our problems in the field of international relationships. The fact is that some element is still absent which element is necessary for the successful function of the nation, just as a wax model, however accurate to the living original, cannot function like the living person. This element in a nation is the element of literature and other forms of art, the element of culture.

I have never advocated literature, arts and culture as luxuries or as diversions when through political freedom the nation is free from active work and when the nation has too much of leisure. It is as a means of solving the problems that I have been advocating the organisation and development of culture. This is not merely the concern of men of letters: it is not like the management of a cinema house, where people go for diversion, as a matter of luxury when there is leisure and when there is cash in pocket.

It is a national problem, and it concerns all those who are in public life, the Head of the State and the Cabinet and the members of Parliament, the journalists, those in the Services and in professions like Law and Medicine, leaders of religious and social reform movements, one and all. It is an urgent problem too. Here also there are "experts" who may be consulted and who will give the right advice. Such a recognition of the national importance of literature is necessary if the form of the Academy and the mode of establishing the academy have to become live issues. In the matter of the river-

valley schemes and of fertiliser factories, it is not the demands from the agriculturists that have urged the State to take the needed steps for such developments. The State itself feels the need and also the urgency of the matter and the State has even to inflict new methods of agriculture on the farmers. In the matter of the development of culture, the demand has been there; but there is little reaction on the part of the State or on the part of those who are in public life.

The Head of our State in Madras and the Chief Minister are both literary luminaries whose literary lustre is dimmed by the thin cloud of political associations; the same may be said of many in the various professions, in journalism, in the services, and in various other aspects of public life. What is wanted is only to see that instead of allowing politics to dim the lustre of culture, the rays of culture must be let off with such force that they will illumine the dark clouds of politics. What I say about Madras is true also of the two neighbouring States, and also of the whole of India.

Politics had its chance, and it had sufficient time also; no one will assert that politics can be declared to have succeeded in bringing happiness to the people by showing the way to solve the problems. It is a fact that culture has not been given the chance; and when it had the chance in ancient times, it had acquitted itself with credit. It is worthwhile to give culture a new chance where politics has not been quite successful. It is only through public recognition of its importance and public effort that culture can be organised under the present conditions.

Those who have the welfare of India at their heart, those who desire to see India united, prosperous and influential in world affairs, must seriously consider the question what it is that can be called India. The term India meant different things from the geographical point of view at various times in the history of the world; but from the cultural point of view it meant only one

thing. Geographical regions which have been the birthplace of the foundations of Indian culture, namely, the Vedas, and which have played a prominent part in the events recorded in the *Mahabharata* and in the *Ramayana*, are now placed outside the geographical India; even in spite of this shift, India as a cultural unit continues. India has been the admiration and the centre of attraction for regions around her for her culture, and has influenced the surrounding regions through her culture.

There have been political conflicts and economic rivalries between the various portions within India and yet India continues as a unit through her culture. Europe was united once through the Greco-Roman culture and Christianity; but this proved a very weak bond to keep together the various regions with their mutual jealousies and conflicts, and there has never been unity in Europe. India was never a political unit and even during British Rule, there were portions that did not come within the jurisdiction of British Parliament, from the pure technical point of view. But India was never anything but a cultural unit. If India is again to be a unit it can be only as a cultural unit.

It is in view of such historical antecedents both within India and outside India that I am laying such great emphasis on the cultural side of India's national life. Has literature any place in the conflict of interest between the Tamils and the Andhras, or is it purely a political and economic question? What is the issue between the Western and the Eastern Blocks in international affairs? Has literature and culture any place in it? I am sure that there is no literary or cultural point involved in such conflicts. There is conflict because of the absence of a cultural side in the problems before them. If the cultural problem too is introduced, then the influence of culture to unite will be so strong that the differences will reduce themselves to harmonious adjustments.

What is called an Academy is nothing but the organisation of culture. South

India must organise her culture and form the first unit and then this unity must expand to comprehend the wider unity of Indian culture. There is no conflict between South Indian and Indian cultures; they are the same, reflected through different media. Through such an organisation let the poets of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam regions meet; let similarly the various writers in the different aspects of their literatures also meet. There are other arts also. They all must unite. Researches into their antiquities and their social evolutions too must be given a place in such an organisation of culture.



Richard M. Nixon, United States Senator from the State of California, has been nominated by the Republican Party for the office of Vice President of the United States. His entire future was threatened by the revelation that 78 wealthy Californians had raised a political expense fund for him totalling \$18,235. Unless he could explain the fund satisfactorily, he might be forced to withdraw from the Republican ticket—or else drag Dwight D. Eisenhower down to defeat, said *Newsweek*.

George Santayana—Great Modern Thinker

BY SRI NIRMAL KUMAR LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.,

[George Santayana, a great thinker and philosopher died last month at Rome. A man of letters and a profound scholar, Santayana was one of the wisest men of modern times. In this article the writer presents an appreciation of the works of Santayana in the realms of philosophy and literature. ED. I. R.]

IN the death of George Santayana this century has lost one of its wisest men. A great thinker of modern times, Santayana, breathed his last on Friday, September 26, 1952 at Rome. He was aged 88 at the time of his death. Born at Madrid (Spain) in 1863, he left for America at the age of nine. He spent his boyhood days in America and graduated from the Harvard University in 1886. He served Harvard from 1889 to 1912, first as an instructor and later as a professor of philosophy.

Two striking things about this modern philosopher are his life long bachelorhood and his mastery over the English language; a language which has received the gift of all his works.

Santayana left Harvard in 1912 and moved about in the continent and Great Britain. He was the Hyde lecturer at the Sorbonne University in Paris during 1905-6 and was the Spencer lecturer at Oxford in 1923.

In 1894 he published "Sonnets and other Poems." This was followed by smaller volumes of poetry. His poetry has the warmth and emotionalism of poets from the sunny land of bullfighters but they have also a sense of Latin restraint about them.

He has written only one novel entitled "The Last Puritan" (1935) but the volume is important as material for understanding his philosophy. He had outlined his philosophy in his only novel which is a literary masterpiece in so far as its style is concerned. His style is at its best in this novel.

FIRST ESSAY IN PHILOSOPHY

But today he is famous as a thinker and as a philosopher and his first essay in philosophy, "The Sense of Beauty" was published in 1896. "Interpretations

of Poetry and Religion" appeared five years later. He worked for the next seven years and produced his five volumes of "The Life of Reason". These five volumes, "Reason in common sense", "Reason in Society," "Reason in Religion", "Reason in Art" and "Reason in Science" made Santayana, a prominent figure in the period just before the first World War and its conclusion four years after. These works are not purely philosophical nor absolutely literary; they stand on the borderline between philosophy and literature.

Between 1918—1935, George Santayana almost faded out of limelight but came back to the focus in 1935 with his only novel "The Last Puritan" which is believed to be autobiographical in character.

LATEST PHILOSOPHICAL WORK

His latest work on philosophy which is an outstanding book of its kind is entitled "Dominations and Powers". An ambitious work of 500 pages, the book deals with politics. In it the readers are likely to find the "glimpses of tragedy and comedy played unawares by Governments". The author has described the contents of the book as "a continual intuitive reduction of political maxims and institutions to the intimate spiritual fruits that they are capable of bearing".

With an unusual sense of penetration the author analyses in its pages the maladies of the modern age and the problems that confront the United Nations. There is here a thought-provoking discussion on the future of Russia and the Western democracies.

But it is far more than a tract for the times; it presents a comprehensive and ordered philosophy of living.

In the course of the book Santayana observes:—

"My own sympathies go out to harmony in strength, no matter how short-lived. The triumph of life lies in achieving perfection of form; and the richer and more complex the organism that attains this perfection, the more glorious its perfection will be and the more unstable. I would gladly extirpate all the crawling ugliness in the world in order to obtain anything lovely. Yet the love of beauty, in an intelligent creature, runs over into concern about the causes and the enemies of the beautiful, into a study therefore, of those Dominations and Powers in whose train the beautiful lives and whose decline it withers. Moreover, as the beautiful is a mark of vital perfection and live everywhere its movements, there is potential beauty of all sorts latent in the world; and the Power or Domination that roots out one beauty plants, another; so that through the tears of the historian there often comes a smile and the evening of one civilization is the morning of another."

In the words the "evening of one civilization is the morning of another," is revealed the crux of Santayana's philosophy. He is not a defeatist in thought; nor is he a pessimist. He has hope for humanity; he believes a better world can come. The world for him can still emerge out on the threshold of a new civilization.

This attitude reveals in him the sympathy of a poet and the tolerance of a sage.

SOBER OUTLOOK ON LIFE

Santayana had a sober and sensible outlook on life. Compared to that notable thinker Bertrand Russell he appears to have been less influenced by the impact of science and its tremendous progress in our century.

About religion Santayana had a very tolerant outlook. He said, "Religion is human experience interpreted by human imagination..... Matters of religion should never be matters of controversy..... We seek rather to honour the piety and

understand the poetry embodied in these fables."

Santayana can be called (almost) Aristotelian in his thoughts. He says, "In Aristotle the conception of human nature is perfectly sound. Everything ideal has a natural basis, and everything natural an ideal fulfilment. His (Aristotle's) ethics, when thoroughly digested and weighed, will seem perfectly final.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION LIKELY

It is believed that the world has not seen the last of this great philosopher's book. The two titles (1) "Persons and Places" and (2) "The Middle Span" in the series: "The Background of my Life," will be followed by a posthumous publication.

The last of the series, if it comes, will deal with living contemporary personalities about whom Santayana did not want to express his opinion during his life time and hence the book could not come out in his lifetime.

The scant respect paid to this great modern philosopher by outstanding dailies in this country reveals the little that we know of our thinkers.

Santayana will remain an outstanding thinker of our age. In him knowledge was great, scholarship profound. But what strikes one most is the fact that a study of his works makes the reader feel that he was born a wise man; that wisdom was his heritage, a part of his very being.

AN AURANGZEB STORY

There is a story that on one occasion it was reported to the Emperor (Aurangzeb) that the great mosque in Srinagar had caught fire and was burnt to ashes. The Emperor showed no emotion; he merely asked, 'What about the chenar tree in front of the mosque?' The next day the Mullah of the mosque went to the Emperor and in fear and trembling put the following question: 'Oh, Shadow of God, how is it that when I reported the destruction of the mosque yesterday your Majesty showed no concern for the House of God, but only for the chenar tree?' 'The House of God,' replied the Emperor, 'I can replace, but not the chenar tree.'

—K. P. S. Menon: "Delhi—Chungking".

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

SONG OF THE OPEN ROAD

There is in New York a statue of Walt Whitman in a long coat and high boots walking along with hat in hand. Inscribed on a metal plaque on the base of the statue are the following lines from Whitman's "Song of the Open Road."

Afoot and light hearted, I take to the open road,
Healthy, free, the world before me.
The long brown path before me leading
wherever I choose,
Henceforth I ask not good fortune, I am
myself good-fortune.
Henceforth I whimper no more, postpone
no more, need nothing.
Done with indoor complaints, libraries,
querulous criticism,
Strong and content I travel the open
road.

HAPPINESS AND HELL-FIRE

Robert Louis Stevenson had no patience with those who preached the maxims of worldly prudence as he seriously believed in living dangerously. He believed that mortals under the universal sentence of death should think more of happiness than of hell-fire and he put his creed into this sentence:

Old and young, we are all on our last cruise. If there is a fill of tobacco among the crew, for God's sake pass it round, and let us have a pipe before we go.

This was the mood of "Verginibus puerisque"—this kind of preaching heresy with gaiety—but even before the ink was dry in those pages he had travelled far in an Essay, "Pulvis et Umbra" where "he writes his hymn of praise to insignificant man and his adventures after nobility in the dark forest of his fate." What passionate seriousness there is in his writing as he cries:

Ah! if I could show you this! if I could show you these men and women, all the world over, in every stage of history, under every abuse of error, under every circumstance of failure, without hope, without help, without thanks, still obscurely fighting the lost fight of virtue, still clinging in the brothel or on the scaffold to some rag

of honour, the poor jewel of their souls! They may seek to escape and yet they cannot; it is not alone their privilege and glory, but their doom; they are condemned to some nobility; all their lives long the desire of good is at their heels, the implacable hunter.

Of all earth's meteors, here at least is the most strange and consoling: that this ennobled lemur, this hair-crowned bubble of the dust, this inheritor of a few years of sorrows, should yet deny himself his rare delights and add to his frequent pains, and live for an ideal however misconceived.

Here, as Robert Lynd reminded us, we have no longer the gay and gallant young swordsman of prose; here we have the champion, not of youth, but of the honour of human nature—the burning-eyed evangelist bidding men who dwell "under the imminent hand of death" never to weary in well-doing and never to despair."

THE QUEEN'S REVENGE

At the height of Queen Victoria's reign, the newly appointed British Minister to Bolivia attended a feast given by the dictator, Mariano Melgarejo, during which the dictator had his current mistress brought in and ordered all the gentlemen to salute her. The British Minister refused flatly, whereupon Melgarejo ordered him denuded, set backward upon a mule, and drummed out of the capital.

When Victoria heard of this insult to the Empire, she was furious. She ordered out the navy, but was advised that Bolivia had no seacoast. So she summoned the Prime Minister and ordered that Bolivia be stricken from the map for all time. It was reported at the time that the Queen, with a pair of scissors wielded by her own hand, actually cut the undesirable republic out of existence. Thereafter, on the map of the world hanging in the House of Commons the spot once representing Bolivia appeared in solid black; geographies made no reference to it; and for many years, so far as England was concerned, Bolivia ceased to exist.

—Robert H. Davis.

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ON FRIENDSHIP

Landor's smallest poems are often full of an exquisite sentiment that deserves a nobler name and what can be more moving, asks Birrell in his Autobiography, than this one:

Proud word, you never spoke, but you will speak
Four, not exempt from pride, some future day,
Resting on one white hand a warm, wet cheek,
When over my open volume you will say—
"This man loved me," then rise and trip away.

OUT OF THE PAST

This is from the Transvaal Government poster offering £25 for the recapture of Winston Spencer Churchill, prisoner of war, after his escape from Pretoria Prison in December 1899.

"Englishman, 25 years old, about five feet eight inches high, indifferent build, walks a little with a bend forward, pale appearance, red-brownish hair, small mustache hardly perceptible, talks through his nose, cannot pronounce the letters properly, and does not know any Dutch."

HOLD ON YET A WHILE, BRAVE HEART

If the sun by the cloud is hidden a bit,
If the waking shows but gloom,
Still hold on yet a while, brave heart
The victory is sure to come.

No winter was but summer came behind,
Each hollow creates the wave,
They push each other in light and shade:
Be steady then and brave.

The duties of life are sore indeed,
And its pleasures fleeting, vain
The goal so shadowy seems and dim,
Yet plod on through the dark, brave heart,
With all thy might and main.

Not a work will be lost, no struggle vain,
Though hopes be blighted, powers gone;
Of thy loins shall come the heirs to all,
Then hold on yet a while, brave soul
No good is ever undone.

Though the good and the wise in life are few
Yet theirs are the reins to lead,
The masses know but late the worth;
Heed none and gently guide.

With thee are those who see afar,
With thee is the Lord of might.

—Swami Vivekananda.

BURKE'S GENEROSITY

All the pictures we have of Edmund Burke in private life are attractive. He shared with Johnson and Goldsmith that quick and sensitive generosity that hastens to the aid of distress. His guests and dependents, we are told, were as oddly assorted as Dr. Johnson's own,

including at one time two Brahmins, to whom he assigned a green house where they could prepare their own food and follow their religious customs privately. Even his casual charity was of the Johnsonian order. "He will only spend it on gin," said a niece when he gave some money to a beggar. "Well my dear," said Burke, "if gin is any comfort to him, let him have gin."

THE ADVENTURE OF LIFE

Any life truly lived is a risky business, and if one puts up too many fences against the risks one ends by shutting out life itself.—Kenneth S. Davis in a biography of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

REASON AND REVELATION

He that takes away reason to make way for revelation puts out the light of truth—Locke.

GOOD LIFE

A long life may not be good enough, but a good life is long enough.
—Benjamin Franklin, "Poor Richard's Almanac."

CHILDREN OF FLAME

We are children of splendour and flame
Of shuddering, also, and tears.
Magnificent out of the dust we came
And abject from the spheres.

—William Watson.

THE QUICK AND THE DEAD

Sacred to the memory of James H. Random, who died August 6, 1800. His widow who mourns as one who can be comforted, aged 24 and possessing every qualification for a good wife, lives at No. 4 Church Street, in this village.

—From a Massachusetts Cemetery.

PROBLEMS OF JAPAN

BY SRI R. J. VENKATESWARAN, M.A.

—(O)—

JAPAN has again hit the headlines by inflicting a rout on the Communists in the recent general elections. The Communists could not obtain even a single seat in Parliament. The Liberals have emerged with a majority; and, despite internal differences among themselves, the prospects of a stable Rightist government in Japan in the next five years seem encouraging.

A strong and stable government in Japan will be a powerful factor on the side of peace and democracy in Asia. To what extent she will be able to devote herself wholeheartedly in this direction will, however, depend largely on the way her government tackles the nation's economic problems. The outstanding feature of Japanese economy to-day is the fast growing population and the inability of industrial production to keep pace with it. Though industrial output has risen 40 per cent. over the pre-war level, the standard of living to-day is about 15 per cent. below pre-war. This is mainly due to the enormous growth in population from 68 million in 1936 to 85 million at present. It is estimated to go up to 92 million by 1960. While population has thus increased, Japan has become smaller in size by the loss of her outlying territories in the war. This has resulted in large-scale unemployment, which is acute more in cities than in the rural areas.

Emigration can offer some remedy but it is practically impossible because no country seems eager to welcome the Japanese. Moreover, the majority of the Japanese do not have either the money or the enthusiasm to settle beyond the borders of their own country. The magnitude of this problem will be clear when we realise that, according to the U.S. NEWS and WORLD REPORT, "merely to stabilize the population at its present level of 85 million would necessitate the emigration of around 3,000 persons every day."

So far as industrialisation is concerned, here too there are several obstacles.

She has to depend on other nations for about 20 per cent. of her food supply as well as for important raw materials like raw cotton, iron ore and coking coal. And in order to import these, she must have a vigorous export trade. China is an important market for exports but politics stands in the way. Commodities like copper, steel products, railway materials, tin plate, aluminium and metal ingot could not be sold because they have strategic value. Japanese businessmen are eager to sell other goods like bicycles, dried fish, sewing machines, dye stuffs, paper and woollen materials but the Government are not helpful. It appears that the Ministers themselves are not agreed as to the policy they should adopt towards trade with China. As the London *Economist* observed: "The Foreign Office (of Japan) and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry are openly at variance. The Prime Minister directly contradicts his Foreign Minister on Japan's attitude to the Peking Government. And industrial pressure for resumption of trade grows all the time, not only among the ranks of the businessmen, who support the conservative government, but in trade union circles also."

Meanwhile, Japan is making strenuous efforts to capture the markets of South East Asia. Here her most important item of export is textiles. Japan's textile industry has made phenomenal progress in the post-war period and her exports in 1950 amounted to 1088 million square yards. She proposes, under the Buxton agreement, to step up her textile exports to 1,100 million square yards in 1953. Japan will be a severe competitor to India in South-East Asia. She exported 249 million square yards of cloth to Pakistan in 1951 and 140 million square yards in the first half of this year. The revival of Japan's textile industry has somewhat upset other leading textile manufacturing countries and, as a delegate said at Buxton, "we must now prepare ourselves for the

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struggle against each other in the spirit of fair competition."

As regards other major industries, an important obstacle to their development is the shortage of capital. In pre-war days much of the industrial finance was provided by the great Zaibatsu cliques. These have now been disbanded. After the war, industry obtained its finances mostly through loans from Government and from the Bank of Japan. American aid was of course extremely helpful. The Counterpart Fund set up under the U. S. aid programme, was used mostly for the development of railways and communication as well as shipping, electricity, coal etc. Though American assistance will continue for long, in some form or other, the Japanese are understandably anxious to develop their own resources, wherever necessary, with foreign aid. They are therefore eager to welcome foreign capital and technical skill. The Japan Foreign Investment Commission recently announced that foreign investments in Japan since independence till April this year were valued at £6,057,900. The U. S. was the biggest investor, followed by Britain and Canada. Of late, West Germany, France and Italy have also shown a keen interest to invest in Japan. The industries which have the largest amount of foreign capital are rubber, oil, hides and skins, and aviation. The investing countries have also guaranteed in most cases raw materials and technical assistance. Incidentally it will be interesting to observe that, according to the Investment Commission, "while the American investors are not interfering with the management of the Japanese enterprises, the British investors are inclined to grasp the enterprises firmly by sending their own representatives to the Japanese offices and plants."

The economic future of Japan in the immediate future does not seem very bright. But then one should take into

account the extraordinary vigour and energy of the Japanese people in fighting their obstacles successfully. U.S. aid is another important factor that will help their country. The Korean War gave Japan a spell of prosperity till the end of last year when American spending in Japan for materials and services was on an average of \$30 million per month. In recent months, however, this has greatly declined. But it is expected that, Korea or no Korea, the U.S. will grant generous aid to Japan as the former is anxious that Japan should become a great power in Asia.

There is much that a powerful Japan can contribute towards world peace. It is not generally known that Japan was one of those who strongly opposed racialism at the Peace Conference of 1919. In fact, she insisted at that time that the League of Nations should specifically ban the practice of racial discrimination. Japan's admission into the U. N. O. will be a tower of strength to these nations who are to-day fighting the forces of aggression and racialism.

Japanese rearmament, hitherto prohibited by the constitution, is now certain to become a reality. It is inevitable and in fact necessary if she is to be able to defend herself effectively. Having most suffered in the war, she must be indeed realistic enough to realise the futility of imperialism.

So far as our relationship with Japan is concerned, it is in the interests of both countries to strengthen their ties in every possible way. Both are highly industrialised countries (compared to the rest of Asia) and both are believers in democracy. Economically, co-operation between the two will be advantageous to both. Japan needs from this country iron ore, manganese ore, oilseeds and coal while our requirements consist mostly of machinery. Closer understanding between the two can be an important factor towards peace and stability in Asia.

The Structure of the United Nations

THE United Nations and its councils, commissions and specialised agencies represent the most extensive and effective organised co-operation ever achieved on a world-wide basis.

The United Nations has as its principal organs (1) a General Assembly, (2) a Security Council, (3) an Economic and Social Council, (4) a Trusteeship Council, (5) an International Court of Justice, and (6) a Secretariat. This structure is very well suited to support the basic principles of sovereign equality, mutual respect among nations, and justice and morality in international affairs, as proclaimed in the charter of the United Nations.

The General Assembly is composed of all the members of the United Nations. The charter provides that each member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or matters within the scope of the U. N. Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ provided for in the charter. It may make recommendations to members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters, except on disputes or situations in respect of which the Security Council is currently exercising its functions.

Most of the work of the General Assembly is done in committees of which there are four types:

- A. Main Committees; consider General Assembly agenda items and report to plenary assembly meeting.
- B. Procedural Committees; deal with organisation and conduct of General Assembly business.
- C. Standing Committees; deal with continuing problems.
- D. Subsidiary and *ad hoc* bodies; appointed to handle special purposes.

The Security Council consists of eleven members of the United Nations. There are five permanent members and six non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. The five permanent members are: (1) China, (2) France, (3) USSR, (4) United Kingdom, and (5) United States. Three of the non-

permanent members, Brazil, Netherlands and Turkey, were elected to serve until December 31, 1952. The remaining three, Chile, Pakistan and Greece, were elected to serve until December 31, 1953.

The members of the United Nations have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 27 of the charter of the United Nations, which deals with voting, states:

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members.

Four subsidiary organs report to the Security Council:

- (1) Military Staff Committee; (2) Disarmament Commission; (3) Standing committees; and (4) *Ad hoc* committees and commissions.

The Economic and Social Council is composed of eighteen members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly. Six are elected each year for three-year terms.

Functions and powers of the council include: responsibility, under the General Assembly's authority, for promoting higher standards of living; full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; international cultural and educational co-operation; and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Subsidiary organs reporting to the Economic and Social Council are of four types:

- (1) Commissions, (2) Standing committees, (3) Special bodies, and (4) *Ad hoc* committees.

The Trusteeship Council is composed of members of the U. N. administering trust territories; permanent members of the Security Council which do not administer trust territories; and as many other members elected for a three-year

term by the General Assembly as will ensure that the membership of the council is equally divided between members which administer trust territories and members which do not. The council considers reports submitted by the administering authorities, accepts petitions, and provides for periodic visits to the territories. The council has a Standing Committee on Administrative Unions and a Standing Committee on Petitions.

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Its function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it. It also gives advisory opinions to the General

Assembly, the Security Council and the U.N. specialised agencies.

The Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the Secretariat. The staff is appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

President Truman went to the heart of the matter when he stated in his 1951 report to the U. S. Congress on U. S. participation in the United Nations:

In the General Assembly all member nations have to stand up and be counted on issues which directly involve the peace of the world. In the United Nations no country can escape the judgment of mankind. This is the first and greatest weapon against aggression and international immorality. It is the greatest strength of the United Nations.

Indian Student Debaters in Britain

THE three-man Indian student debating team now in Britain has started on its tour of British universities which will last three months. The team—which was selected after a national debating competition between Indian universities—consists of Sultan Niazi (Aligarh University), Santosh K. Mukherji (Osmania University), and V. Narainswamy (Calcutta University).

The tour during which the Indian students will be the guests of more than 30 university colleges, is being organised by the National Union of Students in England. It is the first team of its kind to visit England from India, but two similar tours of universities in India, Pakistan and Ceylon have been made—in 1949 and at the beginning of this year—by student debaters from Britain: both were sponsored by the British Council. A third tour is being undertaken early next year.

The Indian students opened their tour with debates with members of the University of London, at the London School of Economics, at King's College, and at Westfield (Women's) College. From London they go to Reading, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Swansea, Aberystwyth and Oxford. Then, after 10 days in Northern Ireland, the team will go on to Liverpool,

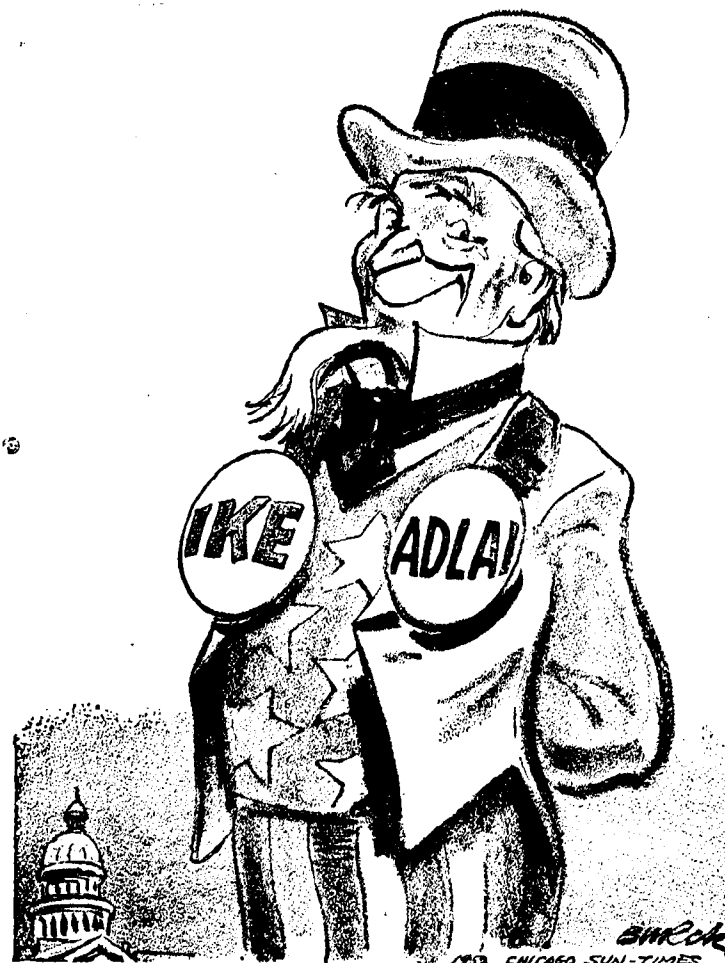
Manchester and Loughborough. They will spend three days at the University of North Staffordshire and then proceed to Scotland, visiting Glasgow University and the Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen.

On their way south again the team will visit the Universities of Durham, Leeds, Sheffield and Nottingham and will conclude with a day at Leicester before leaving for London.

SUGGESTED MOTIONS

The team has suggested nine motions from which the university unions can choose and are prepared to debate on one side or the other as required, or on any other particular motion which a union might suggest.

The motions selected by the visitors are: "That ideology divides the world and not economics," "That in the opinion of this House Western civilisation has been, and Eastern civilisation will be, corrupted by materialism," "That religion and not science has been the real benefactor of mankind," "That religion ends where reason begins," "That world government is necessary to ensure peace," "That progress is an illusion," "That the United Nations Organisation is wasting its time and our money," "That in the modern world nationalism is an anachronism," and "That education is wasted on women".



"I LIKE THEM BOTH", says Uncle Sam as he proudly displays the election campaign buttons of the Republican and Democratic candidates for President of the United States. The initials "IKE" on Uncle Sam's right spell out the popular nickname of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican party nominee and "ADLAI" is the given name of Illinois' governor Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic nominee. This cartoon appeared recently in the daily newspaper, *The Chicago Sun-Times*, published in Chicago, Illinois.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Ideals of the United Nations

THE United Nations organisation, now in its seventh year, provides "the nucleus, however imperfect, round which world conscience could grow," said President Rajendra Prasad, broadcasting over the All India Radio on the occasion of the United Nations Day which was observed on Oct. 24. Dr. Prasad said:

We re-affirm to-day our faith in the ideals for the realisation of which the United Nations was established seven years ago. If the human race is to survive, continued efforts for the realisation of these ideals are more necessary to-day than ever before. For this purpose we should strive to transcend the narrow sphere of a racial, class or national conscience and try to shape our conduct in conformity with a world conscience.

We in this country feel that the evolution of such a world conscience is all the more necessary if we are to be able to provide our people the means of a good life. International peace, amity and co-operation in all walks of life are absolutely necessary if we are to realise our inner spiritual urge, develop our potential economic resources and remain faithful to our historic traditions of *ahimsa* and toleration.

It is true that the United Nations has not achieved all that was expected of it. It has failed in many cases to bring peace and security to small nations. But it is yet young: and then we have always expected it to do things which by its nature it is not yet competent to do. The great thing is that at long last we have sought to bring over 60 nations, great and small, into a union, inspired by hopes and dreams of a better world and consciously working for peace and amity among the nations. That we have not achieved quicker and better results may be due to some inherent defects in the organisation which only time and experience could set right. The League of Nations which came into being after the first world war has now given place to an organization which, for all its limitations and defects, bids fair to become the centre of the world's hope for the future. And then it has given birth to a number of subsidiary organisations as the WHO, FAO, ILO, UNESCO etc, which are all doing splendid work to improve

social and economic conditions in Asia, Africa and South America as well as Europe. Indeed one of the great virtues of U. N. as compared with the old League is that it includes so many non-European countries. Asia and Africa can no longer be ignored in world affairs. In fact the seventh anniversary synchronises with a session of the U. N. General Assembly in which two questions which not all the big five were in favour of discussing, find their appropriate place in the Agenda. The treatment of Indians in South Africa and France's policy in North Africa are topics, symbolic of the new trends in world affairs which the U. N. can ignore only at its peril.

Apartheid in South Africa

Of 11 millions people in South Africa nine millions are compelled to live in segregated areas, have no voice in the Government of their own country, are forced to travel in special conveyances and are subjected to many humiliations,—the same things that went on in Nazi Europe—these facts were placed before the Trade Union Congress at Margate early last month. 900 delegates representing eight million workers called for strong protests to be sent to Prime Minister Malan of South Africa. The resolution, passed by the Congress with acclamation, said:

This Congress views with concern the arrests by the South African Government of prominent leaders of the Trade Union and Labour movement, and also the continuance of its policy of *apartheid* with its discrimination against coloured people.

This, we claim, is a complete denial of the Declaration on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations to which the British Government were signatories.

We therefore call upon our General Council to make the necessary strongest protest to Dr. Malan, and also to our own Government, with a view to obtaining the release of our colleagues and an end to all racial discrimination.

We further place on record our admiration of all those individuals and organisations which are standing firm in opposition to the Malan Government and assure them of our full support in their struggles to obtain freedom and justice.

Sir C. P. at the Convention of Race Relations

It was most timely and thoughtful of the promoters of the Convention of Race Relations to have met at Bombay to discuss what is undoubtedly the most pressing problem of the day. Indeed the present is a particularly appropriate time to call a halt to the pernicious doctrine of *apartheid* practised in South Africa with such callous disregard of public opinion in civilised society. As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer (whose return to public activity has been so widely welcomed) aptly pointed out in his presidential address, the relations between South Africa and India, and indeed between South Africa and the rest of the world are now at the cross-roads. Mr. Trygve, Secretary General of the U. N. has expressed his inability to solve the South African Indian problem; while thousands of Indian and African satyagrahis are beaten and marched to prison for determined defiance of what they conceive as unethical and unreasonable legislation. Though the U. N. is seized of this vexed question, South Africa itself threatens to cut away from the United Nations on the plea of its interference in a so-called "domestic issue." Sir Ramaswami Iyer, however, puts his faith on men of peace and good will, all over the world, who will yet vindicate the rights of conscience and civilization and bring pressure on their respective governments to do the right thing. The Convention aims at strengthening forces, governmental and non-official, which stand for racial equality and the sanctity of human rights as the only basis of world peace. It is worthy of note, he said, that "Mr. Oswald Perow, former South African Defence Minister has declared that the white population has about five years to save themselves and to make allies with the Africans."

Thus although the party in power and the present opposition are both essentially in favour of the colour bar there are others who are independent enough to believe in human rights. And then there is the silver lining in the cloud—perhaps the most significant and potent factor in the situation—that Africans and

Indians are working together to get rid of this obnoxious doctrine of *apartheid*. There is hope in the union if such union could only be strengthened and directed to wise ends. For the basic fact that cannot be ignored is that there are nine million Africans and coloured persons in South Africa and over 300,000 Indians. And it is heartening to learn that these two great communities are now working in complete harmony and co-operation. Such co-operation coupled with the help—moral and material—from men of good-will all the world over is bound to sustain and strengthen the forces that will surely lead to the reversal of the accursed *apartheid* policy. For as Sir C. P. put it admirably.

We seek no quarrel, we utter no warning or threat but we merely appeal to the conscience and humanity of those in South Africa who are gifted with a conscience to rouse themselves to action and eradicate the pernicious *Apartheid* doctrine.

It is no small gain to have brought people of different religious and political persuasions to focus their attention on this vital question. Sir C. P. as a veteran administrator knows that making speeches and passing resolutions alone will not solve the problem. He has chalked out a programme of determined and cautious action which he unfolded at the dinner given in his honour in Bombay. He said tentative conclusions he had arrived at as a result of the deliberations of the Convention were:—

(1) They should organise small committees in all States in India. (2) They must try and collect as much money as possible to help the families of those who had gone to jail in pursuance of the anti-*Apartheid* campaign. (3) They should send a small mission of public men from India to South Africa to study the problem on the spot and try and influence the Malan Government against its *Apartheid* policy.

The cause is great and the work difficult. Sir C. P. who is nothing if not dynamic has done well to give his weighty support to the movement. Our readers will doubtless welcome the P.T.I. news that

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar might lead a mission of public men of India to South Africa to make on-the-spot study of the situation created by the *Apartheid* policy on the Malan Government.

It is a great thing for a man of Sir C. P.'s standing to undertake this new and difficult job at his age; but age has not touched his ever youthful ardour for public work or his energy in pursuing it, though it has wrought a few wrinkles in his face and turned his head gray with the passing of years.

His idea of a World Convention in London or New York to discuss the racial question will doubtless give the needed push and publicity to a problem which is bound to create world interest in the near future. For let there be no mistake. No longer will the submerged peoples of the world tolerate this blatant injustice and it is time that men of conscience and good-will should band themselves together in a determined fight against this new peril to society, if the world is to be made safe for civilization.

Dr. Shanmukham Chetty

Both by his great age and his long record of public life Sir M. Visvesvaraya was eminently fitted to bless Dr. Shanmukham Chetty on the occasion of the latter's Shashtiabdupurthy. It was therefore a happy thought of the committee to have invited the veteran engineer-statesman to participate in the function. Dr. Shanmukham's versatility as administrator, financier and educationist is well known. Sir Visvesvaraya said:

As Dewan of Cochin, he did much to improve the administration of that State and was instrumental in introducing the Cochin Harbour Project. He had often represented the Government of India in international Conferences connected with finance and commerce. His public speeches on financial and industrial questions generally had been very illuminating and instructive. He was the first Finance Minister of independent India. He was now Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya observed that there was no superfluity of practical talent in our country at present and the Government and the public should not fail to take full advantage of it wherever it was found. He felt strongly

that the services of a gentleman of Dr. Shanmukham Chetty's talents and many-sided accomplishments should not be allowed to lie neglected but utilised in whatever field it might be profitable, in the best interests of the country.

Sir Maurice Guyer

The news of Sir Maurice Guyer's death in England at the age of 74 was received in this country with profound regret. Sir Maurice who came to India in 1937 will long be remembered as the first Chief Justice of India and as the maker of the Delhi University.

A Jurist of eminence he played a significant part in the drafting of the Government of India Act of 1935 and was later closely associated at every stage of the Indian Constitutional development. Whatever the defects of that Act from the point of view of Indian nationalism it was certainly a good piece of draftsmanship and the present constitution of India inevitably incorporates many of its ideas and even expressions.

Sir Maurice made a big name in India as a great Judge. For as the Chief Justice of Madras said he was equipped with all that was necessary for that office.

His deep knowledge of Constitutional Law in general, and his intimate acquaintance with the making of the new Constitution under the Government of India Act of 1935, helped him to play an important part in the interpretation of the provisions of that Act and in building up the case law of the Indian Constitution.

During the next 12 years Sir Maurice devoted his remarkable gifts and time to the building of the Delhi University with an energy and enthusiasm that have won for him the lasting gratitude of a whole generation of teachers and students. When in April 1950 President Rajendra Prasad in his capacity as Chancellor of Delhi University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, he paid a fine tribute to Sir Maurice who, he said, was "leaving behind a good example" for others to follow. "I will never forget this University" said Sir Maurice with emotion.

Sir Maurice had to resign his Vice Chancellorship for reasons of health and the words he uttered on the occasion are remembered for their truth and feeling:

I have loved this place, this tiny world of teachers and students, where the future leaders of India are bred and nourished; and I leave a part of myself behind me here when I say goodbye.

Andhra claim for Madras

An elder statesman of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's standing could afford to speak out his mind without being suspected of partisanship. He said that the Andhra claim for Madras city is untenable, a feeling which is shared by great many Madrassesees. Asked to state in unmistakable terms the position in respect of Madras city in the event of the formation of a separate state for the Andhras C. R. declared categorically that they could not lay claim to the city as the percentage of the Andhra population in Madras was low. The Chief Minister is reported to have said at Karaikudi,

that in Madras City 68 per cent. of the people were Tamils, while Telugus constituted only 16 per cent. He pointed out that it would only create difficulties for the Andhras if they insisted that Madras City should be included in the Andhra area. "Can they manage the City with Tamils constituting 68 per cent. of the population?"

While demanding linguistic division, Mr. Rajagopalachari continued,

the Andhras might say that with regard to Madras City the higher percentage of Tamils would not very much matter. In that case Coimbatore, which had about 20 per cent. of Telugus, Ramnad with 10 to 15 per cent. of Telugus and Madurai with about 15 per cent. of Telugus could be taken by the Andhras. But including all these areas in the Andhra Province, would only keep the *status quo*.

Another point which the Chief Minister made was that it was not given to those who wanted a division to suggest how Madras City should be administered.

In a joint family, if one member left it, he had no right to suggest that the other members of the joint family should also branch out.

President Eisenhower

As we go to press, one of the closest Presidential races in American history has put the Republican Eisenhower in power after twenty years of uninterrupted Democratic rule. The contest between the popular Republican candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mr. Adlai Stevenson the Democratic nominee was one of the keenest known in recent times. Dr. Gallop and the pollsters who had ventured to predict on previous occasions were held back by the closeness of the contest and

the unpredictable nature of the voting of the independents.

When in July last Gen. Eisenhower was nominated Republican candidate it was thought he would sweep the polls by sheer weight of his personal magnetism. But soon Stevenson rose in esteem, and his chances became brighter when President Truman personally began to campaign for him. Yet the General's popularity—which had declined with Taft's backing—was always ahead of the comparatively little known Stevenson's. Towards the close of the elections, however, the chances were almost equal as Stevenson's campaign was conducted with uncanny shrewdness and telling effect. Yet at the end the General won by a comfortable majority.

Senator Richard Nixon of California, automatically becomes Vice-President.

When once the result became evident, nothing could be more graceful than the way that the contestants who had dealt such hard knocks during the campaign greeted each other. Mr. Stevenson admitted defeat in a statement he broadcast and televised from Springfield. He said;

The people have made their choice. I congratulate them. The people have rendered their verdict and I accept it. It is traditional to close up the ranks as soon as the people have spoken. That which unites us as American citizens is far greater than that which divides us as political parties. I urge you all to give to President Eisenhower the support he will need to carry out the great tasks that lie before us. I pledge him mine.

To which Mr. Eisenhower replied:

I thank you for your courteous and generous message. Recognising the intensity of the difficulties that lie ahead, it is clearly necessary that men and women of goodwill of both parties forget the political strife through which we have passed and devote themselves to the single purpose of a better future. This, I believe they will do.

That is as it should be. The former Allied Supreme Commander Mr. Eisenhower takes over from President Truman on January 20. In spite of his label, Eisenhower is inspired by much the same principles and policies as the Democratic President who himself offered to induct him to the Presidential chair if only he chose to sail under his banner. So the world's best wishes go to the new President in the arduous task that awaits him.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—By Alfred Loisy. Translated by Dr. L. P. Jacks. Allen and Unwin. 18s. net.

This book designed as a companion and explanatory complement to the earlier volume, THE BIRTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION seeks to examine the literary history of the New Testament books of the Holy Christian Scripture. Although, as early as in 1908, M. Loisy was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church, for the offence of having called in question, in his controversial book, BIBLICAL STUDIES, the doctrines of the church in regard to the divine origin of the Holy Scripture and other matters. M. Loisy is a devout Christian still and is deeply imbued with a genuine and fervid religious spirit. It is however not to be expected that the orthodox Christian would relish either M. Loisy's findings or his engaging in these investigations. Any attempt at objective scrutiny of the foundations of any religious faith is frowned on by the orthodox as sacrilegious. But there is a higher ideal than that of religious conformity and that is the ideal of truth above all things. If M. Loisy risked ex-communication and all its numerous consequences rather than conform to the unverified and unproven doctrine of the Catholic Church, it was because of that far more important loyalty that he felt rightly bound to give to the truth.

It is hardly necessary to go into a detailed examination of the evidence adduced herein for M. Loisy's central thesis which is that the literary history of the New Testament books, during the century before their canonization about 170 A.D. finally determined their text, conforms to the growth of the Christian beliefs during the same period. According to M. Loisy the first form of the Christian message, as practised by St. Paul and his contemporaries was apocalyptic and eschatological, with a strong moral element. It proclaimed the imminence of the Kingdom of God and

the radical overthrow of the existing world order saving only those who accepted Christ as the Saviour and acknowledged both his divinity and his resurrection. At that stage no account was taken of the life and teaching of Jesus on the earth, of which the New Testament version had not yet been told. The Christian movement was however threatened with a collapse because of the indefinite postponement of what had been fervidly proclaimed as the imminent descent of God and His Kingdom on the earth. The canonization of the New Testament Gospels was a necessity of the survival of the Church, which lives by sustaining the faith of its flock by periodical proclamations of new dogma. Once the four gospels were canonized their use in liturgical exercise throughout the churches followed as a matter of course. And so it remained as solid basis till the time of Reformation.

M. Loisy however does not on the ground of the confusion and mystery of its origin or the inconsistencies or incoherences of its content deny the value of the New Testament as the ever-living witness to a great spiritual movement. The vitality of this movement is far from exhausted, notwithstanding the many set backs it has faced in the past. Though neither the party holding the doctrine of the entire perfection of Christianity nor the party holding the opposite doctrine that Christianity is compounded of myths and puerilities and outworn dogma is right entirely, what happened in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar and in the first hundred and fifty years of Christian history will not cease to be important. Before all else, as M. Loisy says, man lives on the dynamism of the spirit, on the moral electricity of devoted love. It matters not what Jesus, Peter, Paul or John and their interpreters have had to say on any topic. What matters is the fire they kindled. Men pass away, humanity remains. Religions die, religion lives on.

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION. By K. C. Chakravarti, M.A., Vora & Co., Publishers, Bombay 2.

Mr. Chakravarti has, in this book traced the unity and continuity of Indian culture in the past for over 5000 years. Utilising the literary, historical and archaeological material that is of late so abundant, the author tells us how India developed her indigenous thought in politics, religion, philosophy, art and literature and what she contributed to the culture and civilization of her neighbours. Political events are briefly summarised as a background for the main story of Indian culture in the past. How India and Greece came in close contact first by war then by administration and ultimately by interaction of culture, how Indian literature, art and architecture and science developed and penetrated into other countries, how in ancient times Indian mariners and settlers colonised South East Asia and laid the foundations of Greater India, how the University of Nalanda attracted students from different parts of Asia and we developed close contact with the rest of the world—all these are told in a simple and attractive narrative which can be read with pleasure and profit. It is a book of absorbing interest revealing the depth and breadth of Indian thought in ancient history.

DHAMMAPADA: Text and translation. By Narada Maha Thera, Mahabodi Society of India, 4 A. Bankim Chatterjee St. Calcutta.

Dhammapada is to the Buddhists what the Gita is to the Hindus. Like the Gita too it is a book of wisdom and compassion for all mankind. With the text in Roman script and English version in prose and verse this book will be of interest both to scholar and layman. Neatly printed in fine paper this pocket book of wisdom culled from Ancient Buddhist classic will prove invaluable for its rare gems of thought.

INTERNATIONAL SHORT STORIES. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi Rs. 8.

Here is a collection of the best Short Stories written during 1950 in 23 countries as well as in nine regional languages of India. The collection is the result of a gigantic international contest sponsored by the *New York Herald Tribune* and an equally elaborate national contest organised in India by the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi. There are 41 stories in all selected from among 60,000 which shared the prize of which the Indian story, Cyclone won the second prize. The Indian stories in the book have been selected from among 3000 written in English and various regional languages. Thus the stories can rightly claim to be as representative as any collection of International Short stories could be. The wide variety of the themes adds richness to the book, which affords excellent reading for all who care for good stories and are, at the same time interested in what is happening in the field of story writing in other countries. The scholars and critics who chose the prize winning stories have certainly followed definite principles in making the awards but the lay reader can also have his own preferences and it is up to him to make his choice in the sumptuous fare that is placed before him. Needless to add that the stories which altogether maintain a high average are all interesting.

NATIONAL PROSE SELECTION. Ed. by Dr. C. N. Zutchi, S. Garg & Company, Delhi.

This compilation is specially designed, to serve the needs of High School students in India. The selected pieces are from the writings and speeches of well known Indian writers in English—Tagore and Gokhale and Gandhi and a few foreigners steeped in Indian thought. The Editor has provided a glossary of difficult words and phrases and a brief introduction to each of the chapters which students will find particularly useful.

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY. By Jawaharlal Nehru, Lindsay Drummond Ltd., London W. C. 1. Available of Rupa & Co., 15, Bankim Chatterjee St., College square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 13-2.

"Glimpses" is just the right title for a book of this kind: it is not intended to be profound and is in no way a connected historical narrative. Objective in its interpretation of world events it is yet distinctly personal in its approach and appeal and above all simple and direct as letters to a daughter should be. Written during the years of his imprison-

ment in 1930-33 it made an instant appeal to readers. And now in its fourth edition, it retains its letter form, and the story, amplified considerably, brings the review of world events down to 1939. Altogether a fascinating book which richly observes its popularity.

This new edition of Jawaharlal's rambling account of history for young people is enriched with 50 illustrations, and maps drawn by J. F. Horrabin. The exhaustive index at the end of the book adds to the usefulness of this book of over thousand pages.

BOOKS RECEIVED

EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1947-48.

EDUCATION IN THE STATES OF INDIAN UNION.

EDUCATIONAL COSTING STATISTICS, INDIA, 1949, Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.

EFFECTIVE SPEAKING. A Practical guide. By Wilfred Womersley, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford St., London W. C. 2.

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY. Book I compiled by Valji Govindji Desai, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

STUDIES IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. By P. N. Masaldan, M.A., Ph.D. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay.

FIRST LESSONS IN VEDANTA. By Sri Swami Sivananda, The Divine Life Society, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

CIVIC LIFE IN BIHAR. By Biman Bihari Majumdar, Principal, H. D. Jain College, Arrah. Selling Agents, Motilal Banarsidas, Patna. Re. 1-4.

SCIENTIFIC AIDS IN CRIME DETECTION. By D. N. Goyle and A. S. Kapur, Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmir Gate, Delhi 6.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1 New Ordinance on Land Tenure in Tanjore, repealing two earlier ones, receives President's assent.
- Oct. 2 Japanese elections result in complete rout of the reds and in a majority for liberals.
- Naguib Government freezes Wafd funds.
- British Labour Party Conference at Morecombe endorses Attlee's stand on rearmament as against Bevanite demand for reduction.
- Oct. 3 U. K. Atom Bomb test on Mante Bello islands off N. W. Australia.
- Oct. 4 Gadgil Committee recommends merger of 50 per cent of dearness allowance with pay in Government Service.
- Nehru in Madras.
- Oct. 5 Nehru on tour in famine stricken Rayalaseema.
- British and American replies handed to Mossadeq.
- Oct. 6 Shah supports Mossadeq's stand on oil dispute.
- Nahas resigns leadership of Wafd Party.
- Oct. 7 French Government decides to oppose U. N. intervention in N. Africa.
- Stalin, analysing world trends, argues probability of conflict within Capitalist Bloc.
- Oct. 8 London train smash kills 81 and injures 130.
- French Indian leaders meet Nehru in Madras.
- Oct. 9 Nehru rules out plebiscite for French areas in India.
- Mossadeq's threatens diplomatic break with Britain on failure of settlement.
- Oct. 10 Nehru asks Bihar and Orissa to accept refugees.
- Oct. 11 Delhi sends protest note against French firing on Indian nationals on border.
- Oct. 12 Trouble in Kojeh Camp.
- Plot against Iran Government alleged.
- Oct. 13 India Government reject Pak request for postponement of passport system.
- Britain rejects Mossadeq's note.
- Oct. 14 Finance Ministers' Conference meets in Delhi.
- Oct. 15 The 7th session of U.N. General Assembly meets in New York, Mr. Lester Pearson of Canada presiding.
- Mr. Trygve Lie, U.N. Secretary General, reports failure of his attempts to solve Indo's-African dispute.
- Oct. 16 Iran breaks off relations with U.K.
- West Bengal sends note to East Pakistan calling attention to harassment of migrants.
- Oct. 17 Mr. A. V. Visvanatha Iyer appointed Chairman of the Incometax Investigation Commission.
- Poland proposes in U.N. assembly a 9-point plan for peace.
- Oct. 18 Vyshinsky presents Russia's seven point peace proposal to end Korean War.
- Oct. 19 United Nations week inaugurated in Delhi with an Exhibition.
- Oct. 20 U. K. troops rushed to Kenya to patrol Asian quarters.
- Oct. 21 Indian leaders appeal for funds to help S. African Satyagrahis.
- Norwegian Mission arrives in Delhi.
- Oct. 22 Committee formed to draw up scheme for synthetic rice production.
- Oct. 23 British Parliamentary Labour Party approves ultimatum to Bevin and his leftwing group to disband.
- Oct. 24 Seventh Anniversary of U.N. Celebration in various centres.
- Oct. 25 All India Convention of Racial Relations meets at Bombay, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer presiding.
- Shah approves Majlis' Bill dissolving Senate.
- Oct. 26 Delhi releases report by neutral observers in French India.
- Fourth annual Congress (Goa) at Poona expresses concern at terrorism in Goa.
- Oct. 27 India submits three point plan to end Tunisian dispute.
- Oct. 28 Bevan group accepts Party directive to disband.
- U. S. to make fresh grant of 45 million dollars to India.
- Oct. 29 West Pakistan decides to stop import of Indian films.
- M. Vishinsky proposes U.N. Commission to end Korean war.
- Oct. 30 Egypt accepts self Government for Sudan and right to decide.
- T. C. No Confidence motion thrown out.
- Oct. 31 Massing of Pak troops on border reported.
- Ceylon Premier Dudley Senanayake receives a Congress deputation to amend Citizenship Act.



READERS' DIGEST



THE MEANING OF FREEDOM

Discussing the meaning of freedom, the Editor of *Prabuddha Bharata*, in its issue for August observes that the strength and power of a nation or State depend largely on the innate strength and power of the individuals, who more or less determine the shape and organization of their government.

The individuals, in return for the rights, privileges, and security that the State offers them, have to fulfil conscientiously their obligations and responsibilities. Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself; it is judicious exercise of the right to seek work, wealth, and happiness in the manner most appropriate to oneself, without transgressing the law of hindering the freedom of others. Enlightened citizens, who understand the meaning of freedom and utilize their freedom with much circumspection and with benefit to themselves and to others, can alone elect a government which may be said to be the best, as it is called upon to govern the least. A perfect society that can regulate its own affairs and govern itself has the least occasion for an authoritarian or militaristic type of government. Hence is it often said that self-government is better than the best form of good Government. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation.

The meaning of freedom, he concludes, has both a social and a trans-social significance; it has both a national and an international application.

If freedom for every living human being has got to be ensured, the prevention of war and the elimination of distrust through a single world government is indispensable. Yet, that is not all. The individuals that compose that world government have got to be men of spiritual vision and moral integrity; or else, unsubdued selfishness and greed are bound to get the better of them and wreck their joint efforts for world understanding. The prevailing gloom in this or that part of the world need not dishearten, much less discourage, the lovers of real freedom and peace. Sri Krishna, who gave to humanity, through the *Gita*, the greatest charter of freedom—unequivocally enunciating the meaning of its secular and spiritual aspects, declares that the faithful discharge of individual duties and obligations (Sva-dharma) paves the way for the realization of the highest universal Dharma, embodying the material, moral, and spiritual freedom of mankind.

THE RIFT IN BRITISH LABOUR

The Attlee—Bevan controversy has now reached an acute stage. So long confined to party platforms it has now been carried to the floor of the House of Commons as well. There are different ways of looking at it. Superficial observers, says the *Calcutta Review*, may regard it only as a struggle for leadership, Attlee doing his best to maintain his position and Bevan trying his utmost to oust him from leadership and assuming it himself.

But it may not be as sordid as that. The fact is that all the objectives the Labour Movement had in view during the previous fifty years had been fulfilled by the 1945 Labour Government. It was in that year that for the first time Labour came to power in Britain. In 1924 and 1929 it was allowed to form the Government but it was not sufficiently independent to formulate and carry out its own policy. This chance was vouchsafed to it only after the election of 1945. For half a century the Labour Movement had promised the miners a fair deal through public ownership of the mines. It promised the masses different kinds of social security, namely security against the ravages of sickness and unemployment and security against infirmities of old age and helplessness of infancy. It had again promised them that everything would be done to do away with the 19th century legacy of squalor, squalor and overcrowding. It is to the credit of the Labour Government that it carried through a volume of legislation unparalleled in the history of Parliament.

But the fulfilment of the old programme to a considerable extent has created a vacuum in respect of Party policy. The Party leaders are at present thinking out a new programme and new lines of action.

The mind of the Party is in consequence in ferment and in that condition it is but natural that there will not only be disagreements among leaders but that these disagreements will come out into the open.

BOOKS PRESENTED

Three hundred Sanskrit books belonging to the late Mr. G. A. Natesan, have been presented to the Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co.

POPULATION TRENDS IN THE WORLD

The World Health Organisation in a report on population trends said that death rate has fallen since before the war, particularly among children.

The decrease in the death rate was due to vigorous measures against disease and the progress made in hygiene and nutrition, the report said. The report shows that more than half the world live in Asia which has the huge population of 1,253 millions. China with an estimated 463 millions and India with 357 millions have the world's largest populations.

The Vatican City with 890 crammed into about one and a half square miles is the world's smallest country. Europe still remains the world's most crowded area with a total of 892.8 millions—or 77.9 persons to each square kilometre (about one-third of a square mile).

Oceania is the world's emptiest area with a population of 12.4 millions—3.87 people per square mile. Post-war marriage and birth rates have increased sharply throughout the greater part of the world, the report said, and though there has been a decline from the peak years of 1946-47, figures are still higher than before the war.

As always in the period immediately following a war, the report added, there were more boys born than girls during 1946-48, compared with 1936-38. However, in almost all European countries women continue to outnumber men.

LIQUIDATION OF RICE BUG

Air operations against the rice bug, were conducted in Bihar last month; and according to official reports, the pest has been completely controlled.

Following an urgent request from the Bihar Government for assistance to meet a threatened wide-spread destruction of the paddy crop by the rice bug, the Central Government sent a plane and the necessary insecticides. About 850 acres were dusted with BHC and DDT and reports indicate that no more infested area remains for aerial control. The aeroplane has returned to Delhi.

WORLD'S FIRST OVERHEAD RAILWAY

The first "overhead" railway—like the first passenger train—was built in Britain, and it is still going strong as a privately-owned concern.

Opened in 1893, the Liverpool Overhead Railway, owned by the Company of that name, to-day carries, 16 ft. above the roadway, eleven million passengers a year, to and fro, along six-and-a-half miles of docks in Britain's second greatest seaport.

Liverpudlians call it "The Dockers' Umbrella". On rainy days—certainly not unusual on the North-West coast of Britain—the Railway's elevated structure affords dry passage to workers walking between one dock and another. But its fame is not merely local and historical.

This little marvel of British engineering—the result of a scheme that was proposed exactly a hundred years ago—was inspected by American experts and served as a model for the New York "Elevated". Since then, other engineers from the Commonwealth and Empire and from all the important European countries have studied it and profited by the experience.

Designed by Sir Douglas Fox and Mr. J. H. Greathead, the standard-gauge double-track is laid on a light but strong flooring which makes the passage of the trains comparatively noiseless. The structure, supported on columns of two steel channels and two steel plates, consists of wrought iron girders spaced 22 feet centre to centre, at a normal span of 50 feet. On it, the Company run 19 three-car sets. The signalling system, modernised 30 years ago, is equipped with coloured lights that are clearly visible in the brightest sunshine at a distance of 1,000 yards.

The 17 stations along the route give easy access to the whole of Liverpool Docks, while the round trip on the Overhead gives a magnificent panoramic view of the ships and docks below—an excellent way of gaining some idea of the wonders of commerce and how it is handled by the British Port that carries one-third of the whole country's overseas trade.

In fact, the Overhead Railway is used in this way by sightseers and holiday-makers during the season, as well as by Educational Committees all over Britain who organise trips for the school-children as a pleasant form of Geography-teaching.

THE PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

The affairs of the Press Trust of India have been thrown into confusion by the decision of the Board at their Bombay meeting on September 21 to cut away from Reuters, writes "Saka," in *Swatantra*. The Press Trust of India (PTI) was formed in September 1948. Prior to that, for almost fifty years, the Associated Press of India, a subsidiary company of Reuters, had collected and distributed news in India. When India attained independence in 1947, it became clear that Reuters could no longer remain in control of India's internal news. So the API was dissolved and the PTI stepped into its place. According to the arrangement, they have agreed that it is in the best interest of the Press of India, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand that the Press Trust of India should share in the ownership of Reuters and take an active part in organizing the collection and distribution of word news in the international field.

The Press Trust of India is to become a partner with the newspapers of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand in the ownership of Reuters. It will be represented in Reuters by a Trustee and a Director and it will become a party to the Reuter Trust.

The Indian partnership of Reuters adheres strictly to the Australian pattern. The PTI became the owners of the same number of shares in Reuters as the Australian Associated Press. It has the same rights as Australia. The arrangement entered into was provisionally for a period of four years, after which, on the basis of the experience gained, it was hoped by both sides that a more enduring association would result.

The four-year period is to expire in March next. In July this year Sri Kasturi Srinivasan, C. R. Srinivasan and Devadas Gandhi visited the United Kingdom to negotiate an extension of the agreement for a further term with the Reuter Board. In the midst of the negotiations Devadas Gandhi broke away and left, and the other two tentatively signed a draft for renewal of the partnership for a period of three years, which was later, approved at a meeting of the stockholders or Reuters. But the Board of PTI, which met at Bombay three weeks ago, declined to honour the draft, and resolved that "immediate steps be taken to enter into an alternative arrangement such as bulk purchase" of news. Feeling themselves let down by their colleagues, Sri Kasturi Srinivasan and C. R. Srinivasan resigned and are not at present on the Board.

The Reuter-PTI agreement, observes "Saka," is a faithful reflection in journalism of the cooperative principles exemplified in the political field in India's partnership with the United Kingdom in the Commonwealth.

Partnership in the Commonwealth has not made India less of an independent republic, but Pandit Nehru has not been spared on that account. The strong are not afraid of association with others in endeavours of common interest, they indeed welcome it as an opportunity for wider influence and greater service. The weak dread it as a menace to their importance that might puncture the facade of their inflated positions. The PTI is paying the penalty for the pretensions of the weaklings of the Press who feel impelled to egg themselves into a fury of vandalism to make up for their lack of balance, constructive purpose and vision.

And then the finances of the PTI are none too bright.

One certain effect of dissociation from the Reuter partnership will be to send up the costs of the PTI not twofold or three-fold but tenfold. Not only do we have to pay more for international news, we shall be less able than hitherto to put our internal news across in the foreign press of other countries. Also, in the present still undeveloped condition of the Indian press, there is little prospect of the PTI competing successfully with the established agencies operating in the world news market. Financial disability would mean dependence on subsidies for sheer survival, which is the worst of handicaps for freedom of news.

SWATANTRA—ANNUAL 1952

The 1952 annual of *Swatantra* is a beautiful volume. "Saka" in his "side-lights" offers valuable tips to the Press Commission. "Vegneswara" is as entertaining as ever; while "Visvamitra's" essay on the plight of the middle class is at once informing and thoughtful. There is also a charming study of that versatile scholar and educationist the late C. R. Reddy by Sri Isvar Dutt.

Among other contributors to the Annual are Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Sir S. V. Ramamurti, Sri P. D. Tandon, Mr. Potthen Joseph, Sri M.-Chalapathi Rao, Sri A. S. Bharatan etc.,

There are a few illustrations in colour as well as Black and White. The front page is adorned with a reproduction of the well known Principal D. P. Roy, Choudhry's painting—"Coquette."

MATHEMATICAL PRODIGIES

India appears to be the "meet nurse" of a number of mathematical prodigies, who have taken the world by surprise. A few years back Mr. Somesh Chandra Bose of Bengal gave demonstration before a wondering world of his old mathematical ability by furnishing ready and correct answers to multiplication of figures that yielded more than a 40-digit result.

Without hesitation he worked out "the results" of huge multiplication of random numbers suggested by the audience. This made his name once famous both in India and outside, and he was hailed as India's prodigy No. 1. Mr. Bose is now fairly advanced in age, and is leading a retired life.

Now comes the news of another brilliant Indian prodigy and—this time one belonging to the fair sex—who was born at Bangalore. She is Miss Shakuntala Devi. She has gone to the U.S. on a tour, and reports have it that she recently spell-bound a party of reporters and university professors in New York by her wonderful demonstration of mathematical abilities, when she, without error or hesitation, extracted fourth, fifth and sixth roots of numbers, up to ten digits. Her record up to date is extracting the 20th root of a 42 digit number and multiplying figures that yielded a 89-digit result. She worked out these "magic squares" without the least hesitation and that too with numbers suggested at random by the audience. Like most of the prodigies, Shakuntala Devi does not know how she does it. She thinks about the problem and the numbers come in three or four seconds. Often she gives the answer as soon as her questioner has written down the last digit.

INDIA'S LATEST CENSUS FIGURES

According to the final figures of the population census of 1951, recently released, India on 1,269,640 square miles houses 356,829,485 people, of them 188,305,654 males and 178,523,831 females. In 1941 the same area contained a population of 314,766,380 only; thus India's population has increased by nearly one-seventh in ten years. If this staggering rate of increase

is maintained, India's population will exceed 700 million by the end of the current century.

The State with the largest population is the Uttar Pradesh (69,215,742), followed by Madras (57,016,002), Bihar (40,225,947) and Bombay (35,956,150). The largest State in area is Madhya Pradesh (180,272 square miles). The smallest State, both in area and in population, is Bilaspur (126,099 inhabitants and 453 square miles). The most densely populated is Delhi (3,017 inhabitants per square mile).

There are 74 cities in India with more than 100,000 inhabitants each. The largest are Bombay (2,839,270), Calcutta (2,548,377), Madras (1,416,056), Delhi (1,191,104) and Hyderabad (1,085,722). Altogether there are 24,126,592 persons living in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants whilst another 37,158,622 live in smaller towns.

There are 947 females for every 1,000 males in India as a whole, but the average for the cities of over 100,000 is only 785 females per 1,000 males. The dearth of females is most pronounced in Calcutta and Bombay (570 and 596 per 1,000 respectively).

The heaviest population increases since 1941 have been recorded in the following cities: Tollyganj 157 per cent; Alleppey 106 per cent; Delhi 98 per cent; Bangalore 92 per cent; Vijayavada 86 per cent; Dehra Dun 84 per cent; Madras 82 per cent. A population decrease was recorded in the following cities: Amritsar 17 per cent; Bikaner 8 per cent; and Shabjahanpur 5 per cent.

The following is a breakdown of the sources of livelihood of India's population:

Agricultural:	
Cultivation of own land ..	167,346,501
Cultivation of tenanted land ..	31,839,719
Landless agricultural labour ..	44,811,928
Landlords (non-cultivating owners) ..	5,324,301
Total agricultural population ..	249,122,449
Non-agricultural:	
Production ..	37,660,197
Commerce ..	21,308,871
Transport ..	5,620,128
Miscellaneous ..	42,982,754
Total non-agricultural population ..	107,571,940

NATURE'S MIRACLE CHEMICAL

There may have been more sense than nonsense in the fact that in days gone by people applied green leaves to open wounds to help them heal. It has recently been discovered that the chemical that makes leaves and grass green—chlorophyll—has definite value as a therapeutic and a deodorizing agent. Chlorophyll, says Herb Bailey in "Better Homes and Gardens" has recently been combined in dental creams and powders in the United States to help maintain healthy gums and to aid in keeping the mouth free of odours.

There are indications that it is also of great value in helping to prevent tooth decay. Commercial dentifrices including chlorophyll have only been put on the market after exhaustive clinical tests have proved their worth.

A series of intensive experiments were carried out over a period of four years at the Loyola University's College of Dentistry in Chicago on 1,755 patients of which 613 were controls. These tests indicate that:

Chlorophyll used as a dentifrice can control or stop the major manifestations of gingivitis and simple pyorrhea as well as trench mouth. What's more, Chlorophyll delivers a knockout punch to unpleasant breath and the bacteria linked with tooth decay.

These experiments were carried out under the supervision of Dr. Gustav Rapp, noted biochemist and head of the Research Department at Loyola University. This project, a most important one in dental history—will have far-reaching applications for people of all ages, since gum treatments can now be handled largely in the home by the person himself.

Not until the indisputable evidence on more than 1,700 patients was obtained did the University team report the results to dentists and the American people. Exclusive of the 'controls' and those with definite bone involvement, not once did the Chlorophyll treatment fail to check the symptoms of the gum troubles! And when the 600 'controls' were switched to the Chlorophyll treatment they responded with equally satisfying cures.

Further tests showed conclusively that when a dental cream with Chlorophyll was used mouth odours were likely destroyed.

It may be that not in the too distant future, we will have a Chlorophyll toothpaste available to us in India that will actually keep our gums healthy and help us to keep our teeth longer.

ECONOMIC LIFE IN ISRAEL

The American press has recently reported that the Government of Israel is considering the desirability of doing away with rationing and control of a number of nonvital commodities in an effort to determine whether abolition of controls may not serve to encourage production. These reports were also accompanied with a surmise that the new trend indicated a departure from "Socialist" principles in the management of the economic life of the State. Mr. H. Berger, writing in the *Jewish Frontier*, declares that there is no basis for those surmises.

Rationing and controls are not a socialist ideal; they are not even characteristic of socialist economic policy. The rationing and economic controls in Israel are not the result of socialist trends; they are an outgrowth of the special conditions that prevail in a poor country that is absorbing a huge immigration. As long as the purchasing power far exceeded the amount of goods on the market, and a great part of this buying potential was thus directed toward non-essentials, any relaxation of controls would have diverted capital and labor from vital sectors of the economy to those producing non-essentials. Now that the surplus purchasing power in the community is being skimmed off, the danger of a drift of capital and labor away from essential production will be reduced and the factor of competition will be reintroduced into the economy of the country.

The new economic policy is thus an attempt, says the writer, to hasten the process of the economic construction of the country.

RICE YIELD IN INDIA DECLINING

In spite of the "Grow More Food" efforts of the Central Government and the States, the average rice yield per acre in India is gradually decreasing in comparison with that of wheat, which itself is hardly encouraging.

According to details available, the average yield per acre during the last four years throughout India was 739, 698, 688, and 597 lbs. of cleaned rice respectively. During the same years, the wheat yield per acre was 599, 566, 584 and 616 lbs. respectively.

Tripura had the best rice yield, having secured 1,157 lbs. of cleaned rice per acre. Other States in order of yield are: Coorg 1,070 lbs.; Manipur, 951 lbs.; Madras 920 lbs.; W. Bengal 894 lbs. All other States had an yield between 400 and 700 lbs.

THE YOGI AND THE ARTIST

All art is at bottom one. It is the expression of the Beautiful, the creation of *Rasa* or Delight. Since a secret but profound unity binds all the arts together, observes Samir Kanta Gupta in the *Aryan Path*, 'if one has a clear glimpse of it, one can walk freely from one field to another, gathering a beautiful bouquet of the flowers of music or of painting.' And who has this clear vision more than the Yogi?

He is not merely in union, *yukta*, with the Divine, the origin and refuge of all that is, that was and that forever shall be, not merely absorbed in a deep and beatific contemplation of the Above; he looks at the same time at this wonderful earth with eager knowledge, tries to mould himself and all that is around him according to the inmost laws of Nature.

The Yogi is an artist. Nay, he is more than an artist. He creates himself. His is the task of continuous self-finding and self-building holding fast to eternal Truth and Beauty. He is rising. He will give us the true estimation of all things and of all our works in life or in literature or any other of the creative fields. As he is not bound to bias of his ego, he is just and generous in his appreciation; as he is not serving any preconceived maxim or convenient theory, he is upholding and uttering the impersonal truth; as he is not anxious to please or displease any, he brings us to a clear atmosphere where the light shines and the darkness is not.

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

"It seems to me," Sri Nehru said addressing a public meeting at Chittoor last month "if you look at the world today, it is amazing to find the amount of hatred that is generated in one nation against another, one group against another, and one set of political and economic philosophy against another.

"I cannot conceive, regardless of the countries and philosophies, how any good can come out of the ocean of hatred that is generated. In my mind I feel we cannot progress by this hatred, because ultimately hatred creates anger and violence."

Being individuals, Sri Nehru said, "we are apt to misbehave. Nevertheless I do believe that we, or any other country, is not going ahead, if it bases itself on hatred."

U. S. VISA POLICY "SCANDAL"

Thirty-five leading atomic scientists, including Dr. Albert Einstein and four other Nobel prize winners, have bitterly criticised the U. S. visa and passport regulations in the October issue of *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*.

Dr. E. Shils, Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, specially edited the issue which is entirely devoted to an attack on what it calls, "the American visa policy scandal."

The bulletin cited the cases of 26 famous foreign scientists, wishing to attend scientific meetings or accept teaching posts in the U. S., who were either denied visas or put to much trouble to obtain them.

Dr. Einstein was quoted as saying: "In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the intervention of political authorities of this country in the free exchange of knowledge between individuals has already significantly damaging effects." He called the U. S. visa policy "petty behaviour on the part of a powerful country."

ELECTRIC HEART

Two Edinburgh surgeons have developed a technique in which an electric pump takes the place of the heart while the real heart is being operated upon.

The new technique, which has since been reported is of vital importance because it will enable surgeons to disconnect the heart from the blood stream during the operation.

"No mechanic can do a good repair job on a machine while it is in motion," says one of the inventors. "The same applies to the surgeons and the heart. The blood stream is diverted from the heart through a series of ice-cooled tubes before being returned to the body. Oxygen is pumped into the patient's lungs, and an electrical pump drives the blood through the veins."

The heart can be stopped and started at will by electric stimulant, and the new technique is likely to be applied to "live" operations in the fairly near future.

RUSSELL ON RACIALISM

If racial discrimination against the Negro did not cease soon, "all Africa will become Communist" said the philosopher Bertrand Russell, writing in *Look* magazine.

The working man may be displaced by "ingenious mechanism" within the next 50 years, according to the 80 year old philosopher.

The Labour movement, "as it has existed since the industrial revolution," would thereby, be brought to an end, he said in an article headed, "What I won't live to see."

He said that "unrestricted national industrial freedom" was resulting in production of more wealth and military power than the world could absorb. This led to "out-throat competition" which could only be settled by fighting.

SYNTHETIC RICE LUNCHEON

Five friends who lunched with the Deputy Minister for Natural Resources, Mr. K. D. Malaviya, in Delhi on Oct. 5 were surprised to learn from him later that the rice and curds served at the table were synthetic products.

Mr. Malaviya had brought them from the Mysore Food Technological Research Institute which he visited recently.

The "rice" is made out of tapioca and other ingredients product.

The Institute claims that its "synthetic rice" and "vegetable milk" are superior in nutritive value to the natural products.

The Government of India is now thinking of mass producing them within the next eight months.

NORWEGIAN AID FOR INDIA

The Norwegian Cabinet has appointed a delegation to conduct negotiations with the India Government on Norway's technical assistance to India.

"The technical assistance programme is in addition to Norway's contribution to the United Nations technical assistance programme, but is launched in co-operation with the UN agencies.

EXPEDITION TO MOON

Man's first expedition to the moon will take place within 25 years, according to Dr. Wernher Von Braun; one of the world's leading rocket experts.

In the article in the *Colliers*, Dr. Von Braun describes how the flight might be made from a specially built "space" station 1,075 miles above the earth in three rocket ships.

Fifty scientists and technicians would take off on the pioneer expedition to stay six weeks on the moon. Two of the rocket ships would be loaded with propellant for the 5-day 2,39,000-mile trip, and the return journey. The third which would not return, would carry only enough propellant for a one way trip. The extra space would be filled with supplies and equipment.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Three of every four mothers and children in the United States now have survivors' protection under the U. S. Social Security programme. Under the government-sponsored plan, they are eligible for monthly cash payments in event of the death of the head of the family.

SEWING MACHINES

India has produced 25,719 sewing machines for the first six months of 1952; last year's total production was 44,481 as against 6,121 sewing machines manufactured in 1946.

PROCUREMENT OF WHEAT

The total procurement of wheat this year is 7,88,300 tons which is in excess of the procurement target of wheat by over 1 lakh tons.

LOSS ON TICKET-LESS TRAVELLING

Rs. 178 lakhs was realised from ticket-less travellers on Indian railways in 1949-50; in 1950-51 the amount had dropped to Rs. 171 lakhs.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

S. AFRICAN ISSUE IN U. N.

M. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations reported to the General Assembly on October 14 his failure to solve the dispute between South Africa on the one hand, and India and Pakistan on the other regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

M. Lie in his report, reviewed the negotiations he had during the year with the three countries involved. He was empowered to hold these talks by the last General Assembly.

In his report M. Lie said as the attitude of the three Governments had not changed since the time when negotiations were held earlier, he did not at present "see any possible solution to the problem, and that, consequently the time was not opportune for the appointment of mediator."

A document released by the United Nations on the subject said following the failure of attempts to form a three-man commission to help in negotiations, the U. N. Secretary General asked the three Governments for their latest views on September 17.

India said she favoured the appointment of someone, elected by M. Lie to help to promote a settlement. Pakistan favoured a similar idea naming M. Lie himself as the mediator.

South Africa replied that since it could not recognise the jurisdiction of the General Assembly on the problem, she was, consequently, unable to recognise the competence of the Secretary General to take action.

UNITED ACTION IN S. AFRICA

The National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress said in a statement on October 21, that 6,880 volunteers in 82 centres had taken part in the Defiance Campaign since it began on June 26.

The majority—5,269—were from Eastern Cape Province.

The statement forecast an intensification of the campaign.

East Africa

E. A. INDIAN CONGRESS DECISION

By 81 votes to 44, the 22nd annual session of the East African Indian National Congress which ended at Kisumu on Oct. 18 decided to abandon the boycott of the Kenya Legislative Council by the Indian members.

The debate on a resolution to lift the boycott, proposed by Mr. A. B. Patel lasted five hours and evoked opposition from younger members. This opposition was asked on the unequivocal opposition of the Congress to the division of the voters' roll on a religious basis. It argued that failure to continue the boycott might indicate a weakening of the Congress attitude.

Mr. A. B. Patel, said the proposal was particularly important in view of the consultative body to be appointed soon to devise a new Constitution for Kenya.

Ceylon

HANDLOOM SARONGS FOR CEYLON

Following the Ceylon Government's order that, from October 15, all imports into Ceylon of handloom sarongs from India should be accompanied by a purchase of one-fourth of the quantity of Ceylonese sarongs, South Indian handloom sarongs were despatched to Ceylon by chartered plane from the Meenambakkam airport on October 18th night.

Air Ceylon were in charge of conveying the handloom cloth and during the night, five planes, left the airport each carrying 5,000 lbs. of cloth. Five more planes, each carrying 5,500 lbs. left the next day.

Canada

IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA

The acting High Commissioner for Canada, announced on October 19, the opening of a Canadian Immigration Office in New Delhi.

India has been allotted a quota of 100 immigrants annually under the immigration agreement signed by the two Governments on January 26, 1951.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

ASIAN NATIONS' INDICTMENT OF S. AFRICA

A memorandum was submitted by the Asian-African group of 18 nations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Race conflict in the Union of South Africa resulting from the policies of *Apartheid* of the Union Government is creating a dangerous and explosive situation which constitutes both a threat to international peace and flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the charge of the United Nations.

Many parts of the African continent still remain subject to racial discrimination and exploitation.

The founding of the United Nations and the acceptance by the member States of the obligations embodied in the Charter have given to the peoples of these areas new hope and encouragement in their efforts to acquire basic human rights. But in direct opposition to the trend of world opinion the policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa is designed to establish and to perpetuate every form of racial discrimination which must inevitably result in tense and bitter racial conflict.

Apartheid which is the declared objective of the Government of the Union, implies permanent White superiority over the non-Whites who constitute the great majority of the Union's population.

The memorandum then listed under eight separate heads the measures taken by the South African Government "to achieve *Apartheid*". These include mention of the Group Areas Act and application of the Suppression of Communism Act.

As a result of these measures "a social system is being evolved under which the non-Whites, who constitute 80 per cent of the Union's population, will be kept in a permanently inferior state to the White minority. Such a policy challenges all that the United Nations stands for and clearly violates the basic and fundamental objectives of the Charter of the United Nations."

VIOLATION OF U.N. CHARTER

"The Preamble and Articles 18 and 55 of the Charter proclaim universal respect for and the due observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Under Article 56 all members have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations Organisations for the achievement of these purposes.

Under resolution 103 (1) adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in 1946 the United Nations called on Governments to put an end to racial persecution and discrimination. Resolution 217 (3) proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 2 of the Declaration affirms the equal application of these rights without distinction of colour, race or religion.

The United Nations held that the policy of *Apartheid* was necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination and therefore called upon the Union Government not to implement or enforce the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

These findings and this recommendation were repeated in Resolution 511 (6) passed at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly. It is recognised in all countries as well as among liberal South African Europeans that the solution of South Africa's racial problems lies not in any domination of one race by another but in a partnership of races on a basis of equality and freedom.

"Thus the *Apartheid* policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa is contrary not only to the basic premises of the United Nations and to its specific and repeated recommendations, but also to the trend of opinion all over the world.

INDIAN LEADERS' JOINT APPEAL

A national appeal for funds to help the distressed families of the "Satyagrahis" in South Africa was made by 86 prominent national leaders in India.

The Satyagraha campaign in South Africa against racial discrimination and the doctrine of the master race," the signatories to the appeal said, has attracted worldwide attention and sympathy. In India that sympathy has been even more intimate and intense and all shades of opinion share it. While sympathy has undoubtedly considerable value, it would be much better to translate that sympathy into some kind of direct help. We appeal, therefore, for contributions to a fund to help the distressed families of the Satyagrahis in South Africa. In this matter we hope there will be no party divisions and that there will be a wide-spread response from all who feel, as we do, that a vital struggle affecting human rights and liberty is being carried on by Africans and people of Indian descent in South Africa.

C. R.'S PLEA FOR CONGRESS GOVT.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, addressing a public meeting at Tirupati declared that "we will have progress without disorder" only if the Congress was in charge of the Government.

DIFFICULTIES OF GOVERNMENT

"We attained independence in the year 1947, that is, five years ago. We were under foreign governments for a thousand years—under Muslim governments and under the British. A thousand years is a long time. We were under the British for 150 to 200 years. Now for five years we are under our own government. But our hunger has become very great. Within five years we want all that we lost in thousand years. All people want everything now. When the British were here the people were silent. Not only were they silent, but many joined the British. All of them are now free. All those people who were silent and obedient and helpful to the British Government and who thought they were important then, are not important now. So they are angry with me and my people—with the Government now governing. They are not angry with the British for having gone away, but only angry with us. They come into the Assembly and vote against us quietly and make everything difficult. They are not bad people. There were, in the past, allies of the British and now they are without allies. Therefore, they feel desolate and angry. Now what can I do to appease their anger? I pray to God Venkateswara to melt away their anger gradually.

Now, there are other people who were in the Congress and who were not selected for election or who were not considered important for some reason or other. They have become angry because they were sent away and they also vote against us now. They are also good people, but angry people. It is very difficult to deal with a good and angry man. If a bad man becomes angry we may reject him. But a good man, like Viswamitra, getting angry is very difficult to be dealt with. Therefore, we are in difficulty with such people. May God Venkateswara help these Viswamitras to become Vasishtas. In this case also I must only pray to God. God can remove every difficulty and He alone can remove the anger of these people. It is a very difficult task, but God may do it.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

I am telling you all my difficulties now. When the British went away, we thought we were free from foreign influence. But, unfortunately, something else happened. My trouble now is the Russians and the Chinese. But Russia and other Communist countries say, we have nothing to do in India. Truly or falsely they say they do not do anything here. They send help to their partymen here now and then, though they deny it. Their partymen here look forward to help in the form of directions, instructions and so on. They want to make the poor people rule the country. It is a very good intention. We also want to make the poor people rule the country. We want to

do it properly and without trouble, without any rioting, disturbance or violence. But those people want to do it quickly. They want to do it, doing harm to other people. All these may only be my fear which may not be true. But, many people believe as I do.

The way to help people must be discovered by our own people. That is what the Congress is trying to do. Why should other people oppose the Congress then? The Congress and the Communists want to reach the same goal. Yet the Communists want to prevent the Congress from following its own way. The Communists are good people; but I think they are misled. That is why the Congress does not want the Communists to take over the Government of the country. We hope Venkateswara will put good sense into Communist minds.

GEN. CARIAPPA ON THE ARMY'S ROLE IN PEACE

"The main function of the Army is to protect the country from external aggression; to aid the civil Government in maintaining law and order, if any aid is required and as citizens of the land, to help the people in all their nation-building work", observed General K. M. Cariappa, the retiring Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, in the course of chat with Pressmen in Bombay.

Mr. Cariappa at the outset expressed his gratitude to the Press for the kind references made to the Army.

You have put out to the people in a sensible way, truly, and sincerely what we have done, what we are doing and what we can do." "It is my good fortune," he added, "that I have under me, men of gems as officers. They seem to have produced good results and received the approbation of the people."

Making an appeal to the Pressmen General Cariappa said:

"Please understand us. We have nothing to hide. We carry out the policy of the Government, as loyal soldiers and disciplined men of the army." "We are not servants of any political party," he added, "but we are the servants of people and the Government they put in power. Whatever we do is in keeping with the policy of the Government, as we should conform to the policy laid down by the Government."

Please believe that the soldiers are men made of flesh and bone and not of steel, the Commander-in-Chief said. "You do not know how the officers and men of the Army are attending to the calls made on them. They are rushed to give aid to the victims of earthquakes and floods. They also give help to the people affected by drought and near-famine conditions. Their assistance is given to fight locust menace.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S PROTEST TO FRANCE

The Government of India are reported to have sent a formal communication to the French Government maintaining that a fair referendum is not possible in the French Settlements under the present circumstances.

A strongly-worded protest was lodged with the French Government, in which the Government of India expressed "grave concern" about the "concerted attempts" being made in the French Settlements in India to repress and drive away elements holding pro-merger views.

The attention of the French Government had been drawn to the recent attack on Mr. Sellane Naicker, a pro-merger leader, who was shot at by goondas and also on two policemen of the Indian Union lately. Similar other incidents were pointed out which led to the flight to India of several hundreds of refugees from the "goonda terror."

The Government of India are stated to have pointed out that these incidents are having grave repercussions in the Indian Union. They have maintained that under these conditions, they do not consider that the holding of a fair referendum is possible.

SYNTHETIC RICE PRODUCTION

A Committee has been set up by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, Government of India, to investigate the possibility of large scale production of synthetic rice and to formulate a detailed scheme for achieving the most economical and most expeditious development in its manufacture.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Keshava Deva Malaviya, Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research and the members are: Lala Sri Ram, Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Mr. P. A. Gopalakrishnan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, Mr. S. Jayasankar, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Mr. S. Anantaramakrishnan, Sheriff of Madras, Dr. C. G. Pandit, Secretary, Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi and Dr. V. Subramanyam, Director, Central Food Tech. Research Institute, Mysore.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO U.N.

The Indian delegation to the General Assembly session of the United Nations will handle the various questions in the principal committees as follows:

Political Committee: Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal and Mr. N. V. Rajkumar.

Ad Hoc Political Committee: Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and Mr. B. Rajan.

Economic Committee: Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, Mr. Appa B. Pant and Mr. P. K. Banerjee.

Social Committee: Mr. A. D. Mani and Mr. P. K. Banerjee.

Trusteeship Committee: Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. Appa B. Pant, and Mr. C. Kondapi.

Budgetary Committee: Mr. Arthur Lal and Mr. B. K. Nehru.

Legal Committee: Dr. G. S. Pathak.

DR. MOOKHERJEE'S DEMAND

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee, M.P., told a public meeting in Calcutta on Oct. 16, that Pakistan's attitude towards her minorities entitled India to "examine afresh the whole problem of partition and act as any self-respecting nation would." He demanded that the "policy of appeasement" of the Government of India "be reversed."

The meeting passed a resolution prepared by representatives of ten political parties, excluding the Communists, demanding the cutting off of trade relations with Pakistan and imposing economic sanctions.

Dr. Mookherjee said: "What Pakistan has been doing by forcing out its minorities is a virtual act of aggression and no Government can tolerate this attack with equanimity or with a sense of despair and helplessness." He said it augured well for the country that all the major organisations, barring the Communist Party, had stood on one platform to make one united demand.

BAJPAI'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Delivering the third Convocation address of Karnatak University Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Governor of Bombay, said the establishment and maintenance of institutions for higher scientific studies should, in the main, be the responsibility of the Government of India.

The Union Government should take up this responsibility

partly because the fruits of such activities will be of value to India as a whole and mainly because few States if any can spare the necessary funds and they have to meet the cost of welfare services which are their primary responsibility under our Constitution.

The Governor commenting on the blueprint drawn up for the expansion of the University said

The cost of providing the University with buildings and equipment for teaching and experiment in different subjects is expected to be Rs. 80 lakhs.

I can bear witness to the desire of my Government to give all aid within its means to advance education. But the State of Bombay already more heavily taxed than any other State in India has many calls on its resources some of which he added must be considered to be entitled to priority over other schemes.

The Governor expressed the hope that the Union Government would offer facilities for a "competent investigation of the mineral resources of Karnataka and of the possibilities of their best utilisation."

Commenting on the problem of employment for the educated the Governor said the problem arose "in no small measure due to the lack of correlation between the types of graduates that we produce and the capacity of the various professions to absorb them.

Even if educational standards were raised and the graduates of our Universities had the requisite intellectual or manipulative qualifications it is far from certain that all of them would find suitable employment on an adequate wage. If discontent among the products of our Universities is to be avoided the development of opportunities for employment ought to keep pace with the output of our Universities" he added.

No practical purpose is served by multiplying the number of engineers if between them industry and the Government cannot utilise their services. My comment is open to criticism that what I urge is not merely a raising of educational standards but a limitation of the number of those to whom University education might be imparted.

SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION

The Government of India have decided to set up a Secondary Education Commission, consisting of the following members with instructions to submit its report as soon as may be feasible: (1) Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar Vice-Chancellor, Madras University (Chairman); (2) Principal John Christio, Jesus College, Oxford; (3) Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, Dean of Instruction, Air University, U.S.A.; (4) Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Vice-Chancellor, Baroda University; (5) Mr. J. A. Taraporevala, Director of Technical Education, Government of Bombay, Bombay; (6) Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Principal, Vidya Bhavan, Teachers' Training College Udaipur; (7) Mr. M. T. Vyas, Principal, New Era School, Bombay; (8) Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education (Ex-officio member) and (9) Principal A. N. Basu, Central Institute of Education, Delhi (member-Secretary).

For the duration of the Commission's stay in any State, the State Government may, if it so desires appoint a person to serve as a member of the Commission on such terms and conditions as the State Government concerned may determine in consultation with the Government of India.

U. K. SCHOLARSHIP FOR RESEARCH

The Royal Society have offered one Rutherford scholarship for 1958 for graduates of Indian universities for research in any branch of the natural sciences, preferably, in experimental physics.

The value of the scholarship is about £450 a year in the U. K. and it is tenable for three years in any part of the British Commonwealth other than that in which the applicant has graduated. The applicants should not be more than 26 on October 1, 1958.

Applications should reach the Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division, New Delhi, not later than November 22, 1952, through the head of the university or the institution last attended by the applicant. The application forms and necessary particulars should be obtained from the university or the institution concerned. Applications and enquiries from individuals will not be entertained.

SUPREME COURT LAWYERS

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court presided over by the Chief Justice held by a majority of three to two that the "right to practise in any High Court" conferred on the Supreme Court Advocates by the Supreme Court Advocates (Practice in High Courts) Act, 1951, rendered the rules in force in the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts, requiring Advocates appearing on the original side to be instructed by attorneys, inapplicable to them.

Section 2 of the Supreme Court Advocates (Practice in High Courts) Act, which is the relevant section, lays down that "notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926, or in any other law regulating the conditions subject to which all persons not entered in the roll of Advocates of a High Court may be permitted to practise in that High Court every Advocate of the Supreme Court shall be entitled as of right to practise in any High Court whether or not he is an advocate of that High Court."

According to the majority decision of the Supreme Court on the interpretation of Section 2 of the Act, in the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts where the dual system is in force, Advocates of these two High Courts who are enrolled in the Supreme Court and other Supreme Court Advocates can appear on the original side without an attorney instructing them while the Advocates not enrolled in the Supreme Court will be bound by the rules which require an Advocate appearing on the original side to be instructed by an attorney.

CONSTITUTION MAY BE AMENDED

The Supreme Court's judgment, rejecting the Travancore-Cochin Government's appeal in the Sales-Tax Case will create a dilemma for the Government of India.

Under the judgment, the various transactions in import and export commodities will become exempt from sales-tax in Travancore-Cochin, Madras, and from next month, also Bombay where the multi-point sales-tax system operates.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY

A scheme for a full separation of the Judiciary from the Executive has been prepared by the State Government. The question whether the experience of the two years of working of the experimental separation of the Judiciary from the executive warrants another step in that direction is under consideration.

"We have always approached the question with caution", the Chief Minister Pandit R. S. Shukla said:

"The first step was the appointment of judge magistrates who were exclusively in charge of judicial work. The Government have taken up the question of assessment of its results.

"Meanwhile the Deputy Commissioners of the districts have been directed to give personal attention to the prompt disposal of criminal cases and keeping up to schedule. Care, it is emphasised, must be taken at various stages and avoidable delay must be eschewed. There have been cases which had to be adjourned because even the police officials failed to turn up for evidence". "This", says the Chief Minister "is something unpardonable, for justice delayed is justice denied." "Delay in the disposal of criminal cases", he points out "also entails huge expenditure on lock-up and supervision of under-trials."

DEPORTATION OF INDIAN

Mr. Parimal Das Gupta, an Indian who had settled down in Burma after the war and who was served with a deportation order by the Burmese Foreign Office on June 2 this year, failed in his application for a writ of prohibition before the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court dismissed the application on the ground that the order under Section 8 of the Foreigners Act (50) was purely an administrative act. Their Lordships observed: "A Secretary of State is not required to justify in a court of law his reasons for making a deportation order in the case of aliens and the position would become almost intolerable if Government could not deport any alien without being able to justify its order in a court of law."

INDIAN STEEL CONCERNS

The Boards of Directors of the Indian Iron and Steel Company and the Steel Corporation of Bengal at their meeting on Oct. 14 approved the principle of amalgamation of the two companies and authorised the Managing Agents to continue negotiations for finance with the Government of India and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

When the amalgamation is effected, steel shares will be converted into iron shares.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the Boards said that after the last World War when the war price controls were withdrawn and new prices fixed by the Tariff Board, it was found by the Steel Corporation of Bengal and the Indian Iron and Steel Company that if the two concerns were integrated into one, there would be greater benefits for the two concerns. Since then every successive Tariff Board had recommended merger of the two concerns and the Government of India for the last seven or eight months have been seriously considering the question of amalgamation.

FOREIGN FIRMS IN INDIA.

Twenty-two foreign firms with an authorised capital of Rs. 18'26 crores have been incorporated in India since the partition. Of these, 20 were from U.K., one from U.S.A., and one from Switzerland. This information was furnished in a statement laid on the table of the House of the People by the Finance Minister.

The companies from U. K. had an authorised capital of Rs. 15'25 crores of which the paid-up capital amounted to Rs. 10'48 crores. The business in which these concerns deal include manufacture of drugs and chemicals, pumps, mining, shipping, power supply, trading, publishing, managing agencies, plantations and surveying. One firm from the U. S. A., with an authorised capital of Rs. 8 crores of which Rs. 2 crores are paid-up has been incorporated in India. This firm deals with the manufacture of typewriters. A clearing agents' concern from Switzerland has also been incorporated with an authorised capital of Rs. 1½ lakhs.

IMPLEMENTATION OF 5-YEAR PLAN

Financial requirements for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan was one of the most important subjects considered at the conference of Finance Ministers which concluded its two-day session in Delhi on October 15.

The conference also considered the need for proper co-ordination of the budgetary policies of the State Governments and general agreement was expressed by the State Governments to the Centre's suggestion that prior consultations, as far as possible, on budgetary matters, including questions concerning new taxation proposals, should take place so that the financing of the development plan as a whole can proceed smoothly and on right lines without any procedural delay or difficulty.

In regard to the finance necessary for implementing the State plans, discussions centred round on a number of problems, namely, (a) The requirements of the States, (b) The scope and limitations of Central assistance, (c) Expenditure on items not included in the plan and (d) The extent to which natural calamities and other unforeseen situations can adversely affect the implementation of the Plan as a whole and steps, if any, that could be taken to prevent such effects.

COAL PRODUCTION IN INDIA

The Indian Coal Board has decided to peg the overall production of selected grades of coking coal during 1958 at 7.4 million tons. Individual targets of production and the necessary monthly supply of wagons are now being decided upon.

Meanwhile, collieries producing selected grades of coking coal have been requested not to recruit labour, directly connected with the production or transportation of selected "A" and "B" grades.

EXPORT OF CLOTH

A Press Note issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on October 21 announced that the period of export of all varieties of cloth has been extended upto the end of March 1958.

WOMEN MEMBERS OF TRADE UNION

It was reported at the 84th annual British Trades Union Congress that out of over 8,000,000 members of the 183 unions affiliated to the Congress, no more than about 1,800,000 were women.

This, a T.U.C. report says, is unsatisfactory because, according to official statistics, over 7,000,000 women and girls are to-day classified in the United Kingdom as "female employees" at the present time.

"One reason for this," says the report, "is admittedly a discontinuity of employment in the life-history of most women workers. Of the total of 7,000,000 over 8,000,000 are married women; and of the women employees between the ages of 30 and 50 well over 60 per cent are married."

"The significance of these percentages lies in the fact that large numbers of young women, between 20 and 25, give up wage-earning employment when they get married."

The report says there were 200,000 more married women at work last year than in the preceding year, and this increase is spread over practically every age-group.

BROKEN MARRIAGES

One marriage in every six marriages breaks down in Britain.

Nearly one in every six brides is pregnant on her wedding day. Such things did not happen before. Why do they happen today?

The new equality between men and women is the cause of increase in broken marriages, according to a British expert in marriage guidance.

Mr. Brayshaw, General Secretary of the National Marriage Guidance, addressing the Eugenics Society said, compared with the records of our grand-parents' days marriage seemed much less stable to-day.

Many reasons had been advanced for this. Some said that it followed a decline in religious observance; others said that separation and loneliness of war years wrecked marriages that would otherwise have prospered.

IF WOMEN GOVERN

"In the professions women are more able than men, excepting in the showing-off parts," observed Edward Hyams on BBC., "As doctors, they make less fuss and get more done. As lawyers they're less tempted by the spectacular case, more inclined to a sensible compromise. In business, which only calls for application, organisation and attention to detail, women are clearly better equipped than men and in fact most big businesses are run by someone's secretary. In politics, they have the same qualities as in law—that is they pay attention to important matters of everyday life, not to making a show. Female government would abandon war in no time. Not because it's cruel.... Women are far more cruel than men... but because it's wasteful and silly. In short women are better equipped by nature to govern the family, the tribe, the nation, the world."

U. S. SCHOLARSHIP FOR WOMEN

The Committee in charge of the Barbour Scholarships for oriental women, University of Michigan, U.S.A., may be in a position to offer one scholarship to an Indian woman, says a Press Note. All courses of instruction offered at the University of Michigan are open to women students. Graduates of oriental colleges will be given preference.

The scholarship is tenable for two terms, commencing in September, 1958. Its value is 400 dollars a term, excluding university fees. Travel and personal expenses will have to be met by the scholar.

B. B. C. PRIZE FOR MADRAS WOMAN

Mrs. C. Loganathan, of Madras, was one of the eight, who won prizes of books offered by the British Broadcasting Corporation to Indians for helping to improve the B.B.C. English Language Service to Asia.

The winners of the two first prize were: Mr. Venkata Rao, manager of a farm at Coimbatore, and Dr. R. N. Sinha, a surgeon of Patna.

MR. G. L. MEHTA ON INDO- U. S. AMITY

Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the United States, said that the common objectives of the United States and India are the basis of a firm and lasting relationship between the two countries. Making his first speech on Indo-American relations at a dinner in his honour at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel New York, arranged by the India League of America on Oct. 22.

There is so much in common between the United States and India that I for one feel that even if there are some matters on which we do not see eye to eye the areas on which we agree should not be obscured or minimised. We both are committed to a democratic form of Government which provides the safeguard for individual freedom and the maintenance of human dignity. We both adhere to the concept of a secular State and the rule of law. We both believe in the pursuit of a free and independent foreign policy calculated to achieve lasting international peace. I am convinced that with so much in common, we have a firm foundation for lasting friendship.

We may, as free nations, frequently differ in our approach to a particular problem or in dealing with it. But, unity of purpose does not and need not mean identity of views. To quote the words made famous by one of the great Presidents of the United States in necessary things unity, in doubtful things liberty, and in all things charity.

The great awakening in India; and, indeed for that matter in the whole of Asia, makes it necessary for countries everywhere to seek to understand these new forces at work in that region. It is only thus that we can appreciate such difference of outlook as we might have on important matters. Increasingly, we all are realising that such differences as may exist from time to time or on particular issues need not be a barrier to the development of a mutually friendly association.

PRESS COMMISSION CHIEF'S APPEAL

The following statement has been issued by Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha, Chairman of the Press Commission :

The secretariat of the Press Commission is to-day (15th October) addressing Associations of Editors and working journalists and other Associations concerned with matters within our purview and is inviting preliminary memoranda from them on the terms of reference.

"Associations concerned are being requested to include in their memoranda such information as will enable the Commission to frame a detailed questionnaire on the problems before it. The Commission is anxious to secure the co-operation of all those who can assist it in its task.

I would, therefore, appeal to members of the public also who are interested in the terms of reference to write to the Secretary of the Press Commission, P.O. Box No. 561, New Delhi, and send such information as they think will help the Commission. A copy of the terms of reference can be obtained from the Secretary.

I should like to add a special request to journalists of long standing and also to public men who were connected with newspapers and periodicals in the past to give the Commission the benefit of their experience by sending in memoranda.

It is not practicable to send individual invitations to them but the Commission hopes that they will respond to this appeal.

TRYGVE LIE'S CALL FOR U.N. AID

Speaking at the *New York Herald-Tribune* forum, in the new United Nations General Assembly hall, M. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations declared that the living standards of under-developed countries, already dangerously low, were still falling. M. Lie said,

When we consider the main forces at work in the world to-day, we find that in terms of population there are three roughly equal groups.

One-third live in countries controlled by the Soviet Union and its allies. One-third live in countries adhering to the Western tradition and one-third—in Asia and Africa—are seeking to find their own way, neither Soviet nor Western, to a new life of freedom and opportunity and equality.

All three groups are represented in the United Nations. Almost all the people in Asia and Africa, and hundreds of millions more in other parts of the world, have lived for centuries in voiceless poverty.

They are still in poverty, but they have found their voice. The demand for freedom, for equality of rights, for economic opportunity, can be heard with rising insistence and urgency by all who have ears to hear.

We face here one of the great challenges of our civilisation. Either we must find effective ways to answer it by the peaceful evolutionary means proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, or we shall find ourselves engulfed in a succession of violent upheavals that will bring widespread chaos. The choice lies between a new dark age and a better age than the world has ever known before.

At the present rate of technical and financial assistance for economic development instead of closing the gap, we find it widening.

This is why I have proposed to the member-countries of the United Nations that the present flow of capital and other forms of aid for economic development—from both Governmental and private sources—be increased by at least 1,000 million dollars a year.

I believe this can be done even in the midst of the armaments programme with benefit to the economies of the investing countries as well as the under-developed countries.

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