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The 715 INDIAN REVIEW

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Vol. 52.

OCTOBER 1951

No. 10.

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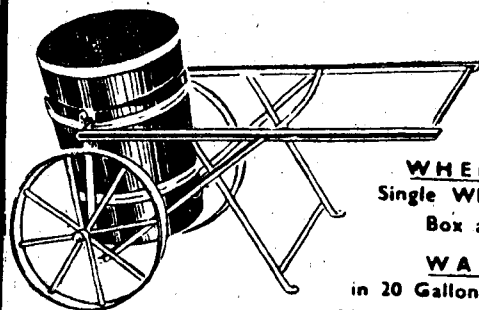
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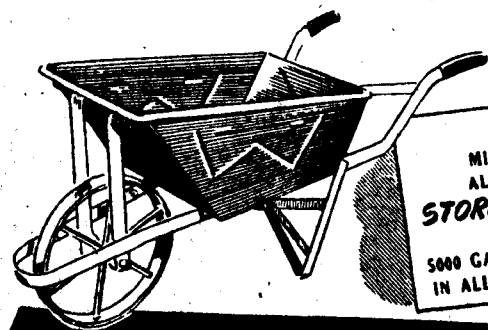
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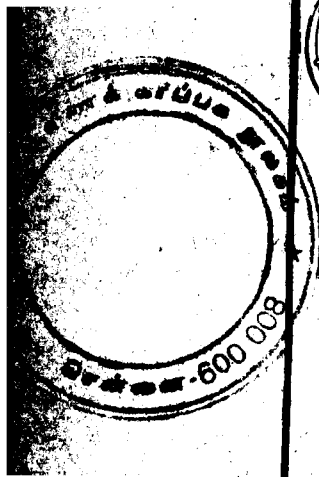
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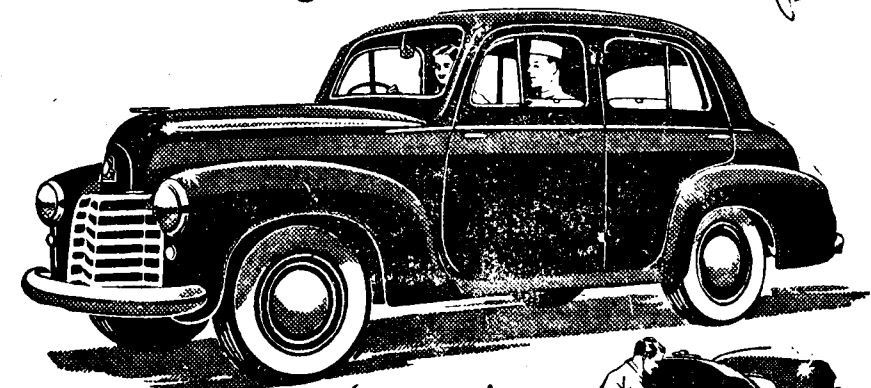


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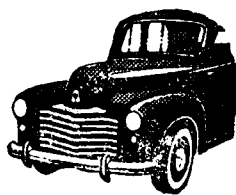
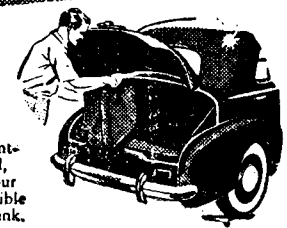
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Vol. 52.]

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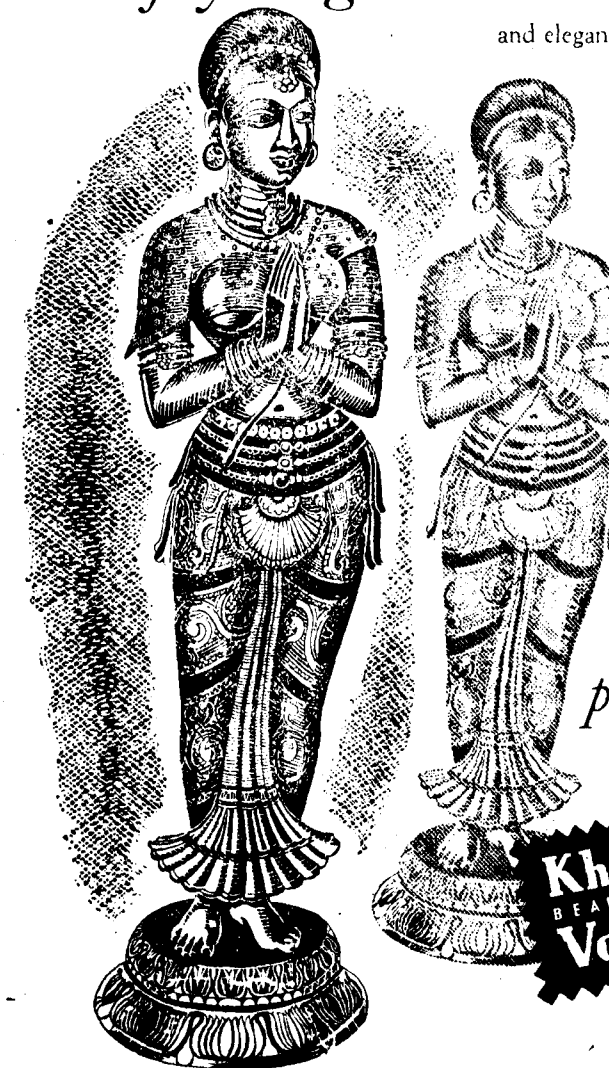
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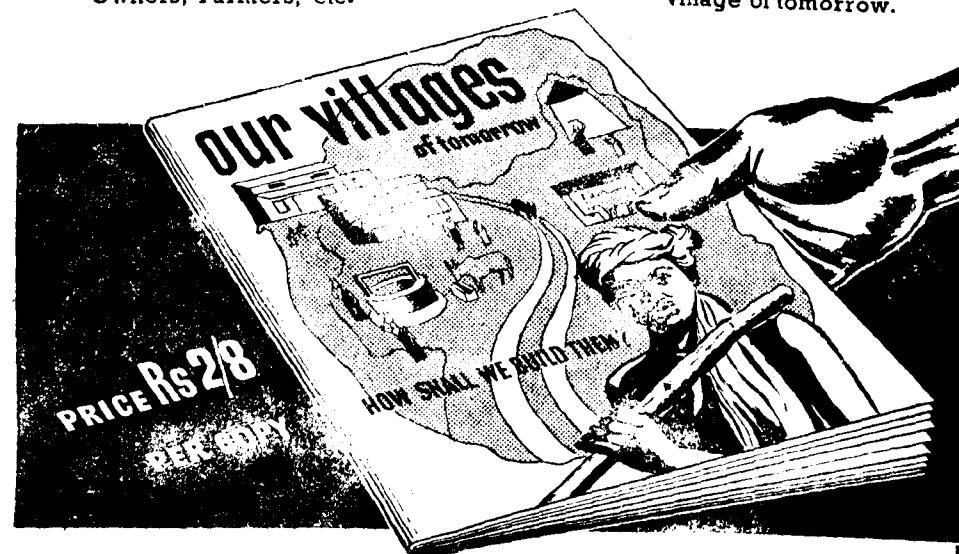
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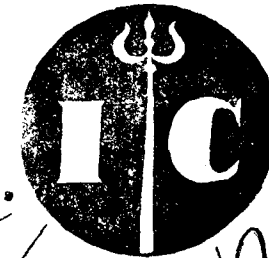
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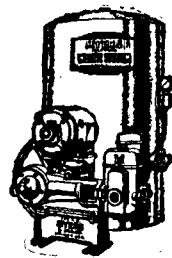
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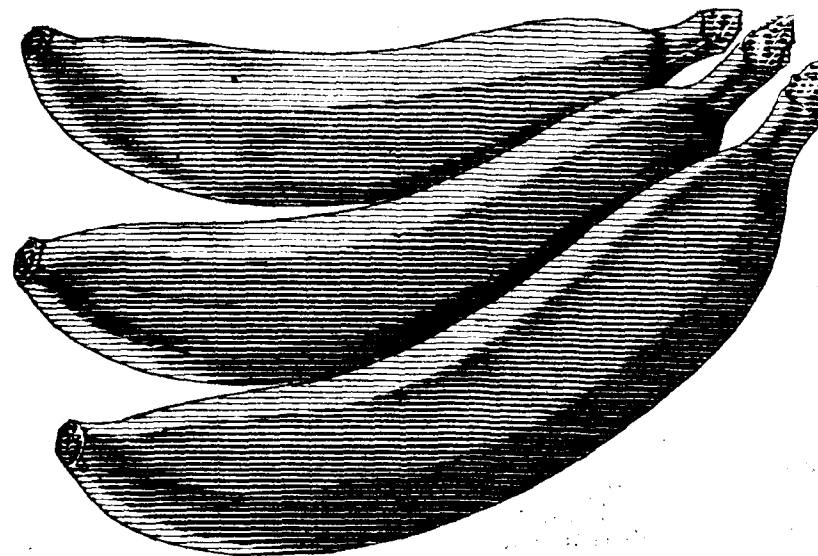
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SECULAR STATE AND RELIGION

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AMONG the philosophers and intellectuals there is no agreement on the definition of religion which in Sanskrit is designated by the term 'Dharma' implying etymologically that which 'holds' (from the root 'dhri' to hold) up one from falling down or going astray. The two obvious aspects of religion are, however, recognized by all. The one aspect consists in a faith and belief in the existence of a Creator and in the immortality of the individual soul or disembodied spirit. This leads to a further corollary that a personal survival results either in the salvation or union with the God or in rebirth in the original or a new form. The other aspect comprises the practice and observance of rites and this implies the recognition of some supernatural powers, a sense of man's obligation to them and the need for propitiating them by obedience, love and worship through prayers and through offerings. This aspect has given rise to various forms of religion and different places of worship which are known as temples, churches, mosques and other holy sanctuaries.

In the palaeolithic age there was hardly much difference between man and beast, man having the advantage of using hands but having no skill or intelligence to convert natural things like the unwrought stone pieces or tree-timber into more handy implements and weapons for defence or offence. In the next Neo-lithic age man developed both in skill and intelligence to make even vessels with potter's wheels to bring water to the mouth instead of taking the mouth to the water like animals and man of the previous age. In this age man began to make and use fire and

erect sepulchres or tombs to deposit the dead bodies of father and mother who gave birth to him and brought him up. This is first indication of gratitude of man to his creator. This recognition appears to have led to the enquiry to one's father and grandfather and to the ultimate creator of man and things and all others which make the universe.

But Totemism and Animism appear to be the earliest forms of religion. To the earliest intelligence the vegetable world bears witness to the polymorphism of nature more clearly than that of the animal kingdom. The Tree-worship may be ascribed to the earlier form. The animistic form of worship as practised by the Cannibals, Mundas, Santals, and Kols and by the aborigines of the Nicobar islands and Malacca consists in the sacrifice of human beings and consuming their hot blood and raw flesh as recognition of life and energy in animals as symbol of creation. These bloody rites are different from the sacrifices of the Dravidian cult and of the Vedas, where the animal sacrifices were not practised primarily for the supply of blood and flesh for the consumption of the worshippers.

The Dravidian and Sumerian form of worship had been in vogue in the Indus region before the coming of the Aryans to India. The objects of worship discovered at Mahenjodaro and Harappa include the phallus, the Yoni, baccalio stones, and numerous nude and clothed figurines. Among other objects mention may be made of tree in its natural form and the tree spirit personified and endowed with human shape and attributes, animals of natural species and of mythical character, and the Nagas of half-animal and half-human shape. In the words of Sir John Marshall,

'Of the elements enumerated above but excluding the cult of Krishna we have found at Mahenjodaro the evidence of the cults of Siva and the Mother Goddess, of the Nagas and tree deities, of animal, tree and stone worship, of the phallism and of the practice of Yoga'.

The Vedas give evidence to the Aryan forms of worship. It includes the worship of the natural phenomena such as the Sun or God of light and heat, the God of Wind, the God of Water, etc., without which the life of creatures is impossible. Although the idol worship is not expressly mentioned God was idolized by ascribing to Him the multiplied number of human heads, eyes, and feet, etc.

Siva as Rudra and Vishnu are mentioned in the Vedas but the Triad and a number of other Gods and Goddesses were recognised later when the cult worship developed fully. While the Totemists recognise the creator in vegetation, and the Animists in the animal world, the cult worshippers make an image of the creator as a symbolic object for practical worship by making the offerings of flowers, scents, etc., and uncooked dishes of fruits and sweets and cooked dishes of rice, vegetables, fish and flesh.

The God Vishnu is conceived as having appeared in the world at different times in ten shapes—fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Parasu Ram, Ramachandra, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki. In addition to Vishnu and his incarnations, Siva and Sakti (female energy) are worshipped in a large scale. The personification of Sakti has a two fold nature. Thus Uma and Gauri are the gentle forms of the Sakti of Siva, while Durga, Kali, Chandi and many others are the fierce forms. Vishnu's Sakti is worshipped as Lakshmi, Krishna's as Radha and other forms. Brahma's Sakti is known as Brahmani, Saraswati, Bharati, Putkari, Sarada and Rajeswari.

The main doctrine of Jainism consists in observing four vows (while the Christians observe ten) *viz.*, not to kill any life, not to steal, to speak the truth and to observe chastity. Although the pantheon of the Jains includes a number of deities they worship mainly the twenty four Tirthankaras. Similarly the disciples of Buddha are required to observe five rules—*viz.*, not to kill, not to steal, not

to lie, not to get drunk and not to have unlawful sexual intercourse. Lay disciples are required to provide for the maintenance of monks and nuns, and to take part in their feasts, while the ascetics are required to abstain from adultery and married life, and to renounce all passions. All Buddhists worship the Bodhi tree, foot prints of Buddha and the images of Buddha by offering flowers, lights, and scent, etc.

The true Christians observe the ten vows and worship mostly the image of Christ and the symbol of the Cross. The Muslims do not worship any image but observe certain vows and pray in private and in public mosques.

This brief outline will show clearly how the various forms of worship arose and why any one form cannot be adopted by a democratic state like India. But there are other countries where almost the entire population is of one persuasion. The Muslim countries in the Middle East like Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and Egypt etc., follow Islam although there are quarrelling sects like the Shias, Sunnis, Pathans, Mughals and others. Similarly, in Western Europe, America and other countries the people profess Christian faith though there are diverse churches and groups worshipping Jesus Christ in different ways. The Christian countries still cherish an idea that their whole political and social structure is based upon Christian civilization which is, however, undefined and extremely vague. Similarly the Islamic civilization asserts persistently without any definiteness its own way of living and thinking. In one aspect, however, both the Christian and the Muslim faiths are exclusive in their nature. Both of these believers have a prejudice that there is only one way, and no other, to the redemption or salvation of mankind. "The true believers, therefore, of necessity form a class apart, and others outside the pale are in error and should be brought into the fold. The faithful are enjoined to carry the message both of Christ and Islam to the four corners of the globe and to spread the true doctrine everywhere." This was the excuse for colonization of other countries both by the Muslims and the

Christians. For similar purposes the spread of communism is advocated.

In both parts of India, designated after the partition as India and Pakistan, there is a diverse population. In the former the Hindu population predominates, and in the latter Muslims are in great majority. But in both parts Non-Hindus and Non-Muslims as well as Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists are destined to live not in negligible minority. Thus in the Indian Union and in Pakistan the social and political structure cannot be built exclusively upon Hindu or Muslim way of living and thinking nor can the non-believers be forcibly converted or turned out of their birth place and home and hearth.

Thus the States like India and Pakistan have to be tolerant to all. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, declared that religion should be treated as a matter of personal faith and belief, and that the political authorities should concern themselves with the public welfare obviously from birth to death. Unfortunately, however, this well-meant intention has been expressed in our Constitution by a wrong term called "Secular State." The recognised meaning of secular as accepted in standard dictionaries implies 'a state pertaining to the worldly or temporal as distinguished from the spiritual or eternal; non-ecclesiastical, not religious in character, non-devoted to religions or uses.' A secular state is not therefore guided in any of its acts by theocratic or ecclesiastical considerations, that is, by the dogmas or rules prescribed by any particular religion.

Both the President of the National Congress and the Prime Minister of the Government of India have taken pains in their public speeches to elucidate the aim and method of administration of the secular state of India. The distinguished Governor of a State (of West Bengal) has pointed out (*A. B. Patrika* 15-8-51) that of all democratic states of the world India is the only one where these principles of a secular state have been in practice from very ancient times. He cites examples from history.

In Hinduism toleration of other faiths is its essence. A devout Hindu can never be a bigot because he has been taught that God is one,

though called by many names. To Him all places of worship are equally sacred—be it a temple, a gurdwara, a mosque, a church or a synagogue—and the one and invisible God is worshipped everywhere. And holding this belief no question of spreading the doctrine by conversion arises. There is no need to do so because by whichever path you travel, you attain the same goal. True to her fundamental beliefs India has always treated in the political sphere as absolute equals, citizens professing different beliefs. The Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and other sects lived in perfect amity and enjoyed equal rights in the body-politic. The Hindu and Buddhist and Jain kings gave shelter to early Christians, and Muslims and to the Parsees from Iran. They suffered no disability of any kind in the political or the economic sphere.

But His Excellency Dr. K. N. Katju makes a big stipulation which is not fully warranted by the term secular—*viz.* "A secular state should not be an anti-religious state—my remarks are primarily intended to apply to a society which accepts the concept of a God or Providence." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has emphasised in strong terms this aspect of the secular state of India in his 'Report to the All India Congress Committee presented at Bangalore, saying that it would be "nonsense" to apprehend that religion is turned down in our Constitution although no state religion is recognised.

An eminent and wise Minister of Education (the Hon'ble Sampurnanandji) supplies (*Pioneer*, 15-8-51) further history and implication of our secular state.

Rome had something like a state religion, no doubt, but its administration derived no sanction from its Gods. The Mauryas and the Guptas were rulers of vast empires (with diverse population) whose administration can give us some lessons even today. In their own persons, the kings were either Buddhist or Hindu, and some money out of the public revenue was certainly spent on the performance of the religious rites (and in the erection of Buddhist, Jain and Hindu monuments of colossal nature). But the practical treatises on statecraft and the disquisitions on political theory, books like Kautilya's *Artha-shastra*, Kamandakiya's *Nitisastra*, and the *Sukraniti* clearly show that while the religious approach was no doubt there, there was no theological bias in the administration, which was guided purely by notions of the public weal and pragmatic utility.

He rightly deplores that we have not so far been able to define the term secular state, as applied to India, in positive terms.

All that we can say about it is that it is not theocratic and is tolerant towards all religions,

i.e., totally indifferent, again a negative term in matters of religion. Another point about it is that it does not base itself upon any philosophy and has no ideology.

He rightly expresses the suppressed feeling of almost 99 per cent of Indians when he declares that "there is nothing particularly praiseworthy, nothing exclusively civilised, in a non-religious approach to life and its problems." Thus secular state is at its best a "barren and soulless term". In fact

the term welfare state is also not a happy expression as it seems to lay too much emphasis on the things of the body, to the neglect of the things of the spirit. Society and all its organs, including the state, exist and have been created so that the individual may be able to rise to his full stature and become fully himself.

Thus like Dr. Katju Sri Sampurnanandji admits that there is something beyond death for the benefit of which the enlightened state must do something. It is not enough to give old age pension or build destitute homes. But the modern Indian state cannot do anything for the practice and observance of the rites of any one of the religions. What then can and should be the ideology? The answer clearly is that a civilised state must endeavour to generate a faith and belief in the society at a whole to enable it to be convinced in the concept of God or Providence and in the immortality of spirit and the possibility of its redemption.

According to Shri Sampurnanandji the outline of such an ideology have been vaguely hinted at in the Congress Constitution and Jawaharlalji has groped its way to it where none seeks to describe what he means by a welfare state.

It is time that these ideas were elevated to the national plane from the plane of party ideology and boldly incorporated in the country's Constitution as its philosophic basis. It is this which the ancients meant when they said that Dharma should be the guiding principle of statecraft.

In his 'Intellectual Approach to God' Sri P. M. Verma, a very thoughtful advocate has frankly and truly declared that in this age of science, even God Almighty needs propaganda. The need is indeed greater with the so-called educated people—the mass products of our Universities—whose education mainly consists of vast information about things of the world, but who have no time (or training) to think for themselves about their own selves and the deeper values of life and things moral or spiritual. Our state

also aims at imparting secular education, which inevitably leads to increased desire for higher and higher standards of living with the result that every expansion of education leads to greater and greater discontent and dissatisfaction, and thus subserves as an indirect propaganda for the materialistic philosophy of the Communists, however much we may otherwise condemn it.

Will it then be right for us to found a secular state by completely eschewing the name of God and religion from the educational curricula? Should it not be more proper for us to lay down in our elementary schools the true foundations for imbibing the best teaching of all religions which make for the universal brotherhood of man and the common fatherhood of God?

A rational understanding of God as distinguished from a mystic realization of God may follow inferentially by a process of deduction or induction. Those who are unable to have a direct knowledge of the existence of London or New York by a personal visit can be convinced of the truth if they have faith and belief in the reports of those who have actually seen the place. Before we can actually realize God, we have to combine with our theoretical knowledge derived from scriptures a living faith in the existence of God. For such a discipline ample provision should be made adequately even by our secular state. We are born believers. We have hardly any real atheists amongst us. Even the great intellectual giants like G. B. Shaw and great scientists like Einstein have confessed their faith in the existence of some supernatural force. G. B. S. believes (*Illustrated Weekly of India*, 27-5-51) in the existence of "a power outside the individual and his surroundings superintending the destinies of human beings without actively controlling them." According to him a person is religious.

who conceived himself or herself to be the instrument of a high purpose in the universe and the motive power of a continued ascent in organization and power, and life and existence of life. Ultimately some Being to emerge, some person if you like who will be strong and wise with a mind capable of exercising its entire will; in other words, an omnipotent and benevolent God.

He confesses that religion is always right. Religion solves every problem and thereby abolishes problems from the

universe. Religion gives us certainty, stability, peace and the absolutes. It protects us against that progress which we all dread—science never solves a problem without raising ten more problems.

He cites telling illustrations:

Copernicus proved that Ptolemy was wrong; Kepler proved that Copernicus was wrong; Galileo proved that Aristotle was wrong. Newton was able to combine prodigious mental faculty with credulities and delusions that would disgrace a rabbit. He postulated a rectilinear universe because the English always used the word 'square' to denote honesty, truthfulness, in short rectitude. Newton knew that the universe consisted of bodies in motion, and that none of them moved in straight lines, nor ever could. To explain why all the lines in his rectilinear universe were bent he invented a force called 'gravitation'. Three hundred years after Professor Einstein says to astronomers that gravitation is a very useful hypothesis and gives fairly close results in most cases but that personally he can do without it. He is asked to explain how, if there is no gravitation, why the heavenly bodies do not move in straight lines and run away clear out of the universe. He replies that no explanation is needed because the universe is not rectilinear, it is

curvilinear. The Newtonian universe thereupon drops dead and is supplanted by an Einsteinian universe. Einstein has not challenged the facts of science but the axioms of science and science have surrendered to him.

Einstein generally agrees with Shaw's philosophy of life, and says:

From his box of tricks Shaw has taken countless puppets which, while resembling men, are not of flesh and blood but consist entirely of spirit, wit and grace. Shaw has been able as no other contemporary, to liberate us and to take from us something of the heaviness of living (by generating a faith in God and by showing the advantages of following some religion).

The intellectual approach to God has differed, but the axioms of religion, viz. the existence of some supernatural powers, of the man's obligation to them, and of the need for propitiating them by obedience, love, and worship through prayers and through offerings, have been found to be correct from the dawn of human civilization.

THE HAMLET PROBLEM

BY SRI K. G. MENON, I.C.S.

Chief Secretary, Government of Travancore & Cochin

SHAKESPEARE provides a perpetual carnival in which everyone likes to have a shy at some target. The biggest draw is Hamlet. Sir Philip Gibbs described the play as one "that may be studied a life time and yet never be exhausted." Williamson's* painstaking and compendious collection of select writings on Hamlet "compiled from over 300 sources" shows that the study and criticism of the play over three hundred years have not taken us nearer to the solution of the most baffling puzzle that Shakespeare bequeathed to posterity. The interest of Hamlet is inexhaustible.

Shakespeare inherited the meagre but stage-worthy theme of the play from Oedipus and Orestes and the clumsy characters possibly from Kyd's Spanish Tragedy. His own current experiences, complicated by the Dark Lady's defection

and contemporaneous historical incidents like Elizabeth's ingratitude to Essex and James' irresolution in the face of his mother's faithless conduct, might have given him additional inspiration. He embroidered this skeleton with melodrama to make the play pay and embellished it with that rich verse which has made this work the "beau ideal of the poetry of tragedy." The result is, in one view, a masterpiece, "the history of the poetry of Shakespeare," as Dr. Karl Elze has it, or "the noblest and greatest of all the tragedies," in the words of John Keble. At the same time, Garnett and Gosse, among others, rule the play out of Shakespeare's best. Similarly, critical estimates of the character of Hamlet vary all the way from the best and noblest of princes to Byron's outburst that he was "sick of this lame and impotent hero." Hamlet literature is concerned with bridging these infinite chasms.

* READINGS ON THE CHARACTER OF HAMLET—Claude C. H. Williamson, Allen & Unwin—783 pp. 45s.

For, the Hamlet riddle, "for ever suggestive, but never wholly explicable," is the anatomy of a refined human soul in distress. The principal Hamlet problem is, "Why did Hamlet not kill the King at once? (as many critics would have done or liked to do.) The commonly accepted motivations are external or internal, sometimes prolix, otherwise so simple that one, attributing the dilatoriness to the exigencies of the play, is severely dubbed puerile by Chapman. Yet, Hammer and Logan Pearsall Smith ardently advocate that "puerile" view. Another excuse is that Hamlet could not manage the job; it was too big for him. But the most popular explanations blame the hero's psyche. This school gathered tempo from Goethe, who conceived Hamlet as a middle aged Werther and Coleridge, who shyly admitted a little resemblance between himself and the procrastinating Prince of Denmark. Most of the subsequent criticism is tainted by this "apocalypse of moral insufficiency". At the same time, the variations in the psycho-pathological diagnosis of the character are wide as the imagination and sometimes, exceed the bounds of reasonable imagination. Among the more current views are that Hamlet was squeamish about blood, or ill with melancholy, that he was afraid of his personal safety, that he could not convince himself of the righteousness of vengeance, that he wanted to kill without exposing his mother's sin, that he had to ensure the security of the crown or waited to secure conclusive evidence, that he was cast in a philosophical mould which inhibited action and even that he was mad. Indeed as many psychiatrists, specialists and laymen are convinced of his lunacy as think that he is in the twilight between madness and sanity or that he is occasionally demented by the stress of events or again that he is the sanest person ever in fiction or fact and only feigns madness to achieve his purpose. There is even one school arguing that Hamlet, far from delaying the exaction of vengeance, went as straight to it as any reasonable man would. And if one does not mind the ridiculous, there are serious critics who believe that Hamlet was a woman in love with Horatio and jealous of Ophelia; that his madness was the result of fright on seeing the

ghost and that his obesity retarded his thought and action. As if such nonsense were inadequate, one word expositions also abound. Thus Hamlet is the tragedy of melancholy, motives, justice, character, revenge, frustration, idealism, irresolution, introspection, genius, love, mother-fixation and even sex-panacea. One version maintains that it is no tragedy at all, while another makes it a morality play, each character being an abstraction. And yet, all these attempts to define and explain Hamlet fail. The attempts in this volume and the many later expositions, such as the elaborate theory of psycho-neurosis, developed by Dr. Ernest Jones and built upon Freud, also fail.

What then is the secret of Hamlet? It is no part of a reviewer's responsibility to offer a solution that the numerous authors and works reviewed have failed to find. And yet one cannot help observing that Hamlet is, after all, a play, intended to be a play and put on the Elizabethan Stage as a play. It is inconceivable that Shakespeare created the character so to be vivisected as he has been, so many intellectuals and some fools exercising their ingenuity to explain the seemingly irreconcilable attributes of the central figure of what was conceived to entertain and destined to become the finest tragedy. A play has to appeal to the audience and as some one said, audiences consist of the crowd, the women and the intellectuals, to satisfy all of whom at different levels, some sacrifice of perfection and even logic may be justified. There are besides numerous Hamlets; as many Hamlets as human beings, because "conscience makes cowards of us all" and inertia impels everyone towards procrastination. Such a many-faceted gem is a "thing of beauty, a joy for ever". Trying to explain the character is an exquisite but unsatisfying intellectual exercise. But that is just where Shakespeare scores and why Hamlet is so different from all the other simple and complex live beings, who also procrastinate and philosophise.

Specialist: "Could you pay for an operation if I thought one was necessary?"

Patient: "Would you find one necessary if I could not pay for it?"

THE CONGRESS AT THE CROSSROADS

BY "KEITH AUSTIN"

FEW political parties anywhere in the world can lay claim to a record of service and achievement comparable to that of the Indian National Congress. Congress's finest hour was in 1947 when India achieved complete independence; its power and prestige were then at their height, and when Congress Governments took control of public affairs at the Centre and in the States it seemed as if a new era of peace, happiness and prosperity was to dawn.

But it was too good to last—it was, in fact, the crest of a wave, and the inevitable depression soon followed. Nothing human is perfect, and, once the Congress leaders had tasted almost absolute power, it was almost inevitable that it should go to their heads. "Power" said Lord Acton "always corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." It was Congress's tragedy that it had not that effective and constructive opposition that is essential to make Democracy a success. In times of war or national emergency, one party rule may be necessary, but in normal times, it is undesirable. What complicated matters was the fact that the unity of the Congress party was only a superficial one, for it still contained men of irreconcilably opposed views and hence was bound to crack under the stress of day-to-day government. With the coming of freedom, therefore, it was not surprising that there were a series of major and minor secessions from the huge amorphous unwieldy, all-embracing Congress fold. Communists, Socialists, the Hindu Mahasabhis, the militant narrowly communal Rashtryia Sewak Sangh, broke away from the parent body in turn and set up their own establishments as independent political parties. Within the main body of the Party, also ominous cracks and fissures began to appear as rival leaders and cliques began to struggle for power. Two main groups—a Right Wing group made up of Capitalist and business interests, which to suit their own ends had financed the Congress movement in its independence struggle, and a Left Wing Socialist element led by Jawaharlal Nehru

appeared, and still exist in uneasy partnership. Under the dynamic leadership of Nehru the Socialist element has succeeded in influencing the Congress to commit itself to a policy of modified Socialism for the uplift of the masses, but the strongly entrenched vested interests of Big Business prevent and delay progress along this desirable path. This internal conflict in the party led to endless confusion and to a virtual stalemate, which has disillusioned the masses and given an impetus to the Socialist and Communist parties, and to narrow communalists like the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. The Congress Party is, at the present moment, confused and divided in its objectives and purposes, a confusion that is reflected in the heterogeneous collection of individuals who make up the Central Cabinet, and in the bitter internal feuds raging among the members of the Congress Governments ruling in the various Indian States leading to the formation of various splinter groups.

Some apologists of the Congress interpret all this flux and upheaval, these cracks and open splits in the party, as a sign of health and vitality, and that the Congress party is renovating itself to adapt itself to new and rapidly changing circumstances and needs. The greater majority of impartial and honest observers, however, regard these bitter internal dissensions and feuds, which spring, for the most part, from a struggle for personal power and prestige by individual Congress leaders, as the seeds of decay and destruction, the death struggle of a once great party, the sunset of a glorious movement.....Which ever group is right ~~(there is some measure of truth in both views.)~~ there is no doubt that the Indian National Congress stands on the eve of the election at the cross-roads and is facing a major crisis in its history. The party being well organized and financed is probably strong enough to win the coming election ~~(though its present overwhelming majority is bound to be greatly reduced in several states)~~ but it will be a barren victory if the Congress has no real desire to carry out its election promises, or if it lacks the confidence and goodwill of

large sections of the Indian people. A thorough spring cleaning of the party personnel, a complete overhaul of the party machine, a determination to implement the party's aims and objectives, and the rooting out of self-seeking communalism, corruption, and inefficiency, in short a return of the party's pristine purity and nobility of aim and action, are essential if the Congress is to continue to play a progressive and beneficial role in Indian politics. What are the main lines along which such reform needs to be carried out?

The most urgent need is for a reform of the present vague amorphous nature of the Congress. It must shed its pretensions to be the only party representing Indian thought and opinions; it must cease to be a movement, embracing as it still does, men of differing views and ideologies, and become a smaller, more compact and coherent party willing and able to carry out its home and foreign policy. It must decide whether it is on the side of the Capitalist or of the Masses, and not try to keep a foot in either camp, a policy that is stifling all social, political and economic progress and reconstruction in India. If the Capitalists and Industrialists will not suffer a change of heart and persist in their present policy of intransigence and opposition to social and economic reform, the party must go direct to the people, and with their support introduce legislation on the lines advocated by Nehru and the more progressive elements in the party to redress the unequal distribution of wealth and power, and to improve the lot of the hungry, exploited, down-trodden masses of India. The Congress party has in its party manifesto committed itself to a socialist programme of reconstruction, its recommendations should not remain mere election baits.

A second reform is of the present organisation of the party. It is too easy to don a white cap and call oneself a Congressman, and there is too little check on whether members actually honour their pledges and live up to the party ideals. Unscrupulous party politicians and cliques have exploited this fact to enrol millions of bogus members to support them in

their struggle for personal power. This hectic recruitment of new members in the past two years recently led to an organizational crisis, and the All-India Congress Committee was constrained to issue a directive last year in which it stated that 90 per cent. of the 30 million new members were spurious, and recommended an immediate purge and a tightening up of the whole procedure of recruitment. What is needed is an adequate screening and supervision of new members, and a stress on quality rather than quantity.

The choice before Congress at the moment is clear—a choice between a short, continued, halcyonic period of unrestrained power, followed by disrepute and inevitable decay, or an immediate loss in membership and power but a tremendous gain in inner strength and vitality. Radical reform of the existing organization is essential, and virtually a new party must be created from the ashes of the old. Corruption, power-politics, individual self-seeking, the cut-throat scramble for power, and inefficiency must be weeded out and the party purged of all destructive or reactionary elements, if it is to survive and prosper and regain its hold of the Indian people.

The time and the hour have struck for such a transformation, for India is on the eve of her first General Election since Independence. And the man who can accomplish the task of cleaning up the Augean stables is also, fortunately, at hand. There is only one person at present in India who can supply the drive and the inspiration necessary to accomplish this minor revolution, and this man is the Prime Minister and the Emergency President of the Congress—Jawaharlal Nehru, backed up by the best elements in his party, by the masses who almost worship him, and by all the wholesome elements among the middle class and the intellectuals. Congress first achieved strength as a revolutionary movement, it must retrace its steps and recapture its early ardour, purity of motive and action, and its national and revolutionary character in order to wax strong and to live gloriously once again.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND RAMARAJYA

BY SRI V. KRISHNA RAO

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RAMARAJYA is a familiar term to the Hindus. The word is as old as the Ramayana and Valmiki. It has today gained an additional sanctity by the use of the word by the Mahatma. Today every politician and reformer bandies the word. It is the aim of the statesman and citizen to establish Ramarajya in India. The name is a mantra and stirs up an enthusiasm in all, however vague. Cynics there are that look upon it as an utopia incapable of realisation. There are other fervent devotees, that under the inspiration of the words of the Mahatma believe Ramarajya is speeding towards us. It would be a long way off unless we prepare ourselves by our conduct to receive it.

It is worthwhile examining the idea. Gandhiji delivered himself as follows in *Young India*: September 19th 1929.

"I warn my Mussulman friends against misunderstanding me in my use of the word Ramarajya. By Ramarajya I do not mean Hindu Raj. I mean by Ramarajya, the Kingdom of God. For me Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of truth and rightness. Whether Rama of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of Ramraj is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under Ramraj.

Mark the dominant ideas. It is the Kingdom of God. It is true democracy. It renders justice to all. It is rendered swiftly and without costly procedure. Under the dispensation even a dog had its justice. The reference to the 'dog' occurs in the Uttara Kanda of the Ramayana. The episode is called 'Sarameyopakhyana'.

Rama had anointed himself as the King of Ayodhya. Some urgent matters

of state, engaged his attention. The King was a Judge as well. There was a slight neglect of that duty. He entered the hall of justice and directed the attender to call out the petitioners. He did so and reported to Rama that there were no petitioners. Rama could not believe it. He directed Lakshmana to call out again. No person responded but a dog came barking out. Rama thought that it must have a grievance and admitted it to his presence and sought to know its complaint. The dog began a story. 'I was famishing for want of food and was strolling about the street in search of it. I did no harm to

anybody. A mendicant was passing by. He saw me and aimed his stick on my back and I am bleeding. Have I no justice?' The mendicant was sent for and his version was ascertained. He said 'I was equally famished. I was begging my food. The dog crossed me and barked and I had obstruction. I gave a blow and cleared my way.' The Sanyasi was found guilty and punishment had to be meted out to



MAHATMA GANDHI

him. The King looked at his advisers for their suggestion. They consulted each other and bulky tomes of law but could not make up their minds, because the case was peculiar and there was no precedent. There was a pause on all sides. The dog noticed the confusion and put in its word. I will suggest the penalty. Let the accused be appointed the trustee (Kulapathi) of a temple of God. That is adequate punishment. I was such a trustee in my previous birth. I pilfered God's property. I came down a dog in this life' a sensible dog one exclaims.'

By democracy Gandhi does not mean that the vote catching devices of the modern day nor a party cry. The true spirit of democracy, he says, is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires *change of heart*. He says elsewhere that democracy must in essence mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economical and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all. The highest form of freedom carries with it the greatest measure of discipline and humility. This interpretation places a great responsibility on the individual. If so why should Gandhiji associate democracy with the name of Rama, or for the matter of that, with that of any king? The story of Rama as we know it from Valmiki, does not say that Rama examined and tried different forms of political institutions and fixed upon democracy as being the best. He does not give us any political slogan. Rama was the son of a King and himself became a king after his father. We are not told that he effected any change of institutions during his life time. He was installed on the throne about his 42nd year. His reign is one of the longest in history or tale, for he is alleged to have ruled for 11000 years. His most formidable foe, Ravana, was removed before Rama became king. What is the implication of such a long reign? Is it suggested that wars are easily won but it takes long to establish peace? We are having the experience. The second world war was finished in 1945. The world as yet knows no peace. The last foe was defeated in 1945

but even in 1951 peace treaties between the belligerents have not yet been concluded. And yet the U.N.O. has been in existence all along. Why then this delay? Because peace is not in the mind of the nations. There may be many eminent statesmen in the world but their vision is circumscribed. None of them has the dominant personality to initiate a new era. In influencing the vast masses it is personality that counts. It is personality of the Kings in ancient India that counted more than any institution. Our Dharma Sastras and the Epics discuss the question whether the King influences the age or the age the King. Vyasa records the conclusive answer: *Raja kalasya karanam* it is the king that controls the age. It is why Bishma insistently urges on Yudhistira to be great like Rama, like Mandhata and other kings. Valmiki refers to Rama as

Rakshita sarvalokasya,

Dharmasya parirakshita

Ramo vigrahavan Dharmaha

Rama is the protector of the worlds, he is the upholder of Dharma, he is the embodiment of Dharma, Our poet Bhavabhuti brings out another aspect. He makes Rama say

*Sneham dayam cha sowkhyam cha
yadiva Janakeemapi*

*Aradhanaya lokanam munchatho nasthi
mayvyatha*

'I will have no hesitation—in sacrificing my friendships my affections and personal happiness and even my wife Janaki if that would promote the good will and happiness of my people'

Kalidasa speaks of Rama's ancestor thus

*Prajanam vinayadanath rakshanath
bharanathapi*

*Sa Raja pitharasthasam kevalam janma-
hetavah*

'The king by his arrangements for the good conduct of his subjects, their education, upbringing, their protection and means of livelihood, was their true father. Their physical parents were only occasion for their birth'

This solicitude for the subjects on the part of the King had its magical effect while it established the King in the affection of the people who offered the King their whole-hearted loyalty and devotion. Being free from anxiety the people behaved well towards each other. There were no mutual hatreds and rivalries

and jealousies. There was goodwill all round. Peace and plenty prevailed. Valmiki records:

*Ramo Ramo Rama iti prajanam
abhavath kathah*

*Ramabhutam jagatabhooth Ramo rajyam
prasasathi*

"When people talked to each other, their topics was Rama. Rama filled their world."

When the king led an ideal life and upheld Dharma the people could not misbehave towards the state or towards each other. When there is contentment in the minds of the people peace and progress are sure to follow. That is the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. That was a reality in the days of Rama, says Valmiki. That may yet be a reality today, says Gandhiji. But where are the kings today? Their days have been

numbered and the few that live are mere figure heads. Gandhiji's suggestions are these. The rule of the people is being carried on. If there are no kings, there are the leaders and administrators. Let the spirit of Ramarajya descend on them. Let them grow disinterested. Let their sole concern be the good of the people and let all their activities be directed towards it. Then all recriminations will cease, all rivalries will disappear, the race of careerists will cease. All hypocracies and dishonesties will have no vogue. Corruption will be things of the past. As a consequence anarchy will find no place in the minds of men. They will offer their co-operation in public governance. Communalism will have no standing ground. Peace will stalk the land. Will our administrators take the lesson?

Rights and Responsibilities of Legislators

BY SRI P. S. NAIR

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It was Plato who said, "the Penalty that people pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by people worse than themselves." If this was true during the time of that great thinker when state meant only a city of a few thousand people and an assembly a meeting of all its citizens it must be still more true now when state consists of millions of people and democratic institutions contain only representatives of the people divided in constituencies. If these representatives are not the best talents in the country, the assembly will become a pandemonium of second rate persons leading to the decline of democracy itself and paving the way for the advent of the rule of the strong man—dictatorship. Modern democracy is the rule of the people for the people, through their best representatives.

There is a false notion among people that anybody can be member of an assembly whose duty is simply to dot the I's and cross the T's of party leadership: that his work consists in obtaining T.A. and

other allowances, attending the assembly according to the mandate of the party whip and voting blindly in support of his leader.

If the member of a party cannot use his discretion in the assembly vote, he can use his maximum intelligence in the party meeting and mould the character of the legislation. He can criticise or censure the party leader to bring him round to his point. An able member will have plenty of scope for his talents in committees and commissions which form the part and parcel of modern parliamentary government. There will be plenty of work in the constituency indoctrinating or educating the electorate in the principles and programme of the party. Here his eloquence and powers of organisation can be brought into play for the benefit of his country and people.

While this scope for work for members of the assembly are immense and unlimited they do not seem to care for them but spent the major part of their

time in providing jobs for their relations, permits for their parasites and canvassing local benefit to their constituency. They do not care to study legislation and are indifferent to debates. They may be seen loitering through the corridors of the Secretariat at the time when legislation affecting the life of millions of people are being discussed in the Parliament. They consider their position as a stepping stone or passport to further their private interest. They make all sorts of promises at the time of the elections and forget them after the poll. It is calculated that as many as 40 per cent of the members of the both houses of the U.S. Congress were absent during roll calls on proposed legislation in 1946. As Drummond of the *Christian Science Monitor* stated "Congressmen's absenteeism has become a political vice, a danger to representative Government". Upto 80 per cent of the average legislators' time, according to a recent study is consumed by this non-legislative business. A senator of the U.S.A. once remarked "I am 90 per cent errant boy, 10 per cent statesman."

In India at present most if not all the legislators are men who had shown considerable powers of organisation and spirit of endurance during the Satyagraha movement. A Jail bird need not be a good legislator or an able party worker an efficient Parliamentarian. A legislator should be a man of commonsense, versed in the burning problems of the day and capable of putting his ideas into convincing if not necessarily eloquent exposition. Thus a Satyamurthy or a Bhulabai, though far less equipped intellectually than our Prime Minister are probably better Parliamentarians than him. There were able Parliamentarians who were also great leaders like Gladstone, Disraeli and Churchill, but they are few and far between in world history.

How are we to equip our legislators? Sometime ago a bill was introduced in the Union Parliament specifying certain qualifications for our legislators; but fortunately that was not accepted, as otherwise we would have debarred an Indian Abraham Lincoln in the present

poor percentage of our literate population. Confining franchise to only literate men will also be a retrograde step. The remedy for it appears to be only in curtailing the unlimited powers of the party bosses in the selection of candidates and in exerting our utmost for the expansion of primary education in the country. The present method of selecting candidates as a means of proping up party leadership must go and a mere scientific method of selecting the best among the lot should take its place. Recently a curious suggestion was made from a responsible quarter that parties should not set up candidates and individuals should be allowed to stand on their own initiative. There is no easier way to bring political chaos than the acceptance of this method. Without party discipline assembly will turn into a pandemonium of warring individuals and cliques. It seems best that the party leader should be given the power of making a list of men out of which the Election commissioner should select the requisite number, so that the last word in selection is reserved in impartial hands. A legislator's work is national and the nation should have a voice in his selection.

Party leaders must be made to realise that those who are sent to the assemblies and Parliaments are legislators first and foremost and their main work is to help in legislation and not errant running between their constituency and the government. Legislators who receive T.A. and allowances from the national exchequer should realise that they are also public servants like the civil service personnel and they must give their best to the nation. They should be men who are prepared to devote their full time to the country and their allowances should be such as to keep them above want and temptations. A member who fails to come up to the standard intellectually or morally is doing a great harm to the public which he is to serve and an injury to the country which he has pledged to defend through thick and thin. A code of conduct for legislators can be brought into force through an act of Parliament.

The Public School Experiment in India

BY SRI S. VASUDEVAN, M.A., M.Ed. M.R.S.T., (London.)

WHAT A PUBLIC SCHOOL IS

THE 'Public School' in England is a misnomer for the Private Schools, (mostly residential) run with the aid of private endowments, which with their emphasis on games and character-building seek to train their pupils for leadership, mainly through the organization of the House and Prefect System, among other means. The teachers keeping themselves in the background, the boys do most of the things themselves, and thus become self-reliant, besides feeling personally responsible for the efficient management, fair name and good tone of the house. Thus the scheme fosters *esprit de corps* and affords a good training ground for the pupils for working democracy in their later lives. As the lack of personal contact between the teacher and the taught is partly responsible for the present day lapses of discipline, the Public School remedies the defect by the organization of Houses, where the masters live with pupils.

CASE FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN INDIA

All thinking men who have the welfare of our new-born Republic at heart should be anxious about her leadership in the coming generations. Worthy successors for our present leaders like Prasad, Nehru, Azad and others are not easy to find, and have to be carefully trained. Hence we have to be on the look-out for any scheme of education which claims to train for leadership, responsibility, state craft and public service. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." As the products of the English Public Schools have acquitted themselves so creditably in administering the affairs of England, the scheme is well worth a trial in our country.

Further since it is now recognized that the main purpose of higher education is "to form an elite, not for its own sake, but for that of society," any type of school which attempts to train the cream of society should arrest our attention.

SOME OBJECTIONS EXAMINED

A preliminary objection to the introduction of the Public School system in India, is that it is exotic and will not

therefore thrive on Indian soil, if transplanted from its original clime. Shorn of the metaphor, there is not much force in the argument. Two basic facts explode this thesis. For one thing, we have been content for too long with such empirical, subjective, arm-chair opinions, without any objective, scientific experimentation and verification. Let us try the system for a reasonable time and see whether it does grow here. Secondly, fundamentals of educational theory are the same in all countries and climes, and are to my mind independent of latitude or longitude, though some minor adjustments in details may become necessary to suit local conditions. So it behoves us to see if we can profit by the system, though we may learn from the experience in England and avoid the pitfalls. Let not the prejudices of the pre-Independence days against anything English hang back even now; let no false prestige blind our vision.

Prima facie, the system would appear to go against the modern slogan for education in a democracy regarding "Equality of opportunity in education," as Public School training being very costly can be had only by the few who can afford it. But the objection would not stand close examination. "Equality of opportunity" does not mean identity of opportunity for all, irrespective of their abilities and aptitudes. "Equality of opportunity" can only mean the provision of adequate educational facilities for all, suited to the tastes and abilities of the clientele. So we in India have to select pupils of promise for the Public Schools with reference to their ability to benefit by the training, and award scholarships to those pupils. If others are keen on taking the course, they should pay for it. No public funds can be wasted on their behalf. Let us not shut out pupils of promise by reason of their poverty.

Some critics argue that whereas even in the country of its origin, the usefulness of the Public School has not remained undisputed, in the changing conditions of the world to-day, and the scheme has

many respectable opponents even there, it is not wise to attempt to copy it here. But if a scheme has certain defects, the remedy is not always to end it but to try to mend it.

So let us consider the various charges levelled against the system, as practised in England. On account of the costly nature of Public School training in England, only the rich can afford it, and so those pupils are likely to form a class by themselves, looking down upon others. An exclusive distinction may grow, snobbishness may be fostered, and habits of luxuriant and wasteful expenditure may be encouraged. These are serious enough, indeed. Already India is certainly having too many divisions by religion, caste, language and what not, and it does devolve upon us to see that we do not add to the list. Further ours is too poor a country to afford extravagance. But these are not insuperable obstacles. By including poor and deserving pupils also in the schools, by providing scholarships, the danger is considerably minimized. Further thrift clubs and small savings banks may be organized to inculcate habits

of economy. Simple living may be encouraged in the boarding house.

Another possible danger in the English Public Schools is bullying by the Prefects and their becoming lazy by getting their tasks done by the fags. Further over-emphasis on games is another defect noticed. But such defects can easily be set right by the staff.

CONCLUSION

Hence it is worth our while trying the Public School experiment in India. Let those schools fight cramming and the domination of the external examination, and afford training of character, mind, emotions and the body. Let the schools enforce discipline through the agency of the Prefects with the backing of tradition, give training in leadership, judgment and right use of leisure. Let us try to turn out good personalities, responsible leaders and followers, efficient wage-earners, happy home-makers and worthy citizens. Above all, though religious instruction as such is banned by the present Constitution, let the schools make the pupils alive to the omniscience and omnipotence of God.

SOLDIERS AND POLITICS

BY SRI S. P. SHARMA

THE exit of MacArthur from the Korean scene revived a controversy which had long since been settled in principle. The question is whether serving soldiers may make political statements. The answer of course is in the negative; but human nature being frail, mistakes are often made. The tribe of MacArthur is by no means recent or small. But the political objectives of warfare should always be kept distinct from the military ones. If necessary on any occasion, it is the latter that must be sacrificed, never the former. But sometimes, politicians display an excess of enthusiasm for military victories and come to grief, while it is not unoften that military leaders put on political robes, only to invite disaster.

Clausewitz pointed out decades ago that "war is only a continuation of

political intercourse, with a mixture of other means." Again, he said, "the art of war, in its highest point of view is policy, but a policy which fights battles instead of writing notes." Paraphrased, this means that nations seek to gain in their objects, if possible, by diplomacy and other means, but if necessary, by war. It is the promotion of national interests, however conceived, that is the end, and war is only a means. This appears to be perfectly sound but not to all. Thus Alfred von Schlieffen was the General who had the greatest influence on German military thought prior to World War I. He even prepared the master-plan for the invasion of France in 1914, and even envisaged the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, as a means of out-flanking France. He died before the earlier war broke out, but so strong was his influence

that twenty years later, he was able to mould the thoughts of Hitler's Generals to a large extent. In particular, he was of the view that peace is only a continuation of war. This is perhaps a grim fact, but in the interests of humanity, it may not be accorded honoured recognition.

Clausewitz is certainly a safer guide: war is only a means to an end, other means being open also. But it is too often mistaken for the end itself, and thereby the seeds of future trouble are sown. The Treaty of Versailles is a case in point. At the time of the Peace Conference in Paris, the German delegates fully expected that they would have some say in the terms to be imposed on their country. Clemenceau however merely pointed to a dotted line when they came in, and asked them to sign. They did so, but on that day was born the Second World War. The military security of France had outweighed considerations of European peace. A spirit of vengeance was displayed which showed up dire results exactly twenty years later.

Another instance of confused objectives is that of the march of the Allies towards Berlin at the end of the last war. As German armies were gradually pushed back, the latent rivalries between the ideologies of the Western allies and of the Russians came to the surface. The Americans took the war as a game of base-ball and had no other object than to bring Hitler down to his knees. But not so the experienced British. Churchill wanted the Allied troops to be in Berlin before the Russians could enter the city. He also wanted that north German ports should be in British hands, and not in those of the Soviet. To justify his intentions, he even alleged agreements to this effect, but the U. S. A. flatly denied them. The U. K. and the U. S. A. were still wrangling when, to their consternation, they found that Stalin, more clear-headed than ruthless, had forestalled them in the German capital. Had however the Americans realised the essentially political nature of warfare, as Clausewitz had pointed out, Europe today might have presented a different appearance.

True to his name, Stalin has always cut his way clean through obstacles straight to his goal. When Poland was overrun by Germany during the last war, the British helped an underground movement of patriots in the country. It fought the occupying forces with extraordinary heroism for more than five long years. In the meanwhile, the Russian front displayed varying fortunes but at last, the Germans began to fall back. The Russians advanced towards Poland, and the patriots felt that succour was near at hand, for Britain was far away while Russia was just next door. But they were bitterly disappointed. Far from helping them, Stalin denounced them in vile terms, attributing their exploits to a few Polish communists who had in fact done nothing. He even set a prize on the head of the Chief of the Polish underground workers, General Bor-Komorowski who had eventually to flee to Switzerland with the connivance of the Germans. The latter had realised that their game was up, and hated Stalin more than they did a Polish patriot who had defied them for years. What is the explanation? Stalin had a very definite conception of the role of Poland under soviet auspices, and it did not suit him to encourage or even to recognise a movement inspired by the British. And when he got the power he worked his plan out. To him, the defeat of Hitler by itself was of secondary importance; what he really wanted was the consolidation of Soviet influence. And rightly too, from his angle.

It was the same realism that he displayed in the war against Japan also. No scruples ever troubled him. Japan was already on her last legs when the Atom Bomb fell on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. She had sent out peace-feelers for the western powers to Russia even as early as the previous April but no reply had been given. Russia however was watching the situation closely, till August 8, when she suddenly declared war on Japan and crossed the Manchurian border the next day. On this point, strong language but apposite is used by Maj-Gen. Fuller in his *Strategical and Tactical History of the War*. He says "... following the footsteps

of the Fascist jackal, Mussolini in 1940, Stalin scenting easy meat, declared war on Japan." The truth is that Stalin wanted a finger in the pie. He did not relish the idea of the Allies occupying Japan, with possibly dangerous consequences to Russia. He therefore rushed to the scene, and staked his claims to a share in the spoils of victory in the Far East. Japan had been militarily defeated, but he wanted political victory as well for Russia. His vision was certainly clear.

Another instance to show how politicians can mistake the object of war. America knew in August 1945, that her bombing had reduced the chief cities and the industrial and strategic centres of Japan into a rubble-heap. The Report of the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey (4), quoted by Prof. P. M. S. Blackett in his *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy*, clearly proves this. And yet, she released the atom-bomb on August 6, on Hiroshima and on the 9th on Nagasaki. Why? The military defeat of Japan was only a matter of days or weeks, but Mr. Truman was not satisfied; he wanted to wreak vengeance. It has been well said "morally, the use of the bomb was indefensible, strategically it was not needed, psychologically, it had no effect, and politically, its dire consequences are unfathomable." After the release of the second bomb President Truman broadcast to the world on the 9th April. He said "We thank God that it (the atom bomb) has come to us instead of to our enemies. And we pray that He may guide us to use it in His way, and for His purpose." The prayer is badly needed.

An obsession of the Allies during the last war was to call for the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan. They wanted not merely a military victory but a spiteful one. A similar attitude in 1919 was the fateful progenitor of Hitler. What the last war will produce in Germany or Japan, the future alone can reveal. But the present has already borne bitter fruit. The call for unconditional surrender is already acknowledged to have prolonged the war by a year or two. Liddell Hart calls the two words "unconditional surrender" the war's greatest blunder. No politician

would have used them, if he had kept war in its proper place, in the scheme of life. What actually were the results? There were elements in Germany that were opposed to Hitler and would, have balked his efforts, if they had had any encouragement. What they got on the contrary was this unblessed call for unconditional surrender. No honourable terms were offered to them, if they laid down arms. Naturally therefore they chose rather to fight with Hitler and die on the battle-field than to accept humiliation. Similarly in the case of Japan. There were sections of people who would have accepted honourable terms, but unconditional surrender only strengthened the war-party, and prolonged the war. Political shortsightedness could not have gone farther.

To close the article also with a reference to MacArthur. He was a brilliant General, but his political excursions from Tokyo did not by any means have a soothing effect on the mind of Asia, apart from the international complications they were creating every time. This however is nothing strange, because the General's assessment of the mind of Asia, is reminiscent of the mid-Victorian British official in India. Five years ago, he is reported to have said "The conflict between the Mongolian slave-hordes of the east and the civilised peoples of the west will be resolved on the battle-field," and also "that his tough policy towards the Soviet Mission in Japan was successful perhaps because the Russian mentality was as Oriental as it was in the days of Jenghiz Khan. And I have had fifty years experience in dealing with Orientals." What better indeed could be expected of him? He has quit Asia for good and God be with him.

HELPLESS

A young writer friend of Mark Twain was bewailing his lack of success.

"I am beginning to lose confidence in myself," admitted the young writer. "Did you ever have that feeling?"

"Yes," said Twain, "but it took a long time in coming. One day, after I had been writing for 15 years, it suddenly dawned on me that I did not possess the slightest talent for writing."

"What did you do?" asked the other.

"What could I do?" said Twain, "I couldn't give it up. By that time, I was already famous."

PATRIOTIC BIAS

BY SRI T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

—(O)—

PATRIOTIC bias operates in many spheres. Religion is not outside it. One peculiarity of that bias was pointed out by Herbert Spencer: your own beliefs need no proof but another's require strict proof. Your ideas of sound historical criticism are up in arms when it is said that your religion has borrowed ideas from another religion. When the suggestion is just the other way round, your mind receives it with avidity without careful examination. This is true not only of the strictly religious but also of the latitudinarian. I do not know whether Rhys Davids is a strict Christian. I am not a very strict Hindu. Orthodoxy may not admit my Hinduism. Whether I exemplify my own criticism is for others to judge.

There are two passages in which this patriotic bias is exemplified by Rhys Davids to my mind. I will set down the passages before commenting:

1. "It must be remembered that the Brahma of MODERN times, the God of the ardent theism of some of the best of the later Hindus, had not then come into existence; that conception was one effect of the influence of Muhammadan and Christian thought upon Hindu minds. And it would be useless to conjecture how the Buddhist theory might have been modified by the contact with that ideal."—(XI S. B. E. 163).

2. "But when a reviewer, who has been kind enough to appreciate, I am afraid too highly, what he calls my service in giving, for the first time, a thoroughly human, acceptable and coherent account of the life of Buddha and of the simple groundwork of his religion has gone on to conclude that the parallels I had thus adduced are an unanswerable indication of the obligations of the New Testament to Buddhism, I must ask to be allowed to enter an emphatic protest against an inference which seems to me to be against the rules of sound historical criticism. (ib 166).

I do not maintain that the reviewer was right or that Rhys Davids was wrong in his protest. But I do submit that that sound historical criticism which very wakefully bristled up to protect Christianity from the imputation of borrowing from Buddhism lay dormant when he stated that the Brahma of Hinduism was later than Islam or later

than the sixth century A.C.! Brahma in the masculine occurs in the Aranyakas. He is said to be the head of the Devas. In the Yajus Samhita he is the Creator under the name of Prajapati. He is also the *dhata* of the Vedas and of the later literature. In the Ramayana he appears many times in different connections. Rhys Davids seems to me ignorant outside his own sphere like all specialists. His mistake in regard to Brahma exhibits him as not quite knowledgeable even in regard to his Buddha. Brahma in the masculine occurs in the body of Tivegga Sutta more than once. The Buddha knowing of a Brahma (masc) develops his religion. That he might have developed his ideas differently if he had known of the Hindu Brahma of later times is not an assent to the value of the Hindu Brahma but is the result of the vanity that the knowledge of God according to Islamic or Christian ideas might have improved the Buddha and his notions of religion. To say that of one who deliberately built his discipline without any discussion of God or no God is to misunderstand and belittle him. That he mislaid his system without knowledge of the Islamic or Christian conception of God is nothing but self-laudation or Christian prejudice. In a system of discipline leading irresistibly to his goal of the Buddha or Bodhisattva or Arhat he deliberately puts aside God as having no part in his system and for a Christian to say that Jehovah or Allah might have improved his mind and his system is to exhibit crass ignorance of the Buddha.

This shows that conscientious criticism has its unconscious pitfalls which require special efforts to avoid. When the Vedic passage declares in no ambiguous terms that the ONE is called by many names and the fact that the prayers addressed to the differently named gods are really the worship of the ONE clearly suggest monotheism, Max Muller's blessed word of henotheism or kathenotheism covers the fact in a haze so conducive to the self-esteem of the fanatical monotheist.

THE MARK OF GREATNESS

[Seeking a definition of men about whom one would discern the mark of greatness, Lord Samuel, in the course of a B. B. C. talk, draws upon wide, personal experience that ranges from Mr. Gladstone to Gandhi, from President Roosevelt to Einstein. 'All had genius in greater or less degree,' he says, 'and all possessed industry . . . and they all possessed an inner stimulus of enthusiasm.'—ED. I. R.]

WE are less lavish in these times with the title of 'the great.' The eighteenth century spoke of Louis le Grand of France, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine the Great of Russia, and others as well. Henry Fielding, the author of 'Tom Jones', wrote a satire on greatness as understood in his day. 'Why,' he asked, should we honour the sackers of towns, the plunderers of provinces and the conquerors of kingdoms? During the 200 years since Fielding's time the commonsense—and the conscience—of mankind have been turning away from such conceptions of greatness. Yet there still lingers a feeling of wonder, of awe, at the triumphs of the conquerors who, through the ages and still in modern times, have been magnified by history.

Sir Richard Livingstone gives an example: 'Between 1770 and 1870,' he writes, 'three men changed the face of Europe and altered the course of history—Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Bismarck. Most readers are dazzled by their genius and achievements, and ignore the perhaps more permanent result of their lives—that they impressed on the plastic mind of man a false ideal.'

That is the essence of the matter. Brilliant abilities and triumphant success should not command the admiration of mankind regardless of the ends pursued and the means employed. We in our day will not concede greatness to a Hitler or a Mussolini, nor to any man, whatever his successes, whose life has injured rather than benefited mankind.

The first man of high distinction whom I met was the most illustrious of all. I came into active politics at the time when Mr. Gladstone was for the fourth time Prime Minister. As an undergraduate, I had heard him deliver a lecture at Oxford not long before. In 1893 I was introduced to him at a

dinner party at the house of a relative of mine who was one of his supporters in the House of Commons; and in the same year I heard him speak in Parliament—on a lofty theme; the establishment, for the settlement of disputes among the nations, of arbitration instead of war.

Then eighty-three years old, Gladstone was still full of vitality, in private life his manner animated, his conversation lively. To hear him speak as Prime Minister in the House of Commons was an experience never to be forgotten. For sixty years he had been a member of that dominant assembly; through all that long stretch of time he had played an active and often a leading part in the affairs of this country and of the world.

His appearance and demeanour, the lion-like countenance familiar to everyone, the deep, sonorous voice, the perfect diction, the forceful argument—all combined to make him the outstanding parliamentarian of his time. An aura of fame radiated him. All this seemed, to a young man just entering public life—and now, in old age, seems to him still—to mark Gladstone from all the rest and to rank him alone.

REMARKABLE GROUP

Some years later I was elected to the House of Commons; became an Under-Secretary in the Campbell-Bannerman Government, and in 1909 entered the Asquith Cabinet. There, for seven years, I found myself a junior colleague of a remarkable group of eminent men—Asquith himself, Edward Grey, Lloyd George, John Morley, Haldane, the young Winston Churchill, and, at the end, in the Asquith war-time Coalition, Arthur Balfour and Lord Kitchener.

To which of these the attribute of greatness should rightly belong I would hesitate to say. To Asquith certainly, if power of intellect, strength of character, success in great affairs, equanimity, and

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magnanimity are to count. Grey, also, we would place second to none. Lloyd George, then and later, with unlimited courage faced and conquered the most formidable dangers. Churchill also, years afterwards, when he uplifted the nation in its finest hour, attained his own.

I would count King Albert of Belgium among the greatest figures of that time. At the outbreak of the first world war, the duty fell upon my department of providing for the reception of a quarter-of-a-million Belgian refugees who came to this country on the shock of the German invasion; also, at the end of the war, I acted for a time as a liaison between the British and Belgian Governments. These events brought me into touch with King Albert. He had held the key position at one of the critical points in the modern history of the world.

The challenge came first to Belgium, and in Belgium to its King. If courage at a moment of utmost peril, wisdom of judgment, firmness in leadership, fortitude in disaster, restraint in victory—if these are the marks of greatness, Albert of Belgium stands among the great.

In the year before the war, an official mission had taken me to Canada and the United States. In Ottawa I met Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then out of office after fifteen years as Prime Minister of Canada an inspiring personality with a fine record of statesmanship. And in Washington, I was received by Woodrow Wilson, recently installed at the White House. The most notable events of his life—his leadership, first, in bringing the United States out of her traditional isolation and second, in founding the League of Nations—were still in the future.

I wrote this at the time: 'President Wilson receives visitors at the White House in a formal drawing-room; himself, tall and grave, seemed as formal as his surroundings. Nevertheless his manner was amiable and his personality impressive. Without self-consciousness, he had about him an air of greatness.'

THREE GREAT PRESIDENTS

Twenty years later I was again in Washington, and again received by a President, also newly installed in office.

But Franklin Roosevelt was a man of a very different type—easygoing, expansive, bearing with a gay spirit the immense responsibilities that weighed upon him at that moment: his nation in the throes of a terrible crisis, their whole economic system on the very verge of collapse. By a series of swift, bold and often unprecedented measures, he saved the situation. His later services to his country and to mankind during the second world war will live illustrious in the history of the age. In London we are honoured by having the statues of three Presidents—Washington, Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt: the third is worthy even of that companionship.

Among statesmen of the Commonwealth whom I have had the privilege of knowing, Smuts was the most remarkable personality. By universal consent he has taken his place in the Valhalla of fame.

In literature, during the present century, this country has produced only one figure that already holds, and seems likely to maintain, a world reputation among the foremost—Bernard Shaw. When he was in his early forties and I in my twenties I knew him intimately, and at intervals until his death: a very lovable man, the flow of incessant wit and humour and challenging paradox making him the liveliest of companions.

In the world of science we cannot fail to rank Einstein among the great ones. He is a pioneer original and daring in that most difficult of all regions, the abstract province where physics and philosophy meet. And his mind ranges wide.

I think it possible that later generations, if they were asked to choose, regardless of nationality, one man above all others as having been the greatest, in this first half of the twentieth century that has just drawn to a close, might select a name which today may perhaps be received with surprise: it is that of Gandhi.

Consider the vastness of the scale on which Gandhi worked—a country containing nearly a fifth of the human race, with reactions affecting all Asia. Consider the loftiness of his aim—to raise the self-respect of the people, to establish

their liberties; to lift them out of poverty and ignorance; to emancipate the women, to rescue the out-casts. Remember that he was resolute throughout in seeking his ends without violence—without armed revolution or war; his weapon self-sacrifice. Take account of the amazing measure of success that he achieved before he was cut off by a martyr's death at the hand of a reactionary fanatic. Sum this all up, and then search for any other man of our age more worthy than he of the honour and reverence of future generations.

Viewing these personalities together, are there any common characteristics that we can find within their variety? All had genius, in greater or less degree, and all possessed industry; we may say that genius is the father and industry the mother of greatness. They all possessed an inner stimulus of enthusiasm, even

those of whom it might least be imagined, like Asquith and Woodrow Wilson; and as Emerson said 'nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.' Most—perhaps not all the politicians—followed the Roman maxim that 'glory should follow and not be followed; they set out less to win personal greatness than to accomplish great things; not much aware whether fame would ensure or not. Of Rutherford—also one of the great—it was truly said that he was an unself-conscious victorious personality.'

I felt that was true also in a high degree of Gandhi, of Einstein, and of Edward Grey, and of almost all the rest. For, as has been said, they are great men who are modest because they continually compare themselves, not with other men, but with that idea of the perfect which they have before their mind.'

Back-Ground to Anglo-Egyptian Relations

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

THERE is no doubt about the fact that the Sterling Balance Agreement concluded between Britain and Egypt in July last has failed to relieve the Anglo-Egyptian strained relations. It seems that an Anglo-Egyptian understanding is impossible unless the question relating to the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 is solved satisfactorily. According to the provisions of the Treaty Britain has rights to station a limited number of troops on the Suez Canal.

Anglo-Egyptian strained relations practically date from the year 1947. In that year the Egyptian Government appealed to the Security Council to order British troops out of Egypt and the Sudan, but in vain. Besides a recent report from Cairo also states that one of the hurdles to the Anglo-Egyptian cordial relation is Egypt's attitude towards ships suspected of carrying goods to Israel passing through the Suez Canal. It is also learnt that the Egyptian action against

these ships applies to the merchant fleet of about nine nations using the canal and trading with Israel. But as Britain is the principal user of the canal, she is the most affected by the Egyptian action. It may be recalled that a few days back Mr. Herbert Morrison, British Foreign Minister, lodged a protest with Egypt against the search and detention of the 700-ton steamer *Empire Roach*. The British attitude appeared to stiffen only after the Abadan refineries slowed down and Britain felt tankers through the Suez Canal should go to feed the Haifa refineries in Israel. Mr. Herbert Morrison is reported to have warned Egypt that Britain will not hesitate to call the Royal Navy to pass British tankers through the Suez Canal. The result is that this British threat has caused a strong reaction with the Egyptian public opinion. A spokesman of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, states that Egypt has rights to search foreign ships in her territorial

waters, because of the fact that she considers herself at war with Israel and cannot afford to let vital defence material, such as crude oil, to reach that country. It appears from the statement issued by the Cairo Government that the search of ships was carried out while they took supplies at Egyptian ports and did not last more than an hour. Moreover the ships already black-listed were allowed to pass through the Suez Canal, though these ships were refused Egyptian port facilities.

The British political quarters in Egypt have admitted that the purpose of the search and detention of the British Steamer *Empire Roach* in the Gulf of Aqaba by an Egyptian Corvette was not to excite anti-British feelings. *The Egyptian Gazette*, the organ of British interests in Egypt observed: "The British reaction is very largely due to failure to appreciate the Egyptian attitude towards Israel. Instead of lecturing Egypt in tones that are justly resented as redolent of 19th century imperialism, it would be wiser if British M. Ps made a friendly attempt to persuade this country (Egypt) to accept the inevitable in Palestine." Moreover according to the neutral observers the present "get tough" policy of Britain will have no practical effect. It seems that this policy will make Britain lose valuable friends for the West. Possibly this policy was determined to remedy Britain's recent loss of prestige in the Middle East after the oil dispute with Iran.

The political observers state that the Labour Government always favours an understanding with Egypt. But the Conservatives are against it and launch violent attack on the Government's policy. Possibly in order to answer violent attacks from the Conservative opposition the Labour Government has adopted a stiffer policy against Egypt.

Here it may be recalled that negotiations between Egypt and Britain were being carried on during the last five years for revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936. But the negotiations were bogged down a few weeks ago. Yet neither Britain nor Egypt wants to break off the talks while there is a ray of hope. Here what draws our attention is that

the Cairo Government is placed in an embarrassing position. Because while coming to power last year it promised that if Britain did not meet Egypt's demands for a revised Anglo-Egyptian agreement, Egypt would abrogate the Treaty of 1936 and request the British to leave the Suez Canal Zone.

It is admitted by Britain that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 is somewhat prejudicial to Egyptian Sovereignty. But she states clearly that this Treaty should be replaced by an agreement which would ensure British interests in the Middle East and would provide for the joint British—Egyptian defence of the Suez Canal. But the Cairo Government insists that Britain will have to evacuate her troops from the Egyptian territory before conclusion of any joint defence agreement between Britain and Egypt. Because the presence of British troops on the Suez Canal is contrary to Egypt's national Sovereign rights.



Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

LUNCH TIME MYSTERY

By MISS KOBITA SARKAR

—(o)—

FOR the first time in ten years, Tarachand surrendered himself to the somnolence of the sea, and to the leisurely dalliance of the passenger who is enjoying a voyage for his health. He closed his eyes and placed his feet gingerly on the second highest rail.

"Wish this woman would go somewhere else!" he thought, looking through the corner of his eye at the deck chair next to his which was occupied by a non-descript individual with very dirty nails who was knitting what appeared for all the world like a miniature fishing-net.

Tarachand thought of many things without any apparent concentration. He wondered what they would give him for lunch, if the Australian girl with the long hair and the green slacks was an artist, and if the top step of the middle staircase leading down to his cabin always creaked or if it was an indication of an increase in his weight.

He interrupted his chain of aimless reflection to look around him again, and saw that the lady whom he had wished off the face of the earth probably moved by some telepathic instinct was replaced by a nervous wisp of a creature who would pass for forty with great hesitation, and whose features seemed to be screwed into a perpetual grimace. She was obviously panic-stricken, and the reason was far from apparent. She opened her mouth slightly several times, twitched herself around and deliberately tried to fix her attention on the sea.

"Have you lost something, madame?" Tarachand was prompted to ask, more as a diversion, than because he was really interested.

"I no that is Yeh-ess. I have," She looked at him sharply.

"How did you know, monsieur?"

(Heavens! She's French and she's picked up her English in Australia, Tarachand thought, automatically taking stock.)

"Would you tell me what it is? Perhaps I could help," he said ignoring her question.

"It it is nothing," she replied and lapsed into an uneasy silence.

"The sea is very calm: quite unusual for this time of the year," he said to the man on the deck chair on the other side. He had so far ignored him.

"Yes," said the other and dropped into a pointed silence.

"Care for a smoke?"

"No, thank you,"

Tarachand made a final effort,

"My name's Tarachand. What's yours?"

"Smith," replied the man with a vicious sneer and walked away.

Tarachand sighed. Nobody seemed to be as restless as himself. They all seemed to be sedately occupied. He tried the nervous lady again.

"How far are you going, madame?"

"To Marseilles," she muttered a little above a whisper. He noticed her distress was giving way to a more confidential attitude.

"Won't you please tell me what you've lost? I might be able to help."

"My ring. A diamond one with little rubies all around." Her sudden rush of confidence was spent. She relaxed in her chair and looked at the horizon. . . . a black line against a faint blue, with a distant ship silhouetted against the sky.

"When did you lose it?"

"I je-est discovered it was lost. I had it yesterday."

"Have you told the Purser?"

She nodded. "He said it would take six months to search the ship."

"Was it very valuable?"

"Ye-ess," she said.

Tarachand leaned back and inhaled deeply. He exhaled with deliberation.

Smith's place was taken by a padre, Rome-bound, Tarachand imagined. He was deeply engrossed in a book of an clerical nature.

"Not a likely suspect," Tarachand thought, and then considered the possibility

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of investigating 797 other potential suspects. His work would be cut out.

He looked at the sea, at the two couples playing deck quoits in the distance, at faces bent casually over books, at expressions blankly looking into space, at the various hair styles, at boxes marked 'Cigarette Ends' that were hung from the rails, at a lifebelt with faded lettering and a brass number '23' which shone from assiduous polishing fixed to one of the ship's gadgets.

He wondered if they had finished serving the mid-morning ice-cream and looked at his watch. It had stopped.

The lady on his left had gone her way yielding her place to another, much younger and more fashionable, with the minimum of attire. He returned a rather boyish smile and was aware of an unfathomable charm. He settled himself more comfortably into his chair, and gave up his mind to the problem of the missing ring.

A short thick-set man with a pleasant profile and a mouth pursed up in a whistle was the next occupant of the chair.

"You going to Marseilles, too?" Tarachand asked, to satisfy some latent social instinct.

"Yes," replied the other and smiled.

"Business?"

"Sort of I am a pianist. Play in cabaret now." He had a strong continental accent rather difficult to localise.

"Smoke?" said Tarachand, proffering a half-filled tin of Gold Flakes.

"No thank you, I never smoke," said the artist. "Do you like music?" He seemed anxious that the conversation should not languish.

"What little I understand of it," Tarachand replied, and the conversation drifted to the finer points, till the pianist's wife interrupted them.

He had had a dreadful lunch and his afternoon siesta was interrupted by the persistent ramblings and unavoidable promiscuity that restricted space engenders. At times he felt like an interloper in an

alien city. He saw the padre engaged intermittently at his devotions and once Smith walked down the deck with his leisurely rolling stroll. The women seemed to be in the overwhelming majority.

"Nothing but women," Tarachand reflected bitterly, "It will be nice when this trip is over, and yet. . . ." The thought, like many vagrant ones was not fully formulated before being replaced by another. He saw the cabaret artist standing in front of a 'Cigarette Ends' box. He was extinguishing a newly lighted cigarette. Tarachand's movements were brisk and his purpose stern.

He walked over and clamped his hand over the other's errant one.

"No, my friend," he said evenly, "I wouldn't do that if I were you."

The pianist's profile turned harsh and his look was a compendium of the vocabulary of the underworld.

He walked away abruptly. Tarachand searched quickly in the loose sand. The ring winked at him.

"What better place than an ash tray that no one uses?" he thought.

The mousy little lady didn't come his way till evening. He met her admiring the moon's smoky reflection in the least frequented spot.

"Here is your ring, madame," he said undramatically, "Take good care of it".

He cut short her profuse thanks and offered her a cigarette which she accepted.

"Where did you find it?" Her accent seemed very pronounced.

"What business has a man with an ashtaay if he doesn't smoke?" he said cryptically.

• ANNOYING

The little daughter had been to Sunday School for the first time. On her return, the mother asked her what she had learned.

"Oh, mummy," she said, "they told us such a lovely story. It was all about a Mr. Adam and a Miss Eve. They were having a lovely time under the apple tree when the servant came and disturbed them."

JOURNALISTIC JARGON

BY SRI V. S. VENKATARAMAN,

Editor, 'Hitavada', Nagpur

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"Interview" "News-hound" "Splashed"
"Double-columned" and "Ex-clusive."

In the Journalist Jargon the words "rumoured", "reported", "understood", "reliably learnt" and "authoritatively informed" have gained wide currency. Their cousins are "probably" and "perhaps." It is not only the safety-first principle but also the desire not to disclose the sources of his information that induce a journalist to publish a rumour, report what he had heard, print what he had understood and explain what he had reliably learnt or had been authoritatively informed. Each of these words has a definite meaning for the journalist, but the readers of newspapers rarely understand their subtle distinction. In reporting social functions, a journalist invariably refers to the presence of a "large and distinguished gathering which included some ladies also." An obituary column generally begins with the words, "We regret to announce" and ends with "offering sincere condolences to the bereaved family of the deceased." The old type of journalist believed in reporting events in the order of their sequence. But the present-day reporter turns the sequence upside down and begins his report like a modern novel. Unless one goes through a substantial portion of the report, one will not know who spoke and where the speech was made and on what occasion. Public meetings are generally "largely attended" and tea-parties are always "delightful functions". A reporter, who was not invited to a dinner party, wanted to beat his professional rival and so he wrote: "The food served was very tasty." "Interviewed" is another word which has become very common. I have so far referred to some of the Jargons used by reporters of news-bounds. But now I proceed to the Jargons commonly used by Leader-writers and Paragraphists.

The Fowler's book on "The King's English" says that any one who wishes to become a good writer should endeavour

to be direct, simple, brief, vigorous and lucid. There are some eminent journalists who follow this method but a very large number of them still believe in the use of bombastic and flamboyant language. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has given the example of a man who reported his mother's death in the following words: "Regret to inform you, the hand that rocked the cradle has kicked the bucket." The old jargons of a leader-writer were, "We take leave to state," "We beg leave to point out" and "If we may be permitted to say so." These modes of expression are gradually disappearing and the journalists now simply state or point out without any apologetic preface. But words and phrases, such as "Regarding," "said," "State," "In view of" and "With a view to" often meet one's eye in the leading articles of newspapers. So far as I know, no one has published a hand-book of Jargons for the use of Journalists. But, in some mysterious way, these jargons are being used by journalists all the world over. From one paper to another, the contagion has spread and so long as newspaper readers understand the meaning of these words, Journalists feel no inclination to change them.

Some of the words which have gained currency after the second world war are! "Blitzed," "Torpedoed," "Quisling," "Fascist" and "Fifth Column." These are new but expressive words and cannot yet be called jargons. The use of Jargon is not confined only to journalism as those who had preceded me in this series of talks had shown. Newspaper readers have become accustomed to understand the proper meanings of journalistic jargons and if these are substituted by new words, they would find some difficulty in understanding them. It is easy to make fun of journalists but, if you were a journalist working under the pressure of time, you would appreciate the value of this jargon. It promotes kinship among Journalists all the world over.—A.I.R. Nagpur.

JOURNALISM, like several other 'isms', has gradually but unconsciously developed a jargon of its own. A jargon is a debased language consisting of words and phrases which have lost their freshness on account of their being bandied about too frequently. Some literary high-brows refer to them as "Journalese." While many journalists have become great literary men, like Rudyard Kipling. Journalism does not pretend to be literature. The late H. G. Wells entered into a contract with a London paper for contributing a series of 52 weekly articles. In his 52nd article, he narrated the difficulties he had to encounter in preparing one article every week. As an author, he could take his own time for writing a book. He could devote several hours or even days for thinking out a polished phrase or an arresting sentence. He could even re-write some chapters. But he could not go on in a leisurely way when preparing articles for a newspaper. The articles had got to be ready at a particular time on a particular day in the week. Wells said, he found it hard to keep to the time-table and expressed admiration for the journalists who wrote on the hour of the moment. While thinking of journalistic Jargon, one must bear in mind that a journalist has to write fast, write within a stipulated time and write almost daily. A journalist who suffers from literary constipation would soon be out of his job. If a journalist spent his time over literary nuances by looking at the ceiling for hours for inspiration for choicest words, his paper would not come out. There are, no doubt, great journalists who can write quickly and with grace and charm. But if many are unable to do so, let it be thought in their favour that the quantitative out-put expected of them gives them no time to pay attention to quality. Forgive the hard-working journalist, if you notice sloppiness or looseness in his writings, for, the poor fellow has no time in the hurly-burly of a daily newspaper office to pay attention to style. A journalist collects items of news of public

interest and interprets them as best as he can. In doing so, he uses words and phrases which have become hackneyed and which are, therefore, called jargon.

A famous British writer* has stated that Jargon walks circumspectly around its target, it habitually chooses vague woolly abstract noun and is safer. The safety-first principle and a certain kind of intellectual sluggishness are largely responsible for the frequent appearance of jargons in the Press. A reporter hears an interesting story and he gets no time to verify it. He, therefore, feels it safer to make a liberal use of the word "alleged". An over-cautious reporter once astonished his editor by sending a report, thus: "It is alleged that an alleged man committed an alleged murder of an alleged woman." That was pushing the safety-first principle too far! But "alleged" is a favourite word with every reporter and there is no newspaper in the world which does not use it frequently. It is supposed to be a safeguard against the law of libel. "Scoop" and "Story" have become very common in journalistic usage, especially in the United States. A New York newspaper sent one of its news-hounds to secure an exclusive interview with a distinguished foreign visitor to the United States. When the news-hound went to see him, the visitor merely growled and refused to say anything. The news-hound went back to his office and prepared a story of how the visitor looked, in what manner he was dressed and how he growled and refused to talk. The paper splashed the story on its front-page and double-columned it under the head-line: "Foreign Visitor Keeps Mum". That became a "Scoop" for that paper. A story may be common, though different newspapers describe it differently, but a "Scoop" is something exclusive. Several words which have become part of the journalistic jargon are "Scoop", "Story",

* Sir Arthur Quiller Couch in *The Art of Writing*.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Nehru and the Congress

THE Prime Minister's "shock tactics" has at the moment succeeded. Sri Tandon resigned and the mantle has fallen on the shoulders of Jawaharlal. This was not unexpected. By stepping back and allowing Mr. Nehru to occupy the chair Sri Tandon acted nobly. Not to be outdone the new President offered the first seat in the Working Committee to Sri Tandon, and the ex-President's acceptance of the offer has raised him in the estimation of Congressmen. It was a graceful act and Sri Tandon has set an example of service and magnanimity, which it would be well for other Congressmen to follow. Sri Tandon would harbour no resentment and would fully co-operate with the new President in the great task ahead of the country. If this spirit should permeate the ranks of Congressmen no one need despair of the future.

If the Nehru-Tandon crisis is thus ended it is also the beginning of Nehru's headache, as "Insaf" says in his Political Diary. Everyone who has viewed matters objectively has said: 'Well Tandonji has come out better so far as the controversy goes, but it's good that Mr. Nehru has got what he wanted. Let us see what Nehru does now that he is the Congress.'

Mr. Nehru's task is by no means easy. He faces an awkward dilemma. If he undertakes to purge the Congress of undesirable elements, says *Thought*, he exposes himself to the charge of being a dictator. "If he allows sleeping dogs to lie, he consorts with what he himself regards as unmixed evil. Probably there are no short cuts in politics, and all attempts to find short cuts are self-defeating."

It will be recalled that only the other day all India shrugged its shoulders and smiled at Liaquat Ali's assumption of League Presidentship. This is perhaps the one instance in which India, instead of leading, has followed Pakistan. Our Prime Minister has enough sense of humour to realise that what is bad in our neighbour cannot be good for us.

Swami Sitaram and the Andhra issue

Swami Sitaram's fast had been a matter of painful concern to all and it was no small relief and satisfaction that he had been persuaded to end it. Of the ethics or propriety of the fast there will always be difference of opinion. Fast as a method of solving political or social disputes is patently improper. If two sets of people begin to fast, one for and the other against, a particular policy, what is to happen? Pressure tactics of this kind, even by men of such outstanding character and purity as the Swamiji, are out of place and improper. In the particular issue before the country there was hardly any need to resort to fasts. The three-man Committee of acknowledged talent and standing in the country has, after elaborate investigation, furnished a report which all reasonable people would accept as at once unbiased and authoritative.

The J.V.P. Report made it clear that the people forming a new linguistic Province will have to proceed on the basis of accepting only such areas as are clearly in favour of accepting that linguistic Province The new Province must have well-defined areas based on mutual agreement and not involving any conflict or serious dislocation *vis a vis* another Province or State.

The Report has been accepted by Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and the Government of Madras. It could have been implemented long ago if only the Andhra leaders themselves were not subsequently divided on the issue of the Madras City. What should be done is merely to persuade the Andhra leaders to make it possible for the Government to act upon the findings without further delay.

In regard to Madras the Report very clearly stated that the protagonists of the Andhra Province would have "to abandon their claims to the City of Madras." And the Government of India, in making the emergence of a separate Andhra Province solely dependent on agreement among the parties concerned, "were neither making a new condition nor asking for the impossible."

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The Debate on the Press Bill

So the Press Bill has been referred to the Select Committee. It is now idle to continue the controversy in which a very large section of the House could not see eye to eye with the Home Member. They made no secret of their aversion to this unwelcome reminder of the bad old regime. Not one of the members who spoke on the Bill had a good word to say of it. The thought is irresistible, that if Rajaji himself were not the Home Member he would have taken his stand with the opposition and spoken with convincing eloquence against any fettering of the Press. But Rajaji is nothing if not thorough, and as Home Member, considerations other than those directly bearing on the freedom of expression seem to have weighed with him rather too oppressively. He spoke as if the argument of India's illiteracy were something new and the enfranchisement of its adult population, in his opinion, would be unsafe without a double dose of don'ts for the press with penalties for disobedience. It all smacks of the old regime which is the one thing that Republican India is anxious to forget. Where has it gone—that generous faith in the inherent sense of discipline and non-violence of the Indian people which filled the hearts of the leaders of resurgent India?

An astute lawyer and skilful debater Rajaji, deaf to all arguments of the other side, urged his own case with evident conviction and has had his way. What now remains therefore is to see that the Select Committee make the best of the situation by judicious use of the material at its disposal.

Such material is abundant. For the opposition speeches were crammed full of points that cannot be missed by the Committee. If the Bill cannot be dropped ways and means of modifying it in the light of reasoned criticism, and making it acceptable to the press and the public are advanced with admirable cogency and moderation in the Memorandum submitted by the Southern India Journalists' Federation. Will the Committee give heed to the suggestions of the working journalists embodied in this timely document?

Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, speaking in Parliament, exposed at great length Government's indecent hurry to enact the Bill which instead of repealing some of the obnoxious features of previous acts added more fetters to the press. He recalled that the Home Minister had asserted that the present Bill would entirely replace the Emergency Powers Act of 1931. A close comparison of the Bill with that Act, however, showed that out of 34 clauses, as many as 16 had been bodily lifted from the 1931 Act.

Clause 3 of the Bill, describing "objectionable matter" was not only the most important but also the most objectionable part of the Bill, said Mr. Gupta. Practically nothing had been left out which was contained in the repressive laws enforced by the British in India.

Some of the sub-clauses were amply covered by the existing provisions of the Indian Penal Code. The scope of others had been made much wider than in the existing law. Under these wide provisions, said Mr. Gupta, even agitation for discontinuance of controls or any press propaganda suggesting that controls breed corruption, or any systematic exposure of official misconduct could be punished.

Under Clause 10, power was given to a law officer of the State to forfeit a particular issue of a newspaper or a book or any other publication containing "objectionable matters," a provision, said Mr. Gupta, which even the British Indian Government did not consider necessary.

The Home Member admitted and the Prime Minister had earlier assured that the Act would remain a dead letter and would be used only on an emergency. Where is the emergency now? Apart from this, Journalists claim no special privileges and are quite liable to the penalties of infringement of laws like other citizens. Why then this discrimination?

Now that attention has been drawn to all the objectionable features of the Bill one can only hope that the Select Committee, in full possession of facts, will not hesitate to evolve a legislation more in harmony with the sentiment of the House.

--27th Sept.

Japanese Peace Treaty

Six years ago statesmen from all the world over met at San Francisco to witness the birth of the United Nations. And now on September 8, a treaty of peace ending the state of war between Japan and 48 Allied nations was signed at an impressive ceremony in the same setting which saw the birth of the U.N.

Shortly before the final climatic Session of the 52 nation Conference began, the Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko announced that Russia would boycott the signing. He repeated his charges that the Treaty would never provide "peace and security" in the Far East.

Russia, Czechoslovakia and Poland refused even to witness the signing rites.

INDIA AND THE TREATY

India, for various reasons set forth in her note to U.S.A., was not represented at the Conference. She held, among other things, that a Conference designed to ensure peace in the East would not be realistic without the participation of such a big factor in Asia as China. Though the actual terms of the treaty were just and generous in a measure it did not carry the whole-hearted enthusiasm of Japan as she is deprived of certain islands which legitimately belonged to her but were snatched away from her after the war.

Though India was absent from the Conference there was nothing in common between the attitude of Russia and India in the matter of the Jap treaty. For India, though critical of some of the provisions of the Japanese Peace Treaty, has not put up any obstruction to the signing of the Treaty by the U.S.A. and other nations. Of particular significance is the difference of approach revealed between India and the Soviet bloc. While Russia and other nations of the Communist bloc will continue to be in a state of war with Japan, India has announced her decision to restore normal relations and conclude a bilateral treaty with Japan as soon as practicable. The Japanese Government have welcomed it thus removing all possible sources of misunderstanding between the two Asian nations.

SECURITY OF JAPAN

Japan also signed a Security Treaty with the United States giving America the right to maintain "land, air and sea forces in and about Japan" after the Allied occupation is ended by the Peace Treaty.

The Treaty provided that during the time American forces were stationed in Japan that nation would not grant "without the prior consent" of the United States any bases or any rights to any third power for military purposes.

The key articles of the brief pact stated:

Japan grants and the United States of America accepts the right upon coming into force of the treaty of peace and of this treaty to maintain United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan.

Such forces may be utilised to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan caused through instigation or intervention by the outside power or powers.

British General Elections

Prime Minister Attlee, in his special broadcast to the nation on Sept 19, announced that the General Elections in Britain will be held on Oct. 25. For 18 months the Government has carried on the affairs of the country with a very small majority in the House of Commons. The time has now come, he said, to ask the electors for a renewal of confidence in the Government and to give it adequate parliamentary support in order to deal with the important issues with which the country is faced at home and abroad.

The next few weeks before the Election will witness a hectic campaign in which there will be a bitter struggle for supremacy between the two parties—Labour and Conservative.

Parliament will be dissolved on Oct. 5, a joint session of the two Houses being held on Oct. 4. H.M. the King will formally inaugurate the new Parliament on Nov. 6.

The present Parliament was elected on Feb. 23-1950. It was the closest result for 100 years giving Labour an overall majority of only 7. The present Party position is:

Labour	..	313
Conservatives and their allies	..	296
Liberals	..	9
Independent	..	1
Irish Nationalists	..	2
Vacant	..	3

The Speaker is non-Party.

The final state of the Parties immediately after the 1950 election was

Labour	..	315
Conservatives and allies	..	298
Liberals	..	9
Irish Nationalists	..	2

There have been 16 by-elections since then. None has shown any decisive change.

The policy on which the Labour Party is likely to fight the election is:

1. An appeal for a working majority in Parliament;
2. Full support for the £1,700,000,000 3-year arms programme as the way to world peace.
3. A world plan for mutual aid for under-developed countries;
4. Break-up of monopolies.
5. Price and profit controls to keep prices down; and
6. State control of fruit, vegetable, and fish distribution.

The Conservatives will stress the need for higher production, with priority given to rearmament. They will claim that inflation and high living costs can only be checked by freeing industry from some of the present Government restrictions.

They are pledged to abolish the nationalisation of the iron and steel industry, which was transferred to public ownership last year.

They might also modify the present State control of road transport. But they are unlikely to repeal the nationalisation of the Bank of England, the coal mines, gas and electricity services, civil airways, railways or wireless and telegraph communications.

As it is, judging from recent trends the parties seem almost equally divided in strength, and prophesying would be perilous. Labour has achieved much; but the rift in its ranks caused by the Bevanites might prove handy for the Opposition. Yet Mr. Attlee's team has a record of achievement in home as in foreign affairs, which would entitle it any day for high praise and continued support.

"Chikka"

One of the oldest and most valued of our contributors was Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar whose death last month has removed a teacher and historian of unsullied reputation. In another page will be found a record of his life and career packed with details of his scholarly work and activities. Readers will recollect how only the other day a commemoration volume of Essays and Studies was presented to him on the occasion of his *Sashtiabda-poorthy* as a fitting tribute to his own scholarship. He was a true successor of such well-known South Indian historians as Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar whose work he continued with a zeal and devotion worthy of the cause.

The *Indian Review* and the house of Natesans have in particular lost a valued friend and well-wisher in the death of dear old "Chikka." His amazing industry and erudition coupled with a modesty of demeanour and cheerful disposition won for him many friends and admirers. He was one of those rare men of whom it may be said he had no enemies.

Chikka was a biblio-maniac. Anything in the shape of a book was good enough for him. Gentle "Elia" made a distinction between books and things in that shape or "books that are no books"; and in the latter category he reckoned "Court Calendars, Directories, Pocket books, Draught Books, bound and lettered in the back, Scientific treatises, Almanacs, Statutes at Large," and, he went on to add whimsically enough, "the works of Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Beattie, Soame Jenyns, and generally all these volumes which no gentleman's library should be without." Chikka had no such repugnances. Indeed he read all and his memory was amazing.

Pak Allegations Refuted

The Government of India have, in a note handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi, repudiated Pakistan's allegation that minorities in India were living under conditions of insecurity. The note pointed out that Pakistan's ceaseless threat of *jehad* against India was in a large measure responsible for the movement of Muslims to West Pakistan.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE. By Fred Hoyle. Basil Blackwell. Oxford 5s. net.

Into this slim, well-produced little book have been gathered the brilliant broadcast talks Mr. Fred Hoyle gave at the invitation of the B.B.C. London on the New Cosmology. As Mr. Hoyle recognizes the tremendous popularity of the well-known books of Eddington and Jeans—books like *The Nature of the Physical World*, *The Universe Around us*, *The Mysterious universe* etc., was an unmistakable sign of reawakening interest in the relation of man to the universe as a whole. Mr. Hoyle's own talks were brilliant in manner and original and striking in the handling of the remarkable new facts which modern astronomy has unearthed and which give a picture of a universe far surpassing in its fantastic and stimulating quality anything fiction has even contrived. Mr. Hoyle seeks to answer the usual questions about the origin of the universe and its evolution, the fate of the ludicrous little planet we humans inhabit and the presence or possibility of life on other planets. With a scientist's natural caution, he deals tentatively with what may be regarded as the philosophical implications of the new cosmology. The last chapter which deals with this aspect is tantalizingly brief when we compare it with the similar discussion of Sir James Jeans, entitled "Into Deep Waters", in Jeans' *The Mysterious universe*.

The story that Mr. Hoyle tells is truly fascinating and his suggestion that the universe is likely to be for some more millions of years much as it is, in spite of the impression it gives of running down rapidly much as a clock does, fills us with some hope. And while there is hope, there is life for a life without hope is worse than death. Matter, says Mr. Hoyle, is continually coming into existence at the rate of a hundred million million, million million million tons per second for the universe as a whole. Let it come into existence as long as it likes, say we. And

as for one hundred million island universes, each with a million planetary systems, which our biggest telescopes discover to us. Mr. Hoyle thinks that they are at least a hundred million million possible abodes of life. Plants of *labensraum*, isn't it? Mr. Hoyle objects to the crass complacency of the materialist who takes the universe for granted as well as to the false security achieved by the act of religious acceptance of the story afforded by the so-called revealed religions. And he thinks eternal life will be eternal frustration which provokes further thought.

SWAMI NAICK AND HIS FAMILY: By "Historicus." The Caxton Press, Madras.

We in India are yet to develop that kind of literature which in England and other countries, is associated with the family history of the illustrious men of the past. In a sense probably the records of such families should give us a truer picture of the age than formal history. Swamy Naick was a well known figure in the history of South India in the 18th century, who by dint of hard and faithful service to the Company rose to a position of some importance in the local history of Madras. "Historicus" has done well to give a connected story of the life and fortunes of this man and his family which has kept up a wholesome tradition of character and ability through successive generations. The family residence in Komaleswarapet has acquired some importance in local history and Mr. Justice W. S. Krishnaswami Naidu, the scion of this illustrious family has every reason to be proud of a heritage which makes him the successor of a long line of celebrities. It is very fitting too that Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, the grand old man of the city, should have added a foreword to the book, giving first hand impressions of the character and reputation of the forbears of Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Naidu, the present survivor of that grand old stock.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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CAME THE DAWN: By Cecil M. Hepworth. Phoenix House, London. Pp. 207. Price 16.

This autobiography of a film pioneer is interesting in more ways than one. Mr. Hepworth was able to build up a great Film producing Company which employed some of the great stars of an earlier day like Alma Taylor, Chrissie White, Gerald Ames and others, and produced a number of films which were greatly successful. And then his business failed, and he had to face a terrible situation. But whether in his earlier hard days, or in his days of prosperity, or after the crash he was never without courage and hope, and hence his life story, as a story, is of absorbing and profitable interest. Not only that, the book traces the development of the film industry through the author's own experiences and through the circumstances of the time. In the beginning various kinds of crude contrivances were made use of to project some pictures, and then developed the story groups of films supplemented with music and the running commentary of the exhibitor. The various stages in the history are described with much skill.

RAMAKRISHNA; HIS LIFE AND SAYINGS: By Prof. F. Max Muller: Advaita Ashram, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta.

Max Muller came to know of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa from his many Indian friends. He was attracted by accounts of the Paramahansa's way of life and teachings by devotees and disciples who had first-hand knowledge of the Saint of Dhakshineswar. For he had read glowing accounts of Paramahansa's simple life and sublime talks from records and correspondence with eloquent Brahmo leaders like Keshab Chander Sen and Pratapchandra Mazumdar. What was most astonishing was the respect, nay veneration, that these learned men had for the wisdom and personality of a simple unlettered temple poojari. Attracted by the life and teachings of the Saint, Max Muller gathered materials for a short life and published it with a collection of his sayings. It was the first attempt of a reputed European scholar to bring the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna to the notice of the West. The attempt

was quite successful, as coming from the pen of so illustrious a savant, it had a profound influence on the intellectuals of Europe and America. It will be recalled that Swami Vivekananda himself was profoundly moved by the Professor's great love of India and his profound knowledge of Eastern thought and religion. The Ramakrishna Math deserves our gratitude for this Indian Edition of the Professor's fine study of Ramakrishna and the first collection of his sayings which, for all their simplicity, have the authentic note of the wisdom of the Upanishads.

LONGMANS' HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA: By S. R. Sharma. Orient Longmans, Madras.

The two volumes together give a fairly complete and connected history of the country: the first which is a revised and enlarged third Edition of a book specially designed for the use of intermediate students covering the period from the Vedic age to 1526 A.D.; and the second bringing the story from 1526 down to the present day. The tangled tale of ancient history recounts the invasions of the Greeks, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Scythians; it describes the salient features of the Vedic, the Epic, the Buddhistic and on Gupta periods and unravels the mass of confusing details in which the period of 5 centuries following the death of Harsha abounds. But the volume is much more than a record of battles and political happenings. It is a connected and concise outline of a nation's history presenting a clear picture of the past.

The second volume deals with the four vitally formative periods of modern India—the Mughal, British, Maratha and National Supremacy. Dealing with a period of tremendous significance in modern times the author has a difficult task in presenting a connected picture out of a mass of complex and conflicting materials. He has to be more selective and interpretative than merely descriptive in his account. By judicious selection of material and lucid presentation of facts he has achieved a success for which students of present day history of India must be deeply grateful. For the story of India is brought up to the transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Aug. 28. President gives assent to H. R. E. Bill.
- Aug. 29. Bilateral treaties with Japan must conform to Anglo-U. S. draft, says Acheson.
- Aug. 30. Minister for Information Mr. R. R. Diwakar announces, that parties will not have facilities for Election broadcasts.
- Aug. 31. Home Member C. R. introduces Press Laws Bill in Parliament.
- Sept. 1. U. N. Council asks Egypt to lift ban on Suez shipping.
- Sept. 2. Three power pact between America, Australia and New Zealand signed at San Francisco.
- Sept. 3. Muslim Convention in Madras pledges support to Nehru.
- Sept. 4. President Truman opens Jap Peace Conference at Frisco.
- Sept. 5. Persian Senate approves Premier's plan to give British Government a 15 day ultimatum to resume oil negotiation.
- Sept. 6. Britain breaks off oil talks.
- Sept. 7. Dr. Frank Graham, U. N. representative leaves India.
- Sept. 8. A. I. C. C. meets at Delhi: Nehru chosen Congress President.
- 48 Nations sign Jap Peace pact at Frisco.
- Sept. 9. U. S.-Japan pact gives America right to station land, air and sea forces in and around Japan.
- Sept. 10. Press Law Bill attacked in Parliament.
- Sept. 11. Chester Bowles, nominated U. S. Ambassador to India.
- Sept. 12. Mr. George Marshall, U. S. Secretary for Defence, resigns.
- Sept. 13. Foreign Ministers of Britain, U. S. and France confer at Washington.
- Sept. 14. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Madras Health Minister, resigns.
- Sept. 15. Nehru announces new Congress Executive.
- Press Bill referred to select Committee.
- Sept. 16. J. P. in Madras explains Socialist alliance with K. M. P. in Elections.
- Sept. 17. Parliament resumes Hindu Code debate.
- Harriman refuses to transmit Iranian ultimatum to United Kingdom.
- Sept. 18. Madras Governor declares open the Kodai observatory's Jubilee.
- Sept. 19. Prime Minister assures early action on Andhra State.
- Sept. 20. Swami Sitaram ends fast on Vinoba Bhave's appeal.
- Sept. 21. Mr. Kala Venkata Rao invited to join Madras Cabinet.
- Sept. 22. Persia proposes resumption of talks; U.K. rejects offer.
- Sept. 23. King George VI undergoes lung operation.
- Sept. 24. Madras High Court orders release of two M.L.A's and a communist leader from continued detention.
- Sept. 25. Parliament resolves that Mr. Mudgal deserved expulsion.
- Sept. 26. Further consideration of Hindu Code Bill adjourned.
- Mr. Kala Venkata Rao sworn in as Madras Health Minister.
- Sept. 27. Council of State takes over King George's duties.
- Dr. Ambedkar submits resignation.
- Parliament passes Aligarh Muslim and Benares Hindu Universities Bills.



DR. AMBEDKAR



READERS' DIGEST



THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

Few people in Britain understood the principle that is most at stake in the Kashmir dispute, says *New Statesman and Nation*. India is to-day a secular State moving towards a democracy in which minorities may live at peace.

If once Pakistan's motion of dividing up the sub-continent on religious lines were accepted, the very basis of the Indian Dominion would be destroyed and lawlessness and massacre would break out all over the sub-continent on a scale unequalled even in modern history.

It is no wonder that some of the most fervent supporters of Pandit Nehru are Muslims. If the religious enthusiasts of Pakistan had their way what could prevent the victory in India of that Hindu nationalism which is as fanatical as its counterpart in Pakistan and which is now kept in check by Nehru and his political friends.

The *New Statesman* continues:

If it were better understood in this country that Nehru cannot and ought not to yield to the argument that Kashmir should belong to Pakistan just because it has a large majority of Muslims there, then perhaps the Press in the West would strive more zealously than it now does to ease the tension between the two Dominions.

There appears to be some vague notion abroad that Pakistan is an ally of the West and India is perhaps on the wrong side in the cold war. This is a delusion. The new nationalism of the Moslem world is no more certain than India to support the West. Indeed if war should come between India and Pakistan it would be an immeasurable disaster for the West, the only Power certain to reap advantage would be the Soviet Union.

The journal goes on to add

It is admitted that the first blow, in a war will not come from India, if only because India has nothing to gain and everything to lose by being the aggressor. The chance of war starting through a genuine frontier incident is now reduced to a minimum by the withdrawal of India's troops well beyond the cease-fire line.

The *New Statesman* adds all friends of Pakistan should use their influence to urge on Karachi the path of moderation, and to warn the extremists

that aggression could not be justified, that the war which they now talk of so freely could only mean the destruction of their country and a tragic communal struggle throughout India in which Muslims must be the worst sufferers.

SUEZ

A hundred interests meet and now threaten to clash in the Suez Zone. The demand for the British evacuation of the Suez Canal zone climaxes a prolonged agitation for the revocation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty which the people of the Nile feel limits their Sovereignty. The canal problem is one more slow-burning fuse leading to Middle-East powder keg, writes Taya Zinkin in the *Indian Social Reformer* which is now appearing in a new and attractive format.

Ever since its opening 70 years ago, the Suez Canal has been one of the world's great strategic prizes. It saves several thousands of miles on the journey from Western Europe and the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, India and South-East Asia. In peace, therefore, it is one of the world's great arteries, carrying over 50 million tons of traffic a year. In war, to be able to use it means a saving of hundreds of thousands of tons of that scarcest of wartime commodities: shipping."

Its primary strategic role, therefore, is as a line of communication. But it also performs a secondary function.

Any great power with a base in the Canal Zone, controls a considerable section of the Middle East, for none of its neighbours, including Egypt itself, have either the size or the armed forces to be able to put up, unsupported, any very lengthy resistance to a great power.

It is, nevertheless, necessary to distinguish carefully between these two roles.

As a means of communication Suez is irreplaceable; there is no other canal. But as a base, there are many alternatives, Haifa or Alexandria, for example, would both be better. The importance of Suez is simply that there is in existence an agreement which gives a great power rights in the Canal Zone, while not only is there no such agreement for any of the alternatives, but it is not likely that any agreement could be obtained in the near future. Great Britain has to cling to its rights in Suez, not because it is the best place, but because it is at present the only possible place.

U. S. POLICY IN ASIA

Mr. William O Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, charges in an article in *Look Magazine* that the American people have become victims of a military philosophy which dragged them to the brink of disaster in Asia. He criticises both General MacArthur and the Truman Administration's policy toward Asia which he calls "bankrupt."

In Asia in the villages and on the peasant level, the people do not feel that General MacArthur either knows or understands their problems. Nor should they expect him to. It is the role of a General to implement political decisions, not to formulate them.

Because of their training, military men had no ear for political trends, no skill in evaluating social or economic conditions and they are not reliable political reporters or advisers.

Justice Douglas says three main revolutionary factors are at work in Asia: "An intensive nationalism born of a deep revolt against foreign domination, a passionate resolve to be rid of landlordism," and "a burning concept of equality for the coloured races".

"The Communists," he says "win over the masses by preaching programmes of reform that have their historical origins in the United States."

So strong is the anti-American sentiment in Asia, says Justice Douglas, that it now could easily develop into a crusade against America.

One of our most serious errors, he asserts,

was the crossing of the 38th Parallel in Korea. While the decision to cross it and pursue the enemy was a military one, political considerations demanded the other course. It was perfectly plain that China would enter the war if we pressed our claims above the 38th Parallel. That was the time to call a halt, save the lives of our men, and reach for a political settlement of Korea's problems.

He says America placed its military power and influence behind "some of the most vicious elements in Asia". When the U. S. announced its support of the French in Indo-China "a shudder passed through South East Asia". While there was no doubt the rebels in Indo-China were Communist-led, he says:

It is also true that the French imposed on that area one of the most vicious colonial systems in all history."

Justice Douglas says the key to Asia is now India.

If India goes Communist, then all of Asia is lost. The smaller nations would not have the capacity to survive. Our task is to work with the democratic forces in India and help them with their reform programmes. We can underwrite the democratic leaders politically if we will supply the food that will avert famines. India must be saved for the democratic front. Heroic measures are needed. We must go warmly to India. We must show sympathy and understanding of her problems. Our own survival is at stake.

If India is swept into the Soviet orbit, the Soviets will have won the political contest. They would then have the bulk of the people of the world and most of its riches on their side. America would then stand alone without Allies. It might then be even too late to win even a war.

A NEW IDEA IN STATEHOOD

Puerto Rico is associated with the United States in a bold, new manner. "We Puerto Ricans are in the process of creating a new type of statehood, a statehood which is related by citizenship and law to the U.S. federal government itself, rather than to the other States of the Union. Our privileges as an autonomous entity within the Union are many and varied, as are our responsibilities," writes Mr. Luis Munoz Marin, Governor of Puerto Rico, who, in the course of an article in the *United Nations World* tells us how his homeland, enjoying the privileges of a commonwealth, may choose to become an independent republic or a full-fledged State of the United States at any time.

Like the other 48 States and like independent nations, too, Puerto Rico has the right to proclaim its own constitution as well as to alter it. We elect our own government: municipal councils, mayors, representatives, senators, and our chief executive, the Governor. With the consent of the Puerto Rican Senate, the Governor appoints his Ministers, the Chief of Police, and the Commander of the National Guard, as well as the judges of the various tribunals. The Puerto Rican Constitution specifically indicates procedure for the appointment of justices to our Supreme Court.

These officials are in no way responsible to any authority of the United States, but they are all answerable either to the Puerto Rican voters or, in the case of appointive positions, to the Governor. Our autonomy is further vividly demonstrated by the fact that no official of the United States—not even the President—has any authority over the Governor. Authority is vested solely in the people of Puerto Rico who can replace the Governor at the end of his four-year term, and in the Legislature, which can impeach him.

This new type of State, similar in structure to a dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is now in full development within the framework of the United States.

Since we are associated with the United States, our merchandise enters U.S. ports duty-free, but because we are not a State of the Union, Puerto Rico pays no taxes to the U.S. Treasury. All revenue is diverted into channels specified by the Puerto Rican Legislative Assembly, elected by universal suffrage.

Puerto Rico is represented in Washington, D. C., by a delegate in the U.S. Congress. His status is different from representatives of other States of the Union in that he is recognized by the Executive Branch of the U.S. Government, and different too, from that of envoys from other countries in that he has a seat in the Congress.

The United States has granted large-scale economic aid to Puerto Rico in the difficult task of raising the standard of living of the steadily growing population. Federal allocations have been made for road-building, schools, public health, technical education, agricultural development, and social security. Puerto Rico's imports exceed exports by a substantial margin. Without aid from the United States Puerto Rico would suffer a disastrous imbalance.

And so our island of 3,435 square miles, with a population of some 2,250,000, appears today as a Latin American country made up of good U.S. citizens. It is united to the North by warm political ties, to the South by close racial and historical bonds—and to both by the twin cultures that live on in its midst.

Puerto Rico is fortunate indeed to have the privilege of expressing its desire to become an independent republic or a State of the Union at any time its people think such a move desirable.

The Puerto Rican people have the assurance of President Harry S. Truman that they need only ask for full independence to receive it. We are free to choose our own form of freedom, our own political formula, adapted by our own free spirit to our particular way of life. This, indeed, is a privilege of which we are proud, and a responsibility to ourselves of which we are fully conscious.

This political creation is indeed a dynamic indication of the vigor of the United States in developing new political ideas, and of the real possibility of good neighbourliness and mutual trust of the peoples of the Americas.

IRANIAN OIL DISPUTE

The return of Stokes and Harriman to their respective headquarters leaves the Iranian Oil dispute just where it was. The tension, if anything, must get worse. It was painfully clear to Britons that no acceptable bargain was likely to be struck with Mossadegh's government—or any other Iranian regime at present. For the time being, says a cable from *Newsweek's* London bureau, the British would keep Stokes' final offer on the plate, but it seemed almost futile to talk of reopening negotiations with the Iranians in their present mood. The Iranian Prime Minister and the woolly headed Cabinet were undoubtedly far more frightened of assassins' knives than of economic ruin.

"Now, the Labour government appeared to be wavering between using force or quitting Iran altogether and leaving the Iranians to stew in their own oil, although Prime Minister Clement Attlee had stated emphatically that the Britons would not desert Abadan.

As for using force, the Foreign Office clearly affirmed that if the Iranians attempted either to seize the refinery with the object of using it themselves, or molested the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. staff, British military forces would move in. The British then might begin work in Abadan with crude oil brought from other sources, but labour problems and the probability that Iran would object to the United Nations would likely rule out this plan. But complete abandonment by the British of the Abadan refinery would have disastrous effects on British prestige in the Moslem world and there would be an early threat to the British strategic defensive in the Middle East.

It was hard to lay the blame for the Iranian situation on anyone in Britain; but undoubtedly the vacillation and timidity of the British Government in the beginning contributed toward it." The *London Daily Telegraph* accused Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison (at the time of the breakdown on a holiday) of inertia and "mental incoherence." And at best, British policy remained "wait and see."

THE IDEAL OF LIBERTY

Prabuddha Bharata has a thoughtful discourse on the ideal of liberty. No State, where individual liberty is respected and the right of the individual to live the life of his choice is granted can ignore the fundamental law of equality that men, though born with unequal temperaments and aptitudes, are all equal before God and the laws of the State and society. We read in the American Declaration of Independence:

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

This spirit of equality, freedom, and justice, together with a spontaneous spiritual regard for the human individual, says the writer, is more than evident in the Constitution of India which ensures to all citizens 'Justice—social, economic, and political; Liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; Equality—of status and of opportunity' and which seeks to promote among them all 'Fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.' True to her great ideals and lofty aspirations, India has ever stood as the unique symbol of such freedom—not only social, political, economic, and religious freedom but also cultural and spiritual freedom,—for every single human being throughout the world. It is to this ideal of liberty, of full freedom of the human spirit,—upheld and carried on by India in a more or less continuous manner through these vast ages,—that Romain Rolland gives expression when he says, 'In a world crisis it is in India I repose my absolute faith for the emancipation of the human race.'

Liberty, as it is widely understood, conveys a meaning equivalent to self-government or political independence as applied to a national State; "for the individual it means complete freedom of thought, action, and expression within the bounds of law. Nowhere has it ever meant or could ever mean unlicensed and unrestrained self-indulgence of the individual or exercise of authority by the State. Civilized and orderly life is impossible without restraint, discipline, and

law, for life is not at the mercy of blind chance or capricious fate. Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself. Hence is it said that the government is the best which governs the least." Writes Thomas Paine, one of the high priests of the great American revolution, 'The more perfect civilization is the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs and govern itself.' Mahatma Gandhi said that Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the Swaraj (selfrule) of individuals. He always held that the liberty of the individual, the only natural sanction for authority, should be the main concern of every government which has the welfare of the people at heart. In his life he endeavoured to show that political self-government—which men and women of the modern age set great store by—is no better than individual self-government and, therefore, it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required for gaining individual self-government or self-rule.

TRIBUTE TO INDIAN AIR FORCE

The present and future of the I. A. F. is X-rayed by Air Marshal Sir Ronald Ivelaw-Chapman, India's Air Commander-in-Chief, in an article published in the third issue of the *I. A. F. Quarterly*. Sir Ronald pays a high tribute to the Indian Air Force. He says: "I think we can claim that the prowess of our pilots compares favourably with that of other air forces in the world. I am confident that the rate of flying accidents directly attributable to errors by pilots or aircrew is showing a slow but marked downward trend. Provided, therefore, that those who are showing today their prowess in the air as pilots and other aircrew maintain the standard of efficiency in the future years, then I feel that 'skill of the hand' will never be a breaking factor on any future expansion." Sir Ronald, however, feels that the wastage or 'suspension rate' is too high in India and will continue to remain so for several years to come and "consequently, shortage of satisfactory aircrew may have some considerable influence on the rate and nature of any expansion of the Indian Air Force."

ASIA'S ECONOMIC POSITION

The overall economic position of Asia and the Far East is one of "grave anxiety" despite temporary improvements due to the Korean war, and rearmament, says a U.N. survey.

Increased export prices in relation to import prices, and a favourable balance of payments position improved the economic situation of many countries of the region.

The report entitled, "Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1950", was made by the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Its main findings were made public in a summary with which ECAFE's Executive Secretary, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan (formerly of Madras University) transmitted the report to the Secretary General, M. Trygve Lie.

In 1950, the increase in the foreign exchange resources of the 8 ECAFE countries for which figures are available was estimated at \$755,000,000 and if Japan is included \$1,240,000,000. The chief beneficiaries were the biggest exporters of raw materials most in demand.

Malaya and Indonesia, big rubber and tin exporters, have gained most, and, at present prices, are likely to continue to gain most, while India and Burma have gained least.

Dr. Lokanathan noted that, while many non-essential imports were eliminated, the decline in imports for economic development was also significantly marked.

He declared that any reasonable rate of economic development in the ECAFE region countries would not only absorb the entire export surplus but turn it again into a substantial import surplus.

He warned that the ECAFE region's general agricultural production remained at a level below pre-war, and was liable to deteriorate further unless effective measures were taken.

The report noted a continuing increase in Japanese trade. Japanese exports increased by 150 per cent. between 1948 and the first half of 1950, mainly because of an increase in textile exports. The Korean war gave a great impetus to Japanese exports with the result that in 1950 there was a considerable export surplus over imports received from the

U.S. But the expansion of Japan's production was likely to be checked by raw material shortages, Dr. Lokanathan commented.

China's exports to the U.S., Britain and Western Europe increased considerably during 1950, but there was a decline in direct imports from the U.S. This however, was more than compensated for by increased imports from Hong Kong and Western Europe.

Despite Government encouragement, the level of both domestic and foreign private investment was low, he said.

INDIAN ENGLISH

The current issue of *Triveni*, which is now appearing from Masulipatam as a quarterly, has a number of interesting articles besides two very attractive short stories. Mr. Navaratna Rama Rao concluding a fine tribute to the genius of Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, expresses his conviction that if an Indian has in him things worth saying and has adequate command of Indian English, it would be folly for him not to employ that vehicle. He would in fact reach more people that way than by any other, he says:

Masti, for all his mastery of English, and love for its literature, strongly—almost fanatically—holds a view from which I—with perhaps equal strength and fanaticism—disagree. He believes that no enduring or even very good work can be done by an Indian in English because—if I understand Masti rightly—the structure of one's thought is based on one's mother-tongue, and English is to us a foreign language learnt mostly from books. I do not agree that our knowledge of English is so wooden as that argument assumes. It is a living language, and has permeated our lives and culture. We have thought some of our best thoughts, learnt some of our best learning, in it. We have used it in our most intimate intercourse with our friends in joy and sorrow. It has been so long with us now that it has become an Indian language by naturalisation. It has of course acquired certain characteristics from the environment here as it has in America and Australia—peculiarities of idiom which are rooted in the Indian soil, and which make it differ from the King's English or the dialects of England, or Scotland or Ireland—but it is English and very live English at that.

THE POWER OF POETRY

Poet: "Did you tell your family I was coming over this evening to read some of my poems?"

Girl: "Yes, and it worked like a charm. They have all gone to the pictures."

PAK CAMPAIGN OF HATE

The Government of India issued a White Paper on September 3 on Pakistan's war propaganda against India covering the period from July 1 to August 15.

Pakistan's propaganda, according to the White Paper, is calculated to incite war or tending to show the inevitability of war between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue.

This is the second White Paper on the subject, the first one covering the period from September 1950 to June 1951.

During the period under review by the second White Paper, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan gave Pakistan its national symbol of "clenched fist."

The white Paper contains principally extracts from the statements of the Pakistan leaders, officials and non-officials, resolutions of various political and religious organisations, broadcasts by Radio Pakistan and press comments. Quotations from poems in Urdu newspapers figure prominently in the White Paper.

A preface to the 14-page White Paper states:

Since the last White Paper on Pakistan's war propaganda against India on the Kashmir issue covering the period September 1950 to June 1951 was issued, the Prime Minister of Pakistan speaking on August 14 in Karachi stated "If I were in place of Pandit Nehru I would have been more reassured with this that there was talk of 'Jehad' in Pakistan and not war, because 'Jehad' really means to strive for justice and truth, whereas war means to fight others for territorial ambitions."

How Pakistan, through 'Jehad', is striving for justice and truth and peace and reign of law ruling out aggression is vividly brought home in the extracts given in the White Paper."

Following are some of the extracts given by the White Paper: Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim Khan, former President of Azad Kashmir stated on July 2:

"We have no alternative but to resume war, and decide the fate of Kashmir on the battlefield. If they resumed war this time, they would rest only after wiping out the Bharati usurpers from their homeland."

Qazi Mohammed Isa said a week later: Pakistan would again take up arms to liberate their brethren in Kashmir from the clutches of Bharat and her puppet Sheikh Abdullah and the Dogras.

Mr. Manzoor-ul-Haq, organiser of the Karachi Provincial branch of the Jinnah Awami League said only July 18;

It is only a crushing military defeat that can bring Bharat to senses.

It is my unshakable belief that the issue cannot be settled by peaceful negotiations but by iron and blood. War with Bharat means war between 'Kufr' and Islam.

Choudhury Ghulam Abbas on August 6 stated:

I propose that the people of "Azad Kashmir" be permitted to decide the issue on battlefield. I am sure that "Azad Kashmir" will in the end emerge victorious.

Provocative poems, says the White Paper, expressing a morbid lust for blood are growing in popularity and continue to be featured in Urdu newspapers in Pakistan. Typical of them are:

We will quench our thirst with the blood of the enemy.

How long will not the Ghazis win glory by the eedness of the blood.

An open command for launching holy 'Jehad' has come.

March on to Kashmir with coffins on your heads.

We are not thirsty of blood of Indians for nothing.

The entire North-West Frontier tribal belt is once again echoing and re-echoing with a cry for war in Kashmir.

UNDERWATER TELEVISION

Underwater television was used to find the British submarine "Affray" which went down in the Channel earlier this year with its 75 crew. This is believed to be the first time that underwater television has been used.

The "Affray" went down on April 16, because of a defect in its "short" underwater breathing apparatus. It was found, 258 ft. down on June 14 after a wide-spread search by ships and planes.

In a statement used on September 12, the Admiralty said portable television equipment, similar to that used for outside broadcasting, was used. For 8 weeks, 4 naval technicians worked day and night to adapt it for use under water.

POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

The September number of *Social Action*, the thoughtful organ of the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona, has an interesting symposium on the subject of population. After a study of family Planning from different angles by different writers the journal comes to the conclusion that there is a population problem in India—a qualitative and quantitative problem.

The diseased, the under-developed, the defective child is not wanted. Then there are certain regions in India where the population is reaching, if it has not already reached, "saturation point." And taking the country as a whole our resources in food and other material goods necessary for decent life, at the present stage of their development, are not adequate for the population.

2. To limit this population by artificial birth-control by the use of contraceptives and by sterilization of healthy persons carried out solely for preventing the birth of children is immoral and must be condemned. Birth-control methods are also harmful to health and will not produce the better type which some of its protagonists claim.

3. There are certain ways by which nature herself keeps down excessive growth in population. There are general causes that diminish fertility in given peoples and races. Thanks for all individuals, there are periods when conception is unlikely. It is legitimate to use this "safe period." In certain cases of disease, operations necessary for disease, operations necessary for preservation of life may also indirectly cause sterilization of this kind.

4. We must however admit that after making full allowance for these natural methods, there will be still "hard cases," medical and economic, where avoidance of children may be desirable. There is no solution for these cases except the one of self-control and abstinence. It is idle to say that self-control or abstinence is impossible. Like many other duties, it is difficult. But thousands of men and women live with total abstinence from sexual pleasure. Restraint in married life is surely possible and in any case absolutely indispensable in certain conditions.

5. The birth of defective children is not to be avoided by contraceptives or sterilization but by improving the general health. Much of this can be done simply by better sanitation and a keener social sense regarding community cleanliness. Moreover the avoidance of early marriage, and postponement till the physical condition of the parents is suited to child-bearing will keep down the growth of population and improve the physique of the children. A general raising of the age of marriage for boys and girls is one of the urgent social reforms in India. Total suppression of Polygamy is also necessary.

INDIA'S 'HISTORIC' STAND

Mr. Horace Alexander, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* wrote: India, Pakistan and Ceylon are today our political and moral equals. No official representative of the United Kingdom should ever be allowed to forget it."

It seems to be commonly believed in England that when the division of India was agreed to in 1947, it was understood that all Muslim majority areas would go to Pakistan. That is not so, says Mr. Alexander.

The leaders of the Indian Congress, Mr. Nehru, Sardar Patel and the rest who had, for years fought against the claim of an independent Pakistan finally agreed in the spring of 1947 that those areas of India where the majority of the electors had, at the 1946 elections voted in support of Pakistan must be allowed to separate.

This meant in practice, all the Muslim majority areas except two. Those two were the North-West Frontier and Kashmir. In the North-West Frontier a pro-Indian cabinet was in office with a narrow majority.

Accordingly, a fresh vote on the issue of adherence to Pakistan was called for.

Before the vote was held, Dr. Khan Sahib's pro-Congress Government was dismissed from office: a pro-Pakistan ministry was installed, and vigorous propaganda for Pakistan began.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of what might be called the pro-Indian party, fearing that the province would be torn by fratricidal violence, advised his followers to take no part in the vote.

In the result, just over 50 per cent. of the electorate voted for inclusion in Pakistan. What might have happened if the Khan brothers had fought the issue is anybody's guess.

In Kashmir, under the Maharaja no elections had taken place, but when they had been held, they showed in the Kashmir Valley (which is the real bone of contention) very general support among the Muslim voters for Sheikh Abdullah, who was then, as he still is, a close friend and admirer of Mr. Nehru.

The demand that Sheikh Abdullah's Government should be superseded while the plebiscite is held, seems scarcely reasonable, in view of what happened in the North-West Frontier. Nor is it, by any means certain that Sheikh Abdullah will get a larger vote as Prime Minister of Kashmir than he would get it free from office, as he could give his whole time to public propaganda.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

APARTHEID LAWS

After a long fast, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, Gandhiji's son who lives at Phoenix Settlement, Durban wrote to the South African Premier, Dr. Daniel Malan that he would refuse to abide by "unjust and immoral laws," and would "suffer whatever penalty may be in store" for him. He asked Dr. Malan to re-examine his Government's policies in the light of the teachings of Christ.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi said the S. African Government's policy of *Apartheid* denied the people their right to the fullest development of their personality and spirit, and drove them to hatred, frustration, and despair. The policy of *Apartheid* would drive one to Communism, whether one wished it or not, he said: "Today every measure of the Government affecting non-Europeans appeared as a symbol of its hatred for non-Europeans."

The *Apartheid* policy would deeply wound the susceptibilities of the non-European people. "I cannot conceive that this is just or equitable. To my mind, it can only lead to do the moral and spiritual degradation of Europeans and non-Europeans alike," he added.

Ceylon

EFFECT OF CEYLON ACT ON INDIANS

The number of Indians who were liable to be refused temporary residence permits for failure to qualify under the Ceylon Immigration and Emigration Act was likely to be considerable, stated Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, in Parliament on September 5.

Replying to Mr. M. Rathnaswamy, the Minister said that under the provisions of the Act, Indians who entered Ceylon after November 1, 1944, were ineligible for residence permits.

Asked whether Government had any information about the number of Indians who had applied for such permits, the Minister said information had been called

for from the High Commissioner for India in Ceylon and when received would be placed on the table of the House. The matter was already under discussion with the Ceylon Government. Moreover, India's High Commissioner had also been taking up with them individual cases of hardship.

More than 100,000 Indians in Ceylon, are liable to be refused temporary residence permits because of their failure to qualify under the Ceylon Immigration and Emigration Act, the *Times of Ceylon* disclosed the other day.

The paper said: Of about 150,000 Indians eligible for such permits who came to Ceylon before 1944, only 40,000 have obtained them so far. The remaining 110,000 have no sufficient evidence to forward to the Controller of Immigration and Emigration.

It stated that 15,000 Indians other than estate workers had left Ceylon for good. Of them nearly 1,000 were those whose applications for temporary residence permits were refused. Up to the end of 1950, nearly 40,000 permits were issued, while over 18,000 applications were refused by the Controller of Immigration and Emigration.

Mauritius

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

The Government of Mauritius has informed the Government of India that Indians in Mauritius are not suffering from the disabilities as detailed in reply to a question in the Indian Parliament in March 1950.

The Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Dr. B. V. Keskar, disclosed this in Parliament on September 10.

Dr. Keskar explained the present position of Indians in Mauritius, in a statement which made the following points: While it is clear that most of the aided primary schools are run by Christian missions, the Government of India have been assured that no child is made to follow the Christian religion against the consent of his parents.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

A. I. C. C. DECISIONS

The emergency secret meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Delhi adopted a resolution on September 8 requesting Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru "to undertake the responsibility of Presidentship of the Congress and continue to guide the Congress in these critical days."

By another resolution the A. I. C. C. "regretfully" accepted the resignation of Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon and placed on record its deep appreciation of "his great services to the Congress as its President.")

Both resolutions were moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and adopted by overwhelming majority. The secret session lasted for over two hours. Two hundred and ninety-five members out of 880 were present.

After tendering his resignation Mr. Tandon said:

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru seems to believe that by giving a shock to the Congress and bringing about a change in the Working Committee he will create a psychological effect in favour of the Congress. I am not able to accept this view. I believe that the work done by the Working Committee during the last ten months has helped in raising the moral standard of the Congress. The situation that has been created by the resignation of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is, I think, definitely detrimental to the interest of the Congress.

The All-India Congress Committee at its open session the next day unanimously decided to hold the next annual session of the Congress in Delhi from October 17 to 19. Subjects Committee would meet on October 17 and the open session on October 18 and 19.

A resolution to this effect was moved and seconded respectively by the two former General Secretaries, Sri Mohanlal Gautam and Sri Kala Venkata Rao.

NEHRU'S CALL TO CONGRESSMEN

In a statement issued by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, he repeats the A. I. C. C.'s invitation to the Congressmen who have left the Congress to come back and re-join the organisation.

"Let there be no argument about the past," Mr. Nehru says. "It is the future that beckons to us and we have to develop the habit anew of putting aside our petty differences in a joint endeavour for a common objective."

Mr. Nehru asked the Pradesh Congress committees to reorganise their work and put this spirit into it, particularly frowning upon and discouraging faction, grouping and nepotism. Urging the need to put up candidates who were men and women of integrity and ability in the forthcoming elections, Mr. Nehru said it was more important to put up such candidates even though they might lose the elections, than try and win the elections by "dubious methods."

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE

The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, is willing to take the necessary steps for the early formation of Andhra State if the Pradesh Congress Committees of Andhra, Tamil Nad, Karnataka, and the Madras Government would submit an agreed draft supporting the Partition Committee's decisions relating to the boundary of the new State, financial allocation, and other allied matters.

This information was contained in a telegram to Swami Sitaram, who had undertaken a fast to bring the Andhra State into existence. Swami Sitaram has since terminated the fast at the instance of Sri Vinobha Bhave who conveyed the Prime Minister's assurance that everything possible would be done to expedite the creation of separate Andhra Province.)

NEHRU'S APPEAL AT A.I.C.C.

Addressing the members of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on September 9 Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said that in the past Congressmen had achieved great things because they did not balance either their individual future or anything else.



What should they do today? Conditions were different, but conditions were ultimately those which people made. The business of relying on fate and circumstances, and going to the astrologer to find out what was going to happen was the business of people who were incapable of doing anything.

There should be a strict law to put a hard end to anybody who dabbled in astrology either by proclaiming it, or believing in it.

Mr. Nehru stressed that there should be 100 per cent clarity about matters like economic programme, Foreign policy, and communalism so far as the Congress was concerned. "We should declare war", he said, "against all those who disagreed with the principles and resolutions of the Congress, whoever they may be."

He did not mean any physical contest or a violent conflict but

I want clear thinking and a mental conflict so that nobody may have a shadow of doubt as to what the Congress stands for, and will stand for, to the end whatever happens.

Are we now going to create powerful winds in this country which will sweep away all kinds of cobwebs and internal differences and troubles or are we ourselves going to weave those cobwebs, and like spiders get caught in our own cobwebs.

There was only one answer to it and that was

we shall try our utmost to create a whirlwind in this country, a whirlwind of the right type that will sweep away all wrong ideas and wrong people in its way. If you think in this way, or act in this way, take it from me, the people of India will flock to you and march in step with you.

Mr. Nehru said that the coming of independence had suddenly brought a new state of affairs, for which "in a sense mentally, we were not prepared."

Some of us did adapt ourselves to the responsibilities of governance, he added, but we paid a heavy price. In so adopting ourselves, we rather forgot to cut ourselves away from the people whom we were governing.

The Congress must carry on the old responsibility of public contact and public service and laying down the broad policies. Otherwise, it would cease to function.

The Congress has to be in constant touch with the millions of the people of India to be a mirror of their ideas, and wishes and desires and to train them, teach them and learn from them. If it does that, all the other things come naturally to it.

The Congress had in the past unfortunate divisions, splits, cliques and factions. It did not matter much who was to blame for it. Negatively, if not actively the responsibility belonged to all Congressmen. He hoped the Congress would now adopt a new method of approaching these problems and asked Congressmen "to put aside that mentality which leads to factions and cliques."

Mr. Nehru said people told him that so-and-so was allied to this group or that group and, therefore he must not trust him. "Nevertheless," he added, barring a few persons, I just do not know who belongs to which group. It is a good thing for me that I do not know and I do not care to know. I want a man for his ability, honesty, integrity and perseverance and if he has got these, I just don't mind what group he belongs to, because I think I am strong enough to pull him from any groups and cliques and, if not, he must go overboard.

Earlier, speaking in Hindi, Mr. Nehru said:

We said in Bangalore our door is always open for those Congressmen who have left, to come back. Our door is still open, and those who have faith in our principles and accept our resolutions, will always be welcomed back.

(CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION)

Speaking at the A.I.C.C. at Delhi on September 9 Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said that in the choice of candidates, the Congress must select fine men not only from within the organisation but from outside, if it could find them. The test must be "integrity first, integrity second, and integrity third—integrity and ability". Of course, he meant necessarily belief in the "cause you stand for, and the programme, in the Congress resolution."

It did not matter if a candidate had greater ability and integrity, but was weaker than another, and lost in the election. The loss of a seat or 10 seats in that way would pay a hundred other seats, because people would see that the Congress candidates did not sell their souls, or their cause for money or something else, or for some Party advantage.

Mr. Nehru said some circular had been issued for applications for candidates. That might have to be done, but "I am entirely in agreement with Tandon that the right way to choose a man is to choose a man who does not apply."

A member remarked that some people had already paid money to secure Congress tickets. Mr. Nehru said amidst laughter, "your money will become useful, but do not think you will get chosen". He hoped that A.I.C.C. members would impress upon their colleagues, "these basic principles about elections."

KASHMIR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir Premier, said at Srinagar that the establishment of a Constituent Assembly would be the culmination of 20 years of struggle for the Democracy in the State. Sheikh Abdullah said, "If Pakistan had been honest about her solicitude for Kashmiris, she would have welcomed our announcement calling for a Constituent Assembly in the State as it would provide the people an opportunity for democratic expression. But, instead, Pakistan leaders fretted, fumed and brandished the threat of *Jehad*." "Such threats," he added, "may frighten the chicken-hearted, but not us, who have gone through fire in the struggle towards Democracy."

NEW WORKING COMMITTEE

The names of 15 members of the new Working Committee were announced by the Congress President, Mr. Nehru.

They are: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Messrs. Morarji Desai, Kamaraj Nadar, Shankararao Deo, N. Sanjeeva Reddi, Nabakrushna Chaudhri, Pratab Singh Kairon, B. S. Hirey, Gulzari Lal Nanda, Manikyalal Varma, V. I. Muniswami Pillai, Lal Bahadur Sastri, U. Srinivasa Mallaya.

Messrs. Lal Bahadur Sastri and Srinivasa Mallaya will be the General Secretaries while Mr. Morarji Desai has been made Treasurer. Five additional names will be announced in due course.

Of the 15 names announced, nine have not been members of the previous Working Committee and of these nine, eight are joining the Working Committee for the first time.



GEORGE MARSHALL

George C. Marshall, Secretary of the Department of Defense of the United States of America, whose resignation has been accepted by the President.

C.R.'S CALL TO STUDENTS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, India's Home Minister, delivering the Convocation Address at the Jammu and Kashmir University on September, 1 said that the real future of Kashmir did not rest in the hands of the Security Council or the Constituent Assembly. It was the University of Kashmir, he added, that would "make or mar and shape the future of this country."

Political life in Kashmir will be vigorous and healthy materially and spiritually in the measure of the vigour and health of the University of Kashmir."

Mr. Rajagopalachari emphasised the "profound influence" of universities on the life of the nation and the Government of the country. He expressed the hope that the minds of the Kashmir graduates would not be wrapped in dreams of their own personal future because the fate of Kashmir and the future of the people were too vividly in their minds to permit of any personal thought or dream.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the success of democracy depended upon the universities since "democracy does not dispense with discipline or leadership" which were achieved through university training. He reminded the graduates that good leadership was good character. He asked the Kashmiri graduates to "remember the two H's, the Heart and the Hand" in addition to the three R's usually associated with education. Heart symbolised character and conduct and hand symbolised efficiency.

It should be a shame for any college student to be unable to use his fingers as deftly or to do the things that require manual efforts as well as any village artisan or labourer in the field, he said.

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, well-known historian, passed away after a brief illness at his residence in Georgetown on August 29. He was 61.

Mr. Srinivasachari was a member of the Senate, Academic Council and Board of Studies of the Madras and Annamalai Universities, and was recently appointed a member of the Committee constituted by the Union Government to compile a history of the Indian Freedom movement.

A native of South Arcot District, Mr. Srinivasachari was educated in the Pachaiyappa's High School, Chidambaram and the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. After graduating, he joined the staff of the



PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

College in the History Department and served for 20 years. Accepting, later, the chair of History and Politics in the Annamalai University, he worked for 15 years.

In 1931 and 1939, he was elected Sectional President of the Indian History Congress, and in 1941, he became its general President. In 1940, he was elected President of the Oriental Conference (History Section.)

Retiring from the Annamalai University, he was Principal for three years of the Raja Doraisingam Memorial College, Sivaganga, and after a brief service subsequently as Principal, Pachaiyappa's College, Conjeevaram, he retired in June last.

Mr. Srinivasachari specialised in the history of the Carnatic, and some of his works were authoritative text books on the subject, among which may be mentioned: A History of the City of Madras, Ananda Rangam Pillai, A History of Gingee and its Rulers, and Vignettes from the History of the Walejahi dynasty of the Carnatic.

He has also contributed many valuable articles to *The Indian Review* for many years past.

THE PRESS BILL

The Home Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, introduced in Parliament on August 31, the Press (Incitement to Crime) Bill seeking to "provide against



SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

the printing and publication of incitements to crime and other objectionable matter."

The Bill will come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification, in the official Gazette appoint.

The 34 clauses of the Bill, among other things, define matter considered "objectionable" for printing and publication, lay down the conditions under which security from presses, newspapers, and news-sheets can be demanded, and detail the consequences of failure to deposit security.

The Government has been empowered to declare certain publications forfeit, detain packages containing certain publications when imported, seize and destroy unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers, and seize undeclared Presses producing unauthorised newspapers and unauthorised news-sheets.

Objectionable matter is defined as words, signs, or visible representation which incite or encourage, or tend to incite or encourage, any person to resort to violence, sabotage, murder, or interfere with law and order, or with loyalty of armed forces, or prejudice their recruiting, or discipline of armed forces and public servants, or promote a feeling of enmity or hatred between different classes, or put any person in fear, or are grossly indecent, scurrilous, or obscene.

An elaborate procedure has been laid down in the Bill regarding hearing of complaints by a Sessions Judge against any person stated to be responsible for publishing objectionable matter in respect of which the complaint is made. The person, against whom a complaint has been made can, in case of an inquiry before the Sessions Judge, claim to have the matter determined with the aid of a jury. Any person who has been ordered to deposit security or who has an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made, can apply to the High Court "on the ground that the newspaper, news-sheet, book or other document in respect of which the order was made, did not contain any objectionable matter."

Penalties have been provided for keeping a press or publishing a newspaper without making a deposit, and disseminating unauthorised newspapers and unauthorised news-sheets.

Offences under this head shall be punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 2,000 or, with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 6 months or with both.

If after an inquiry, a Sessions Judge is satisfied that there are sufficient grounds for demanding security from the keeper of a Press the Sessions Judge shall, by order in writing, direct the keeper of the Press to deposit a security within 15 days of such amount as the Court may think fit to require. No specific limit is prescribed. The same conditions apply for demanding security from newspapers and news-sheets.

HINDU LAW REFORM

Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament that Government would, in view of the shortness of the time at their disposal, desire the passage of only one part of the Hindu Code Bill dealing with marriage and divorce. Law Minister Ambedkar explained that he would drop the word "Code" and call the measure simply as the "Marriage and Divorce Act." Clause 2 dealing with marriage and divorce was adopted by the house on September 20.

EVADED TAXES

The total amount of tax so far recovered by the Government on cases reported by the Income-Tax Investigation Commission was Rs. 2.52 crores, said Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Minister of State for Finance, replying to a question in Parliament on September 12.

The major portion of this amount, he added, has been recovered in instalments and all assesseees, except in a few cases where a small extension of time has been given, are paying the instalments regularly. The number of cases pending before the Commission at present is 989.

Since Government introduced the concessional scheme for collection of income-tax arrears, voluntary disclosures amounted to Rs. 5.84 crores. Mr. Tyagi also stated that as a result of the rationalisation of assessment procedure, 1,85,652 arrear assessments were completed during the four months after April 1, 1951 when the number of assessments in arrears stood at 5,75,213.

INDIA'S OVERSEA'S TRADE

The adverse trade balance of India with the world has been reduced in the last three years, from an overall deficit of 219.2 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 94.48 crores in 1949-50 and Rs. 11.32 crores in 1950-51.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry stated, in Parliament on September 10 during question-hour that the value of exports and imports during the year 1950-51 was Rs. 596.56 and Rs. 607.9 crores respectively.

FOREIGN HOLDINGS OF RESERVE BANK

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh told Mr. A. C. Guha in Parliament that the total foreign balances held by the Reserve Bank of India in its Banking Department amounted to Rs. 196 crores on December 29-1950, and Rs. 179 crores on June 29-1951. The decrease of Rs. 17 crores during the six months was to be accounted for by the transfer of sterling securities to the issue Department against an increase in the note issue.

RESERVE BANK'S SURVEY

The total estimated revenue of the Central and State Governments (excluding Rajasthan) for the year 1951-52 is Rs. 758 crores, and expenditure Rs. 735 crores leaving a surplus of Rs. 23 crores, according to a consolidated picture of the country's finances, given in the Reserve Bank of India's "Report on currency and finance" for the year ended March 1951.

Expenditure on security services (including defence) and social services accounts for Rs. 310 crores and Rs. 150 crores respectively. The over-all estimated capital outlay is Rs. 313 crores.

The Government of India's public debt rose during the last financial year by Rs. 1.54 crores to Rs. 2,089 crores, and total interest-bearing obligations by Rs. 48.57 crores to Rs. 2,562 crores.

Special floating loans and expired loans are included in public debt but not in interest-bearing obligations. Interest-bearing obligations include unfunded debt and deposits. The Government of India's total permanent debt stood at Rs. 1,438 crores.

OIL COMPANIES FOR INDIA

The Government of India has made a proposal to the three principal oil companies operating in India to set up a two-million ton oil refinery in Bombay State, or two one-million ton refineries in Bombay and Madras States.

The Government has guaranteed immunity against nationalisation for at least 30 years, and payment of due compensation thereafter if nationalisation was at all decided.

A similar suggestion made in 1948 was turned down by the companies following a report by a Six man Committee representing the companies against such proposal because of the "exceedingly heavy cost involved in the project."

The Government of India is reported to have renewed the suggestion and asked them to reconsider their decision.

WOMEN IN SOCIAL WORK.

Women predominate in the field of professional, social work in the United States, according to a study made by the U.S. Women's Bureau. About 80 per cent of the more than 42,000 persons employed in this activity are women.

Most social work positions are in public assistance agencies operated by the local, state and federal governments. The others are in welfare agencies supported by privately subscribed funds. These include the American Red Cross, the Travellers Aid Society and family welfare groups.

Social workers of the assistance agencies offer counsel and guidance to families that ask for their help. The social workers help the families solve their financial, employment, psychological and other problems.

The advisers urge the families to make use of the community's facilities, such as free legal aid, in overcoming their difficulties.

Skilled U.S. social workers now are helping other nations develop family assistance programmes. International organizations affiliated with the United Nations are responsible for some of this work. Social workers, too, have helped counsel displaced persons who have come to live in the United States.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

British trade unions are to appeal direct to Prime Minister Attlee over the head of Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to get equal pay for women in the Civil Service.

Mr. Gaitskell told the T.U.C. earlier that equal pay was not possible in the present economic circumstances.

The T.U.C., which called its five-day annual meeting at Blackpool on September 7, called on the Government to accept equal pay as a matter of urgency. Delegates gave unanimous approval to a resolution urging gradual introduction of equal pay for equal work into the Civil service.

Mr. Lincoln Evans, spokesman of the Congress General Council, said the unions would go over Mr. Gaitskell's head to appeal directly to the Prime Minister.

It was "a hollow mockery" when the Government said it accepted the equal pay principle but refused to apply it in practice, he said.

Women in most jobs in Britain get about three-quarters of the pay of men doing similar work. The T. U. C. resolution also urged British ratification of the Equal Remuneration Convention passed by the International Labour Organisation in Geneva in June. This calls for equal pay for equal work for all workers.

"GIRLS' TOWN" IN CALIFORNIA

A "Girls' Town" has been established near Los Angeles, California, for homeless girls by Mrs. Essie Binkley West, a religious leader. It is patterned after the world-famous Boys' Town, Nebraska, founded by the late Father Edward J. Flanagan, the American Roman Catholic priest, which has cared for more than 5,000 boys in the past 30 years.

"Girls' Town" is a model farm community occupying 40 acres of land surrounded by lovely hills on the site of an abandoned army camp. Mrs. West purchased the land with voluntary contributions. Next she secured the donated services of carpenters, plasterers, cement workers, and painters.

Trim California-style stucco houses soon replaced the army barracks. New roads, electricity, water, and a sewage system completed the project. In time Mrs. West hopes to have fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, chickens, and cows.

WOMEN'S VOTE ONLY FOR SUPPORTERS OF BILL

A resolution declaring that women will in the coming elections vote only for those candidates who support progressive social legislation such as the Hindu Code Bill, was passed at a largely attended public meeting of women at Delhi.

GEORGE MARSHALL

Gen. George Marshall has resigned as U. S. Secretary of Defence. He is succeeded by the present Deputy Secretary, Mr. Robert A. Lovett.

Gen. Marshall, 70, was appointed Defence Secretary a year ago. He resigned "for very personal reasons."

The soldier-statesman, a 5-star General, was Army Chief of Staff in World War II.

Mr. Lovett, who was formerly associated with an investment and banking firm, worked very closely with Gen. Marshall throughout World War II at the War Department when the General was Chief of Staff. Gen. Marshall insisted on taking him as his Deputy both when he was appointed Secretary of State in 1947, and Secretary of Defence in 1950.

U. S. AMBASSADOR IN INDIA

President Truman has nominated Mr. Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut, and World War II Price Administrator, as Ambassador to India.

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Present Ambassador was nominated Ambassador to Persia, succeeding Dr. Henry F. Grady. Dr. Grady's resignation was accepted "with the greatest reluctance."

This shuffling of diplomats would have taken place long ago but for the Persian oil crisis, and Dr. Grady's work in trying to bring about an agreement between Persia and Britain.

FINAL ELECTION SYMBOLS

The Election Commission has finalised symbols for the forthcoming elections to Parliamentary, Assembly and Council of States constituencies.

They are:—Two bulls with yoke on; tree; standing lion; human hand; horse and rider; hut; rising sun; elephant; ears of corn and a sickle; spade and stoker; flaming torch (mashal); star; a cultivator winnowing gram; lamp (deepa); bow, and arrow; railway engine; cycle; cart; boat; flower; pitcher, ladder; scales; cock, camel.

ELECTION EXPENSES

A maximum of Rs. 40,000 has been fixed as the ceiling of expenses for a candidate in any one constituency in the next elections. The Central Government in the rules made under the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1951 have announced details of the ceilings.

The expenses, fixed on the basis of voters in constituencies, have been worked out separately for each state in a schedule attached to the rules.

According to the schedule, the ceiling fixed in respect of Part A or Part B States for a single member parliamentary constituency is Rs. 25,000 for a two-member parliamentary constituency Rs. 35,000 and for a three-member parliamentary constituency in West Bengal (Derjeeling-Jalpaiguri-Cooch Behar) which has about 10,00,000 voters Rs. 40,000.

OBSERVATORY AT KODAI

His Excellency the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, Governor of Madras, declared open the 20 inch Grubb telescope and the Ionosphere Recorder at the Kodaikanal Solar Physics Observatory on September 18.

Mr. Raj Bahadur, Deputy Minister of Communications, who spoke on the occasion, gave the assurance that the Government of India would do all they could, within their financial resources, to implement the recommendations of the Astronomical Planning Committee appointed in 1945, with Prof. M. N. Saha as Chairman.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CENTENARY

The New York Times celebrated its centenary on Tuesday the 16th September. The paper was first published on September 18, 1851, in a dingy, candle-lit office off Wall-Street. It was founded by Henry Raymond a newspaperman, and George Jones a journalist-turned banker.

To-day its pay-roll and newsprint bills total \$86,000,000 (over Rs. 17 crores) a year, and it uses an estimated 160,000 tons of newsprint annually.

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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.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and, future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day—2nd September, 1939—of the declaration of last World War, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd September, 1946 and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.

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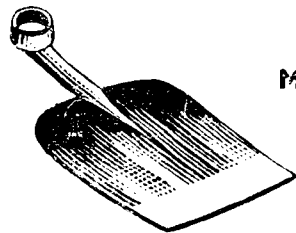


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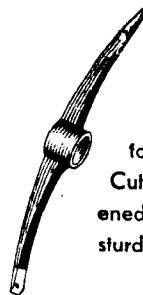
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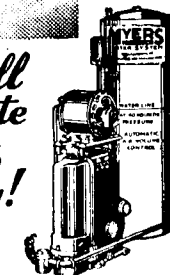
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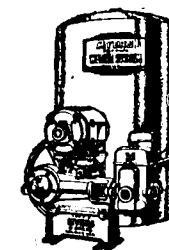
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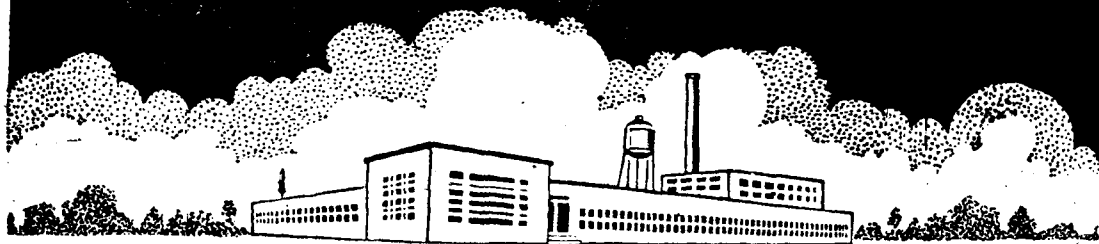
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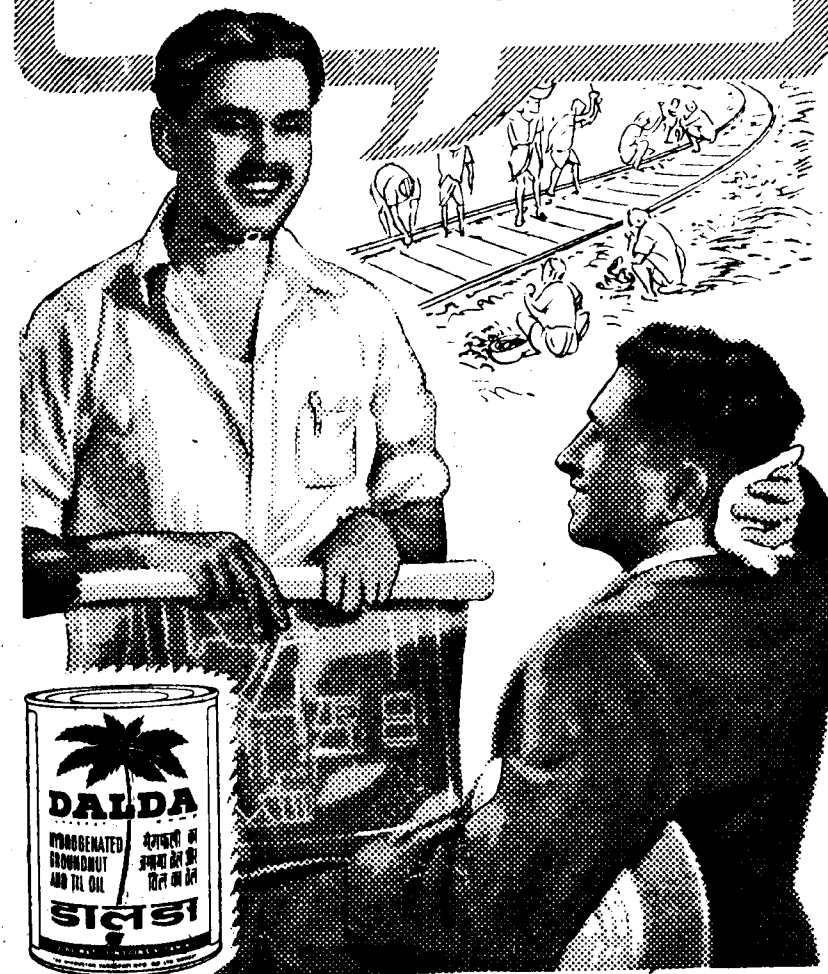
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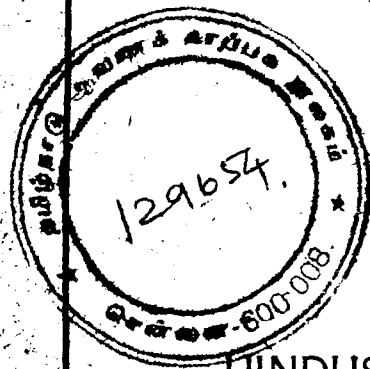
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THE QUESTION OF POLITICS

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

BY MR. NISSIM EZEKIEL

THE English poet Alun Lewis, who was killed in Burma at an early age, once wrote rather sadly of "the old temptation to remake the world." In greater or lesser degree, I suppose, the attraction of modern politics is due to this temptation. It is more "spiritual" than the admitted fascination of exercising power and less vulnerable to the feeling of guilt. What could be more natural than that people should participate in public life to order things as they desire? It is true that in most cases this fundamental urge is obscured by the struggle against other people whose desires are somewhat different. It will not do to acknowledge they share a fundamental urge with us. To them we can only attribute "lust for power" or some such base motive from which we, of course, are entirely free. Ours is a disinterested labouring for public welfare; our opponents are unscrupulous defenders of private interests.

The large majority of people are governed by the clichés of political propaganda. It does them little harm as their natural generosity persuades them to make allowances for differences of opinion. Fanaticism is induced in them by intelligent and educated people, professors, literary men, doctors and students who are often the innocents of politics, much more so than the common man. I think it is difficult to understand the state of mind which the innocent brings to politics without some direct experience of it. Though unwilling to discuss the question in this context I must say I understand it because I was once an innocent in politics myself.

I joined a political party at the age of nineteen and remained in it for four years. Nothing will make me join a political party again but the experience seems to me now of some value. Because of it I grew out of my political innocence. That in the process I grew out of politics too was an accident. I may grow into it again. The most important lesson I learnt during my membership of a party was that the innocent in politics cuts an absurd figure and this absurdity eats into the texture of his personality. You cannot exercise the privilege of being a fool in politics without damaging yourself in some way. You may still be a good doctor or lawyer, but you cannot be a "whole and well balanced individual", granting that that noble phrase inspires us to-day.

I said I may grow into politics again. It does not follow that I shall gamble again with my loyalty. Nor does it imply "dabbling in politics", addressing a public meeting, contributing to a political journal, being "agin the government" or signing a manifesto for world peace (which will be phony anyway.) Growing into politics again, for me, means recreating that simple relation with the life of the people which existed when I was a party member. And this is not a personal problem. It is of interest to all those who think this relationship important, who seek it in membership of a political party and who find it incompatible ultimately with that relationship. There are countless such people. The Negro ex-communist, Richard Wright gives a moving description of what it means to get out of party politics in his contribution to "The God that Failed". He

writes, no doubt, about communist politics, but it applies in a modified form to any kind of party politics.

Relationship with the people is not necessarily a sentimental proposition, though it becomes so for many. Political propaganda to-day is obliged to idealise the people. A great proportion of the crimes committed in our times by parties, nations and individuals have been in the name of the people. Nevertheless we must not be blind to the fact that in the life of the people is manifested in our times for good or evil, important elements of the past. To be in vital contact with the people is to be in contact with the past and often, the determining factors of the future. This is an indispensable complement to book knowledge. It is to live in the stream of history, which is the only kind of life conceivable to an intelligent contemporary man. To prevent any misunderstanding of what this means it should be added that the individual firmly rooted in time may still strive for the timeless.

What is true of the individual in this context is also true of a nation. No nation can be creative if it is not profoundly conscious of its past. The process of transmitting culture from generation to generation becomes hopelessly enfeebled if life is governed wholly by conventions. I think this is what appears to have happened in India for many centuries. Tradition is a more exacting task-master. Anybody can accept conventions; they can also be rejected with a minimum of bravado or eccentricity, without any serious consequences. It is an altogether different problem to acquire or modify tradition. Paradoxically, to acquire tradition is to modify it.

These considerations ought to influence the individual who feels the need for defining his attitude to politics. If he thinks about it he will discover that it is part of a larger problem which is his attitude to the history of his country and of human history as a whole. This is to assume that the issue is on a high level of self-consciousness.

Political activity implies an attitude to history. One of the most curious phenomena of our age is the advocacy of

political activity for the purpose of making it unnecessary, of bringing history forward, as in Marxism, or back as in Gandhism, to a point where it dissolves into a static pattern of existence. The Marxian perspective is of a fabulous social development on the basis of industrialism. Gandhism visualises an Arcadia of self-contained village units living by handicrafts and agriculture. Of the two, Marxism claims to have a dynamic, Gandhism a negative attitude to history. I shall discuss them briefly.

Mahatma Gandhi once said that the happiest nation is one with no history. If history is understood as the story of wars and revolts, massacres and class conflicts and exploitation of man by man, then the statement is plausible. Even so, however, it is not quite true. Without the terrible manifestations of history that I have mentioned a nation is not necessarily happy. There will still be misery in what may be called non-historical forms, through the prevalence, for instance, of atrophied social customs. These are capable of exercising as everybody knows, a most pernicious and persistent tyranny over the life of a nation. They may give rise to beliefs and institutions which are historical as much as wars and massacres and are as much causes of human suffering.

Absence of history is not a condition of happiness. Since politics is simply current history, absence of politics is not a condition of happiness either.

The Marxist view of history is complex and, in many ways, profound. Its fatal weakness lies in the fact that it has the same status in the intellectual life of its adherents as a dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. It is supported, no doubt, by logic and evidence but it is also backed, wherever possible, by the Police. The term "deviationist" which orthodox Marxists use to condemn less orthodox Marxists (it is often a difference of degree only) gives a clue to the Inquisitional mode of thinking which characterises this ideology to-day. This has two consequences. Firstly, recorded history is distorted to suit a party line. Secondly, Marxism in power cannot allow anything to grow within its sphere of influence which is historically new.

For Marxism history is to be brought forward to a point where all men are Marxists. Only one philosophy is true and it has the whole truth. Only one method of social organization is valid, only one way of thinking and living is permissible. The growth of anything else to be suppressed by violence, "liquidated". History is to come to a standstill. Of course the most wonderful achievements will be made by man in the future within the Marxist framework but no one is to question the framework. With the world triumph of Marxism, history will give birth to no more 'isms: it will give birth only to Marxist products in every sphere, literature, music, philosophy, painting, all with the approved rubber stamp of a central authority.

This analysis of the attitude to history inherent in two philosophies, Marxism and Gandhism raises bigger issues than I can tackle. Conscious of these issues, however, I became less and less inclined towards any systematic philosophy of politics or philosophy of history. It led me to appreciate the champions of pragmatic politics with an ethical foundation, though I am aware that belief in it often goes with practices of which I would disapprove. It seems to me the only kind of politics which will respect the non-political man, the only kind of politics in which individuals like me could seek a relationship with the people without being subjected to any kind of direct or indirect pressure from the state or from organised public opinion.

I emerged from both party politics and politics in general without disgust, without losing interest in politics which is simply one manifestation of contemporary life. I feel very strongly the need for a political attitude in my personal credo. I regard this question as of more than personal interest because I know that there are many people placed as I am. To them I offer the following commonplaces which may be considered the raw material of political attitudes for the non-political.

1. Politics is necessary. It is not a dirty game. It is current history. To be indifferent to it is to be indifferent to an important expression of the human personality.

2. Participation in politics need not imply being involved in party politics. No man, however, can claim to be above the battle.

3. The political spirit of rivalry and partisanship must not be allowed to enter cultural life: historical research, academic discussion and education.

4. Politics must not be left to politicians. The fewer professional politicians in a country the better.

5. Politics is a part of life and its relation to other parts is always changing. These relations must be closely and constantly watched. Any extension of the proper field of politics constitutes a threat to freedom.

6. Qualities such as decency and goodwill must not be regarded as liabilities in politics. Whatever is desirable in other spheres of life is desirable in politics.

7. All political activity which wants to end political activity is dangerous.

8. A party always represents part of the people. A party which claims to represent everybody is a fraud. A party which will not allow other parties to exist when it comes to power is working for the destruction of politics. Under dictatorship there is only power, there is no politics.

9. All politics is a means to an end.

10. The ultimate satisfactions of life are not in politics and one should not seek them there.

SUN-SET

BY MR. WILLIAM ANDRADE

—: o :—

When I'm tired and full of worldly care,
I seek solace by the lonely shore;
And when I see its boundless immensity,
My thoughts are lost in endless eternity.

On the shore eyes west-ward cast,
I see the Even Sun sinking fast,
And over its verge behold
Beauty death 'lone shall unfold.

The United Nations and Power Politics

BY PROF. P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

THE increasing danger to human life on account of war has often turned the thoughts of the world to the means of preventing war. But it was only after the First World War that any substantial attempt at a means of preventing war was made. The League of Nations then established was, however, defective in many ways; and with the withdrawal of America and the indifference of many other nations the League proved a costly failure. Though it did achieve something in re-establishing the currency of Austria and the good relations between a few small States, its failure in the face of aggression in Manchuria and Abyssinia proved its ineffectiveness for the particular purpose for which it was established.

The need, however, for an organization to prevent war was felt only the keener, especially as the very existence of mankind came to be jeopardised by the birth of the atom bomb. Hence as the Second World War began to shape well for the allied nations the most prominent thought in the minds of the great statesmen was that of establishing the means of successfully preventing future wars. It was as a result of this that the United Nations organization came to be established. Hence it is very important to consider how far this new organization may be expected to serve the purpose for which it has been established. That is what John MacLaurin does in his substantial and often dramatic book.*

The danger to peace, and what makes any United Nations organization ineffective is power politics. As H.G. Wells, and many other writers pointed out about the League of Nations, world peace can be secured only if nations and states do not make it subject to their power politics. How far is United Nations influenced by power politics and how far is it in spite of power politics able to serve the cause of world peace? That question is thoroughly and clearly discussed by John MacLaurin.

Though there is much talk in the world of the United Nations it is doubtful how

much knowledge the world has of its organizations and functions. But it is the duty of all intelligent people desiring the well-being of the world to know the true nature of this world-organization. Hence at the beginning of the book a detailed account is given of the separate parts of the United Nations Organization: The Assembly composed of five members from each of the fifty member states meeting once a year; the Security Council consisting of five permanent members and six members chosen by the Assembly for two years; and remaining in continuous session; the Economic and Social Council with representatives from eighteen governments; the International Court of Justice consisting of fifteen judges; the Trusteeship Council made up of the Governments that are trustees and as many other Governments; and the Secretariat of about three thousand employees. The six main committees and the many world bodies like the UNESCO and others are also described.

The organization of the United Nations is well made. The rule that the members are to be loyal to it and that all other commitments are void before the commitments to the UN are good. The loyalty of the Secretariat is to be primarily to the UN. "In signing the Charter, each member government has pledged itself to work for world peace and progress together with the other governments and through the machinery of the UN. Monsieur St. Lot from Haiti in his speech at the Assembly made the objects clear. He said, "The purposes of the UN are: firstly to maintain international peace and security; secondly, to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights; thirdly to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

It is from the declared objectives of the UN that its real work should be judged, that is, how far every activity has contributed to peace and friendly

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co-operation among the nations. From this point of view there was a drawback about the very first meeting of the Assembly which was on April 15, 1949, since on April 4, the previous day, the Atlantic Pact was signed, and the minds of all Western statesmen were concerned with that. Then came the Chilean complaint about Soviet wives. There were some 1000 women who were prevented by Russia from joining their husbands in foreign countries. A Resolution was passed that "the measures which prevent or coerce the wives of citizens of other nationalities from leaving their country of origin with their husbands. . . . are not in conformity with the Charter." But here two defects of the UN came out. First, the now notorious Article 2, Par. 7, which prohibits intervention in domestic, or so called domestic, matters, and second, the fact that UN Resolutions have no compulsory power. Hence Russian action regarding wives of foreigners was condemned, but the wives had to continue in Russia.

The discussion about the 300,000 Asians in S. Africa has also had a similar fate. In the consideration of the fate of the Italian colonies again, in the election of Yugoslavia to the Security Council, and the use of the veto on many occasions, the real object and spirit of the establishment of the United Nations have not been attended to. Affairs in Palestine, Greece and Korea have not been conducted quite satisfactorily.

At the same time much good has come and may continue to come through the UN. Even when nothing material is gained, the very discussion stirs public opinion even within the recalcitrant countries and thus strengthens the hands of the reformers. Besides, there have also been tangible gains in spheres where power politics do not enter. The Economic and Social Council, for example, has done much valuable work. As John MacLaurin says; "Through this part of the UN lives have been saved, seeds of social growth sown, technical knowledge and skill have been spread and new horizons opened, abuses of some human beings by others have been restricted, whether they be

direct as in traffic in women or indirect as in selling harmful drugs, institutions of permanent value have been founded or helped along, human rights have been clarified and human solidarity strengthened." In such matters when differences of opinion arise it is because of different viewpoints, and not because of power politics. Thus there may be difference on account of difference in long term and short term policies, as in Tanganyika where groundnut cultivation serves a short term policy, and coal and iron industry a long term policy. The Specialized Agencies of the UN like the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the UNESCO, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization and many others have done considerable work in the direction of UN co-operation and advancement of the well-being of the world. All these show that where power politics cannot enter there is much united good possible.

An account of the work of the United Nations as presented by John MacLaurin will itself help that work much as it shows the true nature of the essential needs of the world at present, and as it assesses the work done most impartially. The power politicians of either side in the cold war are treated with equal impartiality. As he says in discussing the use of the veto, there is no pure black and white among the statesmen. All have their particular points of view made sharper on account of the high sense of sovereignty. That is why the smaller powers show higher ideals in the UN, and the true purposes of the UN can be realized only when the great powers cease to insist too much on their sovereign independent position preventing examination and enquiry into what they do. Even as it is, within limits, the UN organization is a great power for international good. In order to make it completely successful two reforms are necessary: No State should be able to seek refuge under the plea of domestic non-interference, and the resolutions of the UN must not be merely recommendatory but mandatory.

*THE UNITED NATIONS AND POWER POLITICS: By John MacLaurin. (Allen & Unwin, London. Pp. 468. Price 25).

SECULAR STATE AND RELIGION

i. BY SRI T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

—(o)—

I have now seen many articles raising objection to the conception of a secular state. I have said that the State is Hindu and secular as all Hindu states have generally been.

In the sphere of education, I have suggested that religious education should not be given in schools and colleges as that must retard Indian national solidarity. Or at any rate so it seemed to me. Some say that there should be provision for teaching all religions.

I should like to have from so great an educationalist as Mahamahopadhyaya Professor P. K. Acharya what sort of religious education he will or can give a class consisting of six Muslims, ten Christians and fourteen Hindus. Whether schools have religious classes or not, some notion of religion will come from the home. The schools must round off angularities in that home education and give it a tolerant national turn. I should be very glad if the professor indicated the line of religious education he has in mind.

The name secular state pleases some but it requires of me as a Hindu citizen

no more and no less than my inherent tolerance not as a doctrine merely but as genuine practice.

While in my mind it is a Hindu state living at peace with all other religions, however intolerant they may be inclined to be, I have no objection to its description as a secular state if that assures some people of our tolerance. It requires of me, as I said, no more tolerance than what is required of me as a Hindu citizen of India.

A true teacher will achieve the result without a religious class or an hour of homily about morals.

If the Professor has a better recipe, I should like to hear it. I have before now referred to Mr. F. J. Gould's three volume book of moral lessons with stories drawn from all religions.

The Professor well knows that there are those who object to the imparting of any religious bias at all. Buddhism has a training in virtues of the highest quality but there is no God in it. That is a point of objection to every other religion, except to the Hindu.

ii BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. P. K. ACHARYA

—: z :—

If Sri T. R. V. Sastri had read the article "Secular State and Religion"* more carefully he should have found out a solution of most of his difficulties. The Congress idea of Secular State has to be accepted under the present condition of India although the Dictionary meaning of the term 'Secularism' is not applicable to India. It is a wrong notion and bad logic to expect that "Some notion of religion must come from the home" without any training at schools because home is

* Dr. P. K. Acharya's article on "Secular State and Religion" appeared in the *Indian Review* for October 1951.

made up of those who come out from schools.

The two aspects of religion, viz., faith and belief on the one side and observance and practice on the other have been sufficiently elaborated. The former would be common to all who believe in the existence of God and immortality of Soul, and can be taught and generated at schools. The latter, of which there are varieties, can be developed at home according to the rules and regulations prescribed by different Scriptures for their respective followers.

There can be no room for atheists. They are to be left out of consideration

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and need not be compelled to attend at religious discourses and Congregation. This scheme was successfully carried out by Mahatma Gandhi in his prayer meetings—largely attended by Sikhs, Buddhists, Harijans, Christians, Jains, and Hindus.

It is a false hope that "a true teacher will achieve the result without a religious class or an hour of homily about morals." Wherefrom such a teacher can come if he had not been a student himself. Will Shastriji await the birth of Christ, Mohammad, Buddha, Sankara, Gandhi and others while free India carries out a National Government without any effort to retain the faith and belief in God and existence of Spirit or Soul after death and decay of the body? What then will

be the intellectual difference between man and beast?

If the principle is accepted by the National Government of India, a Curriculum can be worked out by the Ministry of Education in consultation with educationists. It will serve no useful purpose to indulge in discussion as to how the desirable course of studies can be introduced in school stage. On account of Shastriji's lame excuse the Indo-British Government avoided introduction of religious teaching in our schools although in their own country ample provision still continues to exist. Where there is a will a way can be found out. Shastriji may consult with profit Dr. Bhagwan Das's work on Universal Religion which was tried successfully at the Central Hindu College at Benares.

PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

BY MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

—(o)—

THE peculiar circumstances in which the Indian National Congress secured sweeping majorities in the Central and Provincial legislatures have so far precluded the emergence of an effective parliamentary opposition in India. The need for such an opposition has been keenly felt during the last few years and frequent but vain efforts to challenge the supremacy of the Congress have been witnessed from time to time. Now that the elections are round the corner the question assumes a special significance and is once again the focus of public attention.

Electoral pacts with a view to offer consolidated opposition to the Congress on a restricted basis have already taken shape in some parts of the country. More such election alliances are in the offing for almost all political parties are looking out for convenient election allies, the main object being either to throw the Congress out of power or in the alternative provide the much-needed parliamentary opposition.

As things stand at present a decisive defeat for the Congress at the polls is of course out of question. Presuming therefore that the Congress will secure at least working majorities in the country's legislatures, it will be interesting to analyse the possibility of the emergence of parliamentary opposition in the post-election India, and examine to what extent the electoral pacts are conducive towards such a development. An appraisal of the functions and the true attributes of truly democratic opposition is however first necessary to place the whole problem in the correct perspective.

To begin with, the role of a democratic opposition is not negative as the term opposition may suggest. On the contrary the functions of the opposition are as constructive as, if not more than, those of the ruling party. By constituting itself into a rival and an alternative to the party in power, the opposition functions as the watchdog of the interests of the people and an

antidote to executive excesses. With its constructive and responsible criticism it helps to keep the wheels of progress moving, prevents stupor and despondency and promotes vigilance and alertness in the ruling party. It is the one factor that more than anything else contributes towards clean and efficient administration.

Furthermore a truly democratic opposition does not oppose the government merely for the sake of doing so in a spirit of hostility and rancour. When the interests of the country demand it there can be no opposition for the country is always above politics. Strictly speaking opposition is confined to the area of conflict between the policies of the ruling party and the opposition party. It therefore follows logically that the opposition party must have its own distinctive ideology and its own programme and also adequate strength and resources to implement it if necessary. In fact the only difference between the ruling party and the opposition is that while the former shoulders the responsibilities of administration, the latter functions as the corrective force and holds itself in readiness as a prospective substitute.

Coming now to brass tracts it is obvious that none of our political parties, outside the Congress can satisfy the conditions outlined above. None of them have the strength and resources and the mass following to which the Congress can lay claim. As regards ideologies with a few exceptions it is difficult to distinguish between the fundamental policies of most of our political parties. Whatever opposition exists today is motivated by the desire on the part of our politicians to oppose the Congress rather than promote their own policies and programmes.

It is this negative attitude common among most of our political parties which is now being sought to be exploited to build up opposition to the Congress through electoral non-aggression pacts. Such electoral agreements may fulfil the limited purpose of preventing a split in the anti-Congress vote and even minimising the chances of Congress victory in the elections. But coalitions of disjointed groups with nothing in common except

their hostility to the Congress cannot be expected to furnish the alternative leadership and function as effective democratic opposition parties. Ideological unity, organisation discipline and compact leadership are as indispensable to the opposition as to the ruling party. And these attributes cannot be acquired through transitory electoral pacts which are not likely to survive beyond the elections.

That India needs parliamentary opposition cannot be gainsaid. It is essential for the very survival of democratic ideals, for, the tendency towards totalitarianism is inherent in a system dominated by a single party, however democratic minded the latter may be. The enthusiasm of our politicians who appear to be almost obsessed by the idea of organising opposition to the Congress therefore is commendable but it is necessary that they should approach the problem in a more constructive spirit.

It is imperative to seek more positive methods than mere antagonism to the Congress for achieving their objective. Electoral pacts are very useful provided they are based on concrete foundations of common policies, common programmes and co-ordinating leadership. It would be in the interest of the country if those of our political parties who cannot obviously single-handed measure their strength with the Congress sink their differences and forge a common front and adopt a common programme of activity.

It is not yet too late to do so, although elections are fast drawing close and such a step alone will both facilitate the task of the electorate and invest the prospective parliamentary opposition with the necessary vigour and stability.

BRAIN WAVE

A farmer, visiting his son's college and wandering into the chemistry class, saw some students experimenting. 'What are you trying to do?' he asked.

'We're endeavouring,' replied one of the students, 'to discover or invent a universal solvent.'

'What's that?'

'A liquid that will dissolve anything.'

'That's a great idea,' agreed the farmer. 'When you find it, what are you going to keep it in?'

THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION IN INDIA

By "KEITH AUSTIN"

—: O :—

IN another four months, Free India will hold her first general election during which over 170 million adults will go to the polls to determine the shape and composition of India's Central and State Governments for the next five years. The occasion will be, in a sense, even more historic than the handing over of power in August 1947 by the British to the Constituent Assembly at the centre and the Legislative Assemblies in the States, for these bodies were elected on a narrow franchise and consisted almost entirely of members of the Congress Party, and as such were neither representative of the country as a whole, nor fully democratic. The post-election Governments, it is hoped, will be more truly representative of the people, and of the various parties and shades of political belief that have emerged since Independence.

India's forthcoming election is the greatest experiment in Democracy of our era. Coming at a time when the world has split into two irreconcilable camps—the Democratic and the totalitarian—makes it even more significant, and the eyes of the world will be focussed on India during the coming winter. For India herself the Election will be of supreme importance. The next five years will be, perhaps, the most critical in India's long and chequered history. The first, fine careless rapture of freedom has passed. Four years of uphill work have followed, and though much has been achieved in the face of mounting difficulties at home and abroad, yet the country is by no means out of the wood. The time for words is over; the time for hard, unrelenting, constructive work is at hand. Since Independence there has been a marked deterioration of moral standards in public and in private life throughout India. At present the country is like a clock that is slowly but surely running down. The new government will be faced with the stupendous task of rallying the people, arresting the present drift, disillusionment and cynicism, and infusing into the people the same enthusiasm for constructive work, honesty,

integrity and moral and spiritual ideals that animated their fight for freedom. Unless they can do this, and do it within the next few years India will, sooner or later, succumb to mounting internal and external pressures; the slender scaffolding of her newly-established republic will collapse like a pack of cards; and she will have to bow her head under the yoke of an indigeneous dictatorship or foreign domination.

India's future is, therefore, inextricably bound up with the result of the coming election; her destiny will depend in large measure on the men who are chosen to rule her during the next five years. The entire responsibility for making a wise choice has been thrown by the Constitution on the adult population, male and female, of the sub-continent. India's 170 million adults will choose the men and women on whom their future depends. This would, on the face of it, seem the best course that could have been adopted in the circumstances. The *Vox Populi* is not always right, but it is seldom far wrong. The real point at issue is whether the people are aware of the tremendous responsibility resting on their shoulders, whether they are capable of discharging it as intelligent and responsible human beings, and whether they are entirely free to do so.

Are the people of India capable of exercising the responsibility of voting intelligently, of distinguishing the sheep from the goats, of assessing the rival merits and demerits of the rival political programmes put forward for their consideration? In short are the people educated enough to make a wise use of their vote? Considering that only 14 per cent of adult men and 2½ per cent of the adult women in India are literate (about 15 out of the 170 million voters) and of these perhaps less than 50 per cent are educated in the minimal sense of the term, the answer is obvious. It would be a mistake to identify literacy with education, and, as has been often emphasised, the Indian peasant has a shrewd fund of common-sense to compensate for his illiteracy. But

in these days when democracy has become so complex, ability to read and to understand and criticize what one reads is a *sine qua non* for the proper exercise of one's political rights. John Stuart Mill emphasised that "Universal education must precede universal suffrage." India's leaders, realizing that universal education was a dream of the future, have reversed Mill's dictum and granted the vote to every adult, without exception. In doing so they showed great faith and even greater hope. How far their faith in the common man, and in the native mother-wit of their countrymen and women, will be justified only the future will show. India's leaders have taken a tremendous risk; on the results of their gamble will depend the peace, progress and prosperity of India.

Consciousness of responsibility is the fruit of a sound education at home, in the school, and in the Community. Education in the home and in the Community exists, to some extent, for the masses; but it is of a narrow vocational type, and does not include education for citizenship: while schooling is denied to the vast majority. Optimists claim to discern signs of a dawning political consciousness among India's masses but such signs are very faint indeed. There is little or no indication that the masses are aware of the tremendous power that has been placed on their hands—the power to make or mar India's future—or that they are on the way to developing that sense of political and moral responsibility that must accompany the exercise of such power. This is not surprising. If a sense of political awareness and moral responsibility is absent in more highly developed countries—even in England and America where the percentage of literacy is almost 100 per cent—large numbers of people do not take the trouble of voting in national and local elections, and many of those who do vote are guided by their emotions rather than their reason—it would be too much to expect them to be born overnight among India's illiterate masses.

Charges have recently been made that the Congress Party, which is in power at the Centre and in the States, is using the government machinery and officials

and the tax-payers' money to 'manage' the forthcoming elections. Recent restrictions on the freedom of the press, the misbehaviour of some officials, and intrigue and corruption in bye-elections and municipal elections during the past year or two, lend some colour to these charges. They are, however, mainly without foundation, and there is every indication that the individual voter will be quite free to give his vote to whichever party or individual he affects. Physical freedom from compulsion the Indian voter will definitely have; but such freedom is of a negative kind. Has the average Indian a sufficient measure of economic and intellectual freedom to enable him to exercise his vote, without fear or favour, and to give it to the most deserving candidate or party. That is the question, and, in view of what we have said before, the answer is highly unsatisfactory. Ignorance, parochialism, communalism, suggestibility to persons rather than policies, deep rooted prejudices, taboos and superstitions—these are some of the deep rooted obstacles to the true freedom of the electorate. Until they are eliminated by education, there will be the ever-present fear that the electorate will fall ready victims to mass hysteria, whipped up by self-seeking demagogues for their own evil ends, or succumb to some form of dictatorship.

Who will win the election? Political prophecies are always risky, and, as the electorate in India is an 'unknown factor' no categorical answer is possible. The main parties are the Congress Party, the Socialist Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the group of splinter groups in various States which have broken away from the Congress and which Acharya Kripalani, who recently resigned from Congress, is endeavouring to weld into a single opposition party. If the Socialists for the election combine with this party, together they should give the Congress a close fight both at the Centre and in the States. Recent bye-elections and municipal elections point to the fact that though Congress is still by far the most formidable, well-organized and well-financed party it is slowly but surely losing ground in several states. The Socialists, under

the vigorous leadership of Jaiprakash Narain and Dr. Lohia, are bound to make some gains: and, if Acharya Kripalani can shape the dissident groups into a single party with a coherent, appealing platform they will also make deep inroads on the overwhelming majority the Congress possesses to-day. The Hindu Mahasabha with its narrow and bigoted communal outlook is not likely to command much of a following. The overall prospect would seem to be that the Congress will be returned to power, with appreciable majorities, at the Centre and in most of the States, but that they

will have a much more formidable and vocal group of opposition parties ranged against them. This will be all to the good because a one party government, however good, is the negation of true democracy. Whatever be the final outcome of the election there is one hope in the hearts of all right-thinking Indians, that the coming election will be conducted on truly democratic lines, that it will justify India's deliberate choice of the democratic form of government, and that, after it, the infant republic will settle down and begin a period of slow and steady growth and progress under the Government of her choice.

NATIONAL STRUGGLE IN INDONESIA

BY PROF. S. B. MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE Dutch went to the East Indies (Indonesia) for commerce. They found a Crown. It is however true that commerce, not conquest, was their aim at first. In the long run they became masters of an island realm much larger than their own country. Interested propaganda would have us believe that Holland's empire in the Far East was thrust upon her.

In common with colonial governments everywhere else, the Dutch rule in Indies was characterised by a ruthless exploitation of the country and its people. Everything went on well for a time. But the ruthlessness of alien exploitation and a thorough subordination of the people to an alien race at last brought about a re-action and gave birth to Indonesian nationalism. Several factors hastened this awakening of national consciousness in Indonesia.

Even the most submissive people do not submit indefinitely to the rule of others with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit, into whose ranks they are never admitted. The irresponsibility of the foreign rulers and the superciliousness and stand-offishness of the officialdom and the settlers from the mother-country widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The latter feel frustrated and humiliated. The Government is neither for, nor by the

people. The Dutch colonial Government in the heyday of its imperialism never descended from its seat of power to take counsel with its subjects. Policy—governmental as well as economic—was framed and changed by foreigners "to whose thoughts and conclaves the Asiatic had no access." The revolution in Indonesia, like all genuine revolutions, was directed against the powers and privileges of an exclusive group.

Spread of education, Western education, of course, quickened the evolution of Indonesian nationalism. "Education tore the veils of mysticism from the power of the West." The Young Indonesian drank at the spring of the Western literature, which seemed to explain the power of the West in terms of nationalism and science. When the whiteman stood in the way of the Indonesian, he no longer wanted to drive him out and go back to the good old days as he had done during the earliest days of national awakening. He wanted instead to step into the whiteman's place and to exert himself the powers of the latter.

Western history and science taught the Indonesian that nationalism was the "concentrated force" behind the exploits of Europe and the United States of America. This realisation gave an impetus to the devise for a national life. Not a few of the first generation of

nationalist leaders were, however, inclined to look almost exclusively to the West for guidance. They thought that they could end their political tutelage only by imitating their masters, acquiring thereby the ability to become their equals in administrative and technical efficiency. The founders of the 'Budi Utomo' (Noble Endeavour), Indonesia's first political society belonged to this school. They believed that political independence would come through reforms in instalments. But they were disillusioned before long. It became evident that the nationalist movement could never achieve its objects without popular organisation and support. It was also evident that such organisation and support would imply a choice between co-operation and conflict with the colonial Government.

Quite apart from the resentment against racial and political sub-servience and subordination there were a number of grievances besides. The machinery for redress being bureaucratic moved slowly and was beyond popular control. The authorities betrayed a lamentable lack of imagination in tackling the problems of Indonesia. Nationalism in consequence became more and more radical with the passage of time. Patriotic Indonesians realised that political independence was the first pre-requisite to progress of any kind. Not a few turned more and more to agitation and violence. Some saw the panacea of all Indonesia's ills in the more extreme ideologies like communism while others exploited the religious fanaticism and anti-alien sentiments of the masses.

Indonesia has always resisted Dutch imperialism. The Java War, the Atjeh War and Bali-Lambak War in the earlier days of Dutch rule were all attempts to get rid of the unwanted foreigner. But they were unorganised and isolated class movements and hence were crushed without much difficulty.

A new era dawned over Indonesia in the 20th century. Russia's defeat at the hands of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) stirred the placid colonial waters of Asia. The awakening of national consciousness was quickened. The waves reached the shores of Indonesia. The nationalist

movement began to take shape in 1908, when the 'Budi Utomo' was ushered into existence by a number of students and some members of the intelligentsia. It had no political programme. Nor had it deep roots among the masses. It agitated for better educational facilities and better social conditions and its membership was confined to the educated Javanese for many years.

The diversity of the Indonesian population gave rise to a host of local parties and organisations. The nationalist movement spread rapidly and after being restricted to the educated minority in the initial stage, "began to look for a more popular appeal and a more general scope with the organisation of the Sarikat Islam (the Moslem Union) in 1911." The organisation of the 'Sarikat Islam' was the beginning of a process of radicalisation, which was stimulated by the economic and political disturbances caused by World War I. Parties were multiplied. These were the East Indies Party organised in 1912, the first nationalist organisation of Indonesia, East Indies Social Democratic Association based on socialistic principles founded by some Dutchmen in 1914 and the Communist Party of Indonesia organised in 1917. The East Indies Party, it may be noted, subsequently came to be known as the Indies National Party. Beginning with the foundation of the Communist Party of Indonesia new forms and methods of class struggle were adopted in Indonesia's fight for independence.

During World War I (1914-18) the Hague Government promised greater liberties to Indonesia. The promise made at a very critical time was conveniently forgotten when the crisis was over. The promised liberties and re-organised constitutional Government in Indonesia materialised in the creation of the so-called 'Volksraad' (People's Council) with a solid nominated block. One-third of the members of the 'Volksraad' were nominated by the Government. None was popularly elected. The 'Volksraad', colossal hoax, was nothing more than a debating club. It was merely an advisory body, real power remaining in the hands of the Dutch masters. In the meanwhile repressive measures were introduced and increased.

Imperialism follows a uniform policy everywhere. Our own experience in India during and after World War I is very much like that of Indonesia. The pages of all colonial histories "are strewn over with fragments of broken pledges."

Exploitation, poverty and repressive measures at last goaded the people to rise up in armed insurrection against their tormentors in 1926-27. This communist-led uprising under Tan Malaka was however easily suppressed. Every nationalist Indonesian was a suspect from now on. Many Dutch, specially those who had little contact with the Indonesian World, began to see a revolutionary in every nationalist. More militant political leaders were interned, many of them and their followers in the ill-reputed camp in Digul in New Guinea. Political and constitutional reforms, tardy and reluctant in themselves, became tardier and still more reluctant. Dutch terror, directed against the masses and the national movements, raged in Indonesia. But the spark of freedom in the Indonesian heart could not be extinguished. An active section of the middle class now gained the upper hand in the direction of the nationalist movement. The example of the Indian National Congress made a deep impression. Certain sections were driven to non-co-operation by the unsympathetic attitude of Batavia and the Hague. Local organisations in the meanwhile continued to multiply. A number of trade unions and societies with more special purposes came into existence. The centre of political gravity constantly shifted. A desire to federate or to form coalitions for combined action was discernible. The existence of a number of political organisations was a healthy symptom. It fostered political discussion and political consciousness and was an effective guarantee against the supremacy and tyranny of one party.

In 1928 some leaders of the Indonesian Association (Perhimpunan Indonesia), founded by Indonesian students in the Netherlands, were prosecuted by the Hague authorities for aiming, at overthrowing the Dutch Government. The prosecution fell through for want of evidence. The Indonesian Association, a

cultural and social organisation at the outset, had developed into a full-fledged political organisation and was in close touch with underground movements in Indonesia.

The revolt of the Indonesian crew of the Dutch cruiser, the *Seven provinces*, in 1934 was an indication of the rising temper of the Indonesian people. The crew bound their officers, themselves took command of the cruiser and hoisted the red flag. They held out for two days and were finally killed. A smart slap in the face of the Dutch ruler, the revolt was a great blow to his prestige at the same time. (cf. the Bombay Naval Mutiny of 1945).

Tensions and disturbances in Indonesia rarely came to the surface till the outbreak of World War II. But the more active nationalist parties were in a dangerous mood even before the War. Active "nationalism was spreading downward to the semi-intellectual groups, the petty officials, the clerks, the school teachers, the machinics, the foremen and the artisans." A comparatively quick spread of education in recent decades had given a preponderance to youth. Age-old traditions had begun to lose their hold on the masses. New ideas were in the air.

Dutch power in Indonesia collapsed without any resistance before the Japanese invasion in 1942. The government ran away leaving the people helpless and defenceless against the aggressor from the north. The Indonesians however rose to the full stature of their manhood and hit back the invader. A grim struggle for liberation was on and continued right upto the end of the war in 1945. According to Indonesian estimates, at least three million patriotic Indonesians were killed and four million, crippled, in resisting the aggressor in the north.

A Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on the eve of Japan's surrender to the U.S.A. in August 1945. The Dutch came back after the war and tried to recover their lost empire. But the war had transformed Indonesia and she was in no mood to submit to alien rule any more. The Dutch at last accepted the *fait accompli* and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was formally inaugurated on December 27-1949.

OUR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

BY DR. R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T., Ph.D.,

Nizam College, Hyderabad and Member, Agrarian Reforms Committee, Government of Hyderabad.

THE path of economic planning and transition from war to peace economy is not easy. One of the main problems of Indian poverty is to draw off the surplus agricultural population into other productive occupations. No scheme for the reform of the land system would be complete unless it provides effective means for reducing rural unemployment and underemployment. While large-scale industries have done good for the urban areas, they have not appreciably benefitted the country side except by way of increased demand for raw materials. Rural and cottage industries are a necessary complement to large scale urban industry. Apart from their economic value, they deserve special attention as they do not give rise to social evils which are incidental to concentrated production. The large majority of our people live in villages. After all in a country like India, the fundamentals of planning are relief of poverty by providing employment to the masses and ensuring them a satisfactory level of income and resources. While, 'Industrialise we must', it is very difficult now to import capital goods. Plans for industrial development can not neglect rural industries. The Gandhian contribution to Indian economic thought is that Cottage Industries give a valuable chance for avoiding the evils of centralised methods of production. Cottage industries are indeed meant to absorb a large number of people in rural areas who are in a state of constant want, semi-starvation, economic insecurity etc. Even our Trade Commissioners say that that we can develop export markets for some of our cottage industry products.

Cottage industries in Hyderabad as elsewhere have developed over a long period and bear evidence to a high degree of skill attained by the local craftsman. For example in Hyderabad the carpets of Warangal, the toys of Nirmal, the handloom products of Mettapally, the woollen blankets of Mahbubnagar, and the many articles of use and ornaments known as 'Bidriware' are well known even outside

the State. Besides, the State possesses considerable resources of raw material for the development of cottage industries on a wide basis.

The most important cottage industry in the State and elsewhere is handloom weaving which is spread over the many villages in the State, giving employment to over 4 lakhs of workers. Woollen industry is another cottage industry. Out of the 25 lakhs of pounds of raw wool, we are exporting 15 lakhs of pounds. Hyderabad with its large cattle population has an abundant supply of hides and skins. Tanning is another rural industry. The State produces nearly a million tons of oil seed out of which 85 per cent. is used locally. About 8 lakhs of acres are cultivated annually with castor. Castor leaf can easily be used for the development of silk industry. We have these resources elsewhere also.

I have written enough to indicate the potentialities that exist for the development of cottage industries. Though the Industrial Trust Fund, cottage industries Sales Depot and the Textile Centre, formerly known as Cottage Industries Institute, the Government have taken steps for resuscitating some of our cottage industries. During 1945-48 a number of measures were inaugurated, which are termed post-war schemes. They include post-war handloom industry scheme which come into operation in six main and twelve sub centres, handloom industries scheme financed by the Rural Welfare Trust Fund, the scheme for the development of sericulture, transport scheme, to afford facilities for the transport of materials, and appliances from the city to district centres, the hand spinning scheme. The mobile flaying and tanning units scheme, the scheme for the development of pisciculture and finally the scheme for the marketing of cottage industries. The post-war schemes cover a wide range. A private agency like the All-India Spinners' Association has developed hand spinning and weaving and in

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1948-1949 was able to produce Khadi worth nearly ten lakhs of rupees in 1944-45.

The Agrarian Reforms Committee constituted by the Government of Hyderabad of which I had the privilege of being a member has come to the conclusion that the provision of cheap and readily available credit is essential for the cottage worker. All our schemes must be the outcome of an integrated plan aiming at substantial results. The steps which we have taken till now compare favourably with what has been done in other States. It appears that we must have an economic survey of cottage industries so that we can draw up a five year plan. Village workshops for making agricultural implements. As we have oil seeds in plenty, we can popularise ghanis of the type devised by the All-India Village Industries Association. The improvement of this industry which is dispersed over many villages will not only help the artisans engaged in it to obtain fuller employment but will make oil cake which is increasingly in demand for manurial purposes, more readily available in villages. Oilcake can also be used as cattle feed which means augmenting milk supply.

Several other cottage industries can also be developed giving employment to our teeming millions.

A brief survey of the steps taken by the Department to develop cottage indus-

tries makes one feel that such steps as were taken to improve cottage industries are really laudable. But an attempt should be made to relate plans for the rehabilitation of cottage industries to a predetermined objective. If we are to provide suitable subsidiary occupations to our villagers, we must have a proper plan. For this we must revitalise our village life and economics and restore the villagers to their former glory. There should be a survey of the existing position of the cottage industries particularly with reference to which of the cottage industries can serve as subsidiary occupations. I may refer to the economic survey for C. P. villages conducted under the chairmanship of Sri. J. C. Kumarappa.

Of course we have also to consider the aesthetic claims of some cottage handicrafts and these may be developed for purposes of export. But we must remember that it is profitable for us to develop cottage industries which can provide employment to the workers at their own places as this alone will raise their purchasing power.

Cottage industries require little capital, running expenditure and skill. Thanks to Gandhiji we have realised the need for their resuscitation. Let us hope that the popular ministries will implement the economic policy for which they all along stood. Let us once again repeat that the real India lives in the villages.

SMALL TOWNS

BY RICHARD ARMOUR

Small towns, about which
People used to joke
Are now discovered
To have less smoke.

Fewer crowded schoolrooms,
More parking spaces,
Less lonesomeness,
More familiar faces,

And lower tax rates,
A lot more calm,
And nothing at all
Worth an atom bomb.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune.

TWO MAIN PROBLEMS

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

[Presiding over the 16th Session of the All India Oriental Conference at Lucknow on October 3, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri urged the Government of India to set up an Indological Research Institute for the study of India's ancient past. India was in the midst of a moral crisis, he said, and a way out could be found only by regaining her freedom of spirit instead of running after alien models or depending too much on foreign aid. The primary requisite for such vital development was the restoration of India's classics to a place of honour in the educational system and the planning and steady pursuit of their study and interpretation in the light of present requirements, he added. Prof. Sastri suggested that Indian Universities should unreservedly accept Hindi as the national language and as a medium of exchange for all advanced knowledge. His views on the explosive subject of linguist provinces may also be read with interest.—ED. I. R.]

TWO problems of current interest press themselves on our attention, and I venture to set down here my own opinions on them without any suggestion that they should be agreed to by the Conference or indeed by any one else if they do not see reason to do so. The first is the question of medium of instruction in our Universities, which I take it is the same as that of a common language for India for inter-state communication and for use in its legislatures, law-courts and so on. A friend of mine, a judge of the Madras High Court, once feelingly narrated to me how small he felt while he was in Japan some years back. As he was talking to fellow Indians from other provinces in English, one of his Japanese friends asked him if there was no Indian language in which all Indians could understand one another, and he naturally said there was none. Promptly the Japanese friend twitted him with the observation 'And you want to be an independent nation!' It is rather unfortunate that the recent Commission on University Education which, as may be expected, discussed the problem in all its aspects, should have left it in a state of amazing uncertainty, instead of giving the clear lead which their own conclusions in detail seem to warrant. They affirm that 'English cannot continue to occupy the place of State language as in the past', and concede that 'there is no other alternative but to choose a language spoken by a high percentage of the people of India, to give it the status of State language, and to develop it for the chosen task,' and obviously Hindi spoken and under-

stood by more than 120 millions of our country 'has to fulfil this destiny.' Instead of drawing the natural conclusion from these propositions, they branch off into a discussion of the relative superiority of Indian languages, reach the findings that 'Hindi is the language of a minority, although a large minority,' that 'while national needs compel the recognition of Hindi (Hindustani) as India's Federal language, it is difficult to assign to it the role played by English,' they suggest that 'in the Federal Legislature the practice of International Conferences may be followed,' and say finally: 'Although we recognise that in the near future the regional languages will be the media of instruction at all stages in all provinces, we consider it desirable that Universities should have the option to use the Federal language as the medium of instruction either for some subjects or all subjects.' Since I read these utterances of perhaps the strongest Commission of educationalists we can ever hope to assemble I have often tried to convince myself that they may after all be right, and as often I have found it difficult to do so. Any change of this order is sure to be attended with difficulties, but they must be overcome here and now if a drift into chaos is to be checked. That English is going, if it has not gone already in large tracts of our country, is certain; but if we have a due regard for the unity of India, we shall have no hesitation in accepting Hindi without any reservation as the national language of the future, and consequently the medium of exchange for all advanced

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knowledge among the Universities and States of India. I may assure you that Hindi is making steady and silent progress in my part of the country also, and we may expect that if the Union government pursues a reasonably steady policy, the innate patriotism of the people and the real merits of the case will assert themselves in a short time.

The other problem touching our attitude to languages is the somewhat explosive one of linguistic provinces. It is not sufficiently recognised that there is a considerable volume of informed opinion in the country which sets its face definitely against this idea. This opinion which is held in private and often strongly expressed in intimate discussions, does not, for various reasons, find expression on public platforms. The point of view actuating this line of thought may be expressed somewhat like this. The past history of India contains an unmistakable caution against centrifugal forces being given free play. Unity must be the basic idea of all our political organisation, or our Union is apt to dissolve in disunion in course of time. As a practical proposition, we are not in a position to-day to create homogeneous linguistic provinces any more than we were some years ago to create a homogeneous Pakistan and Hindustan. The terrible lessons of the Partition, which was the necessary price of freedom from foreign rule, are still very much with us, and should serve as a stern warning against monkeying with boundaries. The Congress, as a national organization first, and latterly as a political party, does well to organize its activity as far as possible on a linguistic basis, but it made a mistake in promising that political boundaries would coincide with linguistic ones.

This was clearly pointed out as the result of a searching enquiry conducted all over India by the Dar Committee which was appointed by the Congress government at the centre. The attempts to whittle down or modify the force of that conclusion were unfortunate. 'One Nation, One State' was the cry in nineteenth century Europe, and what havoc it wrought History has recorded. Lord Acton, the wisest among

the great historians of his time, passionately pleaded for multi-national states in which people of different nationalities will learn to rub off their angularities and live harmoniously together. Soviet Russia has problems of linguistic nationality similar to our own. How they are being handled there would become clear from the following extract from Prof. Sumner's *Survey of Russian History* (1944): 'In fact the Soviet state has become a multi-national union rather than a federation of many nations. In glaring contrast with tsarism, the local languages, arts, and history of the Soviet peoples have been continuously encouraged by every means; but for the last dozen years strictly within the limits of the Stalinist slogan "nationalist in form, socialist in content." This means very close control and extreme penalties for anything which might be interpreted as political nationalism. Nehru is not Stalin, and there is no danger of Stalinism in India. Let us have Universities and culture centres for linguistic areas, and you know that much is being done already on these lines; and if in the course of natural growth we come by linguistic political units, well and good; but let us not force the pace in a false dream, create insoluble problems in the process, and bring about a waste of our slender resources in the multiplication of new capitals, cabinets, secretariats, legislatures and what not.'

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

NATIONALISM IN THE EAST AND WEST

BY MR. FRANK MORAES

WHAT happens in Asia today matters a great deal to the world. That is due to many factors—territorial size, population, geographical and strategic considerations. But it is due primarily to one thing, the emergence of a new nationalism in Asia which is slowly making its presence felt. Wars have a habit of influencing the minds of people, and on the mind of Asia the last war has made a tremendous impact.

The traveller in South-East Asia sees much interesting evidence of this new fermentation of ideas and ideals. The East is no longer content to be held in gorgeous stief. It stirs with life, and in Indonesia, Indo-China, Malaya and Burma, Governments and peoples are alive and conscious of the value of political freedom. The temptation to compare this movement with the nation States of 18th century Europe is irresistible. But comparisons are apt to be facile and often misleading. And in a sense there are as many similarities between Asian and European nationalism as there are differences between the two.

In his brilliant "History of Europe" the late Mr. H.A.L. Fisher describes Europe as a continent of energetic mongrels. By this he means that Europe is a great melting pot of many racial strains which over the centuries have intermingled to produce what the world knows to-day as the European. Europe in that sense is much more than a geographical expression. And the impact of various movements—cultural, political and scientific—has moulded it. Thus the scientific approach is something which, until very recently, was peculiar to the West. And from this approach arose the habit of precision and exactitude, the tendency always to examine premises before arriving at a conclusion which is characteristic of the European outlook. The European character and mind, though the result of several strains, has two marked characteristics. It is scientific and rational. I suppose that is another way of saying that it is modern.

But Europe also, as Asia today, represents a vast mosaic of races spread

over considerable areas. Europe drew its impress from Rome and Greece, from the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome. And the impact of those two civilisations, Hellenic and Roman, was strong and survives. Asia, in that sense, also drew its inspiration from two sources: India and China. And the impact of these two civilisations still survives on the face of Asia. Thus over many lands, particularly in Indonesia and in Cambodia in Indo-China, the marks of Indian civilisation and culture are apparent and clearly discernible. In Siam again the impress lingers, though today it is overlaid with a strong Chinese veneer.

Asia had its impact on Europe as Europe was to leave its impress on Asia. Asia, like Europe, is also a continent of energetic mongrels and racial types taper off into a mingled medley of Eastern blood. There is an assertive national consciousness in countries like Indonesia, Indo-China and Burma and, more recently, it has begun to make its influence felt in Malaya.

The new nationalism of Asia has still to take definite shape and colour. We are in the chrysalis stage and it may be that the final flowering will see a continent as multi-coloured as a tropical butterfly. Yet even here the European parallel persists, for just as 19th and 20th century Europe saw the growth of small nationalities and racial strife as between Slovak and Czech, and between Croat and Serb, so also racial assertiveness rears its head in Asia.

So we see nationalism in the East taking on a pattern perhaps more fluid and less defiable than that in the West. There are many points of similarity between European and Asian development. There are also some points of difference and this I shall now consider.

The differences between Asian and European nationalism stem from this background. In a sense the coming of the Industrial Revolution in Europe accentuated the pace of colonialism in the East, for industrial development hinges on adequate raw material resources and on cheap labour. Both these factors existed

in Asia and hence European countries, with their more strongly developed political consciousness, with their efficient economies and with their superior armed strength, had little difficulty in bringing the countries of Asia into subjection. Behind political domination was the urgency of economic impulses. Asia was a vast reservoir of raw materials and manpower, much of it untapped. What is more inevitable than that Europe should strive to hitch this wagon to its star?

Industrial development in the West inevitably brought industrial conflict and competition. From this economic rivalry there developed a certain amount of strife between Western nations in their efforts to capture markets abroad. In the East the competitive element was largely absent for the economies of Asian nations were agrarian and largely backward. Nor, because of political and military reasons, was it possible for Asian countries to assert themselves vigorously enough. There was thus produced a curious situation, for while European countries sought to exploit Asia they were themselves divided by economic rivalries. From these economic rivalries sprang largely the two great World Wars of this century. Hitler, like Kaiser Wilhelm, wanted *lebensraum* for his people and a place in the sun. He wanted his African colonies back from the League of Nations. So Europe, in a sense, wrested and wrangled over the body of Asia.

Wars solve nothing, and this is abundantly proved by the two great conflicts of this century. For in seeking to divide the spoils of Asia and in extending imperialism Europe destroyed imperialism. The next world conflict, if and when it does unhappily arise, will be fought for a different type of imperialism, though possibly Asia might again be the cockpit of that conflict.

The destruction of the old economic imperialism which followed World War II saw the rise of nationalism in Asia. It saw the growth of independent countries, of the nation States which once flourished in 19th century Europe. Asia as such has still to be organised and articulate but already we see a pattern of yearning and aspiration common to the

countries of Asia today. There is first her strong antipathy to colonialism and imperialism and to all which those concepts signified. There has thus developed an *esprit de Corps* among the new nations of Asia which was unknown in 18th century Europe. We saw manifestations of that in the New Delhi conference on Indonesia, in the Asian Conference which first gave concrete and organised form to these aspirations, and in the recent attempt by Asian and Arab nations to help solve the Korean conflict.

There is sometimes an advantage in arriving late on the scene. Experience, said Oscar Wilde, is the name men give to their mistakes, and if we are wise the countries of Asia may yet profit by the mistakes of others and learn from their experience. On the economic front, due to various reasons, some of which I have explained, the economies of Asian countries are largely complementary and in no real sense competitive. This is because the economies of Asian countries are primarily agrarian and not industrial. We can learn much from European experience to better our economies and to work to a dovetailed pattern which makes for the greatest good of the greatest number.

There is another field in which our late arrival on the scene helps us. This is the political field. So fast is the tempo of life today that many new nations of Asia, most of whom have been independent for barely five years, have passed into the international picture and are making their influence felt in that sphere. Some form of inter-Asian co-operation is slowly being evolved and the world is thus being faced with a new positive factor.

Asia, with her new-found independence, realises that only through peace can Asian lands give economic reality to their political freedom. Peace is indeed Asia's and the world's paramount need. Without peace the nationalism of Asia will lack solidity and stability and have no economic reality. That is why the policy of many Asian countries, particularly of India, is influenced so strongly by this universal urge. It is something which the West has still to understand fully.—A. I. R. *External Services*.

Profit-Sharing Plans in American Industry

BY

ROGER WILLIAM RIIS

[American workers in many industries share in the profits which their labor helps to create with beneficial results for both management and the workers themselves. How this is done and with what excellent results in the life and economy of the nation is discussed in the *Christian Century*, with copious instances of big businesses, which have profited by the system. The writer of the article, Mr. Roger William Riis is a roving editor of the well known *Reader's Digest*.]

THE tremendous increase since the end of World War II in the number of businesses and industries in the United States which have incorporated profit-sharing programs into their operations attests to the success of such systems. Both production and service enterprises have found that a plan which assures to the workers a part of the profits of his labor results in increased efficiency, increased interest, increased earnings for the company; reduced absenteeism, reduced labor turnover, reduced costs of production and consequent lower prices for goods manufactured, and other advantages—some of them intangible but of great importance to both company and employees.

Investigators counted 728 companies in the United States with profit-sharing plans in 1942. Today more than 12,000 new plans are in use. Since 1947 they have been appearing at the rate of 100 a month; in the year ending June 30, 1949, the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue approved 1,123 such new systems. These systems are of every conceivable type, affecting rates of pay, pensions, bonuses, annual wages, guaranteed work weeks, profit-sharing, group insurance, and various combinations of the foregoing factors.

Two major characteristics are common to all the plans: They emphasize that everyone working in a company is a member of a group working toward a common goal; that there are not two opposing sides in industry, but one single element—people, working together. They stress continuous production. Only with uninterrupted operation can a business realize the profits necessary to keep it going.

"More and more employers are deciding that it is better to make money with employees than to try to make it out of them," reported a recent American business survey. Much the same conclusion may

be read in the 1948 report of the joint committee of the U.S. Congress on labor-management relations, and in the 1948 study made by the National Industrial Conference Board on "Profit-Sharing for Workers."

The matter of continuous, uninterrupted production, is important. The general system under which business and industry in the United States operates is variously called the "free enterprise system," "the capitalist system," "the individualistic system." It is of course all of these, but it is something more. As one views the American industrial system in the world today, it is incomparably the "production system." The whole world looks to it for production; looks to it in peacetime and relies upon it in wartime. However, current success has not stopped efforts of American management to improve systems of production. Examples of better ways to run a company are numerous. The companies which are cited here are neither impractical nor wistful. They are some of the most successful businesses; in each field, they are leaders.

Not all profit-sharing plans are new. Among the oldest is Proctor and Gamble's method, successful since 1887 in the soap-making industry. This system is largely a stock ownership plan. It has worked well enough and long enough so that for the last 26 years the company has been able to provide guaranteed annual employment. Eastern Kodak Company since 1912 has distributed over \$90,000,000 within its working ranks. Its system incorporates a wage dividend with a stock dividend, so that management, workers, and stockholders pull notably together. Sears-Roebuck Company, a mail-order retail concern, has been developing its profit-sharing and pension system for 34 years; it now covers 107,000 people. Workers of Avondale

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Mills, in the American cotton milling industry, have more than \$6,000,000 in their trust fund. More remarkable, 8 families in every 10 of the mill workers own their own homes. S. C. Johnson and Son, wax makers of Racine, Wisconsin, with a system of mutual effort and teamwork, grew from a small company making parquet flooring into America's largest manufacturer of cleaning waxes.

Among the service industries, Pilgrim Laundry in New York City, relies chiefly on a stock ownership plan and has a high "spirit de corps." Under its system of companywide co-operation it has grown to a leading position among commercial laundries of the United States. The Grand Central Garage in Los Angeles, California, had what is normal in garages—a constant labor turnover. Two and a half years ago the garage management began dividing among employees 50 per cent of the profit monthly. Employees now are eager to co-operate. Labor turnover and absenteeism have practically disappeared. The Bank of Greensboro, North Carolina, pays a wage dividend equal to 15 per cent of the employee's annual salary, except when earnings are very low.

One characteristic of all the companies which are pioneering in better labor-management relationship is that they are wholeheartedly enthusiastic about their idea. As always when any movement reaches a certain stage of success, it becomes organized and thus acquires more momentum. In 1917 several companies organized Council of Profit-Sharing Industries; with headquarters in Akron, and Ohio. The council membership has doubled annually. There are now 175 member companies which have a total of 250,000 employees.

The Council define profit sharing as "any procedure under which an employer pays to all employees, in addition to good rates of regular pay, special current or deferred sums based not only upon individual or group performance, but also upon the prosperity of the business as a whole." The definition rests upon the premise that a business is a team, and that every worker of whatever rank is a member of that team.

From every analysis that has been made of profit-sharing methods, the same tangible benefits emerge. The practical nature of these results tend to balance the idealism so often involved in all such systems.

Despite the obvious benefits of such profit-sharing plans, they are not to be adopted lightly. Any alteration in the relation between worker and job must be approached with care and study. Every company requires its own special handling, and all such plans should be brought to life with the help of employees and their organizations.



Paul C. Hoffman, former United States Economic Co-operation Administrator, who now conducts the Ford Foundation, a philanthropic and research organization set up by the Ford Motor Company, said in the development of material standards, the United States had proved it was possible not only to develop industry to its highest production, but at the same time to retain human freedoms.

GITA GOVINDA

BY SRI V. SUNDARAM IYER

PANDIT NEHRU, the other day, pointedly laid emphasis on the need to integrate music and song drama and dance with the education of the young in our country, and it is a matter for extreme gratification that his government has been doing a lot in the direction, the inauguration of the Hindusthani and the Carnatic academies being the most significant earnest of the things to come. There is perhaps unlimited scope for research and resuscitation in Music, which in India has ever been the one unifying force of the land. Music in India, unlike as in the West, has become synthesised with religion, particularly in its Bakthi or devotion aspect,—indeed Sri Thyagayya asks us in his wellknown Danyasi Kriti, "Where is music without Bakthi?"—and secondly music has transcended all barriers of caste, creeds, script or province. Typical of both the features has been Gita Govinda, Jayadeva's immortal lyric, an exquisite rhapsody of but 21 stanzas in pure, mellifluous Sanskrit. The poem has in many ways been unique. Its author lived in a far off village in Orissa in comparative obscurity; yet such has been the intrinsic worth of the composition that it has been for several centuries the favourite hymn of millions of our people throughout the length and breadth of our country; and in the good old days there was hardly a Brahmin household in South India whose women folk did not begin the day's routine with the song "Pralayapa Yothi" in Sourashtra raga. Even now, Geetha Govinda is the only poem celebrated in song and dance in the annual Radha Kalyanam festivities in Tamil Nad. The theme of the work is love of Radha and Krishna; and its imagery might strike a superficial reader as aught but erotic and profane; still it has been the origin and mainstay of the most prominent religious cult and revival of our times, inaugurated by Sri Chaitanya in Bengal. Its musical and spiritual ramifications have spread far and wide, inspiring the saint as well as the soldier like Chaitanya and Rana Kumbha, the poet as well as the politician like Vidyapathi and Pratapa Rudra. Owing,

however, to a colossal misunderstanding of the esoteric import of the verses, Gita Govinda has become a forgotten work in North India, its place of origin, but we in South India have preserved it intact notwithstanding the passage of several centuries; and the Ashtapadies occupy even to-day an honoured place in our musical repertoire and what is perhaps more praiseworthy, in our agamic traditions and rituals. For instance in the Guruvayur temple in Malabar, one Ashtapady has to be sung each day before the Maha Neivedyam and musicians and drummers enjoy special emoluments for the service.

Jaya Deva appears to have flourished in the 11th century in a village near the Puri temple and his poem was in point of time certainly anterior to Sangita Ratnakara. Gita Govinda has shared with Kshetragna's padams the privilege of having been listened to and approved by the Lord himself; and there are at least three traditional accounts of the Supreme Being having been moved by the verses. When Jaya Deva was composing the 19th verse, he fancied that the idea therein,— "Smara Garala Gandanam—Mama Sirasi Mandanam—Devi pada pallavam"—of the Lord pleading with Radha to lay her soft foot on his head, was something too sacrilegious and abandoning it, went out for a while for his oil bath. While so, Sri Krishna himself appeared in the guise of Jaya Deva with oil dripping on his head, before his wife Padmavathi, got the Mss. from her and wrote down a few lines therein and disappeared. Jaya Deva (real) came back after his oil bath and on looking into the manuscript was astounded to find that what he had regarded as profane was not so to the Lord who had written it out in the Mss. what exactly he had conceived. In praise of Padmavathi who had the unique fortune of seeing the Lord, Jayadeva has associated her name in the concluding portion of the stanza "Jayathi Padmavathi". On another occasion the author was able to bring back to life his wife who had died suddenly on hearing a false report about his death, by singing this very Ashtapadi. The third incident concerns a weaver girl who used to recite

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the verse "Thira Samire" which she learnt from a street singer, every time she wove her silk threads. The Lord, it is said, would appear before her as a baby and dance to the music, jumping about hither and thither and cutting up the silk threads all the while. None the less she was able to find ready purchasers for her apparently unusable wares, because the material had exercised a particular fascination over the buyers.

Gita Govinda has been amongst our most popular musical and religious works and its votaries have been numberless in all ages. The composition is still kept intact in its original purity; and there has been nothing like a northern or a southern rescension. But the tune and melody in which the 24 pieces would have been sung by Jayadeva and his contemporaries have all been forgotten. At any rate they could not be identical with the sampradaya in South India where the verses have been set to the various Carnatic ragas like Sourashtra, Sankarabharanam, Kambhodi and etc., which perhaps was the next best alternative to the lack of

the original tunes. It is, however, upto those interested in preserving the musical heritage of our nation to re-discover and recapture the original melodies of the poem which had transformed a mere soldier Kumbha Rana into a musician who came to write a treatise on the music of Gita Govinda and had also built a huge temple, which gave spiritual light to Meera Bai as well as to millions of our people, literally from the Prince to the peasant, for several centuries now and which has been accorded a privilege and a significance vouchsafed to but a few of our epics and musical compositions. The same spirit and enthusiasm which have enabled us to renovate Holy Somnath ought also to inspire us to rehabilitate our long lost treasures of music forms and tunes. Our All India Radio Organisations are eminently fitted to carry out this task both by reason of their immense resources and the facilities they enjoy in North India in regard to undertakings of this kind; and public bodies like the Madras Academy and the sister institutions in North India have a special duty to perform in this regard.



The new Lockheed Super Constellation, largest airplane to enter commercial service, is shown during a recent test flight in the United States. The airplane, which can carry up to 110 passengers, is a bigger and faster version of the Constellations now in use by airlines throughout the world.

TRIBUTES TO LIAQAT ALI KHAN

It is with profound regret that we record the death of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan was addressing a public meeting at Rawalpindi on October 16 when he was shot at at close range. He was taken immediately to the combined military hospital where he was given a blood transfusion but he passed away after a short while. The assassin whose name was given as Said Akbar from Hazara, reported to be an Afghan national, was killed by the crowd on the spot. On hearing the news of Liaqat Ali's assassination, Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the Congress Parliamentary Party at Delhi immediately interrupted his speech, and referred to the death of the Pakistan Prime Minister, expressing his deep sorrow. The Congress Party adopted a resolution of condolence.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

"I am exceedingly grieved to learn," said Mr. Nehru, "this shocking news not only for personal reasons but for larger reasons. We have complained frequently of speeches made on Pakistan-side by various people including Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and of other activities, but I think the fact remains; Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan was a great steadying influence in Pakistan."

That applied, said Mr. Nehru, not only to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan but to so many other leaders in Pakistan.

We shouted at each other and were angry several times, but whenever we met we met as friends, and the fact remains that we have lived together most of our life, we have grown up together, we know each other's strong and weak points. I do not know that feeling of oneness and that feeling of knowing each other and understanding each other will not disappear and when political troubles, disputes and conflicts fade away that will be the basis of our future relationship. But that is the personal aspect. The wider aspect is that Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan was, undoubtedly ever since the death of the Qaid-e-Azam, the dominating figure in Pakistan. His influence was undoubtedly exercised in restraining people's passion and feelings and steadying Pakistan. It is a tragedy both from the personal as well as from the larger point of view that he is dead and more so is the manner of his death.

"All of us should now approach this larger question of Indo-Pakistan relations," said Mr. Nehru "in a new way and try to hush the voice of controversy and disputes and blaming of each other as far as we can and also try to find some way or path consistent with our self-respect and honour to establish real peace between India and Pakistan."

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Home Minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who also spoke at the meeting, said when he heard the news naturally his mind went back to what had happened three years back when Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated.

Are we, I was wondering, back in the barbaric days of our Continent when Governments could be changed only by murder and things like that? Or are things more stable? That is the question. We had in Burma the sudden assassination of the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Here we had in India a gem of a man, so to say, a thing of art. Nobody could imagine that anyone standing before Gandhi could make up his mind even at the moment of pulling the trigger. But it was done. Now Liaqat Ali Khan has been assassinated. But I feel, however, that although, the criminal sections among our people may still feel that they belong to the same old order, we have reached a stage when neither our culture nor our Government can be assassinated in this manner.

Anybody may be killed but the people will survive these shocks. I am sure that those who killed Gandhiji imagined that we will not be able to stand up. But we have done it. Even Burma has done it. I am also quite sure that Pakistan will stand solid and stable, not the worse for what has happened, but even better. I do hope all of us and the peoples in Asia should make up our minds that our cultures and Governments will stand firm whatever is done to our leaders. I have no doubt that anyone who takes responsibility takes also the risk of being assassinated. It is not a new thought. It has been in my mind on account of various happenings in our own country. But we also come to the conclusion that we must take the responsibility.

I have no doubt that Pakistan will not be worse off on account of what has happened. I hope—I cannot say I have no doubt about it but can only hope—that the relations between the two countries may by a few years of sequence—not as cause and effect but as a sequence—improve.

Death is a great chastening and purifying influence. We will review the past events and revise our views, opinions and hopes.

Selecting A Parliamentary Candidate

By MR. RUSSELL COURTNEY

At the last General Election in the United Kingdom, at the beginning of 1950, some 1,868 candidates contested the 625 seats in the House of Commons, the lower House of Parliament. How were they selected from the more than fifty million people of the country?

Any British subject—including a Colonial citizen—may stand for election to the United Kingdom Parliament. It is necessary, however, for each candidate to deposit £150 with the authorities at the time of nomination, and this is not returned if the candidate fails to win one-eighth of the total votes cast.

This rule has been made with the assent of all Parties, to ensure that public money is not wasted on behalf of candidates who have no real policy to present, and who have little chance of election. A considerable part of the expense of an election comes out of taxation, and it is felt that the voters as a whole should be protected against a flood of candidates. But any man or woman over 21 years of age—with only a few exceptions—who is willing to risk the loss of £150 is free to stand for election.

PARTY APPROVAL NECESSARY

It is not necessary for a candidate to belong to any of the political Parties, and there have been many notable Members of Parliament who sat as "Independents". It is, however, more usual for candidates to stand as representatives of one of the chief political Parties—the Conservatives, the Liberals or the Labour Party.

In such cases, it is necessary, of course, to win the formal approval of the Party concerned. So what happens is this: When the local Party organisation is seeking a candidate, it looks around among its own membership. Perhaps some member has distinguished himself in the local government of the town and has shown signs of ability to deal with bigger, national, problems. Or perhaps some man or woman who has won fame in another walk of life—as an administrator, a businessman, or as a scholar—may be considered a good candidate.

It is open to anyone to seek nomination as the candidate for a Party, and

in that case, he or she may write to the leaders of the local Parties, asking for official support.

A private meeting of the local leaders is then held, at which the qualifications of the possible candidates are considered. Almost always, there are many from whom to choose, and the leaders reduce the list to three or four. These are asked to attend a bigger meeting of Party members—still in private and to present their views in short speeches.

This is to ensure that the personality of the candidates, as well as their political views, is acceptable, for a candidate becomes a powerful figure in local politics and personal popularity is essential.

The meeting at which the candidates speak usually reduces the list again, and perhaps two "possibles" appear before a still bigger meeting, which makes the final choice. The candidate chosen by this meeting then becomes the "prospective candidate" for the Party and, when the time comes for an election, he is formally "adopted" at a public meeting.

"NURSING" A CONSTITUENCY

A prospective candidate, if he is wise, spends many months "nursing" a constituency, and getting to know, and be known by, as many of his prospective constituents as possible. Many successful politicians have told me that careful "nursing" long before an election has gained them more support than the most active campaign during the election contest.

An official candidate normally has the help of an agent appointed and paid by the Party. It is the agent's job to ensure that the electors know all about the candidate and his views, and to arrange as many public appearances for him as possible.

It will be seen that the selection of candidates to represent a constituency is entirely in the hands of the people who have votes there. This ensures that the electors have the Member of Parliament they themselves choose.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Tragedy in Pakistan

PAKISTAN has suffered a grievous loss in the tragic death of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. It is now disclosed that the assassin was not an Afghan national. For all his bellicose utterances Liaquat Ali "was a moderate in a section of the world that is famous for its fanatics." And he paid the price for his moderation just as Gandhiji paid the price for his plea for peace in a world of frenzy. Never was the underlying unity of India more pronounced than in the way the shock of the Rawalpindi tragedy affected the people of this country. The profound sincerity of the feeling at Delhi and the Prime Minister's spontaneous and moving tribute to his opposite number in Pakistan should have given the world some measure of the depth and reality of India's distress at the tragic happening in Pakistan. It is good to realise that the people of India and Pakistan, in spite of political theories and fictitious values "are not yet so far divided that their hearts, in moments of misfortune, are unable to beat together."

Having worked in close intimacy with Mr. Jinnah, the architect of Pakistan, both before and after the partition, Liaquat was an asset to the new State. Jinnah was already an ailing man when Pakistan came into being, and the piloting of the new State with its multitude of problems fell to his lot. It was Liaquat's job to steer the State safely through a veritable sea of troubles. But the occasion found the man. Liaquat who was not particularly brilliant in the Indian scene suddenly found his stature and his opportunity in Pakistan. And when Jinnah passed away barely a year after the new State came into being Liaquat Ali rightly and naturally stepped into his shoes, both in authority and the hold he had on his people. He was able, patient and painstaking and he worked with growing faith in his mission. And his grasp was so sure and firm that he was able to carry through, with comparative ease,

undismayed by passing freaks of mischance or misadventure.

Liaquat Ali has been removed from the scene of his labours at a time when he was at the height of his power and when his guiding hand was more than ever necessary to meet the ever growing crisis in the State—a crisis which he had perhaps unwittingly helped to create by his clenched fist stunts. It was said he was to have made the greatest speech of his life at Rawalpindi. Who knows? Perhaps he realised how perilously near the abyss was the country drifting in the welter of confused thinking and noisy demonstrations of hatred and insanity leading to chaos. And he meant to warn his countrymen of the impending danger.

Liaquat Ali's assassination, said the special correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, is the culmination of years of effort on his part to restrain fanatic elements within the country which wish to make war on India principally in order to secure possession of the disputed state of Kashmir.

The Prime Minister and his government, realising only chaos could ensue from such a war, had for a long time been caught between this knowledge and the necessity of conciliating fanatic elements who have a large following among deeply religious Pakistan nationals.

It cannot be a matter of indifference to us if things do not go well with our neighbour state. Clenched fists and mass hysteria are only passing phases, frenzied emotion must doubtless give place to a sober and sensible understanding. For violence only breeds violence and political assassinations seldom solve problems. Sooner or later, if left unchecked, terrorism will create a Frankenstein too difficult to control. There are problems between India and Pakistan which can and must be dealt with in a spirit of mutual goodwill and comradeship. It is fervently hoped that saner elements in Pakistan will muster their forces and rally to the support of ordered freedom. For India, keenly interested in the maintenance of peace and friendly relations with her neighbours, devoutly hopes that Pakistan will emerge unscathed from the shock of the tragedy that has overtaken her people.

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The British Elections

As we go to press we have the results of the General Elections in Great Britain. The Tories have won and Labour has gone out of office. But the margin is so meagre that, as in the case of Attlee Government, Mr. Churchill also may have to appeal to the country again for a more stable and assured majority.

Now that India is free we are not so intimately concerned with the fortunes of the British parties as once we were. Tory or Labour it is a domestic issue for the British public to decide. Nevertheless we in India can hardly forget how much we owe to the statesmanship of the British Labour party for the peaceful change over in this country, a revolution of unprecedented magnitude and importance in our annals.

We remember with gratitude and thankfulness that it was Mr. Attlee's Government which came to power in 1945 "that fulfilled the pledge and relinquished British suzerainty over India, Burma and Ceylon." In Morrison's words "about 400 million human beings have been turned from sullen rebellious subjects into friends of Britain and British democratic ideals." Since Labour came to power, Mr. Attlee claimed with justice "it has been transforming the Empire into a commonwealth—a co-operative group of free peoples. Nothing like it has ever occurred in history before."

We naturally recall Mr. Churchill's pronounced antipathy to Indian freedom and indeed to every cause that did not directly bear on the interests of Britain as he conceived it. Labour's wise handling has bequeathed him a Commonwealth of comparative peace and friendship. Whatever his election propaganda Churchill, as a realist and statesman, will soon discover that the world has long outgrown the swash-buckling imperialism of an earlier generation which will be quite out of place in the new set up of free nations, great and small.

"Being imperialist by tradition and outlook," says the diplomatic correspondent of the P. T. I.,

the Conservatives who believe more in "order" than the freedom of the Asian nations, would get tough with them, with particular reference to the Middle East. There would be closer collaboration

with the French and efforts may be taken to give short shrift to international Communism.

In so far as India is concerned the Conservatives had no particular liking to this country's foreign policy.

It was common knowledge that the Labour Government too did not like it but perhaps the Conservative opposition to India's foreign policy might become vocal and tend to become embarrassing.

British tradition would not warrant any dramatic change in accepted policy. But if the "get tough" mania should prevail and Tory prejudice against Indian freedom or Asian awakening should attempt to meddle with things that don't concern the United Kingdom directly, it will be fatal to that fine fabric of goodwill in the East which Labour has done so much to foster and maintain. Churchill in office will doubtless move more warily than Churchill in opposition.

Egypt's Dilemma

The whole of the Middle East is in a ferment and the sensational developments in Iran are having their repercussions in the rest of the Muslim world. The presence of British forces in the Suez area has long been an eyesore to Egypt and the status of Sudan has irked Egyptian self-respect all through the years since the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936.

But the unilateral abrogation of the treaty by the Egyptian Parliament could be no solution to a question in which Egypt is not the only party concerned. Last month Britain offered to hand over to Egypt her Suez Canal defence base on condition it would 'simultaneously become an Allied base within the Allied Middle East command'. The text of the British proposals on Middle East defence and the administration of the Sudan, made to the Egyptian Government shows Britain's anxiety to meet Egyptian demands halfway. The four-power proposals submitted jointly by Britain, the United States, France and Turkey inviting Egypt to accept

a position of high authority and responsibility within the Allied Middle East command,

said further that

if Egypt joined the new command Britain would agree to the supersession of the 1936 Anglo-

Egyptian treaty and withdraw such British forces not allocated to the Allied Middle East command.

But the Note added significantly.

Britain would not permit a change in the status of the Sudan without the full agreement of the Sudanese people.

Egypt's rejection of the Four power invitation to join in establishing a middle East Defence Command can hardly be the last word on a problem bristling with difficulties. It is felt that Suez is an international route and its strategic importance can not be underestimated. On the question of Sudan Britain has reaffirmed her position that she would agree to no change in its status without consulting the Sudanese. She would also maintain the right of the Sudanese freely to choose their ultimate status. Announcing this, an official statement issued by the Foreign Office said:

The British Government will give full backing to the Governor-General of the Sudan, Sir Robert Howe, in continuing to administer the territory in accordance with the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899 and in his policy of assisting the Sudan to attain Self-Government at the earliest possible moment.

But Egypt seems to be in no mood to compromise and a tense situation has been created in the area. Britain is asked to quit before starting negotiations and there is widespread cry for boycott of British goods. The excitement is so great that any untoward incident may set a blaze which can not be easily quenched. The G. O. C. British troops in Egypt, Sir George Erskine's call to his men in the Canal Zone "to be ready to protect yourself and go to the help of your comrades if they are attacked" is ominous. And so is his warning:

If the Egyptians follow up their formal act of abrogation by trying to force us out of the Canal Zone we shall resist most strongly.

We are not going to be turned out, forced out or knocked out. I have plans to meet the situation.

This kind of sabre rattling did no good in Iran. Britain will be well advised to move with caution and common sense for the Egyptian question like the Iranian goes deeper into the roots of the nation and is not to be settled on legal and technical issues. Whatever the legal justification for British firmness it must be remembered that there is a new

awakening in Asia and the whole Arab world and Eastern nations are in entire sympathy with the Egyptian nationalists in their demand for liberation from foreign intervention. Mr. Morrison, Foreign Minister in the late Labour Government of Mr. Attlee fully realised this when he said:

What is happening in Persia and Egypt is happening throughout the Middle East and Asia and Africa. People are demanding the right to live their own lives in their own way. To dispute this right, therefore, by putting legal obstacles in their way, at this belated hour, is to deny them the very hope and sustenance for living.

Mossadeq's Manoeuvring

The *Manchester Guardian* has disclosed certain facts which prove that the worsening of the oil crisis is not all due to the obstinacy and unreasoning attitude adopted by the Iranian authorities alone. The mishandling of the situation on the British side is equally responsible for the deadlock. Apart from the earlier methods of threat and bluff which were wrong and ill-conceived the fact remains that the British Government failed to take the opportunity for fresh negotiations when such an opening was presented to them in the last Iranian note. That opportunity was lost by unimaginative red tapism in the absence of responsible leaders at headquarters. Even Dr. Henry Grady, former United States Ambassador to Persia and India, is of opinion that Britain had made a "great mistake" in taking the Persian oil dispute to the United Nations.

In a copyright interview with the magazine *United States News and World Report* he criticised the British for breaking off negotiations with the Persian Government, and for "strategy" which he said, was aimed at pushing the ailing Premier, Dr. Mossadeq, from power. This, along with the British shifting of the controversy to the United Nations, Mr. Grady said, had "solidified" Persia behind Dr. Mossadeq in his determination to nationalise the British oil holdings at any cost.

On his arrival at New York, Dr. Mossadeq said with strange if apparent conviction that the sole reason for the lack of development, the deprivation and the misfortunes of Persia during the last 50 years is that a cruel and imperialistic (oil) company has been trying to derive large profits.

And then, in one of the most bitter speeches heard in the U. N. Security Council, he declared:

Wherever the former Company (The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) may operate in the future it never again shall operate in Persia. Neither by trusteeship nor by contract will we turn over to foreigners the right to exploit our oil resources.

Yet for all his emotional outbursts and dramatic moves, he seems to be quite sure of his ground and things apparently go according to plan. Here is *N. Y. Herald Tribune's* summoning up of his skilful diplomacy—an estimate which correctly sizes up the situation and the position of the parties concerned in the dispute.

There is abruptly some question as to whether Premier Mossadeq (the *Herald Tribune* always spells the Prime Minister's name with a closing gh) spells the Prime Minister's name with a closing gh) of Persia may not be one of the shrewdest of short-run politicians now operating on the international scene. Many must have felt that his ultimatum demanding the evacuation of his Abadan, thus putting the British Labour government on an extremely hot spot just three weeks before a general election, was a reckless gesture likely only to invite the lightning of instant intervention. Yet everything has worked out as smoothly as if Mossadeq had planned it exactly that way, which conceivably he did.

But there can be too much even of this skilful acting. Growing bankruptcy at home and Tory intransigence in Britain may compel Mossadeq after all, to take a more realistic view of the situation which threatens to end in ultimate disaster to Iran.

Mr. Nehru on Congress Policy

In his address to the Delhi Congress Mr. Nehru took the opportunity to reiterate his faith in the Congress—the faith that made it so dynamic under Gandhi's leadership. Nehru is making great efforts to revitalise the Congress, to rekindle the light that has grown dim in recent years. His Delhi address is thoroughly characteristic—what with its homilies and its introspection, its survey of current trends and its clarion call for unity under the Congress flag. Nehru is convinced that there is still great need for Congress work in independent India.

It is, he conceded, "inevitably a party," but he pointed out that it has always been something much more than a party and has drawn allegiance from millions of

people who did not formally belong to it or any other party.

And he declared that

we have to retain something of that wider aspect of the Congress, but this should not lead to floppiness or loose thinking and an accommodation of all kinds of contrary opinion within its fold.

Delivering the Presidential address Mr. Nehru departed from his prepared text and dwelt at length on points like foreign policy, Pakistan, Kashmir, Hindu Code and communalists.

Making pointed references to the critics of India's foreign policy, Mr. Nehru said:

Some people say India has no foreign policy. Others say by our foreign policy we have only succeeded in making some powerful countries angry and antagonistic to us. It is indeed very strange how these critics have come to the conclusion they have, because India has refused to bow before threats from any Power or out of fear of threats.

Declaring that some critics "want us to become soldiers of another country" Mr. Nehru said:

I do not understand how anybody in his senses can suggest that we become mere soldiers of another country's army, always ready to do what that country orders us to do. If we have to become soldiers, then why not become soldiers of our own country, soldiers who are willing to lay down their lives in the defence of our country, and defence of our freedom? (cheers).

Referring to China Mr. Nehru said India had very old and strong ties with China. The United Nations by refusing to admit China into it, had made a big blunder. This wrong step had resulted in further wrong steps being taken with the result that the heartburning between nations had grown, and the world had come closer to the brink of international discord and of war.

Referring to Indo-Pakistan relations, Mr. Nehru expressed regret that the relations between the two countries had not been cordial. But the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had helped people to forget old controversies, and to think in a broader way.

Mr. Nehru was happy to note that the high fever of war which had gripped the people of Pakistan was subsiding. India's stand had a lot to do with it and he hoped "our stand will further help the people of Pakistan to completely get rid of this fever."



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE LAW OF CONTRACT INCLUDING SPECIFIC RELIEF. By P. V. T. D. Prasad. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Rs. 10.

It is a matter for regret that the learned author, a young Advocate of Madras did not live to see the reception given to his work. The author died last month soon after the publication of the book. The necessity for a book of this kind is real, for there are few books dealing with the subject on the lines adopted by Mr. Prasad, the late Mr. T. S. Venkatesa Ayyar's book on Contracts being the other book on the subject. There are, of course, the standard works of English authors—Anson's, Chitty's, Leake's etc. referred to by the author freely in the course of his work and listed in the Bibliography given in the book, always available for the practising lawyers, besides the commentaries on the Indian Contract Act like Pollock and Mulla's. To the student of law for whom the book is mainly intended, and to the busy practising lawyer the book will be of great help. The author after a brief historical outline of the development of the Law of Contracts proceeds to deal with the subject under various heads. He enunciates the principles with references, wherever necessary, to the standard authors, the English cases, and refers to the sections of the Indian Contract Act, and the difference between the English and Indian Law in cases in which there is such difference. The author is justified in making the claim that as far as possible he has used the language of eminent Judges and has taken great care in reproducing large extracts from Judgments illustrating the principle enunciated. There is not, in this book, as the learned Chief Justice points out in the Foreword "the dry cataloguing of cases and prolixity of reference to decisions which often are features of Indian text books". This is a book that will be of great use to the students for whom it is intended as also to the practising lawyer.

LINES WRITTEN TO AN INDIAN AIR—ESSAYS. By Mulk Raj Anand. Nalanda Publications, Bombay 1.

The essays collected here were originally contributed to various journals, the newspaper press, the A. I. R. etc. They present a certain continuity of attitude and feeling to the careful reader, being a sort of guide to the culture of India and an attempt at revaluation of our heritage. The Prolegomena to a New Humanism, addressed to E. M. Foster is provokingly suggestive as to the aim and place of our education. In the next we are confronted with the problem how we are to conserve the past in order to make it ours. The estimate of Tagore, and of contemporary painters are informative; while the reflections on Indian sculpture is an attempt to impart a new interpretation of architecture. The essays on folk theatre traditions, imagination's place in our national dance, the innate value of Indian music, future of the film in India and of the radio are all very readable and put fresh thoughts into the reader's mind.

THE STORY OF RAMAYANA. By Channing Arnold. Simplified by Marjorie Sykes. Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras.

We cannot have too many versions of this book of books. The story of Rama and Sita is rehearsed in one form or another in countless Hindu homes and their adventures are the thrill and delight of millions. There are several versions of this grand old Epic, like the Kamba Ramayana in Tamil and the Ramayana of Tulsidas in Hindi. But Channing Arnold followed the more popular Valmiki's. Marjorie Syke's version will be welcomed for two reasons; the story is given as one connected whole and it is rendered into simple English for the benefit of the young. Here is an admirable book for what is known as non-detailed study in schools though Miss Sykes' theme and treatment deserve a closer study.

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SYNOPSIS OF PHILOSOPHY OF DAYANANDA. By Swamy Narendra Ananda Saraswathy. Publishers, The Hindu Vijnana Prachara Samithi, Vijayawada. Rs. 4.

The names of Dayananda and the Satyarthaprakash are perhaps less familiar to South India than the north. The action of the Sind Government a few years ago in banning the Satyarthaprakash was responsible to some extent in focussing attention on this great work of Swamy Dayananda.

The present volume purports to be a synopsis of the Satyarthaprakash which itself was claimed to be a rational interpretation of the Vedas. To those who have not been able to get hold of a copy of Satyarthaprakash the present volume comes as a happy substitute revealing the personality of that stern saint, Dayananda.

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR: By T. I. Poonen M.A. Published by the University of Travancore.

There is a considerable dearth of historical material relating to Malabar. In particular the two phases of foreign occupation, namely Portuguese and Dutch, still remain a closed book. A few writers like Galletti and K. M. Panikkar have tried to throw light on these dark periods. They have succeeded in doing so but from inherent drawbacks such as lack of sufficient materials, leisure etc. no book giving a connected and continuous picture of the Dutch or Portuguese occupation of Kerala has ensued. The present volume seeks to remedy this aspect. The author has not suffered from the drawbacks of the earlier writers. He has wisely confined himself to a limited part of India with which he is familiar and covers a limited period. In addition he appears by profession to be entirely qualified for the task. He has therefore succeeded in filling up the gaps left in the history of the Dutch occupation with especial knowledge and authority. The volume under review certainly provides a continuous history of the Dutch occupation of Malabar presented objectively.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to the University of Madras.

If the University afforded him ample facilities for handling source material for the thesis Mr. Poonen has made excellent use of his opportunity. For the product of his diligence and application is one wholly worthy of the scholar and savant. For he has packed into his pages facts inaccessible to the lay reader and presented them in a manner at once lively and readable and in a narrative which moves with sureness and ease.

PEN MONEY: A course on how to write for the Press. By Dudley D'Ewes, Adam & Charles Black. Soho square, London W. 1.

Free lance journalism can be a profitable occupation if only the writers learn how to hit the public taste and how to market their wares. And then there are errors of inexperience, treatment and style which can all be rectified by diligence and practice. The author who is a professional journalist of many years' experience teaches the young aspirant how to make writing for the press worthwhile. Packed with shrewd suggestions and hints for successful writing the chapters are entertaining reading for journalists in the making.

THE YOUNG TRAVELLER IN CHINA. By C. E. Roberts. Phoenix House Ltd., 38, William IV St. Charing Cross, London.

This is the latest addition to the Travel series specially designed for young people. Copious information on the immense land of China with its teeming population is conveyed in the shape of an absorbing story. Fact and fiction are so intertwined in an ingenious method of teaching geography and history without tears. Martin with his father and his Chinese friend travel through China by road, air, train and river, encounter a variety of people and pass through strange and exciting experiences. At the end we find ourselves at home with the wonderful people in a land which is no longer strange or mysterious. China has awakened from the torpor of ages and a new China is in the making. A trip to China in the company of Martin Lindsay and Fan Lee-chin is a liberal education.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Sept. 28. Tory Election manifesto, issued today, promises Britain's restoration to world leadership and economic recovery.

Sept. 29. Indo-Burmese trade pact signed.

Sept. 30. Festival of Britain ends.

—Labour manifesto promises peace, full employment and lower cost of living.

Oct. 1. Parliament rejects motion for circulation of Press Bill.

Oct. 2. Gandhiji's birthday celebrations.

—India-Australia Trade pact signed.

Oct. 3. British technicians evacuate Abadan.

Oct. 4. U. K. Parliament dissolved before launching General Election on Oct. 25.

Oct. 5. Constitution Amendment Act declared valid by Supreme Court.

Oct. 6. Stalin confirms U. S. report of Russian Atomic bomb tests.

—Sir Henry Gurney, British High Commissioner for Malaya, shot dead.

Oct. 7. Press Bill passed into law.

Oct. 8. Nahas Pasha moves Parliament for abrogation of U. K.—Egyptian treaty.

Oct. 9. Muslim League Executive refutes Hussain Imam's allegations of Indian Muslim grievance.

Oct. 10. President Truman signs Bill for U. S. Foreign aid.

Oct. 11. Dr. Ambedkar, Law Member, issues statement and walks out of the House.

Oct. 12. Earl Mountbatten to be British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.

Oct. 13. U. N. Security Council faced with deadlock in Anglo-Iranian oil dispute.

Oct. 14. Britain's note to Egypt urges four power plan for defence of Middle East.

Oct. 15. Egypt rejects four power plan.

Oct. 16. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, shot dead at Rawalpindi.

Oct. 17. Kwaja Nazimuddin becomes Pak Premier, and Ghulam Mohammed appointed Governor-General of Pakistan.

Oct. 18. Nehru, Congress President, addresses 57th session at Delhi.

Oct. 19. Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. ambassador, arrives in India.

Oct. 20. U. N. Council adjourns debate on oil dispute.

Oct. 21. Prime Minister Attlee pledges that Britain will stand firm in Egypt.

Oct. 22. Agreement for resumption of cease fire talks in Korea signed.

Oct. 23. Tax evasion incomes reach Rs. 41 Crores.

Oct. 24. Acheson to make new oil proposals to Mossadeq, Persian Premier.

Oct. 25. Britain goes to polls to-day.

Oct. 26. Dr. Katju appointed Central Cabinet Minister and Dr. H. C. Mookherjee Governor of W. Bengal.

Oct. 26. Tories win British Elections: Mr. Attlee resigns and Mr. Churchill summoned to form Government.

Oct. 27. Dalai Lama ratifies Sino-Tibetan agreement.

Oct. 28. A 15-man cultural mission from China arrives in Calcutta.

Oct. 29. Prime Minister's farewell party to C. R. Home Member.

Oct. 30. Third Atom bomb tests in U. S.

Oct. 31. U. S. "stop gap" plan to transport Iran oil.

—Averall Harriman, President Truman's special envoy, to meet Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secy on the Persian oil deadlock.



MR. CHESTER BOWLES
United States Ambassador to
India and Nepal.



READERS' DIGEST



THE FAILURE OF A MISSION

The *Manchester Guardian* published what purported to be the text of the Iranian Government's proposals made on September 20 and rejected by the British Government "only two days later on the plea that they offered "no new basis of negotiations."

The dispatch by the paper's diplomatic correspondent said that the proposals, handed over by Mr. Hussein Ala, Minister of the Court, to the British Ambassador, Sir Francis Shepherd, on September 20 reveal that the information given to the public by the British Government "was not accurate"—was indeed palpably not honest."

The proposals reveal, according to the correspondent, at least two important changes for the better in the Iranian attitude. As regards the question of management of the oil industry, Mr. Stokes had insisted in his negotiations with the Iranian Government in Teheran that unless the Iranians agreed to appoint a British manager, the oil staff would not be willing to serve and that agreement on this point was "vital." The Iranians refused to commit themselves and Mr. Stokes broke off the negotiations and returned to London.

The Iranian note of September 20 said, according to the correspondent, the National Iranian Oil Company would appoint a foreign technician as director of the extracting and refining organization: the nationality of the director would be decided upon by the Iranian Government. He would be an employee of the Iranian Government and would act as a liaison officer between the foreign technicians and the Board of Directors of the National Iranian Oil Company.

Thus not only did the Iranian note did not exclude the appointment of a British manager but it was reported at the time that Mr. Hussein Ala had given the British Ambassador an oral assurance that that was the intention of the Iranian Government if a settlement could be

reached and this showed a very vital change in the Iranian attitude.

On the question of compensation, the Iranian Government apparently felt previously that compensation should be paid from a fund created by itself by withholding 20 per cent of the profits of the industry.

In the proposals of September 20, said the correspondent, Iran offered that the British Government may retain one-half of the price of the oil they purchased towards the gradual settlement of the compensation.

Britain's advantage from such an arrangement would have been that the fund out of which compensation was to be paid would have been in British hands and not in Iranian or neutral hands.

The Iranian proposals in that regard were a new basis for negotiations, said the correspondent.

Commenting on its correspondent's disclosures, the *Guardian* in an editorial called for a "searching inquiry into the causes of our miserable failure in Iran." It said:

"These proposals contained two important concessions out of which with skilful negotiations something might have been made. The British Government refused flatly to follow up this opening. As a result the Iranians issued their final expulsion orders."

The paper added a British Foreign Office spokesman stated on September 22 that the Iranian note represented no advance on previous offers and would, therefore, be rejected.

This was untrue because the document did show an advance. But when we read the British Ambassador's letter to Mr. Hussein Ala we are even more baffled. This paper not only does not show any progress over the past proposals of the Iranian Government; rather it even indicates a retrogression.

That again is not true. Ordinary people might think that as we were in such a desperate we should seize every chance we could by skilful negotiation (to use the Foreign Secretary's words) to get a settlement. The Foreign Office did not look at it that way. Yet the letter was the Shah's attempt to restart negotiations.

ATOMIC WEAPONS

Marshal Stalin sprang a surprise on the world early last month when he confirmed Washington reports that Russia had made an atom bomb test and said tests on atom bombs of various calibres would be made in future.

He accompanied the announcement, broadcast by Moscow Radio, with a strong attack on British and U.S. policy on atomic weapons which, he said, compelled Russia to have the atomic weapon.

But he went on to declare that the U. S. A. need have no grounds for alarm. Russia wanted prohibition of the atom bomb and never contemplated attacking the U.S.A. or any other country.

The broadcast came just over 48 hours after the White House had announced that another atomic explosion had taken place in the Soviet Union.

The disclosure of Russia's first atomic explosion came simultaneously from Washington, Ottawa and London September 22, 1949. It was followed two days later by a Soviet statement that "building of hydro-electric stations, mines, canals and roads which involve the necessity of large-scale blasting work with the use of the latest technical means" might "attract attention beyond the confines of the Soviet Union."

In Washington early today White House officials said there would be no immediate comment from President Truman on Marshal Stalin's announcement.

M. Stalin made his announcement in an interview with the *Pravda*.

The *Pravda* gave the question and answer interview as follows:

Question: What do you think about the hullabaloo raised recently in the foreign Press in connection with the testing out of atom bomb in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Indeed, a test was recently made by us on a type of atom bomb. Tests on atom bombs of various calibres will be made in future under the banner of the defence of our country against attacks from the British U.S. aggressive bloc.

Question: In connection with the tests on atom bombs, public figures in the U.S.A. raise a hullabaloo and shout about a threat to the security of the U. S. A. Are there grounds for such alarm?

Answer: There are no grounds for such alarm. Leaders of the U.S.A. cannot fail to know that the Soviet Union is not only against the use of the atomic weapon but is also for its prohibition for the cessation of its production. As is known, the Soviet Union has several times demanded the prohibition of the atomic weapon, but it has weapon, it has each time met with the refusal of the Powers of the Atlantic bloc. This means that in the event of a U.S. attack on our country the ruling circles of the U.S.A. will use the atom bomb. Precisely this circumstance compelled the Soviet Union to have the atomic weapon, in order to be fully armed to meet the aggressors.

Of course, the aggressors would like the Soviet Union to be unarmed in the event of their attack on it. But the Soviet Union does not agree with this and thinks that in full preparedness the aggressor should be met.

SQUARE DEAL FOR LABOUR

Improving the condition of 40 million industrial and agricultural workers of this country is the aim of the Government of India's plans for labour legislation.

These plans, says the latest illustrated booklet of the Publications Division, include a proposal to set up welfare trust funds on a Statutory basis and introduce provident funds in the rest of the industrial undertakings, a scheme to check indiscriminate retrenchment, revision of the Payment of Wages Act, the Tea District Immigrant Labour Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Factories Act and the Coal Mines Welfare Fund Act, and measures to ensure the conditions of work, safety and welfare of employees in shops, commercial establishments, motor transport services, and the building industry and municipal sweepers.

Pending before Parliament are the Employees' State Insurance Amendment Bill, the Trade Unions Bill, the Plantations Labour Bill, Fair Wages Bill, the Mines Bill and a new comprehensive Labour Relations Bill.

The pamphlet "Square Deal for Labour" describes the Government's labour policy and the steps taken to implement it during the last four years and claims that the status of the Indian worker has been raised from a mere wage earner to that of a partner in industry. "Today the workers in India are nearer the ideal of democracy and co-operative commonwealth than they are in many other countries."

COLUMBUS DAY

Columbus Day is celebrated every year on October 12 throughout the United States in honour of America's discovery on that date 459 years ago in 1492 by Christopher Columbus.

The day is observed as a legal holiday in most states of the United States.

The son of a weaver in Genoa, Italy, Columbus studied astronomy, geometry and cosmography, became a sailor at the age of 14, and later went to Portugal where he married Maria Felipa Moniz de Perestrello, daughter of a distinguished navigator. He left Portugal for Spain in 1484. There he became known as Cristobal Colon. He preached that the earth was round, and he thought he could reach Asia by sailing west. There is a widely held legend that when King Ferdinand of Spain refused to finance his expedition seeking a new route to Asia, Queen Isabella sold her jewels so that the brave navigator might sail west to India.

Columbus' expedition did sail west in three ships—the *Pinta*, the *Nina*, and the *Santa Maria*. They sighted land on October 12, 1492, disembarked, kissed the ground (which Columbus named San Salvador) and planted the royal standard of Spain. Sailors, who had almost mutinied on the long journey, knelt in homage to Columbus. Upon his return to Spain, Columbus was given a great ovation and made a grandee. But he died without knowing that he had discovered a new continent. The indigenous inhabitants of America are called Indians today because he thought he had found a new route to India.

The centennials of Columbus' discovery are heralded with large-scale observances. In 1792, as part of the 300th anniversary celebration in New York City, the Society of St. Tammany sponsored a dinner and elaborate ceremonies in the society's headquarters. As part of the decoration, a monument was erected. Another monument in his honour, financed by subscriptions from Philadelphia's Italian citizens, was erected in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia in 1876, for the celebration of the centennial of the Declaration of American Independence.

In 1892, on the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, a monument to Columbus was put up at the southwestern entrance to Central Park in New York City and the place was named Columbus Circle. The same year, elaborate preparations had been made for the observance of the quadricentennial with a great international exposition supported by federal appropriations. Chicago was selected as the site of the Columbian Exposition. The buildings were not completed in 1892, however, and so the fair was held in 1893.

The Columbian Exposition left a unique memorial to Columbus. Fair directors, seeking something spectacular to present at the big celebration, contrived the first ferris wheel, a gigantic apparatus. Since that time, smaller versions of the wheel that lifts its passengers to dizzy heights before bringing them down again have become popular recreation pieces in every part of the United States. No community fair or carnival, regardless of size, ever lacks a ferris wheel, and at big amusement centres the ferris wheel is one of the busiest attractions.

Eight of the 48 United States—Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Ohio, Texas and Wisconsin—have cities named in honour of Columbus. Columbus, Ohio, is the state capital. It is located in the centre of the state and is the seat of the University of Ohio. Colon, in the Panama Canal Zone, also is named for Columbus.

COST OF WAR TO U.S.

U.S. Congress received an unofficial estimate that the war in Korea has already cost the United States five thousand million dollars and may cost at least as much again by June 1952.

The estimate came from Representative G. H. Mahon (Democrat, Texas) as the House began to debate a record peacetime military budget of over 69,000 million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30 next. Even this vast sum does not include provision for the war which is financed separately.

INDIA OF MY DREAMS

In his *India of My Dreams*, Mahatma Gandhi says: "Everything in India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest possible aspirations can want." He says that "India is essentially, *Karmabhumi*" and that "India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world." That is why, says Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in *Sunday Times*, he stressed *satya* and *ahimsa* as India's Gospel for the world. He wanted India to be free not only because slavery is torture but also because Free India alone can serve and save the world. He wanted India to become "self-supporting, self-reliant and proof against temptations and exploitation." He says:

My ambition is much higher than independence. Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of western exploitation.

According to him, Swaraj must come by non-violence and preserve the genius of India inviolate. He says also that Swaraj means self-rule and self-restraint rather than mere freedom from rule by others.

The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint and not freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often connotes.

He urges also that Swaraj is as much resistance of abuse of authority and as much control of authority as it is the acquisition and exercise of authority. He says:

Real Swaraj will come, not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. Swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

Thus though the people and the state are one if there is democratic good government the people are under no obligation to tolerate misgovernment by their representatives.

He defined Rama Raj thus:

Ram Rajya can be religiously translated as kingdom of God on Earth; politically translated it is a perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people; justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and therefore there is freedom of worship, speech and the press—all this because of the reign of self-imposed law of moral restraint.

FILM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The Film Enquiry Committee, in its Report published on October-11, has urged the creation of an autonomous statutory Film Council to give central direction to and regulate the film industry and to advise Central and State Governments in all matters concerning films.

The Committee of which Mr. S. K. Patil was the Chairman, has recommended the establishment of a Production Code Administration to enforce standards in production and to give positive guidance in the handling of pictures.

The Committee says that the setting up of a Film Finance Corporation is essential to ensure the industry's future as a great nation-building enterprise, and has suggested rationalisation of the taxes which affect the industry.

The 120,000-word report sums up the Committee's detailed investigation of the production, distribution, exhibition, training and technological aspects of film making in India. Though second only to the U.S.A., the Indian film industry, the Committee says, is different in organisation, finance, choice and handling of themes, availability of talent and trained personnel and supply of goods and services.

The Committee has expressed its conviction that the industry is not in a position to undertake reform on its own evils having crept far too deep into the system and defects being far too widespread.

As compared with earlier productions, the technical elements in the films, have improved in standards, says the Committee. But where intellect and art are involved, the films to-day exhibit general poverty as the themes are stereotyped and plots monotonously uniform in pattern. It adds, "A statutory film Council would give the industry the necessary stimulus and inspiration to regulate its affairs on constructive lines. It will enforce standards of equality to make the film a cultural agent and instrument of healthy entertainment."

Mother: "You good-for-nothing, why don't you take a pattern from your father?"

Son: "What has he done?"

Mother: "Why, he has just got two years off his sentence for good conduct."

GANDHIJI'S FAST

Three of Mahatma Gandhi's doctors and his Secretary, Mr. Pyarelal, who were by his side at the Aga Khan Palace in 1913 when he went on a 21-day fast, refuted Mr. Churchill's observation that Gandhiji took glucose during the fast.

They also denied that Mahatma Gandhi abandoned the fast when he was quite convinced of the obduracy of the British Government.

Dr. B. C. Roy, who was Mahatma Gandhi's principal medical attendant, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, and Mr. Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary, in a joint statement here said:

We can say from first-hand knowledge that at no stage during the fast did Gandhiji take glucose, nor is it a fact that he abandoned the fast.

They were replying to the statements made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the fourth volume of his memoirs of the Second World War. In that book, "Hinge of Fate," Mr. Churchill referred to the fast and said:

While I was myself hard-pressed, I had to think deeply about the health of another invalid whose bulletins filled the papers. It was certain however, at an early stage that he was being fed with glucose whenever he drank water. In the end, being quite convinced of our obduracy he abandoned his fast.

The four signatories of the joint statement said:

Two of us, Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar, were with Gandhiji almost throughout the period of his imprisonment. The panel of doctors that looked after him during the fast consisted of two other signatories of this statement, Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, and General (Dr.) Candy an Englishman who was then Surgeon-General of Bombay, Col. (Dr.) Bhandari Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay, and Lt.-Col. Baquer Shah, I.M.S., District Medical Officer, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who was sent to the Aga Khan Palace detention camp by the Government of India as co-detenu and medical attendant, was also on this panel.

Gandhiji had taken a solemn promise from Dr. B.C. Roy and Dr. Sushila Nayyar that even if he became unconscious, glucose would not be administered to him in any form, under any circumstances during the period of the fast. On the twelfth day of the fast, his condition became critical and the Government doctors, General Candy and Col. Bhandari, wanted to give him intravenous glucose. We opposed the idea knowing how strongly Gandhiji would feel against such a procedure. General Candy said that Gandhiji could not be allowed to die, which he must unless

glucose was given to him. On the other hand, we felt that, if glucose was forced on him against his expressed wishes, the mental shock might kill him.

General Candy went to persuade Gandhiji to take glucose. But Gandhiji calmly refused and showed his readiness to welcome death rather than break his fast. General Candy came out of Gandhiji's room with tears in his eyes. We do not know General Candy's present whereabouts, but we are sure, he would support this statement in every detail.

Gandhiji had a peculiar constitutional inability to drink plain water even normally. It produced nausea. Therefore, when undertaking the fast, Gandhiji had made it clear in his letter to the Viceroy that he kept himself free to add juice of citrus fruit as a flavouring to make water drinkable. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of the fast when a collapse seemed imminent as he could not drink plain water at all, he agreed to a few ounces of the juice of sweet lime being added to it for the next few days of his fast to make it drinkable.

Mr. Churchill's second statement that when he (Mahatma Gandhi) was 'convinced of our obduracy' he abandoned the fast is also contrary to facts. Gandhiji never abandoned the fast. It was continued in terms of his original resolution, which he had conveyed to the Government of India, and was terminated at the end of 21 days, as planned from the very beginning.

We are sending a copy of this statement to Mr. Churchill with a sincere expression of our hope that, in the interest of truth, he will issue a correction of the statement referred to in the book and incorporate it in the future editions of the book.

ELECTRO-LUNG

A Berlin physician has announced the development of an "electro-lung" which, he says would make the "iron lung" obsolete.

He says that the lung developed and tested in West Berlin and West German hospitals, successfully regulates the involuntary respiration of polio victims and others suffering from respiratory diseases.

He further says the new lung utilises electric impulses weighs only 28 pounds compared to the iron lung's 1,800 lbs. and sells for 2,000 Deutsche marks (\$480), one-fourth of the cost of the iron lung.

Unlike the iron lung, the electro-lung does not cover the patient. It consists of three rubber straps which are bound about the patient's chest, stomach and diaphragm.

PAKISTAN'S CLAIM TO KASHMIR

Australia's Neighbours, official organ of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, in its latest issue, has critically analysed various phases in the Kashmir dispute.

Tracing the history of the dispute from the time of Sir Owen Dixon's departure to the arrival of Dr. Frank Graham, W. F. Petrie, well-known Melbourne writer, asserts: "Pakistan cannot consider that it has some sort of a prior claim merely because Kashmir has a majority of Muslims. Kashmir illustrates the breakdown of the two-nation theory. It shows that while communal antipathies may exist, these can with goodwill be overcome; that forces making for unity are in any case far more potent. In Kashmir, the problem is not one of Hindu versus Moslem. The significant political movement in Kashmir, the National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah embraces the Hindu, the Muslim and the Sikh and has as its a unifying force demands for economic and social reform and believes that this can best be secured by remaining with India India's refusal to withdraw her troops is based on her desire that her position should not be unilaterally weakened as it would be if she withdraws without something being done to prevent Pakistan or 'tribesmen' attacking Kashmir."

WHO IS A TRUE CONGRESSMAN?

Who is a 'true Congressman? The question is pertinent now that Congressmen will be pressing their claims at the ensuing elections. It is for the electorate to choose the right type of Congressmen to represent them in the seats of power. Here is Gandhiji's own idea of a true Congressman which he gave as far back as 1925 in *Young India*:

"A true Congressman is a true servant. He ever gives, ever wants service. He is easily satisfied so long as his own comfort is concerned. He is always content to take a back seat. He is never communal or provincial. His country is his paramount consideration. He is brave to a fault because he has shed all earthly ambition, fear of death itself. And he is generous because he is brave; forgiving

because he is humble and conscious of his own failings and limitations.

There are nameless Congressmen, no doubt few today but daily growing in number, who fulfil all the tests I have mentioned. They are unknown to fame. It is well that they are. Work will be impossible if they wanted to shine in the limelight and expected honourable mention in Congress dispatches. Those who obtain even Victoria Crosses are by no means and necessarily always the bravest humanitarians. To the end of time the real heroes of the world will never be known. Their deeds remain imperishable. They are their own reward. Such men are the real scavengers without whom the earth will be a plague spot, not worth living in. It has been my lot to meet such men and women in the Congress ranks. But for them, the Congress will not be an institution to which it would be a pride to belong.

There is no doubt, at the present moment, a hunt for offices and unhealthy competition to capture the Congress. It is a disease which has come to the surface and it is bound to give place in the course of time, to health. That will not happen if the Congress becomes anything but an institution for hard, honest and selfless toil. Let the Congress be ever so democratic but democracy must not be brag and bluster, a passport to receiving service from people. If *vox populi* is to be *vox dei*, it must be the voice of honesty, bravery, gentleness, humility and complete self-sacrifice. Let us, men and women of the Congress, humble ourselves, purify our hearts and be worthy representatives of the dumb millions."

JAP EXPERTS FOR INDIA

Japan is sending a team of industrial, financial, and agricultural experts to India to help India to draft plans for the development of resources under India's 5-year economic expansion programme.

Hotel Guest (to manager): "These flowers are for the phone girls."

Manager: "Thank you, sir. You compliment our service."

Hotel Guest: "Compliment, nothing! I thought they were all dead."

DIVERTING THE SUTLEJ WATER

The Pakistan Government is reported to have been making an attempt to divert the entire water of the Sutlej for Pakistan's own use by constructing a canal above the Ferozepur headworks.

Soon after partition, Pakistan engineers had started digging a canal to connect a portion of the Sutlej river which passes through a short loop of Pakistan territory above Ferozepur with their Dipalpur canal. This canal, the sources state, was now ready.

The object of the construction of this connecting canal, according to the sources, is apparently to tap the river Sutlej above the Ferozepur headworks and thus to divert the waters of the Sutlej for Pakistan's own use.

If the attempt is successful it will leave the Ferozepur headworks high and dry. It is from this headworks that the Bikaner and eastern canals in India take off.

Diversion of water above these headworks, official sources said, would have left Indian territory served by these two canals without any water and turned it into barren desert that they were before the canals came into being many years ago.

In order to meet Pakistan's threat, the Government of India are stated to have begun the construction of a weir at Harike as a precautionary measure. The trouble and expenses in building the weir, it is stated by official circles, are mainly the result of the threat from Pakistan to render the Bikaner and eastern canals inoperative.

NEHRU'S STAND

The *New York Herald Tribune*, said in an editorial on September 25 that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's exposition of India's stand on international affairs deserved sympathetic study by Americans.

The paper was commenting on the copyright interview with the *Tribune* correspondent, Marguerite Higgins, in which Prime Minister Nehru said foreign policy differences between the United States and India centred on the question of method. He said India shared the common aim

of deterring Communist aggression in Asia and in domestic affairs, was unquestionably committed to the democratic way along lines practised in England and America.

The difference between the Indian and American approach to the problem of Communism was not greater tolerance of the evil on India's part, the *Tribune* said. The difference was over the method to combat Communism.

"India is chiefly concerned to avoid the risk of war while building up the internal security of a sound economic and political system in those portions of Asia which are still free", the *Tribune* said, "and Sri Nehru believes that by abstaining from positive commitments to the west he can exercise a restraining influence on China.

That he is sincere in this point of view is unquestionable. That he is mistaken is almost equally certain from the course of events.

Korea and Indo-China have demonstrated in Asia (as Greece did in Europe) that the Communists are not willing to await upon the creation of strong economies and the orderly development of free institutions.

Under such circumstances, neutrality or an excessive fear of giving the Communists a *caus belli* is a dangerous policy.

India's sovereign right to follow this course is not disputed. Westward of the iron curtain action is the result of voluntary association by independent nations, but mutual criticism is another of the characteristics of the free society to which both India and the United States have given allegiance. It should be fair—it should also be frank

EUTHANASIA

The Medical Society of the State of New York, representing 2,800 doctors, went on record the other day "as being unalterably opposed to Euthanasia and to any legislation that will legalize Euthanasia."

The group's opposition to "mercy killing" was expressed in a resolution adopted unanimously by its policy making House of Delegates, at the society's annual meeting.

"Life is God-given and precious and the art of science and medicine will some day discover the cure for diseases now incurable," the resolution said.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

MR. MANILAL GANDHI'S
SATYAGRAHA

Dr. B. V. Kesar, Deputy External Affairs Minister, referred in Parliament on Oct. 6 to the satyagraha undertaken by Mr. Manilal Gandhi by defying racial laws in South Africa.

Dr. Kesar said that Mr. Manilal Gandhi had twice defied the law by sitting on seat reserved for Europeans at the Durban Railway Station and by going to a public reading room of the Durban Municipal Library which was not open to non-Europeans. Mr. Gandhi was reported to have said that his action in making use of the Municipal Library was to record his protest against the principle of *apartheid*.

"The Government of India," said Dr. Kesar, have been consistently opposed to the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. On complaints from the Government of India, the matter had been repeatedly discussed in the past by the United Nations General Assembly and was again expected to come for discussion in its forthcoming Session."

"INDIANS AN ASSET TO S. AFRICA"

A plea for higher status for Indians in the Transvaal is made in a letter to *The Star* by W. R. Slatter, of Zeerust.

They are, he says, debarred from learning a trade; they have practically no educational facilities for adapting a profession, and they are unable to buy land for agricultural purposes. Consequently commerce is the only avenue open to them.

There is absolutely no future for the Indian youth of South Africa in any sphere of earning a livelihood. He can only obtain a licence to trade in areas where it is so overcrowded that it is impossible to make a living. Licensed Indian traders, he adds, are very reluctant to dispose of their business due to apprehension of being unable to obtain another.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, when in Madras on his way to Burma, said in an interview with Pressmen that Indians in Ceylon had opportunities to get themselves registered as Ceylonese ever since 1931. From 1931 any individual who simply signed a declaration saying that he intended to become a resident of Ceylon, he said, could have easily registered himself.

Referring to the question of registration of Indians, he said that nobody would disagree that franchise should be confined to the citizens of Ceylon only. They had welcomed people who first visited Ceylon and the country had also benefited by them. But nobody would wish to claim citizenship in more than one country. They were not prepared to allow anyone who had claimed to be citizens of Ceylon to be citizens of any other country. Indians were given the opportunity to put in their claims till August 2. After 1931, any individual who signed a declaration that he wanted to become a resident of Ceylon could have easily become one. In fact, Indians enjoyed certain privileges, some of which were not enjoyed by the Ceylonese themselves.

Asked what would happen to those who had not signed the declaration, he said that those who had registered themselves would, for all purposes, be treated as Ceylonese and nothing else. The others would be free Indian citizens and they would not be sent back. So far as remittances were concerned, the free citizens of India were at a decided advantage, because they could have the freedom to send money. If there were people who had invested large sums of money and who had not signed the declaration, their property could not be confiscated.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

GRAHAM'S REPORT TO U.N. COUNCIL

Dr. Frank Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, reported to the Security Council on October 16 that there was still a chance of getting agreement between India and Pakistan on the question of Kashmir. Dr. Graham's main conclusions and recommendations were:

(1) Although the difficulties should not be under-estimated, the possibility of arriving at a basis of agreement should not be excluded."

(2) The Security Council should call on India and Pakistan to take immediate measures to improve relations between them and to avoid "warlike" statements.

(3) The Security Council should consider making a renewed effort to get agreement on a demilitarisation plan for Kashmir.

(4) The Council might consider instructing a United Nations representative to continue negotiations with the two States and report back to the Council within six weeks.

After outlining the terms of his mandate from the Security Council, given on March 30, Dr. Graham surveyed the political situation on the sub-continent.

The situation encountered by the U. N. Representative on the sub-continent was a complex one and, though containing certain encouraging elements, was largely detrimental to the successful fulfilment of his mission.

The U. N. representative found on the sub-continent a general desire that the Kashmir problem be settled as soon as possible. It was generally recognised that delay in the solution of the problem exercised a detrimental effect upon Indo-Pakistan relations as a whole and that agreement on the problem would greatly facilitate the efforts of the two Governments to resolve other outstanding issues not directly related to the Kashmir question.

The eleven-week period spent by the mission on the sub-continent was however, largely characterised by the existence of great tension between the two Governments.

The report then gave a summary of the exchange of letters which had taken place between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan the issues of which "to a large extent dominated the political scene on the sub-continent" throughout the mission's stay in the area.

CONGRESS DIRECTIVE TO P. C. C.

Congress President Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in his directive to the Pradesh Committees lays down the qualifications of the candidates that are intended to be set up by the Congress for the next elections. These qualifications are as follows:

1. The candidates should be men of proved integrity. They should not only possess integrity but be known to do so.

2. Any person connected with unsocial practices, such as black-marketing, etc., will not be selected.

3. A person whose past record is considered to be bad from the Congress point of view should not be selected, even though he might be considered locally to have chances of winning the elections.

4. He must be above communalism, and must command genuine trust of the minorities. He must fully reflect the non-communal approach of the Congress.

5. Candidates should be persons of progressive social outlook. The persons representing large vested interests are seldom likely to have this social outlook. Care will be taken not to put forward as candidates any persons who are likely to represent a reactionary economic policy.

6. The candidates must be worthy representatives of Congress principles and ideals, and its lofty moral standards.

7. No party, clique or group considerations should interfere with our choice of the best and ablest men.

8. They should be men of ability and capacity, who should be capable of functioning effectively as legislators.

9. They should be persons who by virtue of their experience and ability are capable of assuming administrative responsibility. The outstanding Congressmen from the point of view of governmental and legislative work should not be left out.

10. Minority communities and women should get adequate, rather encouraging, representation.

Congress is thus making an effort to mobilise the best quality man-power to run the future administration of the country. For the first time Congress is asking the country to give them the best possible material for the new and difficult task ahead.

NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO DELHI CONGRESS

Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the 57th session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi on October 18, called upon Congressmen to pull themselves



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

from narrow grooves of thought and action, from factions, from mutual recrimination, from tolerance of evil in public life and in social structure, and become again fighters for a cause and upholders of high principles.

If Congress, said Mr. Nehru, is to continue as a vital and progressive organisation, giving the lead to the Indian people and continuing its tradition of service to them, then we shall have to reorganise it and make it fit in with the conditions of to-day.

Mr. Nehru, President of Congress for the fifth time in his life, said Congress was "something much more than a party and has drawn allegiance from millions of people who did not formally belong to it or to any other party," and added:

We have to retain something of that wider aspect of Congress, but this should not lead to floppiness and loose thinking and an accommodation of all kinds of contrary opinions within its folds.

In regard to principles, political, social and economic, this must be clear. There should be no room for reactionaries in the Congress fold. Nor should there be any room in it for those who seek, through its medium, personal advancement and profit at the cost of public good.

Referring to the coming General Elections, Mr. Nehru said that they "have an importance because they will affect the future governance of this country." "But", he went on

that importance is very little if we think only in terms of winning elections and forget the basic principles for which we stand. If we make these elections a fight for those principles and choose our candidates accordingly, then these elections are worthwhile and will undoubtedly profit the country. But if, in our eagerness to win the elections, we compromise with something that is wrong, then we have lost the fight already and it matters little who tops the polls.

Other points dealt with by Mr. Nehru in his address were:

FOREIGN POLICY: We would greatly prefer not to interfere in any way in the problems of other countries just as we would like no interference from outside in our problems. But we would welcome co-operation and help and where possible, we would like to give our help in the solution of any problem.

PAKISTAN: It is not for us, to interfere with the internal conditions in Pakistan. We are interested, of course, in the fate of the minorities there. We have accepted partition and we stand by that. Indeed, it is quite absurd and completely unreal for any person in India to talk about a reversal of partition. India has to apply a touch of healing to her relations with Pakistan which have remained in a continuous state of crisis during the past four years. Indeed, on some occasions, we have come to the verge of war. And yet nothing can be so foolish or so harmful as such a war.

KASHMIR: The fate of Kashmir will of course, be decided by the people of Kashmir. We are quite content to have a plebiscite in Kashmir not only because we are committed to it but because we are quite sure of its result.

PROVINCIALISM: While unity is essential, an enforced uniformity is not only not necessary but, I think, is undesirable. It would be doing a great harm to our concept of India, if we tried to confine it in a strait jacket of a particular point of view or some special customs or ways of life to which some of us are accustomed.

CULTURE: India has a basic cultural outlook of her own, but it has been enriched in the distant past by numerous streams coming from various parts of Asia and, in later years from the Western world. All these are intimate parts of India now and have been woven into her rich and intricate pattern. It is this composite culture which is our proud heritage and which we have to preserve and develop. If we try to deprive ourselves of something that has grown with us and is part of us, we grow the poorer for it and we start a process of disruption which is bad for us politically, culturally and in the domain of the spirit.

CONTROLS: Nobody likes controls, but controls of certain commodities become essential when the acquisitive instincts of some individuals or groups come in the way of public good. Private enterprise, therefore, has to be related to, and brought into the pattern of the national plan. It may be encouraged but it should always function within that pattern. If it goes outside that pattern, then it upsets the plan itself.

DRS. KATJU AND MOOKERJEE

The appointments of Dr. K. N. Katju as Cabinet Minister and of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee as Governor of West Bengal



DR. KAILAS NATH KATJU

were announced on October 25. We congratulate these veterans on the new opportunities opened to them for further service to the country. It gives us particular pleasure to felicitate them as they are old and valued contributors to this Review.



DR. H. C. MUKHERJI

Dr. Katju will succeed Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as soon as the latter vacates his office during the course of the month as Home Minister, and will also be in charge of the Law Ministry. Dr. Katju

is a lawyer and politician of Uttar Pradesh and has been Governor of West Bengal since June 21, 1948. He is now 64.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, who is 74, was Senior Professor of the Calcutta University for some years. He was a former President of the All-India Council of Indian Christians and former Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly of India. He has written a number of books such as "Some non-political achievements of the Congress," "Congress and the masses," "Why Prohibition," etc.

The appointment of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, a distinguished educationist, as the Governor of West Bengal is the first appointment of a person belonging to the same State to this high post.

LAW MINISTER'S STATEMENT

The reasons which led him to resign from the Central Cabinet are explained by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Law Minister, in a statement which he had intended to make in Parliament on October 11 and which he later released to the Press.

The statement could not be made in Parliament as Dr. Ambedkar walked out of the chamber in protest against a ruling of the Deputy Speaker that he could not be allowed to make the statement unless a copy of it was submitted to the Chair beforehand.

Among the reasons given for his resignation by Dr. Ambedkar are: dropping of the Hindu Code Bill, dissatisfaction with the treatment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and disapproval of Government's foreign policy. Dr. Ambedkar also complains that no administrative portfolio was given to him in spite of the Prime Minister's assurance.

Dr. Ambedkar complained that the policies of the Government were framed by committees like the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Defence Committee, from which he had always been excluded, and which worked "behind an iron curtain." Under this system, said Dr. Ambedkar, a Minister had to take joint responsibility without any opportunity to shape these policies.

STANDARDS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The first annual report of the Union Public Service Commission presented to Parliament on October 11 expressed concern over 'progressive deterioration' in the standards of university education of the country.

The Commission found that only a 'very small' fraction of the candidates for the open competitive tests like the I.A.S. examinations displayed 'real grasp of their subjects and a reasonable mental development.'

Presented by the Home Minister Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the report pointed out that

with the widely acknowledged deterioration in the standards of our university degrees, the written test has become in many cases more an evidence of the power to memorise book knowledge than of genuine mental qualities.

After consultations with the various ministries of the Government of India, the Commission had decided to retain for the present, a compulsory minimum standard in the *viva voce* test, which was designed primarily to "assess these mental qualities which together may be said to constitute personality."

Other points made by the report were:—

(1) Government's power of making temporary appointment without consultation with the Commission was really not necessary and this limitation should be done away with. The Commission felt the provision had been invoked by ministries and departments of the Government too indiscriminately and had evoked severe and wide-spread public criticism.

(2) Statutory safeguards should be provided by Parliament to minimise the possibility of increase in the number of occasions in which Government might seek to depart from its advice. The report mentioned six cases of non-acceptance by the Government of the Commission's recommendations.

(3) The Commission considered the retention of all the present limitations unjustified in a democratic republic. The President now exercised powers in consultation with Parliament to exclude from the purview of the Commission such matters and cases as he considered necessary. The Commission's proposal seeking to confine these limitations to the minimum necessary in the public interest was now before Government.

VISWABHARATI VARSITY

India's Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, urged the Viswa Bharati to "maintain the traditions and the spirit which till now have inspired it and enrich



MAULANA AZAD

them further in the spirit in which Gurudeva Tagore welcomed all good things from all sources."

Maulana Azad, who was formally inaugurating the Viswa Bharati as a Central University, said that with the passing of the Viswa Bharati Act, "a new order has started for you, but you must always remember that yours is a unique institution. You should, therefore, not merely try to imitate what other institutions do, but on the contrary try to set an example to them. You should derive your inspiration not from the practice or profession of other Universities but from the lofty ideals of Gurudeva."

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

Compulsory military training has been introduced in all schools and colleges in Sind. Announcing this decision, the Chief Minister, Mr. M. A. Khuhro, said that the Sind Government would do every thing possible to train the teenagers in military lines.

Barber (whispering to new helper): "Here comes a man for a shave."

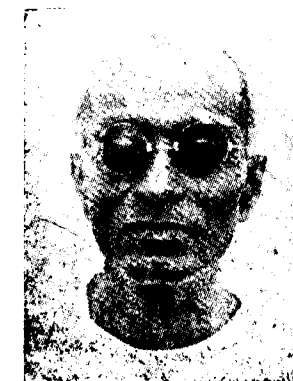
Helper: "Let me practise on him!"

Barber: "All right—but be careful not to cut yourself!"

THE PRESS ACT

Parliament passed the Press (Objectionable matter) Bill on October 6, after limiting the life of the Act to two years.

Home Minister Rajagopalachari hoped that during the two year-period, the Press would be able to set up their own



C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

"Council of discipline" with statutory powers as suggested by him. The proposed Press Commission would also probably sit within that period, he added.

Pointing out that for the first time in the history of the Press law in India Government would have to approach the courts as a common complainant and every case would be given "full judicial trial", Mr. Rajagopalachari declared:

"I can really be proud of what I have done." "Our united aim" he said, "is that the standard of all newspapers should rise and that we should arm the better class of newspapers with some sanction in order that they may use their moral influence with those who do not come up to the required level."

Pandit Kunzru said that notwithstanding his objections, he would not vote against the Bill in view of the fact that the life of the measure had been limited to two years.

Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, reiterated that he was not happy over the measure. He was among those who shouted 'no' when the Bill was put to vote.

Messrs. T. N. Singh, R. K. Sidhwa, and B. Das strongly supported the Bill.

Critics and supporters alike paid warm personal tributes to Mr. Rajagopalachari.

MADRAS LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon, of the Madras High Court, presiding over the 7th session of the Madras State Lawyers' Conference at Calicut, on October 12 pleaded for the establishment of a separate department, manned by Judicial Officers with a lawyer as Minister, to take over the routine administrative duties of the High Court to relieve the large congestion of work. This would remove the present difficulty of non-lawyer executive-minded people dealing with legal questions.

Mr. Menon said the Bar Council should have more powers and legal studies should be made uniform in all Universities.

He pleaded for the holding of periodical conferences, to provide scope or opportunity for lawyers in districts to know, or acquaint themselves with the practitioners of other places. Till recently there were opportunities for judicial officers from one part of the State being posted to the other; but now, owing to difficulties of education of their children carried on in the regional language it was very difficult for a judicial officer coming from the Andhra Desa or Tamil Nad, if he is posted to Malabar and vice-versa. He said that the old system was far superior to what prevailed today.

Referring to the legal profession he said that the charge that the large majority of the existing members of the Bar had not attained the same standard of efficiency and reputation as others in the past was to some extent well-founded. The Conference should devise methods to attract the best men to prevent a fall in standard and deterioration in capacity. It should also find a method to ameliorate the conditions of juniors.

The State Lawyers' Conference urged the Government of India to take steps to have a unified Bar at the earliest opportunity. It authorised the Provincial Bar Federation to appoint a committee to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the resolution to form an All-India Bar and to hold an All-India Lawyers' Conference.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

India had a favourable balance of Rs. 9,278 crores in her foreign trade in the first half of 1951 as against Rs. 5.82 crores in the corresponding period last year, according to official estimates.

There has been nearly a 60 per cent increase in the value of her trade during this period over the corresponding period in the previous year. High prices of both exportable and importable goods are stated to have been mainly responsible for the increase in the value of her exports as well as imports.

India's exports during the first six months were estimated at Rs. 408,01 crores compared to Rs. 252,51 crores in last year's corresponding period. Imports during this period were to the tune of Rs. 388,74 crores as against Rs. 249,69 crores between January and June last year.

India had a favourable balance of trade with all countries except the United States and Pakistan during the first half of this year. With the United States India's exports and re-exports accounted for Rs. 78.20 crores and imports for Rs. 78.26 crores, leaving an adverse balance of Rs. 6 lakhs. India's trade with Pakistan during this period showed an adverse balance, exports and re-exports being of the value of Rs. 7.22 crores and imports, Rs. 24.61 crores.

Trade with the United Kingdom was estimated at Rs. 89.14 crores on the export side and Rs. 68.95 crores on the import side.

India's total sea-borne trade during this period was of the order of Rs. 52.86 crores while land-borne trade was about Rs. 34 crores.

The increase in the value of India's overall trade is partly attributed to the fact that many of the Continental countries which were formerly classified as hard currency countries were treated this year as soft currency areas.

DUAL PRICE POLICY

Dr. John Matthai, former Union Finance Minister, addressing the Bombay Rotary Club on "The Riddle of Inflation," described as worth considering a suggestion for a dual price policy with regard to essential consumer goods like food grains on the basis that a relatively low price should be fixed for the supplies required to meet the Government's



DR. JOHN MATTHAI

minimum commitments, and a higher price for supplies in excess of this commitment.

Dr. Matthai said it would result in improving procurement, which, at present, proved a difficult problem, and to some extent help also to bring about an immediate increase of production.

A somewhat similar arrangement in the form of a higher price for supplies in excess of a defined limit had been adopted in the case of sugar which, judged by the results obtained so far, worked satisfactorily, he said.

Similarly, with regard to essential industrial products which were at present controlled, it would be possible to increase available supplies if prices were so adjusted that industrial concerns would be provided with sufficient funds for the replacement of plant and machinery at current inflated costs.

DILEMMA

Love will fly if held too lightly.
Love will die if held too tightly.
Lightly...tightly...how can I know.
If I'm killing you or letting you go?

SATYAWATI—THE HEROINE

A grand-daughter of Swami Shraddhanand, Shrimati Satyawati in whose memory the venue of the 57th session of the Congress was named, was born on January 26, 1907. She came of a middle-class family; her father was a lawyer in the Punjab and her mother was the daughter of Swami Shraddhanand.

It was under the inspiring influence of this great man's (Swami Shraddhanand's) life that Satyawati spent the formative years of her career. She was married at an early age and had two children, a son and a daughter. During the early years of her life, her impressionable and sensitive mind was influenced by the tragedies resulting from the Rowlatt Act agitation, Jallianwala Bagh incident and promulgation of the martial law in the Punjab. Even though very young she wanted to do something to give expression to her burning sense of patriotism and hatred of foreign rule. In the early twenties, therefore, like many other young people of her generation she was drawn to the terrorist movement. For several years she worked in close association with such revolutionary patriots as Sardar Bhagat Singh.

From 1939 onwards she was in the front rank of Congress workers and virtually continued to be the life and soul of the Congress movement in Delhi. She was imprisoned on more than a dozen occasion and spent nearly 5 years in prison. If there was a picketing to be resorted to, a lathi charge to be faced and order to be defied, she was always in the forefront. There was no hazard she was not prepared to face.

From 1930 onwards she made sacrifices, underwent persecution and a series of prolonged imprisonment. Her health broke down under the rigours of prison life and incessant public activity. She contracted tuberculosis and for more than 10 years she suffered from that terrible disease. Even though ailing, she carried on her public activities and even courted imprisonment in that state of health. As a matter of fact, if during these years she was not in jail she had to spend her days in hospital. In 1945 she was released after her case had been declared

as hopeless. She died on October 21, 1945, a martyr's death, in hospital with "Hindusthan Zindabad" on her lips. She was 38.

She was a woman of indomitable courage. During her intimate association with the national struggle extending over two decades and the greater part of her short life, she remained one of the closest and most trusted lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi who often referred to her as one of his favourite daughters.

WOMEN AND THE SERVICES

Mr. Robini Kumar Chowdhury had to seek "protection" from the Chair against Mrs. Durga Bai, who, he complained, always put him at a disadvantage whenever she was present in the House.

Mr. Chowdhury, who was speaking on the provisions of the All-India Services Bill relating to recruitment, was trying to oppose inclusion of women in I.A.S. and I.P.S., particularly for work for which they were not suited. This immediately brought Mrs. Durga Bai to her feet to challenge Mr. Chowdhury to prove on what grounds women were not suitable for these services.



MARIAN ANDERSON

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Miss Anderson has been acclaimed as one of the world's greatest concert artists. She will visit Europe this fall on concert tour.

NEHRU AND HINDU CODE BILL

"I shall tell people with all the emphasis I can command that if we come to power again we will bring in the Hindu Code Bill and get it passed", said Congress President Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of his presidential address in Hindusthani.

The Hindu Code Bill was not dropped, he said, out of fear that it would lose votes for the Congress in the forthcoming general elections as many people were insinuating. "I am sure in my mind", he added, "that if the Bill had been passed, we would have secured many votes particularly of hundreds of Hindu women."

EARL MOUNTBATTEN

Vice-Admiral Earl Mountbatten, cousin of H. M. King George VI, is to be British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, in succession to Admiral Sir John Edelsten, from next May.

Earl Mountbatten 51, last Viceroy, and first Governor-General of India, and war-time Supreme Commander of South-east Asia Command, is at present Fourth Sea Lord in charge of Admiralty Supplies.

His place as Fourth Sea Lord is to be taken by Rear Admiral Sydney M. Raw, Flag Officer Submarines. No new appointment has yet been announced for Sir John Edelsten.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

During its two-day session for a total of over seven hours, the Plenary Session of the Delhi Congress adopted five official resolutions on (1) general condolences, (2) amendment to the Congress constitution, (3) foreign policy, (4) anti-social and disruptive tendencies, and (5) election manifesto and economic programme.

At the second day sitting, the Plenary Session passed the two resolutions—one condemning communal, anti-social and disruptive tendencies and the other relating to the economic programme. The latter resolution also approved of the Election Manifesto adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at its Bangalore meeting held last July.

A notable feature of the session was that all resolutions were passed unanimously. Not a single amendment to any official resolution was pressed.

No voice was raised in opposition to the fundamental principles underlying the resolutions. Never perhaps in Congress history so far has any leader received such support from the rank and file of the party in its annual session as Sri Nehru did in this session.

Sri Nehru in his concluding address exhorted the delegates to carry the message of the Congress to their respective areas.



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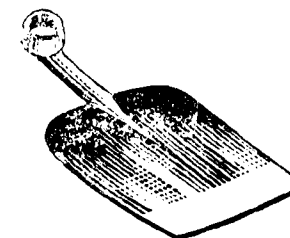


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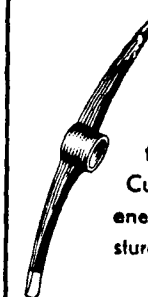
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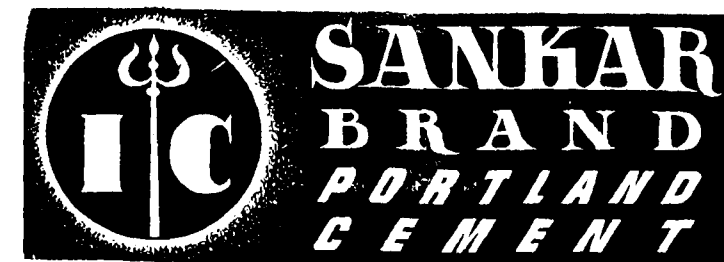
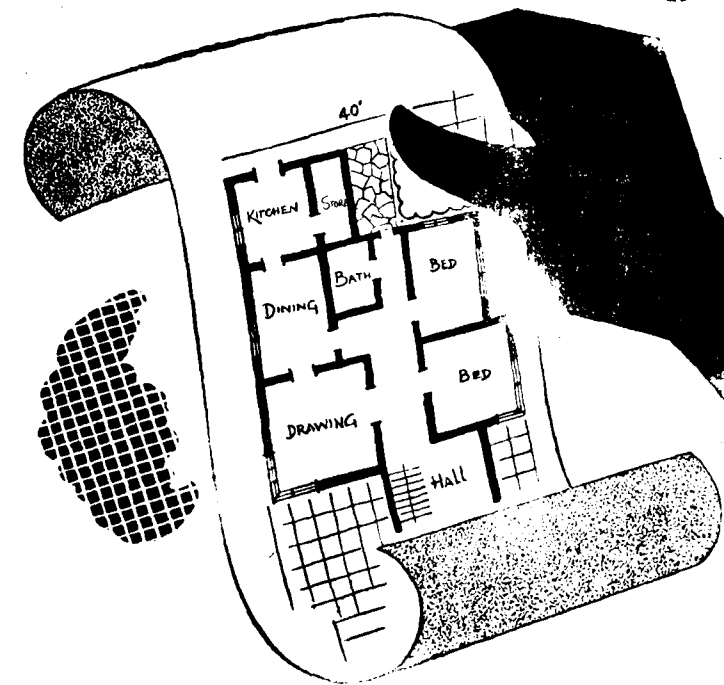
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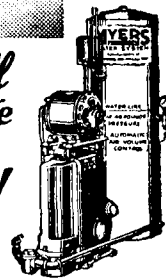
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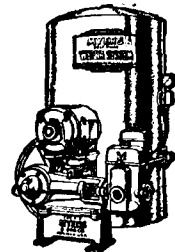
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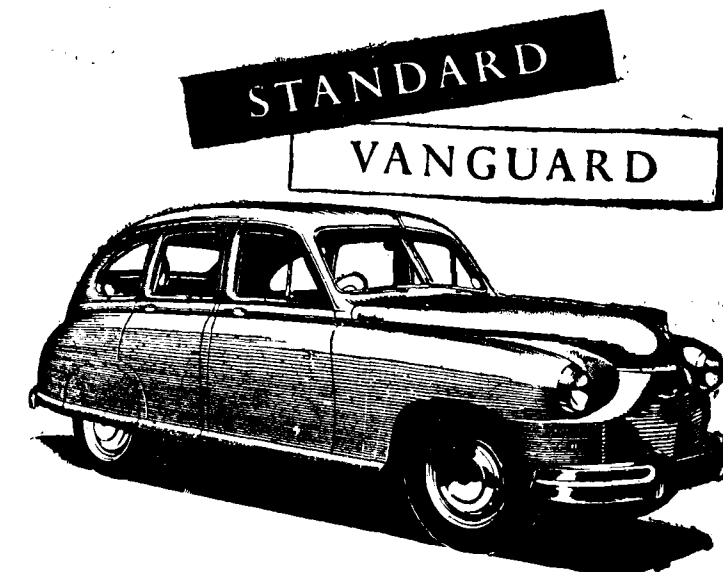
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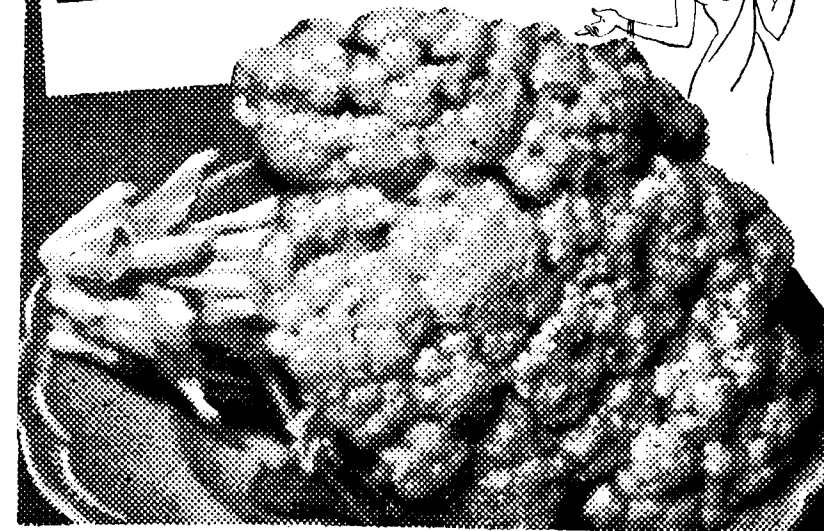
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INDIA AND THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

By MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

ONE of the most striking phenomena of our times is the ascendancy of the bloc-mentality as the dominant factor in international politics. This bloc philosophy has to-day so firmly gripped the international mind that the existence of power blocs is not only accepted as a matter of course but is even considered to be an indispensable feature of international life. International relations consequently are manipulated to fit into patterns designed to promote the policies of the major powers that dominate the blocs and any deviation from this rigid course by any country amounts in the eyes of the ruling classes of the world to a departure from normalcy.

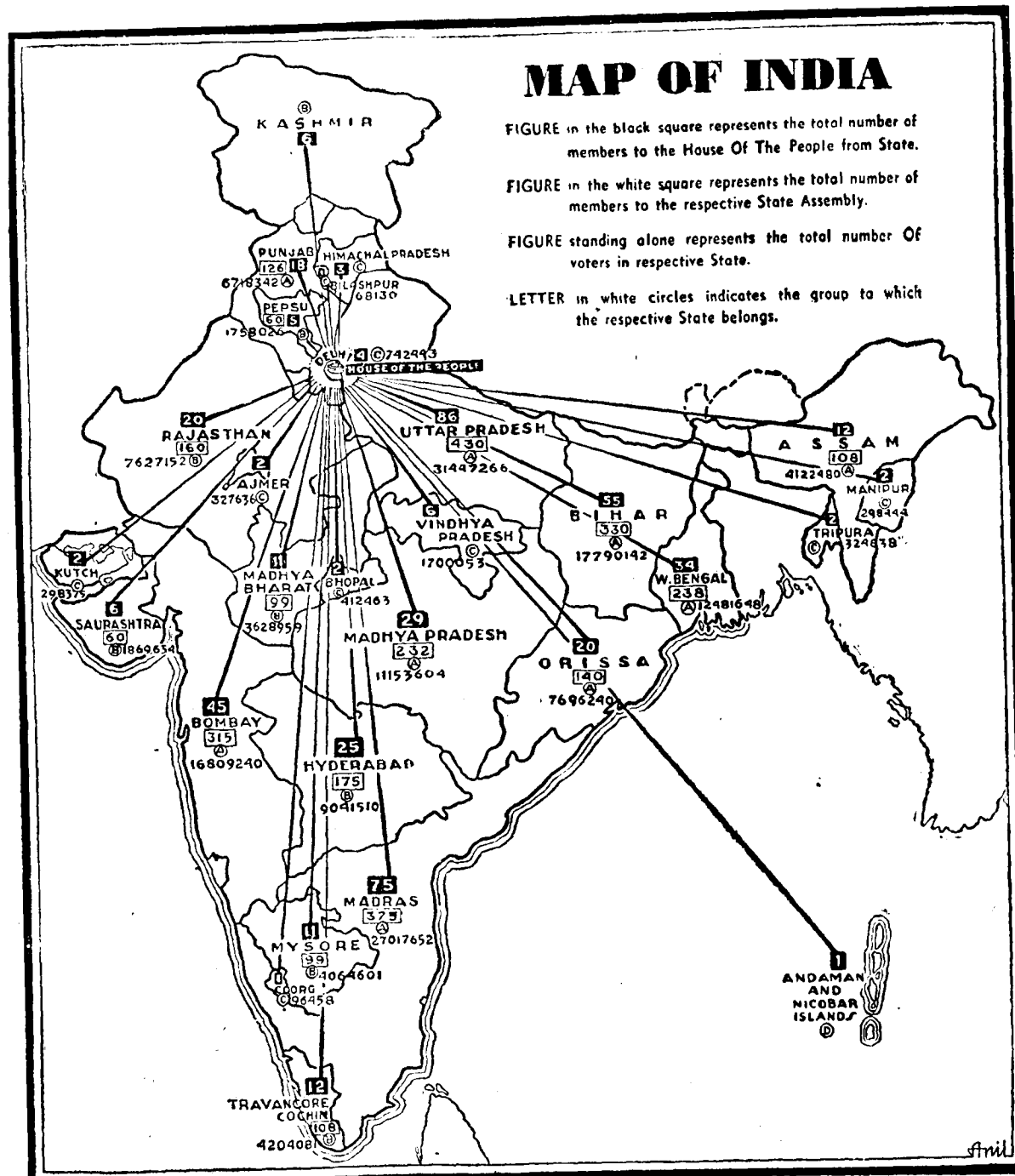
Under these circumstances it is inevitable that India's independent foreign policy should be one of the most controversial topics of the day. And so we see the western democracies fret and fume because India is reluctant to participate in "the crusade against communism", the communists deplore India's refusal to join in the cold war against the "western imperialists and war mongers", while the advocates of "third force" bewail India's failure to organise a third neutral bloc, consisting preferably of free nations of Asia. One of the many other accusations is that India's policy is a negative pursuit of neutralism.

On the practical side India has to pay for her independent stand in foreign affairs by the absence of stable and reliable friends in the international arena. It has deprived India of valuable dollars necessary for the development of our economic resources and whenever such issues of vital importance to India like the Kashmir dispute come before the UN

bodies, while the Anglo-Americans openly uphold Pakistan's case, even though it lacks the strength of justice and reasonableness, the Soviet bloc, for the most part maintains an indifferent and studied silence.

The belief that our foreign policy has failed to serve the interests of the country and as such needs revision, therefore is steadily gaining ground among a section of our people. It is further argued that in view of our having chosen the democratic way of life as opposed to totalitarianism so characteristic of the communist system, and in light of the fact that USA alone can provide the necessary economic aid to India, we should not hesitate to align ourselves with the Western Democracies. Independent foreign policy, it is suggested, is impracticable in the prevailing conditions and the way is pointed out to the Anglo-American bloc with whom it is said India has strong ideological ties.

The proposition is indeed extremely attractive and on the face of it almost unassailable, but the moot point is whether it is practicable and capable of really promoting the wider interests of the country. Can India really fit into the western democratic framework, without compromising on fundamentals and endangering the freedom and the welfare of her people? We may have derived a great deal of inspiration from western thinkers and statesmen, but can India honestly support the present policies of the western democracies, much less be a party to them? A peep into the Anglo-American politics of today should help us to come to definite conclusions on these issues.



COURTESY : A. B. Patrika.

Now to start with, despite all the admiration and respect we have for western ideals and institutions, we cannot under any circumstances ignore the fact that policies pursued by the western democracies under the leadership of USA to-day have degenerated into a negative form of rabid anti-communism or rather anti-Sovietism. There may be a lot of talk about "peaceful co-existence" "peace offensive" and Big Five Meetings, but it is evident that both the blocs have reconciled themselves to the inevitability of an East-West clash and the western democracies are expanding their energies almost exclusively in building up "situations of strength".

All efforts are directed towards the ultimate objective of gaining strategic advantages over the Soviet bloc, even if fundamental democratic principles have to be compromised in the process. The German rearmament question, the Japanese Peace Treaty, the attitude towards the Franco regime and Marshal Tito, who is, except for his insubordination to Kremlin, as good a communist as any Russian Commissar, are many of the instances that speak volumes for the fact that anti-Sovietism rather than genuine anxiety for the survival of democratic ideals has become the burden song of Anglo-American policies.

Then the tendency to preserve the *status quo* in many parts of the world and particularly Asia, by supporting reactionary puppet regimes and even propping up decaying colonial systems, against progressive national forces, are additional indications of what little democracy stands to gain from the policies pursued by the so-called western democracies. The inordinate emphasis on armaments rather than the elimination of hunger and poverty as a means to combat communism, the intentional or unintentional policy of advancing economic aid only to those who are willing to toe the US line in international affairs, the suspicions entertained about those who without subscribing to the communist ideology may endeavour to have friendly relations with the communist countries, are further proofs of what the western powers are really interested in. The enthusiasm to destroy communism is of course laudable, but

when the means employed for the purpose tend to merely substitute western domination in place of communist totalitarianism, democracy becomes the first casualty.

Furthermore there is nothing democratic about the manner in which the bloc functions. It is Uncle Sam who calls the tune and the rest have to meekly submit to the steam-roller tactics of the State Department, which in turn appears to have become a subordinate branch of the Pentagon. Time and again we have witnessed the sorry spectacle of countries like Britain and France, trying, in deference to public opinion, to assert their independent views only to retrace their steps against opposition from across the Atlantic, where they seem to have arrogated to themselves the sole right to decide what is good and bad for the rest of the world. The intolerance which the American statesmen exhibit towards those whose views differ from their own, the air of assumed superiority, bordering on arrogance, with which the American way of life is being advertised to the world, the policy of buying allies with dollar doles, these and other practices which have become part and parcel of American foreign policy and consequently of the Western Democratic bloc, are the negation of the spirit of democracy.

This is only a bird's-eye view of Anglo-American policies but adequate to reveal to us the implications of an alignment with the Western Democratic Bloc. Evidently no patriotic Indian would appreciate the slightest abridgement of our freedom, either in internal or external affairs, even in return for generous economic doles. National prosperity can never be built on the shifting sands of foreign aid but on the solid rocks of the toil and sacrifices of the people. An alignment with the Western Bloc would indeed bring in dollars and the technical know-how for our industrial development, but not without India's unqualified support to American policies, an active participation in the Western Democratic defence programme and perhaps loan of military bases in this country. But even if it were possible to do this with equanimity and without losing our national self-respect, we have neither the time nor the resources to engage in war-preparations, when more

important constructive task await our attention. We want peace not merely because it is one of our fundamental objectives, but also because it is needed to enable us to devote our energies to the solution of the multitude of our problems.

It is in India's interests to refrain from indulging in any activity that might directly or indirectly jeopardise the slenderest chance of peace, nor can we honestly support the policies designed to impede the political and economic emancipation of the subject peoples of the world. To align with the Western Democratic Bloc would amount to just that much. There are other important reasons why India must not join the Anglo-American camp, to which little attention is generally paid by the critics of Indian foreign policy. The point is that by being a camp-follower of Anglo-Americans India would be seriously endangering her freedom and security, notwithstanding all the military aid Uncle Sam could provide. With two large and powerful communist powers on our frontiers joining the Western Democratic Bloc would be a suicidal risk for India to take.

The only course open to India therefore, is to stick up to her independent foreign policy, on the principle of "friendship to all, enmity to none," shaping her views on international problems according to the merits of each case. The fact that such a policy does not secure for us sincere friends abroad is no reflection on the merits of the policy, because so long as nations believe in and act in accordance with the principle that those who are not with them are against them, nothing else can be expected. At the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that at a time when military strategy and bloc rivalries have replaced all other values shaping the contours of international relations, neither bloc is openly antagonist to India which is an achievement to be proud of.

It is often suggested however that by ploughing a lonely furrow India is unable to play a decisive role in international affairs. There is something of course in the argument that a closer liaison than

at present exists between the free nations of Asia who are inclined to subscribe to our way of thinking would make India's role more effective, but it must also be remembered that without the necessary economic and military potential, which no Asian country has adequately developed so far, such an arrangement cannot function successfully. And to give more strength to India's voice abroad it is necessary to develop her strength at home. It is not suggested however that India's role in international affairs has so far been insignificant. India's independent foreign policy has caused considerable inconvenience to the big powers and while it is for the future historian to assess the impact of India's policy on the destinies of mankind, the criticism levelled against India in the world capitals, the keenness with which her steps are watched and the eagerness with which her support is sought are definite proofs that India *does* count in the councils of the nation.

This does not mean that India's foreign policy is flawless. There is wide room for suitable adjustments so as to make it more effective, in the set up in our Foreign Office and legations abroad and even in the matter of our attitude to a number of issues like relations with Pakistan, the elimination of foreign pockets in India and so on. But there is no escape from an independent foreign policy and since an alliance with the Soviet Bloc is neither possible nor desirable we have seen why we must not align with the Western Democratic Bloc also. That does not mean that India is pro-communist or anti-democratic, nor the other way round, and the earlier the Western democracies realise that a strong, independent India is the best bulwark against communism in Asia the better.

Contrary to what is often alleged, India's independent foreign policy is not just an ideological fad of Jawaharlal Nehru, but a historical and contemporaneous necessity. It is a policy that has been designed not only to promote India's enlightened self-interests but also the ends of world peace.

THE PROBLEM OF BEGGARS

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

—(O)—

THE beggar problem in Free India is one of the most urgent, though, perhaps, the most neglected problem facing the Government as well as the social workers. Whether you move about in the cities or travel on the trains or even sit quietly in your house, the problem stares you in the face and it is impossible to overlook its seriousness. The beggars, with their numerous varieties, would appeal to your sense of pity or religious alm-giving or humanitarianism; they would even touch you against your will and compel you to part with a few copper coins at least to get rid of the most hideous and repulsive sights. Any foreigner who comes to India for sight-seeing or any other purpose is confronted with this ugly problem within a few hours or, perhaps, even minutes, of his arrival. It is, therefore, very necessary to tackle this problem seriously in any scheme of National Planning.

It is true that the roots of this problem go deep into the very foundations of the existing economic structure of our society and beggary could be eradicated on a permanent basis only with introduction of certain radical changes in national economy. Never-the-less, it should be possible to deal with the beggar nuisance as an immediate social reform in the manner in which other countries in Europe and Asia have done. Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, Director of the Tata School of Social Sciences, Bombay edited a book entitled "Our Beggar Problem" a few years ago; this publication supplies very valuable material for the practical solution of this social evil. A few members of the staff and some students of our Colleges of Commerce at Wardha and Nagpur conducted a socio-economic survey of beggars in the City of Nagpur during the last summer vacations. This survey has also given us a good insight into this problem from a practical standpoint.

In order to evolve a concrete scheme of the abolition of beggary in India, it is essential to classify beggars into definite categories and, then, suggest solutions for

each category. Broadly classified, the beggars would fall under the following types:

(a) The able-bodied (b) The old and infirm (c) The physically defective and crippled (d) The religious mendicant. Let us deal with these categories one by one.

Out of the able-bodied beggars, the number of children is assuming alarming proportions. Some of these beggars belong to well-organized groups who have evolved begging into a trade. Our Nagpur survey indicates, however, that about 50 per cent. of the able-bodied beggars are forced to live on public charities owing to temporary or permanent unemployment and most of them were willing to take to work if the necessary provision is made for them. If beggary is declared an offence, about half of these able-bodied members would automatically disappear and succeed in finding some jobs for themselves. Others could be asked to register themselves in the Employment Exchanges or Industrial Houses. These Industrial Houses should be the active training centres for cottage or small-scale industries and the Government should help in the marketing of their products. Legislation relating to Beggary should be uniform in different States; otherwise migration of beggars from one State to another would automatically take place and thwart the very object of legislation. Our Survey in Nagpur shows that about 90 per cent of the beggars in the City belong to places outside Nagpur, a good number hailing from places even outside Madhya Pradesh.

As regards the infirm and old beggars who are incapable of doing hard work, the State should start "Homes" for their maintenance. These Homes should arrange for some light work in order to recover part of the maintenance expenditure. Certain cottage industries like spinning, carding, toy-making could also be started in these Homes.

So far as the crippled and physically handicapped beggars are concerned, the State and the Municipalities should open Asylums for their maintenance. As in other countries, such Asylums should be

financed partly by the State and partly by public charities. At present, charity in India is mostly unorganized and private; it could be diverted into proper channels through public bodies and social welfare institutions.

The problem of religious mendicants is rather ticklish because its mishandling might injure the religious sentiments of a section of the public. Nevertheless the question should be faced boldly. It is true that there are some Sadhus who do valuable social and religious work and are legitimately entitled to public charities. This has been an Indian tradition from times immemorial. But the number of "bogus" mendicants is fast growing and must be checked through legislation. The better type of Sadhus should, in their own interest organise themselves into social welfare institutions and arrange for

organised public charity. It is gratifying to know that the Sadhus in India have, of late, been seriously thinking along similar lines.

These are only a few suggestions relating to the problem of beggars in the country: they are only illustrative and not comprehensive. But if the Central and State Government begin to think earnestly regarding the abolition of beggary, I am confident that practical schemes could be evolved without much difficulty. The problem is, undoubtedly, imperative and demands early solution. I sincerely hope that the Planning Commission would also incorporate this problem in the first Five Year Plan and make certain definite recommendations in regard to its liquidation. Overlooking the problem altogether in the National Plan would be a grievous omission.

Rise in Bank Rate & Credit Control in India

BY DR. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

—:z:—

WITH effect from November 15, 1951, the Bank Rate in India has been raised from 3 to 3½ per cent. At the same time, the Reserve Bank of India has announced that during the ensuing busy season, it will, save in exceptional cases, refrain from buying Government securities to meet the requirements of scheduled banks, but will continue to make loans and advances at the prevailing bank rate against specified securities under Section 17 (4) (A) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

The implications of these two steps should be understood in order to appreciate their effects upon the money and security markets in the country. It may be pointed out that the 3 per cent. Bank Rate has been in force in the country since the 28th November, 1935 on which date the 3½ per cent. rate was reduced to 3 per cent. Thus the 3 per cent. Bank Rate remained in force for 16 years; but throughout this period its direct influence on the money market has been extremely

meagre. Between 1937 and 1949 the total advances made by the Reserve Bank of India to scheduled and State Co-operative banks under Section 17 of the Act came to about Rs. 107 crores. During the busy season, the main source of funds for the market came through the sale of Government securities to the Reserve Bank of India.

The inflationary pressure is indicated from the following facts. Firstly, the total demand and time liabilities of the scheduled banks fell from Rs. 978 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 870 crores in 1949-50; but in 1950-51, they again increased Rs. 878 crores. Secondly, their cash position declined from Rs. 87.51 crores to Rs. 84.68 crores during the same period. The total of advances and discounts increased from Rs. 441 crores to Rs. 458.90 crores. This is the average position. In the busy months, the total of advances and discounts has exceeded Rs. 585 crores. The percentage of total advances and discounts to total liabilities has been

increasing. Thus while the total liabilities have been increasing, cash has been declining. The situation was mitigated by the withdrawal of the cash balances of the scheduled banks with the Reserve Bank of India. In 1948-49, Scheduled Banks' balances with the Reserve Bank were about Rs. 77 crores and in 1950-51, they fell to about Rs. 61 crores. During the same period, their excess balances with the Reserve Bank fell from about Rs. 37 crores to Rs. 25½ crores, a fall of 33 per cent. The fall in bank deposits from about Rs. 978 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 870 crores in 1949-50, a fall of over Rs. 108 crores was accompanied by an increase in advances and discounts.

The banks were liquidating their holdings of government securities and withdrawing their excess balances with the Reserve Bank of India. The ratio of cash and balances with the Reserve Bank to total liabilities fell to 9.62 per cent. in April, 1949 and to 9.58 per cent. in April, 1950. With the open market operations policy, the Reserve Bank of India could not exercise control over the credit position effectively. These strains were reduced after devaluation and an export surplus emerged. The Reserve Bank of India asked the banks not to finance hoarding and speculation.

During the last busy season, the volume of advances by the commercial banks had reached the peak of Rs. 586 crores, the highest ever reached during any year during or after the War. The Reserve Bank of India, therefore, considered the question of raising the Bank Rate as a disinflationary measure.

The scheduled banks will no longer be able to expand credit by selling government securities, which was the practice hitherto; but they will be able to get loans from the Reserve Bank under Section 17 (4) (A) on those securities. Formerly, they could sell government securities to the Reserve Bank and put themselves in funds for making advances on which they earned adequate interest. Now they will not be in a position to get funds in that way. They will have to go to the Reserve Bank for accommodation for which they will have

to pay half a per cent. more than formerly. Unless they are in a position to recoup themselves for this extra half a per cent. they will not be in a mood to make loans and advances. Banks have already announced an increase in their loans and advances rates.

This step will induce the boarders and speculators to disboard commodities and there will be a psychological reaction also. Exactly to what extent will credit inflation be prevented is not easy to say. Of the total advances made by scheduled banks on 31st December, 1950, 32 per cent. were made to industry, 51.7 per cent. to Commerce, 23 per cent. to agriculture, 8.9 per cent. were for personal and professional purposes and 5.1 per cent. for all other purposes. Hardening of interest rates for speculative and personal purposes will be disinflationary. But the rising cost of credit may also affect production adversely. To the extent to which a stiffening of interest rates caused by a rise in bank rate tends to curtail expenditure at home and the volume of purchasing power, it will be disinflationary.

Curtailement of expenditure means curtailment of demand. This means a reduction in prices. Thus producers, who continue operations cannot charge the same prices as before because of a fall in expenditure. A rise in cost of production as a result of stiffening of the cost of accommodation may result in the closing of certain concerns which are running on the margin. But there are various difficulties of closing down, and producers may accept a lower price for their products which is likely to help exports. This means a reduction in the profits of businessmen, which should actuate them either to introduce economies in methods of production or to insist on a reduction in wages. The latter is likely to be resisted by organised trade unions.

Already there was a tendency for interest rates to go up in India, and the step of the Reserve Bank may be taken rather as recognition of the existing situation in the money market; but the rise in interest rates will lead to costlier borrowing, which must affect the weaker concerns adversely.

The Reserve Bank of India should follow the policy of selective credit control. Now that the organised section of the money market will have to come to the Reserve Bank of India for accommodation, the Bank's disinflationary policy will work more effectively than before. But the surplus purchasing power in the non-banking section of the money market has also to be reckoned with. It can come to the rescue of the trader and the businessman.

This action of the Reserve Bank of India has already depressed the gilt-edged and the equity market. A rise in Bank

Rate was in any case bound to reduce the prices of the gilt-edged securities and equities; but the cessation of open market purchases by the Bank has depressed them considerably. This ought to prove a temporary phase only.

Bank Rate has been raised in other countries also, where the rise varies from one-half to two per cent. according to the special conditions of the credit market. On the whole, the action of the Reserve Bank of India may prove to be the turning point in improving Indian economy and in reducing prices.

THE ORIGIN OF RAGAS AND RAGINIS

BY SRI A. GOSWAMI

ONE peculiarity of North Indian music is the division of melodies into male, female and hermaphrodite ones. No book before Sangit Ratnakara designated the melodies in terms of their sexes. Shrangadeva, the author of the Sangit Ratnakara too, does not use the terms Raga and Raginis in clear terms, but only names them in such a manner that they indicate them as such. Many after him too have followed the same principle.

But it is left to Damodara the author of the Sangit Darpan (1625 A.D.) to use the terms like Barangana (concubine), Angana (Daughter) and Yoshita (wife) with reference to the melodies. Likewise later some one introduced the idea of sons and daughters-in-law in the raga genealogies. Why this division of melodies into different sexes?

If we study carefully the list of male Ragas, we find that at the beginning they were six in number and the time allotted to each of them was one of the six different seasons respectively viz., Raga Sri is to be sung in winter, the Vasant in spring, the Bhairav in summer, the Megh in the time of rains, the Panchama in the autumn season and the Natanarayan in the season between the end of autumn and the beginning of winter. Later though we find many of them substituted by other new ones yet

their number remained same. From this it can be easily surmised that when agriculture came to occupy a place of some importance in the lives of the newly settled people, they began to borrow the seasonal festivals connected with the fertility cult from the indigenous people. "The seasons are indeed only of value to the primitive man, because they are related, as he swiftly and necessarily finds out, to his food supply. . . . It is these periods that become the central points, the focii of his interest, and the dates of his religious festivals."

Not long after the Aryan settlement and their intermixture with the local population, there entered into the Aryan religious beliefs many conceptions of the autochthonous people which later took Aryan hue. The Shiva-Sakti cult is one of them. The associating of the origin of the early Ragas with Shiva-Parvati goes to prove that it was connected with fertility cults of the pre-Aryan people.

Many of our musical texts say that five of the six ragas were born out of the five mouths of Shiva. Bhairava from the Aghore mouth, Sri from Sadyojata, Vasant from Bamdeva, Pancham from Tattpurusha, and Megh raga from the Ishana. Nata-Narayana, the remaining raga, was born from the Gouri which is only another name of Parvati the consort

of Siva. In many later texts the Vasanta has been substituted by Malava Kousik, Panchama by Hindola, and Nata-Narayana by Dipak.

In the Brihajjabal Upanishad we come across the above said five faces of Shiva. There the five mouths have been designated as the originating source of five elements and five colours. The Agni and Soma (Sun and moon) are referred to as the cause of creation and destruction viz. Shiva destroys all things reducing them to ashes and Sakti revives them all again into new lives by her nectar. In the musical texts, on the other hand, it has been said that five Ragas were born of Shiva and one from the Shakti.

So from the above we can easily infer the influence of Tantric element in the music. The musical texts have designated the Bhairava raga as the primary and the first of the ragas. If it was not so, according to the Vedic order, the Megh raga should have been the first and next in order of succession would come Pancham, Vasant, Bhairava and Sri. Really it is from the Sushma the Sibula evolves, and from Akasa the material world. In the Tantra and the Yoga Shastras the Vijas of the elements and their respective positions have been indicated, but the colours referred in Brihajjabal Upanishad do not tally with the chakras or positions of the Tantras. According to the five elements and their positions the order of Ragas should be:

MOUTHS OF SHIVA	ELEMENTS	VIVA	CHAKRAS	RAGAS
Sadyojata	Prithwi	Lang	Muladhar	Sri
Bamdeva	Apa	Bong	Swadhis-	Vasant
			than	
Aghore	Teja	Rong	Manipur	Bhairav
Tatpurusha	Marut	Yong	Anahata	Pancha-
			nan	
Ishan	Byom	Hong	Bishud-	Megh.
			dha	

The Yogashastras tell us that when the air inside the body strikes the different parts, it produces different sounds. And music we know to be the aggregate arrangement of these sounds.

Some texts refer to Shiva as sevenfaced, but the Puranas endow him with five faces only and so he is known as Panchanan. This Panchanan is also the Rudra of the

Vedas. Rudra again is but only another form of sun i.e., a different form of five. So these five faces of Siva only designate five different spectrums of fire or the sun meaning light.

Fire here implies the sun. Therefore it can be concluded that the five ragas were born of fire. Shiva or Rudra really mean Sabdabrahma in Nada form. So Gita or Sangita has been called a form of Nada. From Shiva rupa Nada, tones, microtones and embellishments have been born. And Nada again is a form of fire.

Fire has been referred to as "Kamakalarupini Kundalini." Kundalini is nothing but the subconscious mind of the man. So we find all these five ragas being born of the sub-conscious mind of man. Gouri is also "Nada rupini kamakala kundalini." This makes it clear that all ragas are born of man's sub-consciousness and imagination.

For the celebration of these seasonal festivals different tunes were assigned to each of them, and as they were the earliest, they are called male tunes. They top the later Raga genealogy. With the passing of time, new tunes were created on the basis of these old tunes and they were called the wives, children and the grand-children of the first six primary Ragas. Later, a genealogy was assigned to each of them. Though this was based more on imagination than science, yet it may be called the precursor of later *Mela* or *Thath* system. Each tune contains a particular set of notes, and expresses a definite sentiment, and each sentiment has its propitious time. These genealogies were settled according to the similarity of notes and the sentiments and different times are fixed for different tunes.

Endowing forms to the Ragas is not merely an idyllic flight of the Hindu imagination. It was natural. "Since we are men we cannot escape the necessity of conceiving everything in terms of our experience." "Theistic belief depends on man's projection of his own ideas and feelings into nature. It is personification of non-personal phenomena. Personification is God's major premise."

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THE GREAT SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIA

BY PROF. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

(St. Thomas College, Trichur)

DESPITE two devastating world wars, there has been all-round social progress in the West. In Europe and America, the social problem arose out of the Labour-Capital context of industrialism. But in India, the social problem is not the same as in Europe. Nonetheless, it reflected the socio-political system caught in a crisis, and moving in a vicious circle.

CULTURAL UPSURGE

In India, the social problem is posed by caste-system, grinding poverty, joint family system, bondages on women and industrial evils. Close scrutiny reveals that the ill-balanced social structure, low status of women and disorganised industrial development are at fault. Coupled with ignorance and illiteracy, the problem has assumed threatening proportions.

From time to time in India, vivid flashes of renaissance occurred. Instead of being a museum of cultural lags, it is time that India becomes science-conscious. India wants to be in the van of world progress. Though poor and weak, she has in her the dynamic of the future. India today is facing an exciting atmosphere of revolutionary cultural upsurge.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

Apart from the four major castes, Sir T. W. Holderness discerned 2300 minor castes. "In short, the caste is the air of India" he said. As years rolled out into oblivion, the problem of caste became sharper still. And Prof. Rushbrook Williams went so far as to conclude: "There is no such thing as India at all."

The four castes of Hindu tradition were functional in origin. The Brahmins were priests and teachers, the Kshatriyas warriors and kings, the Vaisyas merchants, and the Sudras workers. While the first two were inheritors of hermetically bottled arts and learning, the last two sweated and slavelaboured for their bread.

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar quotes sastric texts to show that caste has only retained its formal identity, "as a

covering title" "during all these changes in substance." May be true or may not. Abbe Dubois, Walter Lawrence and Edward Blunt somehow find India's future being shaped by Brahmins. For them Brahmins stand for intellectual integrity and administrative ability. Certain leaders of thought like Patrick Geddes have seen in Capital and Labour, Poor and Rich, Jew and German, the whites and blacks, parallels to Indian caste system. Even Aldous Huxley pays homage to the castes by having them embodied in his laboratory-born men and women of the 'Brave New World'. They may not be wide off the mark. Yet. . . .

Yet caste system is the grim reality of the Indian social life. It divides brother from brother, and throws human beings one against the other. It brings in its wake social ostracism and religious inequalities. The higher castes pose, oftener than often, as unsocially different, undemocratically superior, unsportingly highbrow. It is wrong to pander to the low tastes and worst snobberies of the high castes at the expense of the low. It is the duty of the enlightened to bring the low castes within the pale of civilisation.

Hindu religious groups differ but very little in fundamentals, if at all. Then why not equality be maintained inside the Hindufold?

In North-West India, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar spearheaded the reform movement. In 1947 Jat Pat Torak Mandal of Lahore succeeded in removing the caste column from the census papers. Growing industrialism cut at the root of traditional caste system by throwing all workers together. The revolutionary socialist ideas welded the workers together, irrespective of caste and creed, against the capitalists in industrial cities. Yet, the caste system survives to-day in the 700,000 Indian villages.

In Jamshedpur, the industrial city, caste rigidity is altogether unknown. Total industrialisation is the sovereign cure for caste restrictions. In the army too,

caste system died an inglorious death, unsung and unhonoured. Recently, the famed writer Herbert. L. Matthews has thrown light on the non-caste nature of Indian military camps. There "everybody has to live together, doing the same things, eating the same food".

The feeling is widespread that India cannot rest content till caste-system is thrown away for all time to come.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

"So long as there are castes, there must be outcasts" said K. Natarajan as far back as 1927 presiding over the National Social Conference. Here is the hub of the matter. The "Depressed classes" (out-casts) feel 'left out' within the Hindu fold. They were excluded from temples, where caste-Hindus worship. They are not admitted to schools and places of public resort. The ugliest incidents, humiliating incidents punctuate their daily lives. In Malabar, (India) the Depressed classes suffer unheard of humiliations. For them, even the village well is out of bounds. They were oppressed by the traditional practices of untouchability (cannot touch the high castes) unapproachability (must keep at respectable distance from the high castes) and even unseeability (away from the sight of the high castes). Can human degradation go further?

In 1932 Mahatma Gandhi launched the 'Harijan uplift' movement. Temples were thrown open to the Harijans everywhere. The Travancore Maharaja took the lead which other States soon followed up. In 1910 Valentine Chirol counted 50 million among the Depressed classes, in 1929 Anstey counted 60 million, in 1931 Sir John Cumming counted 80 to 70 million, in 1937 the Simon Commission spoke of 43 million. B. R. Ambedkar, the accredited leader of the Depressed classes finds 60 million of them in India. In 1930 Ambedkar said that the British government's attitude to Depressed classes was that of the Chinese tailor "who when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all." He knew that Swaraj alone can help them out of scrapes. From Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna missions, caste conception received its first sneers and jibes. Civilised nations have been appalled by

the cruelties of the caste-bar. These artificial barriers that divide man from man are indeed festering sores on the body politic. The sooner we remove them, the better for the nation.

JOINT FAMILY

The joint family is an institution peculiar to Hindu society. Prosperity fosters individualism and adversity herds men together. In the past the joint family comprising of 25 to 50 members was an economic necessity. It is to-day a misfit in society due to socio-economic changes. It has a cramping effect on individual initiative. The joint family has helped many freedom-fighters and public men to serve the nation, leaving their cares and worries in the hands of other family-members. It has served the old, the very young, the disabled and the unemployed inside the joint family. But to-day this age-old institution is being shattered under the pressure of individualism and industrialism. The present day dilemmas have an infinity of horns. No more joint family is a solution to problems thrown up by modern conditions. To-day it is more a hindrance than a help. The people, once aroused, are agog with enthusiasm for social reform.

FROM SLAVERY TO STATUS

Thanks to the early reformers, SATI, has been abolished. In the past, as Lady Hartog points out "too often the Hindu widow became little more than an unpaid drudge in the family of her dead husband." Young widows are remarried these days without social censure. The Sarda Act of 1929 has fixed already the marriageable age for males as 18 and for females 14. These are achievements indeed to gloat over in custom-ridden India.

The All India Women's conference has been agitating for a decade for the abolition of 'purdah'. The commercialisation of marriage via the dowry system too is a formidable evil. But "the master-key which unlocks all doors of progress" is women's education. The fact that literacy among women is only 8 per cent makes us (Indians) the laughing stock of the world. Indeed these social evils put back the clock of progress. Sex shall be no bar to equality. Civilisation rests on women as much as on men.

Scientific birth-control alone can apply the axe on the 'breeding storm' in India. Over here children are born without rational forethought. Frequent unspaced births have been shattering the vigour and vitality of Indian womanhood.

The problem of 'devadasis' or religious prostitution shall go root and branch. The anti-naught movement began in 1895. The movement has already made much headway. Thanks to Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's pioneering bill in 1928 prohibiting the dedication of girls to temples, religious prostitution is on the downgrade to-day. More and more States are copying the lead given by Madras.

The two bills prepared by B. N. Rau committee is facing very strong opposition. These bills try to secure for the Hindu wife the right to inherit property separately and the right to monogamous marriage. Also the necessity of a divorce law is keenly felt by Indian women. These bills have been passed in Baroda State without adverse results. Pundit Nehru is out to see that the B. N. Rau bills pass into active laws, despite the hue and cry raised by the orthodox and conservative.

FROM BONDAGE TO FREEDOM

Living in the machine age as we do, we are alive to the realities of modern life. In the wake of industrialism, social evils cropped up. India is today economically hamstrung. We are being gripped by a socio-economic crisis which is becoming more and more acute. Prostitution has become a festering sore in big industrial cities, due to the disparity in the sex-ratio. The government in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta is trying to put it on a scientific footing based on the experience of the working of health institutions in the West and in USSR.

Dreadful festering slums have done more to foster social evils in India than any other single agency. The official housing panel places the average floor space per head in Bombay at 12½ sq. ft. while Bombay jail manual allows 40 sq. ft. per capita for criminals. The Whitly Commission had its accent on "neglect of sanitation often evidenced by heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage and pollution of air and soil (due to absence of latrines etc.)". The Commission wonders how "human beings are born, sleep, live

and die" in such dwellings. A. E. Mirams said while giving evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission: "In such a room—ten by ten feet—where there is hardly space to move, whole families sleep, breed, cook their food with the aid of pungent cow-dung cakes and perform all the functions of family life." Apart from this, there are the problems of drunkenness and gambling. Despite the pioneer work done by Dr. Kodanda Rao in Nagpur and K. M. Munshi in Bombay, the Beggar problem has become quite menacing nowadays. The hoary-headed labour-capital relations are there to be settled. The workers everywhere are demanding better working conditions and a more liveable wage. Since war's end, the industrial proletariat are victims to a feeling that it is the State's duty to give every citizen creature comforts and amenities of civilised existence in return for regular work from him. Nowadays, they feel that they are being evicted from their inalienable right—the right to live.

INDIA TODAY

Today Indians are fighting against caste, against illiteracy, against communalism, industrial evils and against subjection of women. Western ideas have been overwhelming us 'through the English medium, urging us on to radical reforms. English education, British rule, and Christian missions did their best to rouse us to the awareness of the times. Their (English) religious neutrality, courts of justice and enthusiasm for reform opened our eyes to the grim realities around us. Before long, the reform movement was helped on to its feet, in India. But for Western influences we would have been still inhabiting the 18th century. This moment, new ideas are changing the cultural contours of India. It is true that British imperialism has been discouraging modern ideas as best as it could.

Compulsory primary education has started dispelling darkness from men's minds. Through propaganda, new health—and culture-ideas are being broadcasted on all sides. Officially castes have lost pride of place and temple-entry has become an accomplished fact. The Joint family has fallen into disrepute already. The angry feminist revolt against

disabilities of women is well under way. The fundamental rights in the Indian constitution give to all citizens equality before law, regardless of sex, religion, caste. Women are accorded innumerable opportunities and openings to come forward and prove their merit. India has women legislators, ministers, ambassadors, administrators. All India Women's Conference with 200 branches and the National Council of Women with 9 sub-councils are working full-steam for the emancipation of women. The Hindu Code (Rau) Bill permitting divorce, assuring monogamy and giving property rights to women is today on the legislative anvil. The Madras government have taken stern measures to discourage dowry system. Inter-communal and inter-caste marriages are quite common. Woman is competing with man in almost all spheres of human activity. Indian factory legislation has been amended and modified to suit international standards. Prohibition has been enacted in various provinces with varying success. But the colossal loss of revenue incurred has applied the brake on industrial and educational progress. Under the pressure of industrialisation, caste-system is dying a slow death.

MOULD MAN'S TOMORROWS

Today Indian leaders seem to do their best; but their best is not enough. We

require constant critical appraisal of events in the country. The ministers have yet to step down from the niceties and subtleties of language to the brass tags at the bottom. With burdens on her back, India cannot exercise a moral and intellectual ascendancy over other nations. Grinding poverty and colossal ignorance eating into the vitals of the nation are to be done away with speedily. The residuals of an out of date civilisation are to be wiped out wholly.

"On the social plane, we have in India a society based upon the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some, degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. On the 26th of January 1950, India is going to enter upon a life of contradictions" so said Dr. Ambedkar acidly (addressing the Constituent Assembly) throwing into high relief India's chief problem.

If we hesitate to meet issues squarely, then we shall simply hurtle along from crisis to crisis, improvising expedients and excuses, seeking inoffensive solutions, drugging society with the mirage of security. *Ours must be an attempt to mould man's to-morrows,*

PORTRAIT SKETCH

BY ELIZABETH LAROCQUE

How deep her thoughts none but her husband knows.
She has no words with which to shape their trend.
And like the tide, emotion ebbs and flows
Behind her wide and slanting feline eyes.
The light and cheerful chatter of a friend
Against her silence, rippling, breaks and dies.
Her mouth is soft and sweet, sullen and red
In the smooth beauty of her quiet face.
She moves her hands and turns her satin head
With a cat's swift, unhurried, flowing grace.
She loves her young with rage and tenderness,
Brooding and quick to punish or protect—
A lightning flick of hand, a quick caress—
But hers alone the right to blame or praise.
Her way as elemental and direct
As any leopardess with cubs to raise.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune.

MOUNTBATTEN AND KASHMIR

BY SRI P. KODANDA RAO

(Servants of India Society)

IN his book "Mission with Mountbatten," Mr. Allan Campbell-Johnson gives a fascinating account of Mountbatten's Mission in India, including Kashmir. With regards Kashmir, Mr. Campbell-Johnson gives credit to Mountbatten for the following steps. While pressing the Maharaja of Kashmir, along with other Indian Rulers, to make up his mind about accession prior to the transfer of power, Mountbatten exerted his maximum influence to prevent the Maharaja from making up his mind about accession without ascertaining the will of his people in the first instance, either by a plebiscite, referendum, election, and if these be considered impracticable, by representative public meetings. Secondly, when in the face of grave and imminent danger, the Maharaja pleaded with independent India for help to repel the raiders, Mountbatten pressed the view that accession of Kashmir should precede India's help. Thirdly, when the Maharaja signed the accession document, Mountbatten persuaded India to make a unilateral declaration that the accession was temporary and was subject to a plebiscite to be held when peace was restored. Fourthly, when Mr. Jinnah insisted that the plebiscite should be preceded by the suspension of the administration of Sheikh Abdullah to ensure an impartial plebiscite, Mountbatten suggested that the United Nations should be invited to supervise the plebiscite to ensure its impartiality. Fifthly, when India and Pakistan could not agree on the terms precedent to the plebiscite, Mountbatten suggested that the dispute should be referred to the United Nations as a third party. Sixthly, when the United Nations side-tracked India's main complaint that Pakistan was guilty of aggression and concentrated attention on the conditions for the plebiscite and appointed the Kashmir Commission, Mountbatten persuaded India to accept it.

Why was Mountbatten so particular that in the case of Kashmir alone the Ruler should consult the people before making up his mind about accession? He did not insist on such consultation in the case of other Indian States. It is obvious

that he was not influenced by the democratic sentiment that the people alone, and not the Rulers, should decide the issue of accession. Did he anticipate or fear a difference of opinion between the Kashmir Ruler and his people? If so, would he have backed up the Ruler or his people? Were Mountbatten and the Maharaja unaware of the overwhelming influence of Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir or of his preference to the secular democracy of India as against Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory and Islamic Pakistan? Were they not aware that Abdullah had politically chased Jinnah out of Kashmir, and Jinnah wept bitter tears over his expulsion? Knowing Jinnah as they did, were they unaware that one, if not the main, reason for Jinnah's cupidity for Kashmir was to avenge his defeat at the hands of Sheikh Abdullah? The Maharaja and Mountbatten could not have been in any doubt that the prevailing representative opinion was that of Abdullah and he would join India rather than Pakistan. If there were a conflict between the Maharaja and Abdullah, it can only mean that the Maharaja wished to accede to Pakistan, while Abdullah wished to accede to India. If such were the case, should not Mountbatten have backed Abdullah as against the Maharaja?

According to Campbell-Johnson, India, with the full consent of Sardar Patel, put no pressure on the Maharaja to accede to India; indeed, India went so far as to assure the Maharaja that if he decided to accede to Pakistan, his action would not be considered an unfriendly act. On the other hand, Pakistan was putting pressure on the Maharaja to accede to it, and even after signing the Standstill Agreement, applied economic sanctions to that effect. All the pull was exerted by Pakistan and none by India. If the Maharaja was himself inclined to accede to Pakistan, there was nothing to prevent him, particularly when Abdullah was still in Jail. Nevertheless, the Maharaja would not make up his mind.

Campbell-Johnson blamed the Maharaja for his chronic indecision, and noted that

in the three States of Hyderabad, Bhopal and Kashmir, which had not acceded, the Rulers and their peoples belonged to two different religions, as if there was some correlation between the two. In so far as religion influenced the situation, was it likely that the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir would have preferred to accede to Muslim Pakistan than secular India, particularly when Muslim Sheikh Abdullah was himself in favour of the latter? Why, then, did Mountbatten use his maximum influence, when he was still Viceroy, to prevent the Maharaja from making up his mind about accession without a plebiscite? Did he anticipate that, in spite of Abdullah, the Muslim majority in Kashmir would plump for Muslim Pakistan? Or did he desire it for other reasons? *And did Mountbatten himself advise or press the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan?* There was a strong rumour in Delhi at the time that Mountbatten had so advised the Maharaja, that the Maharaja lacked courage to reject the advice and therefore marked time with a Standstill Agreement. If this be true, it was Mountbatten, and not the unfortunate Maharaja, that was responsible for the chronic indecision that led to the subsequent tragic developments.

Events subsequent to the transfer of power also indicate that the Maharaja was not likely to be in favour of accession to Pakistan. On the 24th October 1947 Mountbatten was told in Delhi that Kashmir was invaded by raiders from across the Pakistan frontier, and that they travelled along the Rawalpindi Road in Pakistan. On the 25th a message from the Pakistan Army Headquarters notified that about five thousand tribesmen were within thirty-five miles of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and more were following. The Maharaja sought the help of India to repel the invaders. Pakistan was in a better position to help him, if only by denying passage through her territory. Nevertheless, the Maharaja did not seek the help of Pakistan. He would have done so if he had any good feeling towards Pakistan or was convinced that Pakistan was unconcerned in the tribal invasion. He turned to India for help, though time and terrain made it more difficult for India to respond.

Mountbatten also must have realised that Pakistan was neither neutral nor friendly towards the Maharaja. In fact, he came to know that Jinnah had ordered the Pakistan army to march into Kashmir and was himself waiting at Abbottabad to march in triumph into Srinagar, and that he was prevailed upon by Gen. Auchenleck to desist, because in the meanwhile the Maharaja had acceded to India and thereby legalised India's help to Kashmir.

When the helpless and hapless Maharaja appealed to independent India for help to repel the invaders, Mountbatten took the legalistic view that it would be improper for India to send troops into Kashmir without the accession of Kashmir to India. Without accession Kashmir was a neutral country, and if India entered neutral Kashmir, Pakistan might plead the same excuse and enter Kashmir. He seems to have overlooked the vital difference between the two. After the transfer of power and before accession, Kashmir was an autonomous State. Was it not open to an autonomous State to invoke the help of another autonomous State in case of need, without any previous commitment or by a temporary alliance and without accession? Further, India responded to a request from the Ruler of the State, while Pakistan would trespass against the wish of the Ruler. North Korean entry into South Korea was aggression, while American entry into South Korea was a friendly act. Insistence on accession at that moment as a condition precedent to help was perhaps unnecessary. Even if accession had satisfied the legal conscience of Mountbatten and Auchenleck, it made no such impression on Jinnah. It only provided him with a handle which he exploited to the full against India and Mountbatten himself. Jinnah promptly repudiated the accession as based on fraud and violence, and stuck to it, notwithstanding Mountbatten's protestations that the fraud and violence were on the side of Pakistan, and not India.

Jinnah was influenced, not by the legal implications of accession, but by the military achievements of the Indian Army and Air Force. Incidentally, it may be noted here that, according to Mr. Campbell-Johnson, both Mountbatten and the Army

High Command, mostly British, opposed on professional grounds the proposal to rush help to Kashmir, but were overruled by the Indian Cabinet, which took grave risk in doing so. But the events justified the civilian as against the military view. Mountbatten gallantly acknowledged that the brilliant performance of the Indian Army left his own SEAC operations standing.

When, in order to satisfy the legal conscience of Mountbatten, the Maharaja acceded to the Indian Union as a condition precedent to India's help, Mountbatten returned to his earlier insistence that accession should be conditional on a popular plebiscite. But, as the rush of events did not permit of a plebiscite preceding accession, it should follow it. And, according to Campbell-Johnson, he persuaded the Indian Cabinet to volunteer the unilateral statement that accession by the Maharaja was temporary and provisional and was subject to a plebiscite after normal conditions were restored. Neither the Maharaja nor the Indian Cabinet suggested it or wanted it, but Mountbatten did. Campbell-Johnson was positive that the legality of the accession was beyond doubt. Nevertheless, Mountbatten threw moral doubts on it and persuaded the Indian Cabinet to do likewise, and walked into the parlour of Jinnah, who promptly seized on it and exploited it to the full to the discomfiture and disappointment of Mountbatten himself. Mountbatten's insistence on a plebiscite was a windfall in favour of Mr. Jinnah, and his moral doubts of the validity of the Maharaja's accession was another. Foiled in his effort to conquer Kashmir by force of arms, Jinnah turned to his special brand of diplomacy to secure the practical annulment of accession by laying down conditions to that effect, namely the withdrawal of Indian troops and the suspension of Abdullah's administration as a preliminary to an impartial plebiscite.

Mountbatten took yet another step to appease Jinnah, notwithstanding the latter's "impossible" diplomacy. He offered that the plebiscite would be held under the supervision of the United Nations to ensure its impartiality. But

Jinnah insisted that Indian troops should be practically withdrawn and Abdullah's administration suspended. Mountbatten then realised that he was no longer acknowledged by Jinnah as a benevolent, neutral, and judicial third party with the necessary moral authority to compose differences between India and Pakistan, that his mission as a bridge between the two failed. He appealed to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, to intervene, but received a polite refusal. Finally, he threw up the sponge and passed the problem to the United Nations as the highest third party, with the reluctant consent of Nehru.

Mountbatten suffered another defeat at the hands of Pakistan in the United Nations. The original complaint of India that Pakistan had committed an act of aggression which threatened international peace was side-tracked, and attention was concentrated on the plebiscite and its precedent conditions. Mountbatten was disappointed with the attitude of Britain and America at the United Nations which vindicated Pakistan and discredited him and India.

When the United Nations ignored India's complaint of Pakistan's admitted aggression, and appointed a Commission to promote the plebiscite, Nehru, indignant with disappointment, declined to receive the Commission. Mountbatten persuaded him to receive it. The Commission left the problem worse confounded, and widened the gulf between India and Pakistan.

With regard to Kashmir, Mountbatten's mission was to link accession with a plebiscite and to keep the peace and prevent war between India and Pakistan. In retrospect, it would see that, if he had not been obsessed with the plebiscite idea, and had not prevented the Maharaja from making up his mind about accession without a plebiscite, the Maharaja would in all probability have acceded to India well before the transfer of power. His conduct gave room for the view that he had pressed the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan, much against the latter's wish. If even at the stage of the Maharaja's accession, of the legality of which he was

satisfied, Mountbatten had not tagged on the plebiscite and thereby thrown moral doubts on the validity and finality of accession, his mission might have been more successful.

Jinnah would have greatly hesitated to try an armed conflict with India then. Pakistan was militarily weaker than India and would have suffered more by the withdrawal of British officers. The brilliant performance of the Indian Army in flying troops to Kashmir and rolling back the invaders at the nick of time must have sobered Jinnah's ardour for a military

clash with India. Today Pakistan is in a much better position; she is better equipped and has besides the moral support of the Anglo-American block, and may even get their military support if the United Nations frowns on India.

Mountbatten sacrificed himself, Nehru and India to appease Jinnah and Pakistan and failed to appease them either. It is easier to be wise after the event and speculate on might-have-beens. But Statesmen are judged not only by their intentions but also by their prescience in anticipating events.

LAND ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

BY DR. N. C. SEN GUPTA

THE history of Land Administration in India from the beginning of the British era can be divided into three different phases, each covering more or less, definite period of time. The first phase starts with the grant of the Dewani through which the East India Company acquired control over all revenues of Bengal. This phase saw the organisation of administration for the collection of land revenue. In fact, the collection of land revenue seems to have been the primary purpose of all legislation in Bengal as well as in the other provinces of India, about that time.

In the next phase the Government of the day awoke to the necessity of protecting the tenants and actual cultivators against rack-renting and eviction, if only to ensure the realisation of revenue. This phase covers the period from the middle of the last century to almost the end of British rule in India.

The third phase is only in its beginning. It is marked by the realisation that settlement of land revenue policy, and the necessity of protecting the tenants from the expropriation and exaction were not enough; and that there was need for more positive action for the total uplift of agriculture to the status of a really profitable industry. Economic thinkers had already begun to think of it in the

first quarter of the century, but it was not till very recently, and more notably, since the independence of India, that the feeling has been sought to be translated into positive action.

Independent India has started its career with a multitude of big problems on its hands, and the problem of the re-organisation of land administration is not one of the least important of them. The shortage of food and conditions of near famine in some parts of the country have only emphasised the great urgency of the problem.

The problem has two aspects; one technical, and the other, economic and neither of these can be neglected. Nevertheless, the economic side of the problem is more fundamental, as without a new economic organisation for exploiting land through an overhauling of the land system, technical improvements will only touch the fringe of the problem. It cannot be denied that the Government is alive to both these aspects, but it seems to me that, for the present, the emphasis is laid on the technical side rather than on the economic. I feel that, unless the economic reorganisation goes on *pari passu* great and ambitious projects of technical improvement may soon come to a dead end and their potentialities remain unexploited.

Every technical improvement involves, as a precondition for its success, the existence of a body of farmers with power and resources to exploit it to the fullest advantage. There is no doubt that much new and fallow land can be converted into large farms run either by the State, or by capitalists; but that would only touch the fringe of the problem. The great bulk of land, which is already under cultivation, is held by small tenants who have a limited ownership protected by a series of tenancy laws. But big schemes for large scale farming with modern appliances and scientific means will, in my opinion, prove barren, unless there is some large and imaginative scheme for the reorganisation of land administration.

The need for a new organisation has, however, been vaguely felt, and several states have already made a start with laws for the abolition of "Zamindari landlordism". There is no doubt that "landlordism" has to be abolished whatever be the criticism of the precise method of doing it. But that alone would not be enough. A great deal more will have to be done to have a really efficient reorganisation of the land system as also of the system of marketing agricultural products. This is by far the more difficult part of the problem which the State will have to tackle if abolition of landlordism is to bear any fruit. And, this would be one of the most urgent problems for the Planning Commission. That Commission has just published an elaborate "Five Year Plan" which includes a plan for agricultural development, and a progressive scheme for intensive work on selected areas. This draft plan will now be discussed by the country, and considered by the Government.

The end to be kept in view is to create a land-system in which agricultural land will be cultivated in large blocks, and in which each farm will be adequately financed, enabling it to be conducted on advanced lines. In large areas which are still lying fallow, but can be made to yield crop through irrigation projects and other improvements. This end can be easily achieved by distributing the land, appropriately to men with resources. But, with the vast areas, already under

cultivation by small peasants, it would be a far more difficult problem. Expropriation of these peasants, even for the purpose of redistribution cannot be thought of. It would lead to such a disorganisation and probably, to such great disturbances, that it would be extremely impolitic to attempt it. Some method must be found whereby we can increase the scale of our agricultural operation without improving the individual peasant's state in the land.

The nation's hopes centre round the wise, efficient and imaginative progress of this third phase of land administration in India, of which the ruling idea is and should be the need for more positive action for developing to the fullest extent, the available land resources of India. It is also hoped that all the resources, in money and in men competent to work out this development may be available to the State and that the country will not lack the wise guidance needed to bring this programme to a successful issue.—[A.I.R. External Service.]



DEAN G. ACHESON
United States Secretary of State.

LOYALTY: A STORY

BY MR. H. W. BAILEY

GEORGE Mattock had been accountant to the well-known tea firm of Clark, Clark & Robinson of Mincing Lane for exactly twenty years. Of unimpeachable integrity, he was a trifle old-fashioned in his business methods as might be expected of a man now fifty years old.

The blow fell with the suddenness of a thunderbolt. Old Mr. Robinson died and was succeeded by his thirty-year-old nephew, Paul Carne, who was himself the head of an enterprising firm of business consultants.

Carne and Mattock took an instinctive dislike to each other. Mattock, in Carne's eyes, was an old-fashioned, stick-in-the-mud type of accountant, who ought to be pensioned off at once. Carne, to Mattock, was a blustering, overbearing young man who thought he was God Almighty.

It is quite possible that Mattock, who had been his own boss for twenty years for all practical purposes, was too prickly by temperament, too ready to resent any suggestions that the younger man made. It is certain that Carne made no allowance for Mattock's experience and his devotion to the firm. The relations between the two steadily worsened and a word out of place on either side would inevitably cause an explosion.

When this state of affairs had been going on for some six weeks, Sybil, George Mattock's wife, intervened.

"George," she remarked brightly one Sunday morning, "have I been a good wife?"

"Yes, my dear", he said in an astonished tone.

"Don't you think then that I'm capable of sharing the bad things as well as the good?"

"What do you mean?" he hedged.

"Come off it! You have been desperately unhappy for weeks. You've lost your appetite; you're losing weight steadily. You've even started to talk in your sleep. Is it another woman?"

He tensed.

"Never that, Sybil", he almost shouted,

"I know, dear", she said, "I'm quite aware of what it is. Now tell me all about it. Trouble shared is troubled halved, they say".

She came across the room and perched herself on his knee as she was wont to do in the early days of their marriage.

George regarded her with deep affection. She was a fine figure of a woman still, he thought. Her hair was as black as ever and those candid grey eyes gave truth and invited it. A queer feeling passed through him. He wanted to lay his tired old head on her breast and confess everything as he had done with his mother so many times years ago.

He pulled himself together. A man mustn't behave like a boy, he mused. All the same his defences were down, and, in a quiet, even voice, which at no time showed indignation, he gave Sybil an exact account of his life at the office since Paul Carne had taken over.

From time to time she ruffled his thick, iron-grey hair as he spoke and occasionally her hand sought his and pressed it to show her indignation at something which Carne had said or done.

When he had finished the bald recital, she cupped his face between her hands and kissed him.

"That's off your chest, Georgie", she said, giving him his pet name which she had not used for years. "Now you'll be able to sleep again."

"Perhaps," said George sadly. "But what is to be done? We can't carry on much longer without a show-down".

"Listen to me, George", said Sybil. "I know you through and through. Possibly you have allowed yourself to become old-fashioned; but that is no sin. You have given your firm far more than you have taken out. With what result? Have a real row with Carne and see what happens. It is quite possible he will respect you for showing fight. If he is determined to get rid of you—and I think he is—you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you forced his hand and did not wait on his pleasure".

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LOYALTY: A STORY

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"That's all very well, my dear", said George bitterly. "No other firm will want to employ a man of fifty".

"Why worry? We have enough to live on in a quiet way. We'll take a house in the country and I'll rear chickens while you grow vegetables". George shuddered.

But, inwardly, Sybil was very worried. She fully realised that George would never take her advice unless something unforeseen occurred to egg him on to battle. He had the wrong temperament. Though he would resent interference he would take it lying down until it grew unbearable. Unfortunately he chewed over those snubs until they made him feel ill.

Dear George! She mused. He was a typical Englishman, slow and unsure of himself; but, when he was roused, he would fight to the death like a bull-dog.

Again, there was the problem of occupation if he were dismissed or dismissed himself. It was very improbable that he would ever secure a similar post at his age and he was only happy when he was messing about with figures.

Altogether it was a worrying business and, though she preserved a bold front before her husband, Sybil, too, found it very difficult to go to sleep.

On the Thursday she travelled to town to do some shopping. She was leaving a store when she encountered Arthur Hatfield, tall, debonair and as boyish in appearance as ever.

"Why, Sybil", he said, his face breaking into the impish grin she once had known so well, "I'm delighted to see you again."

She coloured faintly.

"Still the same Arthur", she murmured, shaking hands.

"No, no, no!" he protested. "You have never been far out of my thoughts. I assure you, Sybil. But let me give you a cup of tea, if you can spare a few minutes. I'd love to have a chat over old times."

Sybil soon realised that Arthur Hatfield had gained in stature. Though the

restaurant was crowded, a crook of his finger brought a waiter scurrying to his side and a table for two appeared as if by magic.

"And how's George?" Arthur asked when they had settled down.

"Pretty well; but he's worried about business."

"Still with the same old firm? You know he's a proper old stick-in-the-mud, Sybil."

Sybil flared.

"George is a hard conscientious worker not, an idle pleasure-loving bloke like me, eh?"

"I didn't say that", murmured Sybil aghast.

"No; but you thought it even now and you really meant it years ago when you turned me down."

Sybil regarded her companion with new interest. This was an older, more assured Arthur, she realised. The twinkle still came to his dark blue eyes; but suddenly she knew that those same eyes could be icily cold if the need arose and his square chin showed a resolution that he had never possessed years ago.

"Well, now you have finished studying me", said Arthur smiling, "tell me what is worrying you, Sybil. Is it yourself, or George?"

She was amazed at his perspicacity.

"Do I show it that badly?" she asked.

"No; only to those who know you well or remember you as you were."

He stretched out his hand and placed it on hers quietly, tenderly, and she realised that she still had a place deep down in his affections. With that knowledge came a desire to unfold her troubles and she found herself telling him all about Paul Carne and George.

As he listened, she could see a visible change gradually sweep over his face. The jaw flattened and hardened, his eyes grew cold and firm lines appeared from mouth to jaw. Sybil was seeing the real Hatfield for the first time and the sight was a little unnerving.

"I know Carne", he said at the end of her recital. "He's a good business man but a trifle er-intolerant. No; I can't imagine him hitting it off with George".

"The main trouble is that I can't see George doing anything but accountancy," said Sybil.

He smiled—that whimsical smile which once had power to twist Sybil's heart.

"Neither can I", he confessed; but surely George can find another similar post. He has a sound reputation in the City, I know".

"At fifty", said Sybil bitterly.

"That is a snag", he admitted; "but I think it can be overcome. I have a little influence."

"You?" said Sybil in an astonished tone.

He laughed rather ruefully. "You don't flatter me"; he said.

"Still I suppose I was a play-boy in our young days. If you remember my uncle was head of Rollinsons, the big steel combine. Well, when he died, I took over. It was hard going at first; but I soon learned to love it and to-day I am a business man only. The work helped me to forget some things", he ended simply.

Sybil walked home her head in a whirl. She had given Arthur Hatfield her address and he had promised to communicate with her as soon as he had any definite news. She was bewildered. It was amazing to think that a happy-go-lucky boy had developed into a business magnate; amazing too that she had almost literally bumped into him just as she needed some assistance. Woman-like, she hugged to her heart the knowledge that Hatfield proposed to help her because he remembered the sweet days of their youth.

On the following Tuesday she received a letter:

'Dear Sybil'—

'If you can manage the Clifton restaurant again about 4-30 on Thursday I shall be delighted. I think I can promise you some good news.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur.'

Sybil was elated. All that day she sang as she worked, read the letter over and over until she knew it by heart and finally popped it into a small drawer in her dressing-table.

Poor old George! she thought. He had suffered intensely for weeks. Now his troubles were nearly over; but it would be unfair to him to rouse his hopes until she knew definitely that Hatfield had found him a new post. In the evening she bullied George into taking her to the theatre in an endeavour to make him forget.

It was most unfortunate that on Thursday morning George broke a collar-stud. He searched through his own drawers without discovering a substitute. Finally, almost in despair, he turned to his wife's dressing-table. He found a stud; he also saw Arthur Hatfield's letter which was lying open and read it.

For a second the room seemed to revolve and he literally saw red. Then sanity returned and he thought that if Sybil could deceive him and hide it so could he until he caught the pair together.

"You're late, dear", remarked Sybil.

"Broke my stud and I couldn't find another," he explained and was amazed that he could speak so effortlessly.

"Doing anything to-day?" he queried later.

"Just shopping. I might not be back before six."

Sybil met Hatfield at the arranged time. They had barely sat down at the table a *deux* when Arthur said in a warning voice:

"Gosh, Sybil, here's George! And he looks like Doom."

White-faced, his eyes blazing, George fairly ploughed his way across the crowded restaurant.

"Hullo, George", said Hatfield very coolly. "Now don't think of hitting me here, there's a good chap. Just sit down in my chair while I call a waiter and think over what, I have no doubt, you've done to Carne." For a second George hesitated and Hatfield wondered what would happen; then he slumped down in the chair offered him and glared at his wife.

Sybil stared back, utterly bemused. Then suddenly she understood.

"Why, George!" she said, "you surely didn't think. . . . Oh! you did. George!"

The agony in her voice and her obvious innocence restored George to sanity.

"Sorry, Sybil", he said lamely. "But I've had a hell of a day and then this morning I happened to read the letter from Arthur which you had left in your dressing-table drawer".

Sybil's eyes softened.

"That would be a blow", she admitted, "on the top of the other trouble; but. . . ."

"I know, dear", he whispered; "I think I've been mad all day".

"Well now that's over", intervened Hatfield, "tell us your news, George. I gather you've had a spot of trouble to-day".

George regarded him glumly.

"Spot of trouble's good", he said heavily. "I went to the office in the devil of a temper and Carne would choose to-day to be in one of his most unsufferable moods. He charged me with incompetence and I told him just what I thought of him. One word led to another and finally I knocked him down and threw him out of my office".

"Good for you, George!" said Arthur sincerely.

"Good for me?" echoed George, "what's it to do with you?" he added truculently.

"A lot, George, as you'll hear. Now let me take the stage. I happened to meet Sybil a week ago for the first time in years. I could see she was worried so I persuaded her to tell me the reason. You must remember, George, that once I loved Sybil and even now I have not forgotten those old times. So I promised to help if I could".

He paused to sip his tea.

"It seems to me", he continued as if he were thinking aloud, "that Fate has determined to take a hand. A month ago Prentiss my head accountant—he's terribly smart at his job considering his youth—came to me and asked if I would consider releasing him if he were offered a better post. I said I would agree as

he is just a trifle too clever to suit me. Nothing wrong, mind; but I have found it pays to follow your intuition."

Sybil and George were following his exposition with rapt attention. "I asked him yesterday", Hatfield continued, "whether he had made up his mind and he said he had been offered a post with Clark, Clark & Robinson at £2,500 a year and would accept it."

George said dazedly:

"So he got my job before I left it", he muttered, "at £1,000 a year more than me."

"It looks like it."

"The pig", said Sybil, "I'm glad you hit him, George."

"Presumably she means Carne", murmured Arthur, adding, "so I'm offering you Prentiss's job, George, at £2,000 a year."

"I thank you for the offer but I can't take it. You know why," said George.

"George!" cried his wife.

"Leave this to me, Sybil", interposed Arthur. "I never allow friendship to interfere with business, George", he added sternly. "I told Sybil last week you had a reputation in the City for hard work and loyalty. That is what I want and that is just what got you the job. England to-day needs old-fashioned, hard-working, loyal employees, and, if that race dies out, she is doomed as a country. I am sure of that. Have I satisfied you?"

"Yes," said George and held out his hand.

A year later Arthur Hatfield tapped at George's door and entered.

"Seen this, George?", he said handing him a newspaper cutting which read:

ABSCONDING ACCOUNTANT

Matthew Prentiss, accountant for Messrs. Clark, Clark and Robinson, tea-merchants of Mining Lane, has absconded with £20,000 of the firm's money. All ports and air-ports are being watched. Here is a description of the missing man. . . .

George whistled in surprise and glanced at his employer.

"I told you he was too clever for us, George", he said softly.

GURU GOVIND SINGH

BY SRI P. N. SAMPATH

WHILE Guru Nanak was the founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Govind Singh was the founder of its greatness. Guru Govind Singh reaped what Nanak had sown earlier, and also planted afresh new plants of lasting permanence. In the words of an English historian, "he engrafted the courage of a soldier upon the enthusiasm of the devotee."

Every foreign invasion saw the Punjab region ravaged inside out. The people were forcibly converted, their lands were laid waste, and their coffers were looted. The Hindu princes and nobles were so very disunited and weak that the resistance they offered was next to nothing. The Hindu religion itself was caste-ridden, and the oppressed lower classes sought deliverance by embracing Islam, the religion of the invaders. The religious teachers that were, did not rise to the occasion. Rather, they were busy perfecting forms of dissent within their religion itself. In fact, in the words of Nanak, "true religion had taken wings and flown." Nanak realised what they had failed to realise. He saw that the need of the hour was a practical religion "which teaches mankind, not how to escape from the world, but how to live worthily in it; not how evil is to be avoided, but how it is to be met and overcome." He attacked the citadel of the Caste System by declaring that the lowest was equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes. The poor lower classes among both the Hindus and the Muslims readily flocked to his standard and became Sikhs.

The power of a prompt response to the call of the hour is not given to all. Thanks, to Guru Nanak, a feeling of nationality was first instilled among the Indians. As Dr. Gokul Chand Narang says, "the sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was undoubtedly forged by Govind Singh, but the steel has been provided by Nanak."

Guru Govind Singh was the most virile of the Sikh Gurus. Between Nanak's time and his own accession, Sikhism had

had a checkered career. The powerful Mughal Emperors resented their growth and did everything to stifle it. A contemporary of the great Mahratta Sivaji, Govind Singh did in the North what Sivaji did in the South to break the communally corrupt Mughal power.

Born at Patna in the year 1666 A.D., Govind Singh was but 10 years old when he became the Guru in 1676. His worthy father Guru Teg Bahadur was the victim of foul play at the hands of Emperor Aurangzeb. He went to interview the Emperor on the latter's invitation, when he was treacherously killed. His head was severed and held up to public view.

Guru Govind Singh saw clearly the necessity for a more militant attitude for his followers. From now on he was God's soldier on earth. Enemies of Dharma were his enemies. He yearned to rid the land of oppression. "He who serves the poor and the needy serves me. The mouths of the poor are the receptacles for all gifts," he solemnly declared.

Govind Singh consolidated his power by a series of victories over neighbouring hill chieftains who were hobnobbing with the Mughal Emperor. He slowly increased his army and armoury. Lion-hearted as he was, he taught his followers "to fear none, and to strike fear in none". They were saint-soldiers, worshipping God and Steel. Like Cromwell's famous Ironsides, they had ".....no thought of flight,

None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himself relied."

Under the Guru's inspiring leadership, they gained at once the cohesion, the mobility and the discipline of a standing army.

The mighty Emperor of Delhi found this stormy petrel going out of hand. Aurangzeb managed to trap him at a place called Chamkam along with his sons and a few of his chosen followers. Like the Spartans at Thermopylae, these handful of brave Sikhs held out for a considerable while, only to be overpowered in the end. The valiant Guru saw two of his sons and many of his close followers being slain before his eyes. The Imperial troops were treated to a

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display of archery from the quiver of the redoubtable Guru. Very few among them went back to their homes to tell the tale. Eventually, Govind Singh managed to escape.

A fugitive in flight, with the soldiers and spies of the Emperor hot on his trail, Govind Singh revealed remarkable powers of fortitude. No stress could subvert his steadiness of purpose and dignity of bearing. In these sudden difficulties, he took counsel from the valour of his mind.

He was ever on the move, defying capture. His tours increased his influence and following. In his Epistle of Victory or Zafarnama addressed to Aurangzeb, he warned the Emperor: "Thou art merely exciting a raging fire to rage the more."

After the death of Aurangzeb, during the wars of succession that followed it, Govind Singh helped Bahadur Shah to ascend the Imperial throne. Paradoxical as it may seem, he was for some time the Emperor's honoured guest at the Imperial Palace. Bahadur Shah offered him a Jagir coupled with riches, as a token of his reverence. But Govind Singh would not have any of the proffered things. Bahadur Shah wanted to use the enormous influence of the Guru against the troublesome Mahrattas, which also Govind Singh summarily refused. They had come to the parting of the ways, and Govind Singh proceeded to Nanded or Abchnagar in Hyderabad State. There he met his end in 1708, when a Pathan in the employ of the Nawab of Sirhind stabbed him fatally.

Thus ended the career of a great son of India. At the altar of national welfare he sacrificed his father, his own sons and family, friends, personal wealth, home and comforts. He wanted to rid the land of enslavement by brute force. "He executed his design with the systematic spirit of a Grecian law-giver." He was a nation-builder who taught his followers a corporate life where common good and welfare were placed higher than individual interests. He instilled them with a feeling of nationality, and he was the right man for the needs of the time. As Cunningham

brilliantly puts it, "Govind Singh had seen what was yet vital in the Hindu race and he relumed it with Promethean fire." While Sivaji was the political Colossus of the times, Govind Singh worked for political, social and religious emancipation at one and the same time. Superstition, idolatry, caste and its appendage untouchability, were all unequivocally condemned. He believed in the dignity of labour and did not countenance mendicancy. His system of organisation was based on the modern ideas of democracy and sociology.

A first-rate organiser, a poet and scholar of no mean merit, an archer of known prowess, a gifted soldier brave and fearless, a zealous reformer, and a patriot to the very core, Guru Govind Singh is a standing example for every Indian nationalist to emulate. His policy was based on a higher plane of moral heroism, with the only object of serving national interests and not to promote either communal hatred or sectarian mendacity. His cosmological outlook was the result of purely altruistic motives.

His cosmopolitanism and his bravery against odds are the vital needs of to-day. The Sikhs particularly must steadfastly adhere to the high ideals outlined by the Sikh Gurus. Sectarianism and political schisms are visible in their ranks as elsewhere. Conditions at present are very similar to those which obtained in the days of Guru Govind Singh. National unity at all costs is the need of the hour. His illustrious example should serve as a lesson for Hindus and Sikhs to study and profit by.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

Britain's Trade with the Soviet Bloc

BY MR. HUGH LATIMER

U. K. IMPORTS

FEW of the people of the United States realise how fortunate they are to be masters of half a continent, endowed with resources which almost—but not quite—free them from dependence on overseas imports. One of the objects of stock-piling is to complete the circle of economic independence, so that in time of war the United States could really live on its own, at once a self-sufficient armoury and a keep of freedom.

So much is attention concentrated on the potential weaknesses in the armour—the commodities for which the United States is still dependent on the rest of the world—that it is forgotten how unusual it is for a country to have such defences at all. Russia and China alone share this relative self-sufficiency, though at the cost of a much lower standard of living. But Britain and other European nations possess no such defences at all.

It would be stupid of them to build them. Even in war it is more important to keep the sea lanes open. Britain has 10 times more people to the square mile than the United States. The whole economic structure of the United Kingdom, with its highly developed manufacturing industry and its cultivated specialist skills, depends on vigorous trade with every part of the world. For nearly all raw materials and for 60 per cent of foodstuffs Britain is dependent on imports.

Some of these raw materials come from the Soviet bloc; and to obtain them Britain has to sell the Communists something for their money. It might be cars or whisky. But the Soviets do not import "capitalist luxuries". It might be, but is not, submachine-guns and submarines. Since the 55 Rolls Royce "Nene" and "Derwent" jet engines sold in 1947 on a 1946 contract, no military equipment has been sent to Russia or her satellites by Britain and the Commonwealth. What Russia buys in return, therefore, is restricted in practice to manufactured goods from Britain and raw materials from the Commonwealth.

In the three years immediately before World War II imports into the United Kingdom from what is now the Soviet bloc averaged £47,000,000, the largest items being timber (£12,000,000) and grain (£6,000,000). In 1950, though the prices of raw materials had at least trebled, the value was still only £63,000,000. In the same period, the imports of the rest of the Sterling Area from the Soviet orbit rose from £7,500,000 to £21,000,000. The percentage of imports of Russian origin to all United Kingdom imports meanwhile fell from five per cent. to two-and-a-half per cent. That of the rest of the Sterling Area has never been significant.

Grain and timber (£14,000,000 each) and meat (£12,500,000) were the largest items in this trade; hides were valued at £4,000,000. Other countries in Western Europe import these commodities, too; also Polish coal. For all these the only other major source of supply for Europeans is North America. The alternative to trade with Russia's satellites is to burden the American economy with extra demand, and since Americans are unwilling to buy sufficient European goods for the Europeans to pay for their needs in dollars, this in effect means a direct burden on the American taxpayer.

It was to lessen this burden that the U. S. Government in 1947 and 1948 was urging on Western Europe the revival of its trade with the East.

RUSSIAN PURCHASES

What is legitimate trade? Clearly not armaments which will help an enemy in time of war. Britain bans the export to the Soviet bloc of nearly all the items which the U.S.A. also bans; others, traditionally traded with Russia, are limited annually to a normal year's supply. The ban includes much of the machinery which has been a regular U. K. export to Russia since the days of the First Five-Year Plan. The Russians, therefore, have used their sterling more and more for the purchase of raw materials from the Commonwealth.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

On the Eve of the Elections

FOR the first time in our history one of the greatest experiments in democracy is being tried. Nearly 180 million adults or about half the entire population will go to the polls in January next and the Prime Minister who is also President of the biggest political party in the country has a tremendous responsibility.

There are altogether 3,293 constituencies all over India. These include constituencies for Parliament and for the Legislative Assemblies and Councils in the States. Altogether 4,412 representatives will be chosen for these various legislatures.

The number of voters on our electoral rolls is about 17,66,00,000. The number of polling booths will be approximately 2,24,000.

The result of this great experiment in democracy will doubtless be watched with no little interest and concern not only in this country but all over the world. On the intelligent use we make of this instrument of freedom depends the future of this country...

But what do we see? Suddenly as if by magic, on the eve of the nominations, has shot up a bewildering multiplicity of groups and parties. Political awareness is anyway welcome and decidedly preferable to apathy. But the new parties are by no means guided by any recognisable principle or policy. Nor are their programmes definite or desirable. They are mainly groups round disgruntled politicians avid for power. Take for instance the parties that have decided to contest the elections in Madras. As many as 17 different parties have entered the field and between them have set up 1,315 candidates, while 1,137 persons have filed nominations as "Independents". And some of them have formed alliances of convenience with others! Thus the forces arrayed against the Congress today are a medley of assorted groups which have hardly anything in common except their opposition to the Congress.

The number of nominees belonging to the various parties is given below:

Congress 467; Independents 1,137; Communists 224; Socialists 207; Kisan Mazdoor Praja 177; Krishak Lok 65; Toilers' Party 39; Scheduled Caste Federation 38; Muslim League 17; Forward

Bloc (including Ruikar and Marxist groups) 16; Justice Party 13; Commonweal 13; Hindu Mahasabha 11; All-India's Republican Party 8; Agriculturists Union 7; United Front 5; Akhil Bharatiya Jan Sangh 5 and Ram Rajya Parishad 2; persons who have given no party affiliation number 42 and one candid person calls himself "Samanya bidalu", making a total of 2,495.

The same is the story in other states as well. What is one to think of an erstwhile outstanding leader of the Congress proclaiming with undisguised gusto: the slogan "Vote for any one except a Congressman." Some other new parties have caught up the strain. Another self-elected leader in the South has gone so far as to declare that he would himself withdraw his candidature in favour of any member of any party other than the Congress. This is fanaticism with a vengeance unbecoming a man of principle and altogether devoid of sense or political sagacity. The electorate has to be very careful in such cases. If they are wise the new electors will use their judgment and choose only those with ability and integrity and proved merit to rise above the pettiness of personal pique. The Socialist Party which might be thought to have the making of a healthy opposition in Parliament as an alternative Government to the Congress is suddenly the victim of a strange brainwave of its leaders. It might have kept its soul alive. But its alignment with Dr. Ambedkar on the eve of the elections is as ill-advised as it is unprincipled and is likely to prove disastrous in a long view. For even a small minority with firm principles and unshakable faith will have a leavening influence on Society which will ultimately tell, but an opportunist coalition will be the end of its dreams. Having lost its soul it can never command the respect that is its due if it bravely ran its course independently even as a minority of remnants. Hatred of the Congress can be no excuse for alignment with forces directly opposed to its ideology.

The Prime Minister and Congress President, while pleading for his own party as he should, has wisely set a standard which other party leaders might well emulate. For all the mud slinging of an erstwhile colleague in his own Cabinet

Mr. Nehru has always spoken without passion or prejudice and only asked for men of ability and integrity to bear the burden of responsibility in the governance of the country. For it must be remembered that it is from among the elected that the future Cabinet in the Centre and the States will have to be chosen and for five years the electors will have themselves to blame if they do not choose aright and help form a homogeneous team with a working majority to implement their democratic aims and policies.

India's Foreign Policy

The Foreign policy of the Government of India or Nehru's foreign policy as it is called, has been widely criticised not only abroad but at home also. Political parties opposed to Congress have taken full advantage of its alleged ineffectiveness in the context of the world situation today. They have not hesitated to point out that by pursuing this "suicidal" policy we have lost the good-will of both blocs. The country stands exposed, they say, to bitterness and suspicion from either side. It is true that in U. S. A. there has been a feeling of disappointment at first and a sense of frustration following India's plea for cease fire at the 38th parallel and later at her refusal to sign the Dulle's Treaty with Japan. But the turn of events in the Korean front seems to have shown the more thoughtful critics that after all India might not be wrong. Little by little there is a growing feeling that perhaps India did the right thing and those who voted the other way were not quite so infallible.

Mr. Vincent Sheean, author of a well-known book on Gandhi and a keen student of world affairs, has put the Indian case with evident approval in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the American quarterly. After stating Mr. Nehru's view that India will take each foreign policy decision on the merits of the case, no matter what the alignment of the big Powers, Mr. Sheean goes on to remark that this policy is the same as that of the foreign policy of the United States for the first 150 years of its existence. It ceased to be the basic American doctrine only three years

ago, he says, in consequence of American interest in the fate of Western Europe. But India's situation is not comparable to America's. She has no great military or industrial power and her population lives on the brink of famine in one part of a continent where the majority of people live under Communist regimes. The strength of India consists in the prestige won in a national struggle by non-violent means.

There is probably also a feeling of pride, on the part of all Asian peoples in the spectacle of a free, self-governing nation of such size and importance making its own way in a time of trouble, and doing so against the dire prognostications of most European observers.

India is certainly not unaware of the danger arising from a Communist Asia. She is indeed as alive to that danger as the American press. But as Mr. Sheean rightly points out:

India's geographical position is such that any military alliance with the United States would be delusional. Should India then, in order to secure a place among the long list of applicants for military and economic assistance from America, take the risk of alienating the immense Communist territories of the Eurasian continent?

The question is, of course, put very bluntly in terms of power politics. But there is also the deep-rooted Indian conviction that military alliances must lead to war and that political issues can be negotiated if there is genuine good-will to be found on both sides.

After discussing events in Kashmir, Tibet, China, etc., regarding which India's policy has been strongly criticised abroad, Mr. Sheean concludes that

the cause of peace would be best served if India and America could become firm friends without military alliance or commitments hostile to other States.

That is the hope with which leaders in India are shaping her policy in respect of America and other countries and it is precisely that policy which our Government is anxious to implement.

"And that, my fellow citizens, is why I think you should vote for my candidate," concluded the politician after a long and particularly distorted version of his accomplishments. "Are there any suggestions from the audience?"

A seedy-looking individual rose, cleared his throat, and said: "Yes, sir, I have a suggestion that might interest you. If you and I were to stomp the country together we could tell more lies than any other two men, and I wouldn't have to say a word."

Truman's Three Point Plan

What has come to be known as Peace offensive is now in full swing. In a worldwide broadcast on "International Arms Reduction," President Truman appealed to the Soviet Union to accept sweeping and detailed disarmament proposals including the ultimate prohibition of atomic weapons.

He said that the key to the plan to be submitted to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris by the Western Powers was "the proposal to find out exactly and precisely what arms and armed forces each country has."

President Truman's three-point plan called for:

(1) A continuing inventory of all armed forces and armaments to be checked and verified by inspectors working under the United Nations.

(2) Specific arrangements for the actual reduction of armed strength to be worked out while this process of inventory and inspection is taking place.

(3) Reduction on the basis of these steps to be made as soon as that can be made with full knowledge and fairness to all.

Such a programme, said President Truman, would have to be agreed upon by all the countries having substantial military power and ratified according to their own constitutional practices.

He added that the continuing inventory should include atomic weapons. The fact-finding process should be continuous and continue after the disarmament programme was put into effect.

First step towards disarmament

Accordingly the three Western Powers, the United States, Britain, and France, launched a new peace offensive calling for controlled disarmament after a world-wide inspection and census of weapons, including atom bombs.

Their joint declaration, described as a challenge to Russia to join them in ending the world arms race, said that discussion of the programme could begin at once, but could not become effective until the Korean war had ended.

The heart of the disarmament plan is for a census, and verification of existing armaments of all Powers as a first step.

Soviet Counter Plan

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrej Vyshinsky countered this move by proposing a Big Five meeting for concluding a peace pact—including China—and a World Disarmament Conference by next June.

In the United Nations General Assembly on November 8, he renewed the original Soviet overture for peace in Korea. He again urged immediate cessation of hostilities followed within ten days by a withdrawal of both armies to the 38th Parallel and three months later by "all foreign troops and volunteer detachments" quitting the Peninsula.

He called for all members of the U.N. and outside States to convene a World Conference for substantial arms reduction, complete prohibition of atomic weapons and international control, not later than June 1, 1952.

M. Vyshinsky dismissed the Western proposals for progressive disarmament as "mere babble." He attacked Western "aggressive plans" and claimed that the effective military forces of Britain, the U. S. and France were more than double those of Russia.

Asked about the "peace offensives" launched by the East and the West Bertrand Russell, the philosopher criticised both camps. He said:

The American plan would have been good if it would have been acceptable but everybody knew it would not be accepted and therefore it was just a piece of propaganda."

He termed M. Vyshinski "ill-mannered" in his remarks that he "sat up half the night laughing at the Western proposal."

Nobody need doubt the sincerity of Mr. Truman or M. Vyshinsky for an international reduction of arms. But the trouble is, as the *London Times* says, that a system of world control which would satisfy both sides is not yet imaginable. Disarmament will come of its own accord when confidence has been restored—that is, when there is in Gandhi's phrase, a change of heart. The *Times* itself remarks that "the Western Powers can hardly have a rearmament policy and a disarmament policy simultaneously."

Iran and Egypt

Dr. Mossadeq, the Persian Prime Minister, has returned empty handed. His Deputy of course claimed that the purpose of the visit to U.S.A. has been achieved because Iran's case had been successfully defended.

According to the Special correspondent of the *Hindu* it would be more correct to say that the aged diplomat's visit to Washington largely ended in a failure.

Dr. Mossadeq came to get American support for settling the oil dispute in a way favourable to his country or, in the absence of that, to get a loan to help Iran out of the hole and he failed in both. He also failed to enlist the sympathy of the American public.

Anglo-Egyptian relations have also turned into a hopeless impasse with King Farouk's "no change" speech from the throne inaugurating the new session of the Egyptian Parliament. Reviewing the Royal address, one cannot help fearing the grim prospect of a long-drawn-out "cold war" between Egypt and Britain. There is no doubt that in the resultant stalemate both parties will be fighting shy of a major showdown.

They also noted that King Farouk cheerfully acknowledged the Parliament's applause.

Dr. Mossadeq, "the irritable fanatic on the Persian gulf" is, according to an acute observer, "merely the first of a league of rebels proclaiming a war of independence from Alexandria to the gulf of Oman." Cairo has quickly followed suit.

The dispatches from Cairo suggest that the Egyptian Government cannot resist the tidal wave of nationalism that is plunging over the Middle East and that it would fall at once if it consented to let another Western Power—the United States—come into a defence command which the Egyptians will say, as the Persians do, is a domestic concern.

Whether the American people like it or not and whatever national pride the Conservative or Labour voters of Britain would like to maintain, it is plain says a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, that Britain and the United States have been thrown by events beyond the control of either of them into an indissoluble alliance in the Middle East.

Britain cannot go it alone, and the United States will not sit by, after bolstering the free world in Asia and Europe, and surrender without a fight what is being called the third front.

The Calcutta Air Crash

Calcutta witnessed one of the most shocking air crashes of recent times near the Dum Dum port, almost at the journey's end, on the morning of November 21. Among the victims of the tragedy were Mr. Deshabandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Mr. P. S. Visvanatha Aiyar, Director of Controlled Commodities, Madras, and fourteen others including all the four crew.

By the untimely death of the Lala Deshabandhu Gupta the nation has lost a fearless soldier in the struggle for freedom, an able parliamentarian and one of its foremost journalists, who devoted more than 30 years of his life to national service, said Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan, Editor *The Hindu* and Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor *Swadesamitran* in a statement to the press.

The valiant fight he put up in the last session of Parliament against the Press Bill will be fresh in the minds of the public. In his tragic death, the country has lost a distinguished journalist, and an able Parliamentarian.

Mr. P. S. Visvanatha Iyer, I.C.S. was a popular official who in the course of a varied and distinguished career of some two decades held a number of important posts in Madras. A man of versatile talents he was a good Sanskrit scholar and was proficient in Tamil, Telugu and Oriya. He was a keen sportsman who took great interest in promoting table tennis, cricket, hockey and other games in the several districts where he served.

Born of poor Brahmin parents he rose to high office in due course but he always retained the simplicity and diligence of his early years. As an I. C. S. probationer, says Mr. C. R. Pattabhiraman, Advocate, he lived frugally in England and saved nearly a third every year of his annual allowance of 200 odd pounds and sent it home to India, in order that his aged parents could live in comfort and studies. . . .

Lajpat Rai, the young Secretary of the A.I.N.E.C. and the brilliant Venkatrao of Sista's the well known firm of advertisers are other victims of the disaster, deeply deplored by the Press in particular as they were closely connected with the newspaper world.

We offer our heartfelt sympathies to the members of the bereaved families.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM. By John Mac Murray. Faber & Faber Ltd., 24, Russell Sq. London W.C. 1.

The three lectures comprising the volume were originally delivered by the author at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, under the auspices of Chancellor Dunning Trust. The duty of the Trust lecturer is "to promote understanding and appreciation of the supreme importance of the dignity, freedom and responsibility of the individual person in human society." This theme is approached from more than one point of view under the heads: i. The Relativity of Freedom ii. Contemporary conflicts and iii. Freedom in Fellowship.

Dazzled by the splendour of scientific technology and achievement we are apt to underrate the things that belong to our place. Dignity, Freedom and Responsibility, as the author says, are inseparably bound together. "Without freedom we have no dignity, without responsibility we have no freedom. The threat to our freedom comes not from without but from within; from a lowering of our sense of human dignity and from a growing effort to escape responsibility." In discussing the fundamentals of human freedom, Prof. MacMurray gives due weight to the power of organisation in society; but the world of the spirit he points out with urgent clarity and force, has its own laws of causality. "To learn these laws and to obey them is our business. If we neglect it, we shall certainly lose both dignity and freedom and we shall have no just cause of complaint." The Professor deals with things of fundamental reality which we are in danger of forgetting and his treatment is at once forthright and challenging.

THE GOLDEN TREASURY OF LONGER POEMS. Edited by Ernest Rhys, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., Bedford St., London W. C. 2.

The first edition of the treasury of longer poems appeared as early as 1921 in Everyman's Library as the natural successor to the two anthologies of songs

and lyrics and the ballad book in the same series. The present volume with the addition of 64 pages of twentieth century poems ranges from Chaucer to Walter de la Mare. On the whole it keeps close to the recognised track, with poems that are truly lyrical and pieces of sustained narrative power besides a fair sprinkling of ballads in the old tradition and elegies and tributes of poet to poet—as "Adonais" and Ben Johnson's lines to the "Beloved Memory of Shakespeare." The Editor is alive to the perils of personal glamour in contemporary estimate but certain poems of Rupert Brooke and Edmund Blunden and W. W. Gibson and William Watson have already lasted a generation and worn well. And he has done well to include pieces that have stood the test of time and change of fashions. The reviewer finds particular pleasure in the inclusion of the full text of that masterpiece of mingled poetry and criticism wherein Watson ventures on a fine estimate of the poet in "Wordsworth's Grave":

Not Milton's keen, translunar music thine;
Not Shakespeare's cloudless, boundless human
[view]
Not Shelly's flush of rose on peaks divine;
Nor yet the wizard twilight Coleridge knew.

What hadst thou that could make so large
[amends]
For all thou hadst not and thy peers possessed,
Motion and fire, swift means to radiant ends?—
Thou hadst, for weary feet, the gift of rest.

"YOUR RIGHTS AS A VOTER." Published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

On the eve of the General elections, the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, have brought out a booklet entitled "Your Rights as a Voter".

The booklet, which attempts to enlighten the voter on the implications of the elections, is divided into seven parts dealing with the citizen's right to vote, delimitation of constituencies, reservation of seats, electoral rolls, polling booths, voting and the steps taken to ensure fair elections.

THE BRHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD. Text and translation. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore. Rs. 7-8.

Several Editions of the text and many translations of this great and important Upanishad have appeared in recent years. Edited with scholarship and skill they have exercised a profound influence on philosophic thought on the East and in the West. But there are special features which distinguish the present edition from the earlier ones. Here we have word by word meanings to help readers who are not well up in Sanskrit but who are anxious to follow the sacred text in the original. And then the running translation is kept close to the original.

The first edition which was published anonymously in 1945 was, we are told, prepared by Swami Jagadiswarananda. In the present edition the book has been thoroughly revised by Swami Madhavananda, translator, of the same Upanishad with Sankara's commentary. Explanatory elaborations of previous editions of the work are judiciously transferred to the notes so as not to impair easy and uninterrupted study of the text. Some of the old notes have been deleted and new ones added for elucidation.

Another attractive feature of this edition is the scholarly introduction setting forth the substance and importance of this greatest of all the Upanishads. Scholars interested in this important study of ancient classics will no doubt welcome this Upanishad prepared by the Ramakrishna Math as one that fulfils a long felt want.

DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH: Published by the Ministry of Information, Government of India, New Delhi.

The problem of the Zamindari and Jagirdari systems is being seriously tackled in Part B states, says this booklet on the developments in the former Indian States since independence.

Already, two Bills have been drafted to abolish them in Madhya Bharat. For Rajasthan, a draft Bill is under consideration. In Hyderabad, the Jagirs have been taken under management. In agreement with all the interests affected,

legislation for the abolition of Girasdari and similar tenures has been passed by the State Legislature of Saurashtra. In Pepsu permanent rights have been conferred on certain classes of occupancy tenants. Forced labour and other forms of feudalism have been made illegal in all the States.

The booklet also reveals that nearly Rs. 70 crores representing the cash balances and investments in the States was inherited by the new Governments after integration. During the settlement of private properties, the Rulers gave up claims to another Rs. 4½ crores. In Hyderabad the Nizam surrendered his Crown lands extending over 10,000 square miles and yielding a revenue of Rs. 8 crores. Other properties given up by the Rulers include palaces, buildings, stables, garages, shops, jewellery, motor-cars, aeroplanes, etc. The Rulers have no longer any right to freely make use of State property. Each Ruler has been given a privy purse guaranteed by the Constitution.

The booklet details the manifold benefits that have accrued to the people of the States after integration and democratization and points out that a beginning has been made to introduce progressive government, adequate administrative and social services and amenities of life.

RAMAKRISHNA MISSION—WHAT IT IS. By Swami Pavitrananda. Advaita Asharma, Mayavati Almora.

The brochure on Ramakrishna Mission is a succinct, factual account of the origin and growth of the Mission's activities in many directions. The Mission's spiritual and cultural activities are wellknown as centering round its Mathes in different centres like Almora and Calcutta and Madras where besides the living example and life of the Sannyasins, books and magazines and their lectures are periodically published bringing the teachings of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and the wisdom of the Vedanta down to the hearths and homes of the people. Apart from this, the mission has earned for itself a high place in the affections of the people by its work of mercy.

LIVING AMERICA: THE HOME AND THE FAMILY. The U.S.I.S., Madras.

We have received from the United States Information Service, Madras, an attractively got up volume with admirable pen pictures and illustrations of American life in its varied phases. Printed in fine art paper the sumptuous volume defies normal life in America, the beauty of its home life, its public gardens and amenities and the hundred and odd ways in which Americans make life interesting and worth living. There are black and white pictures and colour plates descriptive of the varied phases of life as lived in Modern America, in the home, in its hospitals and places of public interest and amusement; and the chapters dealing with the Home and the Family are vastly informing and entertaining. One cannot help feeling the absence of such amenities and things that make life so attractive, in other countries not so fortunately sweet as the U.S.A. All told it is the Americans who have made America what it is today and that certainly inspires the hope that other nations, lacking such good things, could with effort and the great example of America, make their own lives equally interesting and worthwhile. It is a beautiful book of living America.

INDIAN CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM.

Printed at the Kannada Press, Parsi Bazaar Street, Fort, Bombay, Rs. 5/-

This is a complete record of the proceedings of the Congress for cultural Freedom held at Bombay on March last. It contains full text of the speeches delivered at the open Session on March 28 and 31 and the papers read at the Session, together with Sectional reports and resolutions and messages. Cultural freedom or freedom of the spirit, the freedom that is the basis of all progress is discussed from all angles by well known writers, artists, scientists and men of letters. Among those who participated in the discussions are many European savants and poets like W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender and scholars like Prof. H. J. Muller the Nobel Prizeman and the veteran diplomat and literateur Sen. Salvador de Madariza besides our own leaders like the Hon. Mr. Munshi and Jai Prakash Narayan.

INDIAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT. By K. R. Bombwall, M.A. Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmir Gate, Delhi.

The nationalist movement in India is generally admitted to have started with the founding of the Indian National Congress though, no doubt the seeds of that movement must have been sown long before by the writings and activities of many patriotic men in earlier years. The story of the struggle for freedom has been the theme of many a volume in recent years. But in the very nature of things when the struggle was on, neither the Indian patriot nor the protagonists of an alien rule could write with sufficient freedom from bias. And now that freedom has been won and our attention must be turned to national reconstruction it is just possible to view the transaction with a judicious and historical perspective. This is very necessary for a dispassionate study of recent history and Mr. Bombwall has taken pains to provide such a record for the edification of students. And what is of particular interest in this book is that the story of India is brought down to this day—July 1951—with amusing commentary on the actual episode of the transfer of power to India and the integration of State and the sordid aftermath of the partition. Source books like Dr. Pattabhi's "History of the Congress" are either too ponderous or too biased for academic studies. We therefore welcome this handy volume specially designed for the use of University students.

DANCERS AND CRITICS. Edited by Cyril Swinson and Published by Adam and Charles Black, London.

Ballet is a very complicated and complex art, that the reactions of any group of critics are likely to vary widely. Thirteen prominent critics of France, America and England were invited to give their opinions on Ballet Criticism, by the Editor, Cyril Swinson and the book is the result. Each critic has chosen a prominent artiste for the theme of his essay and the book gives us a varying insight into the critical side of the ballet art.

The book is excellently got up, with thirteen photographic reproductions on art paper of the prominent artistes chosen by the critics.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 1. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee sworn in as Governor of W. Bengal.
—Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador, presents credentials to the President.
- Nov. 2.—Churchill meets Harriman at top level Anglo-American Conference.
- Nov. 3. 6000 British troops flown into Suez zone.
- Nov. 4. Russia warns Turkey against forming the Atlantic Pact.
- Nov. 5. Turkey rejects Soviet note on Atlantic Pact.
- Nov. 6. Big three Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris decide to go ahead with plans for Middle East defence with or without Egypt.
—Sir Harilal J. Kania, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, dead.
- Nov. 7. Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri appointed to act as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.
—Mr. Attlee awarded Order of Merit.
- Nov. 8. President Truman broadcasts an appeal for Soviet Co-operation for reduction of arms.
- Nov. 9. Canada decides to make a gift of 10 million dollars worth of wheat to India.
- Nov. 10. U. N. Security Council approves Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir dispute.
- Nov. 11. Cabinet crisis in Nepal: Congress group resigns.
- Nov. 12. Labour opposition warns Churchill that if he denationalises steel industry, Labour would promptly nationalise it again when it comes to power.
- Nov. 13. Indian-S. African issue included in U-N agenda.
—Nepal Premier resigns.
- Nov. 14. Reserve Bank rate raised from 3 to 3½ p. c.
—Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister, pledges Egyptian nation to a no-compromise struggle to force Britain's withdrawal.
- Nov. 15. Dr. Graham opens talks with B. N. Rau and Zafrullah Khan.
- Nov. 16. New 12 member Cabinet for Nepal with M. P. Koirala as Prime Minister sworn in to-day.
- Nov. 17. Egyptian Police ordered to shoot at sight rioting Britons.
- Nov. 18. Centre withdraws its directive to Mysore to transfer Raju Case.
—New Disarmament Commission proposed by Big Three in U. N.
- Nov. 19. Dr. Mossadeq, Iranian Prime Minister in Egypt.
—Mr. Eden outlines conditions for resumption of talks on oil dispute.
- Nov. 20. Interim Constitution comes into force in Kashmir from to-day.
—Sudan Govt. rejects Plebiscite move.
- Nov. 21. Plane crash near Dum Dum air port involving death of 16 passengers including Deshabandhu Gupta and Mr. P. S. Visvanathan, I.C.S.
- Nov. 22. Mr. B. R. Sen appointed Indian Envoy to U. S.
- Nov. 23. Dr. Mossadeq returns to Teheran from U.S.A.
- Nov. 24. 5 candidates oppose Nehru in Allahabad.
- Nov. 25. The Persian Majlis passes vote of confidence in Dr. Mossadeq.
- Nov. 26. Yugoslavia in U. N. Committee accuses Soviet of massing troops on border.
- Nov. 27. Prime Minister Nehru in Madras inaugurates Museum centenary.
- Nov. 28. Britain announces co-operation with Schuman plan for Europe.
- Nov. 29. Army Coup in Syria: Government members arrested.
—Coup D'Etat in Siam: Songgram's Government overthrown.
- Nov. 30. Songgram forms new Government in Siam.
—President resists army demands in Syria.



MR. C. R. SRINIVASAN

Elected President, A.I.N.E.C. in place of Deshbandhu Gupta.



READERS' DIGEST



THE BATTLE OF THE BALLOT BOX

In the battle of the ballot box the voter would not be a mere pawn, if he realises his rights and responsibilities. In a democratic election, the real winner is not the candidate or a party but the collective majority of the voters who choose their representatives.

The voter need not have recourse to any strategem to win his battle. His strategy should aim at electing the best candidate while his tactics should be fair, legal and correct. . . .

Topmost among the citizen's duty is to get his franchise right. Our Constitution is built on the edifice of universal adult suffrage—the citizen voter standing at its base. Every voter must therefore verify if he or she is registered correctly in the electoral rolls. Errors can be corrected on the final electoral rolls by applying preferably within 15 days of its publication to the Electoral Registration Officer of a constituency. If the voter does not find his name at all in the electoral rolls he can get his name included by sending an application to the Election Commission along with a treasury receipt for Rs. 50 any time before the elections.

The general qualifications for a voter are that he should be a citizen of India, of sound mind and 21 years of age and should not have been convicted of any illegal or corrupt practices or other electoral offences. He would be registered in any constituency if he is ordinarily resident therein, that is to say, if he ordinarily resides in that constituency or owns or is in possession of a dwelling house therein. For elections to the Legislative Council, a voter should be a graduate of a University ordinarily resident in the State for which the Legislative Council is to be formed or a teacher in a school not lower than the secondary school or a member of local self-government institutions such as Municipalities, District Boards, Cantonment Boards, Notified Area Committees etc.

During the election period, all candidates, and their supporters would canvass for the vote of elector. Each elector is perfectly free to choose his own candidate. If a voter intelligently chooses his candidate, it would lead to the good of the country. There is no compulsion on any voter to exercise his right of franchise. But it is the moral duty of every voter to do so in the interests of the general weal. Apathy or cynicism would not get the Parliament or legislature the voter wants. His vote is the only means by which he can express his approval or condemnation, acceptance or rejection of policies and systems.

Polling day in every place would be a holiday. The voter would have the entire day to discharge his right of franchise. But it would be better if he goes early to the polling station, using his own conveyance, or walking. At the polling station he would be given an identity slip showing the serial number of the entry relating to his name in the electoral roll and the number of the page where the entry is to be found. He can see the symbol of his favourite candidate outside the polling booth. Inside the booth the Polling Officers would check up his identity and mark his left forefinger with indelible ink before giving him the ballot paper or papers for election to the Assembly. He has to hand over his identity slip to the peon near the Assembly enclosure in which the boxes of all the candidates will be kept screened. For each candidate there will be a ballot box with his symbol pasted outside. The voter has to choose the box of his favourite candidate and drop the ballot paper without folding or crumpling it into the slit on the top of the ballot box. After coming out of the Assembly enclosure he will be given the ballot papers for the Parliamentary election. He must again cast his vote for the candidate he favours for the Parliamentary seat. After he has polled in both the enclosures the voter has merely to walk back home and relax. With this he has done his duty and the results will be known later.

THE RECORD OF THE U. N.

Many among those who concluded too early that the United Nations Organisation was just another edition of the futile League of Nations must doubtless have felt impelled to reconsider their verdict, says *Thought*, the Delhi Weekly, commenting on the five years' record of this world organisation. The confident tone of Mr. Trygve Lio's message on the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary day is not merely due to the fact that as Secretary-General of the organisation he was in propriety bound to justify its existence; his optimism is fully justified by the United Nations' record of work to date, specially during the last two years.

The organisation's work was seriously handicapped during its early years by the provision for Big Power veto, a symbol of the outdated and undemocratic system of power politics under which might was by general consent allowed to be right. The principle of veto was written into the United Nations' Charter mainly at the insistence of Soviet Russia, the other major Powers also perhaps not being unwilling to secure statutory exemption from the responsibilities of citizenship in a world community. But when events made it clear that the right of veto was a negation of world government, the democratic countries were willing to forgo the privilege, and the Communist governments were alone in opposing the resolution under which the General Assembly empowered itself to take action against aggression and threats to peace in case the Security Council was paralysed by veto.

It might be wished that the right of veto had not been written into the Charter at all, or that it had been abolished earlier than it actually was. But it is perhaps best that the reform came after the need for it was made abundantly clear to every thinking person.

Hasty abolition of the veto, which Russia has the distinction of having used many times more than all the other Big Powers put together, might have been unsuccessfully painted by Communist propagandists as an action designed solely to disarm the Communist minority in the United Nations. The sudden invasion of South Korea in June 1950 transformed the abolition of the veto from a reform desirable in principle into an urgent practical necessity if the peace of the world was to be secured against aggressors. It was realised on all hands that the Security Council had been able to invoke sanctions against the North Korean invaders only because Soviet Russia was at the time boycotting the Council. The subsequent "sanctions resolution" therefore secured easy passage through the General Assembly. What the United Nations was able to do in the case of Korea thanks to the accident of Soviet boycott, it will

now be able to do by right in the event of any future aggression. This is of fundamental importance to the future course of world events.

In the words of Mr. Trygve Lie, the United Nations' intervention in Korea was "the world's first example of the capacity of an international organisation for collective security action against aggression." The best hope for peace today is the warning served on would-be aggressors that the example can be repeated. Indeed the most important item before the General Assembly is the creation of an international army and the organisation of a world-wide system of blockades against future aggression. One main committee of the United Nations and several sub-committees have spent several months in planning the details of the anti-aggression plan, which will give body and shape to the sanctions resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year.

The United Nations' record in preventing outbreaks of hostility and effecting reconciliation is as important, though less spectacular, as the action in Korea. Mr. Lie has listed the Lebanon, Syria, Persia, Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir and the Balkans as instances where the U.N. helped to avert dangerous situations, stopped fighting or achieved peaceful settlement.

CLOSER SINO-INDIAN TIES

Nine members of the Chinese Cultural Mission, who arrived in Madras on Nov. 21 were accorded a reception at the University Buildings. The function was attended by Chief Minister Kamaraswami Raja and several leading educationists.

Mr. Cheng Chen-Toh, leader of the group, replying to the reception, declared that the mission was in India with a view to strengthening the "traditional good relations between the two countries."

ATOMIC RESEARCH IN PAKISTAN

An atomic research laboratory, the first to be set up in Asia, will open shortly in Lahore. Order for equipment has been placed with a firm in the Netherlands and the Lahore University Professor of Physics, Dr. Rafik Ahmad Chowdhury is leaving for the Netherlands in this connection.

A WORLD SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Out of a total world population of 2,177 millions nearly 1,285 millions or nearly 59 per cent. of the total are engaged in agriculture. In most countries, and particularly in Asian countries, the agricultural masses are the most poverty-stricken.

These facts are given in the report of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organisation, a summary of which is given in the *United Nations World*. It says:

Whereas in Europe only one person in three, and in North America one in five, is dependent upon agriculture, in Asia and Africa three out of four obtain their living from the land. The evidence that farming in these areas is actually "depressed" is yet more dramatic. According to the report, annual agricultural output per person in North America averages 2½ tons. In Asia it is less than ¼ ton, and in Africa, ⅙.

RURAL POVERTY

Thus to a remarkable extent the problem of under-developed countries is one of the poverty of their farm population. Rural poverty can also be found in countries which have attained a high level of economic development, but the country whose principal economic activity is permanently depressed can never be healthy or prosperous.

This, in brief, is the problem which will continue to have a definitive impact upon social and political developments in major areas of the world.

The thorough and comprehensive Report of the Secretary General, offers an excellent guide to intelligent thought and action concerning it. Of the major misconceptions which it topples, the idea that redistribution of land is in itself a major cure, is perhaps the most fundamental. It is deceptively easy to picture portly squires shooting pheasant on vast estates while starving peasants hover on the fringes itching to get at the land.

IN S. AMERICA

Only in South America is this conception at all valid. And even here the problem is not so much one of idle land, but of estates too extensive for desirable or efficient production. In Argentina, for example, 85 per cent. of the privately held arable land is in estates larger than 1,250 acres, while 80 per cent. of farm population own no land at all. Productive efficiency and rising standards of living are impeded by an agrarian structure of this kind largely because these estates are too big to cultivate.

TECHNICAL PROBLEM

It is clear, therefore, that distribution of land is primarily a technical problem involving consider-

ations of national balance in agrarian production, optimum size of farms for efficient production in relation to crop and climate, and other non-political factors. Land tenure in under developed countries is meaningless as an isolated factor.

In Asia this fact becomes enormously apparent. The very success of the pressure for land on the part of the Asian peoples is responsible for the poverty of the individual farmer. It has resulted in an extreme subdivision or fragmentation of farm units, the majority of which are thus too small to provide the cultivator and his family with full employment or even the produce necessary for subsistence.

This trend is the largest single fact of Asian agriculture. In Ceylon, 73 per cent. of the families in the areas surveyed were in debts, 90 per cent. of the rural debt, having been incurred for non-productive purposes. In India and the Middle Eastern countries, the same trend has long been apparent.

The proportion of the total cultivated area in the principal rice-growing districts of Lower Burma owned by foreign money-lenders increased from 6 per cent. in 1930 to 25 per cent. in 1937; the proportion of land owned by money-lending non-agriculturalists increased in the same year from 19 per cent. to 50 per cent.

VICIOUS CIRCLE

Merely to re-distribute the land among its tenant farmers, however, is to start once more on the vicious circle of poverty, debt and tenancy. The Report states flatly that the "institutional frame work" of production is not the only factor in the agrarian problem of under-developed countries, and that others such as backward techniques and inadequate equipment must be considered. Without a marked improvement in methods and machines, agricultural populations of Asia, Africa and South America will remain poverty-stricken despite successful efforts to fix the size of farms at workable, economic dimensions.

A POINTER TO THE CORRECT POLICY IN EGYPT

The *New Statesman* and *Nation* said that the pointer to the correct policy on Egypt was given by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

"He made it clear that India would not be an accomplice to the "brow beating" of Egypt. Pakistan was taking a similar line. Their support is essential to a successful solution and it can only be won if we are prepared to hand the Sudan over to United Nations trusteeship and permit the Suez Canal and the Suez base to be administered directly by the United Nations and defended by special United Nations forces" the paper said.

U. S.—BRITISH UNITED FRONT ON EGYPT

Will Britain continue to stand firm in Egypt? Will Washington support London and thus end the split in British-American policy that has contributed heavily to Middle Eastern disasters? The answer to both questions according to *Newsweek* is "yes." Edward Weintal, its diplomatic correspondent, sends the dramatic details of these behind-the-scenes developments.

The key development, he says, was a top-secret personal message sent by Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison to Secretary of State Dean Acheson just after Egypt's rejection of the Western invitation to join the Middle Eastern Command, now being set up as part of the European defense system. Morrison's message was couched in Churchillian language and it put these points forcefully.

The British Government is determined to retain its position in the Suez Canal zone at all costs.

If the Egyptians try to blockade British forces in the canal zone, "our officers" will put into effect plans and instructions for a "counterblockade" to insure the safety of His Majesty's forces and to protect the peoples of the Sudan, whom the British Government does not intend to abandon. (Some sources say the British are ready to occupy Cairo as part of any "counterblockade.")

Egypt's precipitate action "will not deflect His Majesty's Government" from proceeding with the negotiations on the establishment of the Middle Eastern Command. "We will be patient even though we may have reached the limit of our concessions." However, Egypt's action will naturally disqualify it from housing the headquarters of the new command as was originally planned. We suggest Cyprus as an alternate base and also urge the prompt appointment of a commander-in-chief.

There is no question about the feasibility of the Middle Eastern Command without a base in Egypt. We already have one and we intend to remain there.

Morrison stressed that he was not seeking material or military aid from the U. S. but merely its moral support. Acheson promptly gave it. In a public statement Oct. 17 he branded Egypt's action as "not in accord with proper respect for international obligations" and expressed "genuine regret" and "surprise" that Egypt had turned down the invitation to join the Middle East Command. He followed this up by a sharp note to the Cairo government protesting Egypt's abrogation of its treaties with Britain as illegal and warning that the Egyptian Government will be held fully responsible for loss of life and property incurred as a result.

TRAYONS: A TRIUMPH OF CHEMICAL RESEARCH

That India offers vast scope and attractive opportunities for industrial undertakings has long been recognised by foreign investors who have made their fortunes in this country by their enterprise. Indian businessmen have not been slow, of late to follow the lead with results equally beneficent to themselves and to the country at large.

One of the most striking examples of progressive industrial development in the South has been the establishment of a Rayon producing factory in Northern Travancore—a pattern of new enterprise full of potentialities for the future.

Mr. M. Ct. M. Chidambaram Chettyar, who initiated this enterprise, has in this single undertaking, brought a vital new industry to this land. Its ultimate importance in the future economy of India cannot be overestimated, and from the present nucleus, the intelligent observer may discern the outlines of a great and progressive industry of the future.

Rayon is popularly known in India as "artificial silk". It is, in fact, a yarn that science has spun. The making of Rayon is a triumph of chemical research.

HOLLYWOOD CALLING

"I went to the income-tax office with Jane Russell because I didn't want them to watch my form too closely."

—Bob Hope.

THE PLIGHT OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

Ministers and publicists have been talking about this so-called strike of capital on public platforms, in chambers of commerce and broadcast talks. It is important to find out who these people are who in the past have provided capital for industry. According to Mr. S. Narayanaswami of the Madras Stock Exchange in an article in the *Swatantra Annual*

the overwhelming part of all capital for industry has been provided by the middle-class man, from out of his savings. Lists of shareholders of representative joint stock companies in India, the shares of which are dealt with on the Indian markets were analysed carefully. It was agreed generally that those persons who held shares of the face value of Rs. 5,000 and under are to be treated as middle-class holders. In the case of the overwhelming number of companies it was found that 80 per cent of all shareholders were persons holding Rs. 5,000 face-value or below. In other words the middle class constituted more than the backbone of joint stock companies shareholding. In several cases such holdings went up to 90 per cent in both numbers and quantum of capital.

In 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan proclaimed loudly that it was his objective, in introducing devastating fiscal measures like the business profits and capital gains taxes, to hit the big capitalists on the head.

The somewhat facile but rather popular assumption behind this action of Government was that the Du Ponts, the Nuffields and the Rockefellers of the Indian financial world would bear the brunt of the new tax burdens. But the bulk of the burden fell on the shoulders of the middle-classes.

The middle-classes have been the largest losers in the stock market debacle following the Liaquat Budget of 1947.

At one time the real value of stock exchange securities declined from a matter of 1,500 crores in 1946 to about 600 crores in 1948-49. Is it to be expected that the middle class will stage a come-back to the arena of stock exchange investment, which has proved so vulnerable from the point of view of capital safety?

The second and perhaps more important reason for the springs of capital formation drying up is that the middle-class man has no savings now.

With the curve of inflation steadily rising and with salaries and dearness allowances not being increased proportionately, the middle-class man is not only unable to save anything but is landing himself in widening deficits. In a factory worker's family, more than one person is gainfully employed. Wages and dearness allowances, thanks to trade union clamour and adjudication awards,

are strictly correlated to cost of living indices. In fact, in this sector as in the agriculturists' sector, there are savings, but these are communities that have never been educated to invest in stocks and it is this which the "economists and calculators" have characterised as the shift in savings groups. The middle-class man, working in urban areas where living costs are oppressive, has thus none of the advantages of the industrial operative.

Mr. Narayanaswami offers practical and feasible suggestions for tapping two important sources which ultimately will prove as serviceable to the people as to the Government considering the shift in savings, the main thing is to examine the question of mobilising savings in the agricultural sector, which, the writer says, is the single biggest available source of capital today.

There is now official procurement of grain and payment of controlled prices therefor by Government. By common consent, agriculture has not made any contribution proportionate to its importance in Indian economy to the economic development of India and taxation of agriculture has certainly not been in proportion to prosperity. What is now suggested is not taxation, but something else. When procurement prices are paid for foodgrains, say 5 per cent. out of it may be retained by Government, for which they may issue 10 year cash certificates to the agriculturists. Such a levy should over a period of years yield a sizable sum, which may be funded with the Industrial Finance Corporation, who may pay on such amounts a small interest.

Another quarter which may yield up savings is the industrial worker—though the amount available from this source is limited by the small number of industrial workers in the country.

Nevertheless it would be worthwhile introducing schemes for issue of cash certificates bearing small interest in respect of say 10 per cent. of the basic wages. Trade unions clamour for Government intervention and adjudication in industrial disputes now and again, and Government may pertinently ask for reciprocal co-operation from trade unions. The unions may themselves be asked to appeal to the workers for cooperation.

The Government, says Mr. Narayanaswami, must also create the climate for capital formation

negatively by abstaining from ill-timed pronouncements on nationalisation; positively by quickening land allotments to industrial ventures, by speedy issue of import permits, help through embassies in procuring plant, machinery and technical personnel on advantageous terms; and in concluding long term contracts for supply of raw material and chemicals where unavailable in India; and last but not least by discriminating tax reliefs.

TECHNICAL AID FOR INDIA

Under the various schemes of technical assistance from Foreign countries, India has so far obtained 32 experts, and training facilities for 267 persons.

The experts and the facilities have been made available to India under the Point Four Agreement when the U.S. the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo Plan and by the specialised agencies of the U.N.

Fifteen experts from the U.S. have come under the Point Four Agreement. 4 from the various Commonwealth countries under the Colombo Plan and 18 from the specialised agencies of the U.N. Of the training facilities already offered to 247 Indians, 44 offers came from the U.S. under the Point Four plan, 112 from various Commonwealth countries under the Colombo Plan and 91 from the U.N. specialised agencies.

While India has thus received experts and training facilities, she has also sent in fulfilment of her obligation as a member country of the Colombo Plan, some of her own experts to foreign countries. Special training facilities have also been offered to them. An Indian expert on sericulture is working in Ceylon. Offers of training facilities have been made to Ceylon, Nepal and Pakistan.

TASK BEFORE INDIA

Mr. Horace Alexander writing in *The Spectator* said that the problem of food production was basic to India's economy and perhaps basic to the economy of the whole world.

There was something wrong when a country whose population, was 90 per cent. rural should not be able to feed its own population, he wrote.

What was wrong and how could it be put right were the questions faced by the Planning Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1950, whose report was now engaging the attention of Ministers.

The answers it gave appeared to be convincing. In brief: "India's food problem is not a temporary disequilibrium

between supply and demand, it is a manifestation of the continually growing pressure of population on food supply."

"That is not the whole story" Mr. Alexander said: "but, it is an important part of it and it needed to be frankly said.

"The target the planners have set and which they believe can be achieved by 1956, is to increase food production by over seven million tons in the same period, there will also be large increases in the production of cotton, jute, sugarcane, and oilseeds.

"If the foodgrains target is reached, even if the present growth of population is not checked, not only will the need for food imports cease, but the daily food consumption for the masses will increase, even though it cannot in such a short time reach the level which is now accepted as the minimum for full health.

ON THE HOME FRONT

How India overcame the threats to her internal security in the period immediately following independence, is narrated briefly in the latest pamphlet "On The Home Front" brought out by the Publications Division.

The illustrated booklet deals also with the re-organization of the Services and the machinery of Government to suit the new functions and requirements of free India as well as the emergency steps taken to avoid a breakdown in administration immediately after August, 1947.

The pamphlet concludes:

When the British members of the ICS left India four years ago, there were many who apprehended an administrative breakdown. In the circumstances, this fear was not altogether unjustified. On the morrow of Independence, the security of the State was challenged from all sides. Had India's destinies been in charge of less experienced men, the country might well have gone under. The leaders of the new State, however, were wise men who had weathered many storms. With the loyal co-operation of the services they succeeded in putting the country firmly on the road to steady progress. The forces of disorder have been put down, the administration has been strengthened and the Government and the people are now bending their energies to the task of reconstruction.

INCREASING PADDY PRODUCTION

A number of widely scattered fields all over the Madras State were experimenting with or making use of the green leaf manure and ryots had shown keen interest in it. Mr. M. S. Sivaraman I.C.S., the Madras State Director of Agriculture discusses methods of popularising the use of this manure in the pages of the attractively got up new series of *Indian Farming*, a magazine which is becoming more popular among agriculturists because of its practical outlook.

The Madras Agricultural Department, says Mr. Sivaraman, had in its possession a few pounds of seeds of *Sesbania Speciosa* in 1947 and active measures were taken to develop these seeds.

It may not therefore be a difficult matter now to distribute a pound or two of seeds to one or two enterprising ryots in each wet acreage and insist on the plants being raised along the margins of the paddy fields in the village. The existence of this marvellous plant has to be brought home to all those who are interested in the Agricultural prosperity of the State. Attention of ryots may be focussed by raising the plant in the compounds of public offices, schools, places of public resort etc.

Until the ryot realises the need for and the advantages of raising quick-growing perennial shrubs on the bunds of wet lands, it will be necessary to raise green manure crops on the field.

But when once the ryots learn to obtain their green leaf requirements from the bunds, the cereal problem will be a thing of the past and the stage will be set for the next important step in the Agricultural development of the State, viz., the utilization of the paddy fields for the raising of commercial crops like cotton and groundnut as a second crop on single crop lands wherever possible during the fallow period without affecting the production of paddy. With very little extra effort every ryot can produce on the spot the green leaves required for manuring his paddy fields, and if he can tap the underground water, he can utilise his land in summer to produce a commercial crop that is not so taxing as paddy in its water requirements.

Our goal should be to produce a balanced abundance in the State. The way to produce abundance is clear. The need to produce abundance is keenly felt.

What is required is a concerted effort to translate ideas into practice. Given the will and necessary effort, Madras State, far from being a deficit area can export cereals to other areas in the near future.

CANADA'S GIFT TO INDIA

Canada has decided to make a gift of ten million dollars worth of top quality wheat to India to be shipped as soon as Canada's transport crisis eases according to the Canadian Press News Agency.

The only stipulation, it was learnt, is that India in selling the wheat to dealers should use the money in some economic project for the country's good. Funds to cover the gift would come from Canada's twenty-five million dollars contribution to the six-year Commonwealth programme to help strengthen South and South-East Asia against the threat of Communist aggression.

India's share of the 25 million dollars Canadian contribution is 15 million. The remaining five million is likely to be used for irrigation and power projects, transport facilities and buying agricultural and building materials to increase land yield.

The other ten million is for Pakistan for projects to be worked out soon with the help of a Pakistan technical mission.

THE RAILWAYS GO AHEAD

The Revised Railway Convention makes every taxpayer a share-holder in the Railway enterprise and he thus becomes entitled to a guaranteed dividend of 4 per cent. paid into the revenues of the Central budget, says the pamphlet "The Railways Go Ahead" brought out by the Publications Division.

The pamphlet deals with the progress made by Indian Railways and their re-organization after the transfer of over 7500 miles of Railways from the former Princely States.

The pamphlet says: "The finances of the Indian railways have been steadily improving since 1947. Thanks to increased economic activity and industrial production, the gross earnings have broken all previous records."

The pamphlet points out that increased passenger fares were necessitated mainly by the need to open new lines and rebuild the dismantled ones and also by the rise in the wage bill, cost of fuel, renewals and replacements.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

SATYAGRAHA IN S. AFRICA

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, said he would continue his campaign against *Apartheid* by committing breaches of the South African Government's race laws.

He said that on three occasions he sat on the lower deck of Durban municipal buses which is reserved for whites and on two occasions he had gone with his wife to a library where Asians are forbidden. No action has yet been taken.

The fact that the authorities are also hesitant to prosecute me for deliberate breaches of municipal by-laws gives me the impression they are not sure of their ground, Mr. Gandhi said.

I am determined not to submit to any distinction between man and man based on race or colour, Mr. Gandhi said. I do not want to antagonise the European public here. They need not fear that if the restrictions were removed the Public Library and other similar institutions would be flooded with non-Europeans. But the authorities must realise they also have to minister to the needs of ten million non-whites in South Africa. If all were equally provided for, the authorities would find non-white people most law-abiding, as they always have been and there would be no danger of Communism in South Africa.

I shall continue my campaign in one form or another until the cause for which I am fighting is vindicated, Mr. Gandhi said.

PROPOSED MARRIAGE LAW

The South African Indian Organisation has protested to the South African Prime Minister, Dr. Daniel Malan, against the proposed legislation to prevent South African-born and domiciled Indians from marrying Indians living outside the Union.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, the organisation submitted that no Government which swore by democracy could justifiably attempt to legislate against voteless people to destroy their happy family lives. Such a step would be unchristian and would bring back memories of the Middle Ages. There was no foundation for the allegation that there had been an influx of Indians as the result of South African Indians being permitted to bring foreign-born wives to the country.

Ceylon

CEYLON CITIZENSHIP LAWS

It is understood that the case of over a lakh of Indian residents in Ceylon who are alleged to have failed to produce suitable evidence demanded by the Controller of Immigration to obtain resident permits will shortly be placed before Mr. D. S. Senanayake by the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Kesava Menon.

The High Commissioner maintains that these figures, though challenged by the Controller, are approximately correct. Resident permits are granted only for those who are anxious to return to Ceylon after visiting India. Of over 150,000 Indians who have been resident in Ceylon since 1944, only about 40,000 have so far managed to obtain resident permits and the rest are left in the lurch with their families away in India and with no prospect of their seeing their wives and children. Neither can those families come over here as the grant of resident permits to wives and children depends on the possession of such permits by the heads of the families at present in Ceylon.

Now that the Immigration Department had worked for two full years, the Indian High Commissioner believes that the Ceylon Government will be prepared to review their policy if a representation is made.

The *Evening Times* of Ceylon in its issue of Nov. 16, pleaded for humane application of Ceylon citizenship laws.

Commenting editorially on a case of an Indian labourer said to have been wrongly deported in India, the paper said it provided an illustration of the *reductio ad absurdum* to which the citizenship legislation in this country could be pushed.

The man was as far as we can gather discovered in this country without either a relation book or other identity papers and suspected of being an illegal immigrant sent unceremoniously across Palk Strait. It may be, a little too late in the day to argue the rights and wrongs of our citizenship laws, but we wish to renew our plea for their humane application.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

NEPAL RULER'S PROCLAMATION

King Tribhuvan's proclamation which preceded the swearing-in of Ministers of the new Cabinet of Nepal gave a series of directives to the new Council of Ministers.

It said, it will be the duty of the Prime Minister to ensure "as soon as possible" that civic rights of the people are properly defined and guaranteed, subject to the limitation of the maintenance of law and order and public safety.

The proclamation directed the Ministers "to take very early action," in respect of:

1. The establishment of an independent judiciary free from all interference from the executive.
2. Proper functioning of the Public Service Commission, ensuring that appointments to public services are generally governed by rules made on the basis of merit.
3. Arrangement for holding early elections for the Constituent Assembly, as far as possible by the end of 1952, and
4. Proper training and reorganisation of the Police and the Army.

The proclamation also put on record that the progress made so far by Nepal since the popular elements were associated with the administration "has not been as good as expected." It said divided responsibility must disappear from the Government.

It reminded the Government servants that they must not behave in an irresponsible manner and must be unaffected by political changes.

U. N. RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR

The United Nations Security Council approved an Anglo-American resolution calling for further negotiation to solve the four-year-old Kashmir dispute.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the Anglo-American resolution adopted by the Council on November 10.

The Security Council having received and noted the report of Dr. Frank Graham, the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, on his mission initiated by the Security Council

resolution of 30th March, 1951, and having heard Dr. Graham's address to the Council on October 18, Noting with approval the basis for a programme of demilitarisation which could be carried out in conformity with the previous undertaking of the parties put forward by the United Nations Representative in his communication of September 7, 1951, to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

(1) Notes with gratification the declared agreement of the two parties to those parts of Dr. Graham's proposals which reaffirm their determination to work for a peaceful settlement, their will to observe the Cease-Fire Agreement, and their acceptance of the principle that the accession of the State should be determined by a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations:

(2) Instructs the United Nations Representative to continue his efforts to obtain the agreement of the parties on a plan for effecting the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir:

(3) Calls upon the parties to co-operate with the United Nations representative to the fullest degree in his efforts to resolve the outstanding points of difference between them:

(4) Instructs the United Nations representative to report to the Security Council his efforts, together with his views concerning the problems confided to him not later than six weeks after this resolution comes into effect.

As we go to press Dr. Graham is having talks with the representatives of India and Pakistan.

HINDUS' PLIGHT IN SIND

An adjournment motion on the administration of evacuee property law in Sind moved by Seth Sukhdev Udhavadas in the Pakistan Parliament was ruled out of order by the Speaker on the ground that it was not urgent. Seth Sukhdev said that notices were being issued to *bona fide* Hindu Pakistanis every day asking them why they should not be declared intending evacuees and were thus being harassed.

Supporting the motion, Mr. Dhrindranath Dutta said that it was not the intention of the opposition to censure the Government but they intended to bring the situation to the attention of the Government to enable them to make inquiries and state their viewpoint.

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR ON HIS MISSION IN INDIA

"The foundation for a peaceful world lies in increased understanding and positive co-operation between people everywhere. In the development of such understanding both India and the U. S. carry heavy responsibilities." So observed Mr. Chester W. Bowles, U. S. Ambassador at a Press Conference in Delhi on Nov. 5. He said:

Without mutual respect, understanding, and friendship between our 2 great nations, any effort to bind the world's people closer together will surely fail.

But understanding, respect, and friendship need not always require perfect agreement. Good friends may share the same objectives and principles with deep conviction, and still disagree on the best means of reaching those objectives. Certainly the peoples of India and the U. S. are in agreement on the following objectives:

A Peaceful world in which war will be for ever renounced by all nations;

A more prosperous world in which great discoveries of science can be put to work for the benefit of mankind; and

A friendly world in which the brotherhood of man will become a living reality.

If we are to work together to build this One World of peace, prosperity, and understanding, we must learn to know the real India and the real America.

An important part of my mission is to interpret, as best as I can, your own convictions, hopes and fears to the people of my country.

I shall also strive to help you to understand how we, Americans, rightly or wrongly, look at the problems which now threaten peace.

We believe, for instance, in freedom of religion. We believe in the family as the basis of all civilised life. We believe in the right of all peoples to live under a government of their own choosing. And with the most intense feeling we dislike and deplore the conflict now threatening the peace of the world.

In the U.N. we saw the beginnings of a World Government, the opportunities for close economic, social, and political relations between all peoples.

In fact, in 1945 we believed so fervently in the prospect of peace that we disbanded the world's most powerful military force in record time.

We know, as you know, that a third world war would be a catastrophe. So we accepted rearmament, after the outbreak of war in Korea only as a last resort, as a necessary, although negative, answer to the invasion threat which, we believed, faced us and other peoples in Europe, in Asia, and in other parts of the world. We accepted this programme with the full awareness in our hearts that we would scrap it if an honest peace and disarmament agreement could be established.

The resources of the U. S. are great, but they are not unlimited. And, as long as this great armaments race continues, the economic aid that we can provide will remain inadequate.

An honest peace in Korea, and an honest settlement of such questions as Germany and Austria will ease the tensions in the world, and lay the basis for world-wide disarmament.

But we, Americans, believe that disarmament must not be a one-way street. We believe disarmament must cover all weapons, and not simply those in which we are strong and others are weak. We believe that disarmament must include full inspection in all countries to make sure that the conditions are carefully kept.

We would welcome such inspection in our own country. We cannot understand why others should not accept it as well.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH ON TASK BEFORE KASHMIR ASSEMBLY

The Chief Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, addressing the opening Session of the State's Constituent Assembly on November 5 called on the members to declare its reasoned conclusion regarding the territory's future political affiliation.

"You are the sovereign authority in the State, and your decision has the irrevocable force of law."

Sheikh Abdullah declared that 4 main tasks were before the Assembly, of devising a Constitution for the future governance of the State, of deciding the future of the royal dynasty, of considering the problem of landowners' demand for compensation, and finally of giving its decision regarding the accession of the State.

In the task of constitution making, he said: We shall, naturally, be guided by the principles of equality, liberty, and social justice.

Recalling with "pride" Kashmir's bond with India Sheikh Abdullah said:

The Constitution of India has provided for a Federal Union, and in the distribution of sovereign powers has treated us differently from the other constituent units. With the exception of the items grouped under defence, foreign affairs, and communications in the Instrument of Accession, we have complete freedom to frame our Constitution in the manner we like.

In order to live and prosper as good partners in a common endeavour for the advancement of our peoples, I would advise that, while safeguarding our autonomy to the fullest extent, we may also, by suitable constitutional arrangements with the Union, establish our right to seek and compel federal co-operation and assistance.

ALLOCATION OF REVENUES

The President has constituted, under Clause (1) of Article 280 of the Constitution, a Finance Commission consisting of Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.P., as Chairman, Messrs. V. P. Menon, Justice R. Kausshandra Rao and B. K. Madan (Members) and Mr. M. V. Rangachari (Member-Secretary).

The Commission is to make recommendations to the President as to (a) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be, or may be, divided between them and the allocation between the States of the respective shares of such proceeds.

(b) The principles which should govern the grants-in-aid to the States out of the Consolidated Fund of India.

(c) The continuance or modification of the term of any agreement entered into by the Government of India with the Government of any Part 'B' State with regard to financial matters and

(d) Any other matter referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance.

The Commission, which will determine its procedure, will report to the President within two years.

PLOT TO KIDNAP ABDULLAH

Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed, Deputy Prime Minister confirmed that one of the facets of Pakistan agents' conspiracy was to attempt to kidnap Sheikh Abdullah for which purpose the services of a certain pilot were secured by agents working outside by paying him large bribes. The plot was reported to the company who lost no time in dismissing the pilot, the Deputy Premier added.

In a Press Note issued on November 21, Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed said that the pilot was alleged to have received large bribes for agreeing to divert to Pakistan the plane by which Sheikh Abdullah was to have travelled to Delhi from Srinagar.

ZAMINDARI COMPENSATION

A decision on the payment of advance compensation to Zamindars was taken by the Madras Government at a Cabinet meeting in Madras. After the meeting, the Chief Minister and the Revenue Minister, Mr. H. Sitarama Reddi received Pressmen and told them that the Cabinet decided that out of Rs. 12½ crores provided towards payment of compensation to zamindars under the Zamindari Abolition Act, one-half, namely Rs. 6½ crores should be paid as advance compensation and half of this sum of Rs. 6½ crores (namely 3½ crores) should be paid in bonds and the balance (3½ crores) should be paid in cash. The Cabinet has accepted this principle and suitable legislation will shortly be introduced in the State Legislature.)

INDIAN DELEGATION TO F.A.O.

The Indian delegation to the sixth session of the Food and Agricultural Organisation Conference, held in Rome, consists of Mr. K. M. Munshi (Leader); Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, M.P., (associate); Mr. M. D. Chaturvedi, Inspector-General of Forests, Government of India (adviser); Mr. J. V. A. Nehemiah, Secretary, Indian Council of Agricultural Research (adviser).



SRI DESHBANDU GUPTA
who died in the Calcutta air crash.

CHINESE SCHOLARS IN INDIA

President Prasad, Chancellor of Delhi University, conferred honorary degrees of Doctor of Letters on Mr. Ting Li-lih, Leader of the Chinese Delegation, and Prof. Fung Yu-lan, Professor of philosophy.

The degrees were conferred at a special Convocation in the Convocation Hall of the University on Nov. 5.

Dr. Ram Behari, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, gave a brief account in Sanskrit of the life of Mr. Ting and Prof. Fung.

Welcoming the Chinese scholars, the Chancellor said it was a matter of satisfaction for both India and China that contacts between them, broken nearly 900 years ago, were being re-established.

I have no doubt that there is much that we can give to each other, but there is one thing that you can give us in abundance. Hundreds and thousands of Sanskrit works, which are lost in India can still be had in translations in Chinese or Tibetan, and I have no doubt that a study of these works will reveal much that is at present obscure.

DEARTH OF TRAINED GRADUATE TEACHERS

The other day the Minister of Education said that there are 300 newly-started schools without trained Graduate teachers. He admitted that the Graduates appointed as teachers do not stick to the profession as the salary is too low. The statement of the Madras Minister, that the Government have decided not to open new schools for some time has been received with a shock by the Press and the public. Says a Press correspondent :

The Government are responsible for bringing on this crisis. There is no use of suggesting remedies like opening new training colleges or even allowing teachers over 55 years in age to be continued in the schools. The Minister has frankly admitted that the teachers appointed were only birds of passage, taking no interest in the job, and that the standard was deteriorating. The young teachers leave the job as the salary received is ludicrously low. They can get better salaries in Government or commercial concerns. If the scale of salary offered to the Graduate teachers is attractive, they will stick to the profession and care to undergo the training in the training colleges. It is incorrect to think that a large body of teachers have stuck to their posts, regarding their work from a higher point of view than mere pecuniary reward. If they stick to their posts, it is because they cannot help it and after a few years of service they are helpless to choose any other profession. There is frustration among them.

DR. A. L. MUDALIAR ON OUR EDUCATION

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, holds the view that the lowering of the standards of University education and its products is due to "chaotic sort of conditions" that exists to-day in most Colleges and Universities.

Dr. Mudaliar, who was delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University, said there had of late been criticism that the standards of University education had been lowered. Such an impression had gained greater publicity by the remarks made by the Union Public Service Commission and by other State Public Service Commissions recently.

Dr. Mudaliar attributed this lowering of standards to overcrowding in colleges, lack of personal contact between teachers and students and to the fact that the teaching profession did not draw the type of scholars that used to be attracted to it in an earlier generation.

NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR OF
ANNAMALAI VARSITY

The Governor of Madras in his capacity as Chancellor of the Annamalai University has appointed Dr. R. K. Shanmukham



DR. R. K. SHANMUKHUM CHETTY

Chetty, former Finance Minister of India, as honorary Vice-Chancellor of the University for a period of three years from Nov. 23, 1951.

THE L. S. RAJU CASE

What a tremendous trifle—this furore over the Presidential directive with regard to the transfer of the L. S. Raju case in Mysore. The charge is one of conspiracy and attempt on the life of the Chief Justice of Mysore who will have to give evidence in the case before a criminal court, subordinate to the High Court of which the witness is the Chief Justice.

The President issued a directive early last month under Article 371 asking the Government of Mysore to transfer the the case to either Madras or Bombay. The Chief Minister, Mr. K. C. Reddy, thereafter proceeded to Delhi and had a series of conferences with Prime Minister Nehru and the States' Minister, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, as a result of which a solution was arrived at.

The Presidential directive does not cast any slur whatsoever on the Mysore judiciary. In this connection, a contemporary pertinently recalls the Newington College Murder Case in which two young zamindars of Madras stood charged with the murder of Mr. De La Haye, the Principal. The case was transferred by the Government of India from Madras to Bombay. It was never contended then that the action was derogatory to the izzat of the Madras judiciary.

As the Madras jurist, Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, has rightly averred, "the Mysore State would not suffer either in dignity or in prestige by agreeing to the transfer." After all, justice must not only be done, but must seem and be felt to be done.

The Government of Mysore has, after all, decided to import a judge from Bombay to try the Case. Mr. K. C. Reddy, Chief Minister, Mysore, told Pressmen after a Cabinet meeting that preliminary correspondence will be started with the Government of Bombay.

According to the agreement, the Mysore Government on their part would import a judge from outside the State and the Government of India would recommend to the President to rescind the directive.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME
COURT

The death of Sir Harilal J. Kania, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India at Delhi on Nov. 6 is a great loss to the Judiciary of the Indian Union.

Sir Harilal Jekisondas Kania was appointed judge of the Federal Court in 1946, and later became the Chief Justice of the Federal Court. On January 26, 1950, when India became a Republic, Mr. Kania was appointed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri, Judge of the Supreme Court of India, has been appointed to be the Chief Justice of India until further orders. A Home Ministry communiqué announcing the appointment said :

The office of the Chief Justice of India having become vacant by reason of the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harilal Jekisondas Kanania, the President, has been pleased to appoint the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri, a Judge of the Supreme Court to perform the duties of the Chief Justice of India with effect from Nov. 7, 1951. until further orders.

Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri, was born on Jan. 4, 1889, and was educated at the Pachaiyappa's College and the Law College, Madras. He practised as an Advocate at the High Court at Madras and was elevated to the Bench on March 5, 1934. On December 6, 1947, he was appointed Judge of the Federal Court, and on January 26, 1950, Judge of the Supreme Court.

MATTHAI'S PETITION

The Travancore-Cochin High Court dismissed the petition filed by Dr. John Matthai, former Finance Minister of the Government of India, challenging the decision of the Returning Officer, Kottayam, ejecting his nomination paper for election to a seat in the House of the People from the Kottayam constituency. Dr. Matthai's nomination paper was ejected by the Returning Officer on the ground that he was a Director of the Tata Locomotive Engineering Company in which the Government of India has an interest.

MR. MAHATAB'S APPEAL TO TRADERS

Union Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Hare Krishna Mahatab, addressing a meeting of the Import Advisory Council at the Madras Legislative Council Chamber at the Secretariat on November 5 said "taking the year 1951-52 as a whole, there is no need for any change in our import policy which has been designed to secure adequate imports of all essential commodities."

He added that "on the whole, as far as one can reasonably foresee, we have come to a fairly stable state in our import policy." No major modification in the existing policy is likely in the period January-June 1952."

Addressing the meeting of the Export Advisory Council Mr. Mahatab reviewed the export control administration during 1951 and declared that the Government did not wish to retain restrictions longer than they were absolutely necessary.

The Minister said that in spite of considerable liberalisation of import policy, India's balance of trade position continued to be satisfactory. Cautioning, however, against complacency, Mr. Mahatab said: "The higher the level of exports we can attain the better we shall be to afford the import of the essentials which we need, of foodgrains and cotton, capital goods and raw materials."

CHAIRMAN OF BANK TRIBUNAL

Mr. S. Panchapagesa Sastri, retired Judge of the Madras High Court, has been appointed Chairman of the Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes). The appointment of two other members of the Tribunal will be made shortly.

It may be recalled that consequent on the Supreme Court setting aside the Sen Award on bank disputes, the Central Government appointed in July last a tribunal presided over by Mr. H. V. Divatia, to which the bank disputes were referred. Following a petition filed by a bank employee in the Bombay High Court for the issue of a writ of *quo warranto* the personnel of this tribunal resigned.

INDIA'S CUSTOMS REVENUE

The total gross sea and land customs revenue collected in India during September, 1951, amounted to Rs. 1,989 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1,153 lakhs in September last year, according to official figures released.

Of the total customs revenue collections, import duties accounted for Rs. 1,265 lakhs as against Rs. 872 lakhs export duties for Rs. 698 lakhs, as against Rs. 208 lakhs and land customs and miscellaneous for Rs. 26 lakhs as against Rs. 73 lakhs. The total gross collections of Union excise duties amounted to Rs. 676 lakhs as compared with Rs. 638 lakhs.

During the six months, April to September 1951, the grand total of gross customs and Union excise revenue realised was Rs. 16,269 lakhs as compared with Rs. 10,230 lakhs during the corresponding period of the preceding year. Of this amount, import duties accounted for Rs. 6,885 lakhs as against Rs. 4,988 lakhs, export duties for Rs. 4,559 lakhs as against Rs. 1,824 lakhs, land customs and miscellaneous for Rs. 182 lakhs as against Rs. 326 lakhs and Union excise duties for Rs. 4,643 lakhs as against Rs. 3,462 lakhs.

BANK RATE

The Bank rate has been raised from 8 to 8½ per cent. with effect from November 15, 1951.

The decision of the Reserve Bank to raise the bank rate from 8 to 8½ per cent. from November 15 was welcomed in financial circles as a step in the right direction.

While the satisfaction expressed in certain quarters was mingled with comments on the tardiness and hesitancy of the move, the disinflationary impact of the step on the country's economy was widely acknowledged. A prominent Indian banker felt that the lending rates of banks might be marked up a little.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha, former Indian Commerce Minister, said that the increase, following as it does in the wake of the Bank of England's recent action, is an overdue but realistic change.

FEW LADY CANDIDATES

Shall Eve start a civil war against Adam? asks Shrimati Sita Devi, M.L.A., Punjab, in a letter addressed to the members of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board protesting against the fact that few lady members have been chosen for contesting the coming elections.

It seems that orthodoxy or selfishness of the dominant sex has triumphed over justice, equity and fair-play, she says: "I understand that more than a dozen sisters have applied to the Provincial Congress Committee for Congress ticket and I can challenge any one in the province that none of those applicants are in any way inferior to their competitors or rivals of the opposite sex.

How is this anomaly to be redressed? Who would listen to the cry for justice and equity? Or will the directives of the Prime Minister and the President of the Indian National Congress, prove a cry in the wilderness? Shall the women of India be forced to tread the thorny path of the suffragettes of the West and for the assertion and maintenance of their legitimate and natural rights resort to means unpalatable to the sons of Adam? Shall Eve start a civil war against Adam?"

'VARSIY WOMEN'S FEDERATION

Addressing a meeting of the Madras branch of the Federation of University Women in India, Miss Josephine Schain, President-elect to the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, expressed the view that Indian women who were quite intellectual and imaginative should not find it difficult to progress culturally, educationally and socially. American women, she pointed out, had, in the course of a decade, taken long strides forward and some of them were now holding key positions in the Administration, business and other walks of life.

MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit left for India on November 21 from New York after relinquishing her appointment as India's Ambassador to the United States.

In a letter accepting her resignation, Mr. Nehru said: "You have discharged your duty with great ability. You gained the good-will and approbation not only of your own people but also of the people of the United States. That is an achievement of which you can be legitimately proud."

FIRST WOMAN PRESIDENT OF U. N. COMMITTEE

The first woman to be elected by the United Nations General Assembly as Chairman of a Committee presided at the opening of the Social and Humanitarian Committee in Paris last month.

Twelve other women were leading delegates among the sixty countries represented. The Chairman was Mrs. Ana Figueroa of Chile.



Dr. Martha M. Eliot, new Chief of the United States Children's Bureau and former Assistant Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO).

NOBEL PRIZE AWARDS

Mr. Leon Jouhaux, 72-year-old French Trade Union leader, who was awarded the Nobel Peace prize for 1951, is the seventh Frenchman to win the prize and the 42nd individual to be so honoured since the first award was made in 1901 under the will of the Swedish arms manufacturer, Alfred Nobel. M. Jouhaux will also receive a gold medal.

The Swedish author, Paer Fabian Lagerkvist, was awarded the 1951 Nobel Prize for literature for the novel "Barabbas."

The Swedish Academy of Science awarded the 1951 Nobel Prize for physics to an Englishman and an Irishman, while two Americans shared the Nobel Prize for chemistry. The winners of the prize for physics were Sir John Douglas Cockcroft, head of the Atomic Research Laboratory at Harwell in England since 1946, and Prof. Ernest Thomas Sinton Walton, a Fellow of Trinity College of Dublin.

The chemistry prize was awarded to Dr. Glenn Theodore Seaborg, and Dr. Edwin Mattison Macmillan, professors of the University of California.

GEN. MACARTHUR'S GHOST-WRITER

John Gunther, author of the famous "Inside" books, said that the speeches and reports which contributed greatly to the fame of Gen. MacArthur when he was United States Chief of Staff (1928-30) were written for him by Gen. Eisenhower.

In an article in the *Look Magazine* entitled "Inside Ike", Mr. Gunther wrote that Gen. Eisenhower was Gen. MacArthur's ghost writer. "All his life Eisenhower has been interested in the art of writing. He spent some years in the War Department as a kind of sublimated ghost writer. In 1929, as Assistant Executive in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War, he was put to work preparing papers for his superiors. He did so well that officer after officer asked for his services.

Later when he was a lowly major—he was a major for sixteen solid years—his work came to the angust eye of Douglas MacArthur, who had just become Chief of Staff.

It was after this that Gen. Eisenhower became MacArthur's ghost writer.

FINANCES OF T.-C. STATE

Travancore-Cochin State has, in a little over two years of integration, cleared a debt of eight crores of rupees and emerged financially strong with Rs. 5.3 crores to its credit.

In July 1949, integrated Travancore-Cochin owed three crores of rupees to the Government of India on account of food-grains transactions and bank loans at the time totalled Rs. 5 crores.

The present stable financial position of the State is recorded in a general review of the achievements of the past four years of the popular regime published by the Department of Public Relations.

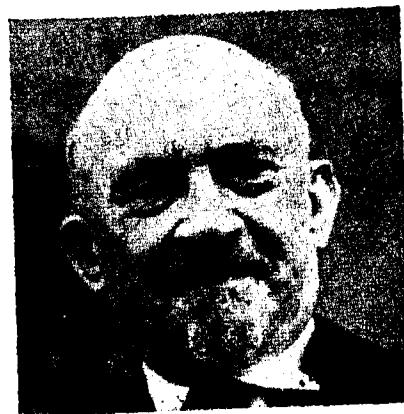
NEW A.-I. N. E. C. PRESIDENT

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor of *Swadesamitran*, Madras, has been elected President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference for the remainder of the current session in the vacancy caused by the demise of Mr. Deshabandhu Gupta.

LATE L. W. MATTERS

Prominent newspapermen including many old personal friends attended the funeral of Mr. Leonard W. Matters, at Golders Crematorium, London, on November 5.

Mr. Matters died at the age of 70. He had been correspondent of *The Hindu*, since 1933.



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**RAJ-JYOTISHI**

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.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and, future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day—2nd September, 1939—of the declaration of last World War, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd September, 1946 and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.

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

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Sahiba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Honourable Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Orissa High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot, says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U.S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Isaac Mumi Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasions", etc., etc., and many others.

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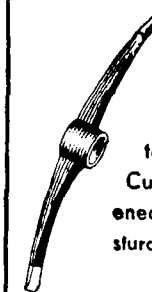
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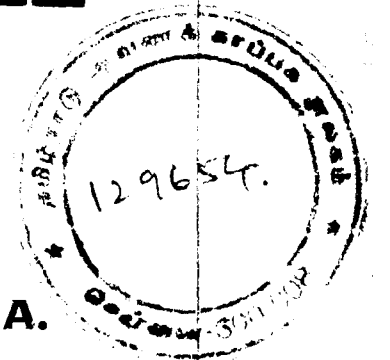


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