

ELECTION NUMBER.

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113 The INDIAN REVIEW

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JANUARY 1952

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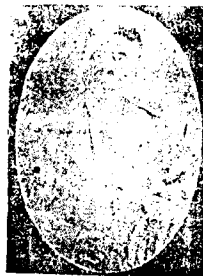
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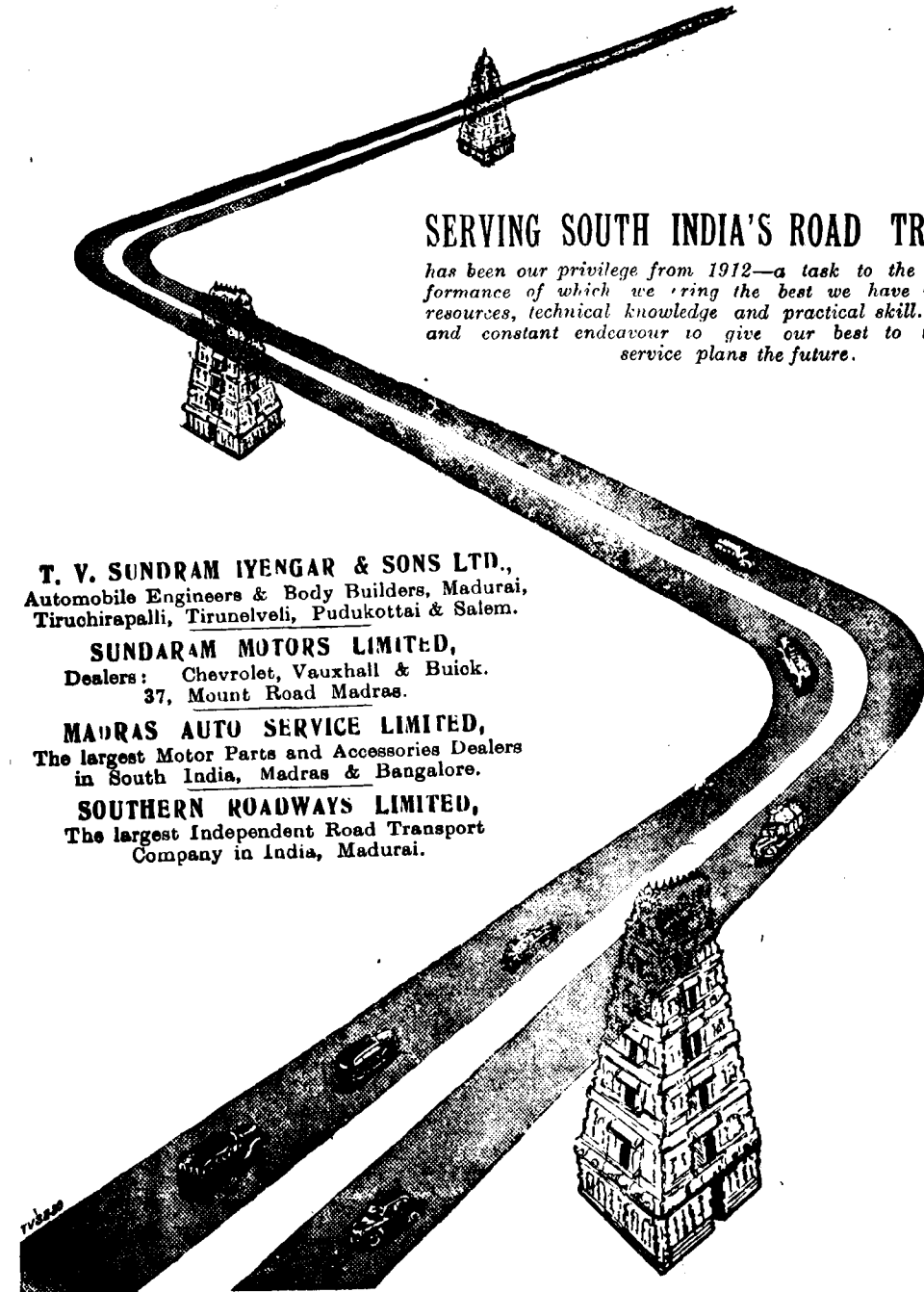
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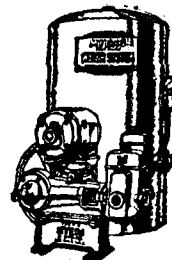


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JANUARY 1952

[No. 1.

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY:

A SYLLABUS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

BY SRI ANILBARAN ROY,

Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

INDIA, it is said, is making a bold experiment in democracy. The very word "experiment" shows that there are serious misgivings about its success. But can India, at this stage of her history, afford to make such experiments which may end in disastrous failure? Should she not proceed on assured lines with a clear vision? An eminent public man, Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, has given a timely warning in his convocation address to the Delhi University. He said:

Democracy, while it is the most valued form of Government, is in many respects the most difficult and needs qualities which have not been always exhibited by several communities which have striven for that form of Government. There is much to learn from the working of democratic institutions in Anglo-Saxon countries which have furnished an example to the rest of the world in the modern age and from Athens in the ancient world.

It is a great pity that even so eminent a man as Mr. Ayyar does not refer to the fact that democracy had its birth in India and that the Greeks coined the word "Democracy" to describe the system of "government of the people by the people themselves" as they found it prevalent in ancient India. Athens had no democracy but oligarchy. That spirit of democracy, which was practised and developed in India throughout the ages, still lives in the consciousness of the Indian people; that is why they cannot accept and assimilate Western political forms. Sri Aurobindo expressed his firm conviction that the parliamentary system imported from the West will not succeed in India; the sooner this costly and vain experi-

ment is given up and replaced by a genuine Indian system the better. That system, allowing the people to manage their own affairs through various forms of autonomous bodies like the village panchayats and leaving only a very limited and circumscribed power in the hands of the Central Government will not only serve the true interests of India but will hold up a true ideal of democracy to the world.

But here we are concerned only with one particular aspect of democracy, which, however, is the most fundamental. The present system adopted in India is admittedly an imitation and as it usually happens in imitation it has missed the true spirit even of modern democracy. India has not only declared herself secular, but by forbidding religious education in Government institutions it has practically discouraged and abandoned the religious education of the people. Whereas in America, the stronghold of modern democracy, religion is regarded as the very basis of democracy. Thus Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, U.S. Federal Security Administrator, writes:

- We recognize the worth, the dignity, and importance of the individual human being in the eyes of God and man. This we see as the very essence of our American faith, and we know that it is also the essence of our democratic heritage. For the Americans are both a religious and a democratic people. We have learned the great secret of freedom—that freedom of worship is the touch-stone of all our liberties. We have seen this truth demonstrated, to our horror, by those who are the enemies of freedom, for we witnessed the destruction of religious liberty in Germany under Hitler. The Nazi destruction of so many

millions of Jews was accompanied, we must not forget, by a simultaneous persecution of those Christians whose untrammelled love of God, whose insistence on the brotherhood of man, made them also the victims of Hitler terror. And today we see those other representatives of totalitarianism, the Russian imperialists, trampling upon the religious convictions of Jews and Christians and all other faiths. We know now, better than ever before in all our history, that democracy is the great protector of religious freedom. But we also know that religion itself provides the spiritual force of our democracy. We prove our faith in God, which is religion, by showing our faith in man, which is democracy.

But the Americans have not yet got the true basis of democracy as religion by itself cannot supply it. What religion gives is a mental idea of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men: but a mental idea has not that dynamic force which can shape our life and action. And it can be counteracted by contrary mental ideas, as was proved in Hitler's Germany. Using shibboleths from science, he convinced even an advanced people like the Germans that the inequality of men was the creation of God and that it was a crime against the Creator to give higher education to coloured people. America is making all sorts of experiments to evolve a real and living democracy. One of these is the founding of camps where children and adults of all races, faiths and economic levels can live and work and play together. The pledge in the famous Camp Willowemoc, in Roscoe, said each Sunday at all sectarian services, is as follows:—

We meet in friendship beneath the trees
To pledge ourselves to brotherhood
And to build a better world.

A better world will no doubt come through human brotherhood, but that brotherhood cannot be built up merely by such pledges or such brotherly camp life. Even brothers born of the same parents and brought up in the same family cannot really unite. It is only when man rises above mere mental ideas and blood relations and finds the one Spirit, the Atman equally in all that the true basis of brotherhood, equality and unity will be found and that has been the effort of India since the age of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Gita has summarised this spiritual basis of equality in one verse: "The man whose self is in Yoga, sees the self in all beings and all beings

in the self he is equal-visioned everywhere." This vision does not come by religion or philosophy, it comes only by the practice of Yoga or direct union with God. Thus it is Yoga alone which can furnish the true basis of democracy as well as of the unity of the human race and it is for India, with her spiritual heritage, to give the world a lead in this respect. Yoga must now come out of caves and monasteries and show humanity the true way to a better world. Religion if properly understood and practised can prepare the people for Yoga and here comes the question of the religious education of the masses who are steeped in all sorts of superstitions which pass for religion and also the urgent need of introducing religious education in our schools and colleges. But though the need of religious education is being generally felt, the question of the nature of the education remains to be solved. There are two great practical difficulties. First, India is a land of many religions, and if in a school students of different religions are taught their religion separately, that will not work for unity or understanding. Secondly, there are many things in religion which conflict with modern knowledge and also stand against progress. Thus Hinduism supports the rotten caste system; the Pope is forbidding birth-control which is found to be imperative if millions of human beings are not to die of starvation; the Muslims want to import into modern India the customs and usages of a desert people of the medieval age. Sri Aurobindo has indicated the solution in the introductory chapter of his illuminating *ESSAYS ON THE GITA*.

Every Scripture must necessarily contain two elements, one temporary, perishable, belonging to the ideas of the period and country in which it was produced, the other eternal and imperishable and applicable in all ages and countries.

Here we find the clue. Religious instruction should be confined only to those elements in scriptures which are eternal and imperishable. A syllabus of *sanatana dharma* or eternal religion should be formed for the guidance of the teachers and they should be given freedom to use any scripture or scriptures to elucidate that syllabus. It will be found that the Gita is pre-eminently a

book of universal religion and as such the most suitable textbook for imparting religious instruction in schools and colleges, especially in India where, except in specially Muslim schools, the vast majority of the students are Hindus. Even Christians and Muslims admit the catholicity of the Gita. It is taught in the University of Kabul. A leading Christian savant of South India, Mr. J. Kalathi has shown in his book, *THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GITA CONCEPT OF GOD* that it is essentially identical with the Christian concept.

Let us outline here a syllabus of religious instruction which can be universally accepted: God is the creator and ruler of the world and he is one without a second. He is omniscient and omnipotent and he is the friend of all creatures. Behind the physical order of the universe discovered by modern science, there is a moral and spiritual order through which is fulfilled the will of God in the world. The true happiness of man lies in harmonising his will with the will of God, which consists in leading man to a perfect and happy life on the earth, the Kingdom of Heaven, the *satya yuga*, the New Earth of the Koran. God accepts all forms of prayer and worship through which men express their love and devotion to Him. The Gita has summarised this concept in one sloka: The Lord says, "When a man has known me as the Enjoyer of sacrifice and tapasya (of all askesis and energisms), the mighty lord of the worlds, the friend of all creatures, he comes to peace." (V-29). All religions agree that in order to attain this higher life of true peace and love and harmony, man must go through a discipline, he must control his lower impulses and passions and cultivate his higher propensities.

This is all that we need teach our students in schools and colleges, and if India gives the lead to impart this education with the help of the Gita as luminously interpreted by Sri Aurobindo, the Gita shall be accepted as the Scripture of universal religion and Yoga by all humanity and that would lay a spiritual basis on which alone a true unity of mankind can be built up, though

in the meantime such mechanical means as the United Nations Organisation must be utilised. Thus Sri Aurobindo concludes his monumental work, *THE IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY*:

A spiritual oneness which would create a psychological oneness not dependent upon any intellectual or outward uniformity and compel a oneness of life not bound up with its mechanical means of unification, but ready always to enrich its secure unity by a free inner variation and a freely varied outer self-expression, this would be the basis for a higher type of human existence. Could such a realisation develop rapidly in mankind, we might then solve the problem of unification in a deeper and truer way from the inner truth to the outer forms. Until then, the attempt to bring it about by mechanical means must proceed. But the higher hope of humanity lies in the growing number of men who will realise the truth and seek to develop it in themselves, so that when the mind of man is ready to escape from its mechanical bent,—perhaps when it finds that its mechanical solutions are all temporary and disappointing,—the truth of the Spirit may step in and lead humanity to the path of its highest possible happiness and perfection.



MR. CHESTER BOWLES

United States Ambassador to
India and Nepal.

DIG FOR VICTORY

BY DEWAN BAHADUR D. ANANDA RAO

—(O)—

IN the battle for food in India, the "grow more food" slogan has of late lost its significance. The effort has considerably fallen short of expectations. With some it has been a term of derision and a target for abuse. During the Second World War when events were not turning all in their favour, Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, coined the slogan "V for Victory." He made a "V" sign at every public meeting he addressed. This created such an enthusiasm among the British and others that one saw the 'V' sign displayed everywhere—public buildings, gates, doors, motor cars etc. People became victory minded: victory was taken for granted and the War was eventually won.

A change of slogan for this campaign seems urgently necessary; not that slogans will remove mountains but they have a place in this context inasmuch as they have a psychological effect. I plead for a greater awareness of our food crisis.

The title of this article owes to Lord Boyd Orr, a former Director General of F.A.O. who in a recent interview given to the Editor *Food and Farming* is said to have declared that we should "Dig for Victory" if we wish to get through this crisis. Otherwise, he warned that as a nation we should be prepared to meet "defeat, death and extermination". Strong words these, but there is no doubt that an authority like him would not have found it necessary to utter them unless he was convinced that there was a need for such a warning. When in 1949, he visited India at the request of the Central Government, he made no secret of his opinion that shortage of food should be treated as enemy No. 1 and the problem should be treated as a National War emergency.

We, therefore, need to do something that would stir the imagination of all concerned, not only the farmer, but every house-wife, student, lawyer, tailor, factory-hand, nay, any and every one that has a stake in the country. How should we set about it? Government departments like Agriculture, Co-operation, Irrigation

and Industries should make the problem of deficiency of food their first and most important plank in their village propaganda, bringing to the villager's notice what methods should be devised to make the country self-sufficient in their food crops. The regional press could do its bit by bringing to the notice of the villagers the realities of the situation. In schools and colleges, a ten minutes' talk weekly during the midday recess may be given reviewing the events of the week so that boys and girls are kept informed of what is happening in order to sustain their interest. A good deal is being talked about doing social service by various agencies. What theme could be more apt than the problem of food so as to impress on the minds of every man, woman and child the need there is to shoulder the wheel in this time of our dire want? I would even suggest that the co-operation of those in charge of temples, mosques and churches be enlisted so as to pass on this important subject among people gathered for worship. Give our women a chance and you will be surprised how quickly and efficiently propaganda would get round the country!

Until we ourselves realise the need for digging for victory and proclaim it from every vantage ground, and the people's conscience awakened to the need of the hour, we cannot afford to be self-complacent. Half-hearted methods hitherto adopted have been almost futile, and if we want victory to be within sight, we should gird up our loins and march with the battle cry "Dig for Victory"!

We have a great heritage; we have yet to play our part politically, morally and spiritually but how can we do it when we as a nation are famished and feeble? The remedy that Lord Boyd Orr suggests is that India should adopt wholesale modern Western technology. When this is done, he assures us that the country would not only be able to grow all the food she needs now and for a growing population, but also provide a well balanced and nutritive diet considered

JANUARY 1952]

DIG FOR VICTORY

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necessary as judged by modern standards. Ever since the Government proclaimed that India should become self-sufficient in her food needs by the end of 1951, endeavours have been made to press into service as many modern western methods as possible. The Central Tractor Organisation owns 400 tractors and hopes to acquire another 135. Since 1947 it has been possible to reclaim only 4 lakhs of acres and it proposes to reclaim 10 million acres more in a period of 10 years, that is, about 10 per cent. of the available waste land. While this reclamation is going on though slowly, a disconcerting factor is looming on the horizon. We are told that of recent years there has been an enormous increase in current fallows. In other words, what had been once under cultivation is now gradually getting out of it. What could be the reason? No doubt, four successive years of drought might have contributed to it to some extent, but there must be other causes which have worked towards this unhappy state of affairs. Will Government take us into its confidence and tell us? Mr. Munshi during his recent visit to Rome to attend the Conference of the F.A.O., is reported to have pleaded for more technical and financial assistance to bring a substantial part of our cultivable waste land under the plough. There does not seem to be much point in investing colossal amounts in waste land reclamation and our Minister for Food going abegging for more monetary and technical help for such reclamation when the increase in the current fallows is to the tune of 10.7 million acres when compared to the pre-war years. Would it not be wiser to concentrate all our energies at first on putting an end to this derelict condition rather than attempt at waste land reclamation? It could be done more quickly and cheaply.

What applies to land reclamation, equally applies to the greater use of artificial manures and land renovation schemes against erosion, submersion etc. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory recently started and those that are already working in Mysore and Travancore ought to help solve the fertiliser deficiency to a large extent. There is, however, a good deal

of available organic matter which is now going to waste which we should prevent at all costs. Any reclamation and renovation of land is highly costly and beyond the individual cultivator's ability. When the Government itself finds it difficult with all the finances it can command to reclaim even one-tenth of the cultivable area in a decade, it would not be practical politics to expect the poor cultivator to do anything tangible. There is a definite limit to his capacity. It is the duty of the State to inculcate in people ideas of co-operative farming which seems to be the only hope. In fact, Government should itself run such farms and demonstrate the profits accrued thereby in order to be an eye-opener to the many doubting Thomases.

There is much good-will for India among the peoples of the world. The F.A.O., the U.S. Point Four technical programme, the Colombo Plan, the Ford Foundation have all been helping India both financially and technically, presumably to the extent possible taking into consideration the needs of other under-developed nations. Mr. Munshi, however, complains that the aid is not only comparatively small, but "often was available after overcoming technical obstacles" which, in the circumstances is but natural. This malady is not confined to India. Mr. Norris Dodd, the present Director General of the F.A.O. points out that 1300 million people or more than half the population of the world is without adequate food. We, a self-respecting nation ought to examine the causes contributing to this constant and continual food deficiency and take permanent steps to prevent them and not merely expect other nations to make up for all the deficiency that will almost always exist in the country. No doubt, the present policy is only a palliative but not a remedy.

While the Government finds it difficult to get all the grain through procurement, the black market flourishes under its very nose. Why? One would hazard the suggestion that the prices offered by Government are so low that the producer prefers to sell through the back door. The consumer helplessly complains that he does not get enough to eat and goes to

the black market where he knows he can satisfy his needs though at a higher price. I am afraid that the educated man is the greater sinner in this respect. How many people have withstood the temptation and contented themselves with what they can get at the ration shops? Has public opinion stood against black marketing? With courage in both hands, the Government should suppress the black market with all the resources at its disposal and at the same time make it easy for the producer to sell the grain only to it. We cannot for long afford the luxury of paying exorbitant prices for imported overseas grain some of which is unwanted, particularly in South India.

There is another serious mistake which the Government constantly commits. While it says that all possible land should be sown to cereal crops, it at the same time encourages the growing of commercial crops like, tobacco, cotton and sugarcane. We might in this period of emergency rather import sugar than cereals; it is less bulky and our needs are smaller. That the cultivator only thinks of his immediate gain goes without saying. A certain percentage in area may be fixed for growing commercial crops, which depends of course on circumstances of the tracts concerned and legal steps taken to penalise those who contravene or circumvent the order.

Above all, there are certain inherent weaknesses in our agricultural economy which would not enable the country to derive the maximum benefit that modern western technology could confer. There may be several causes at work, but I mention only three which are fairly common throughout the country. These are the law of primogeniture which tends to divide the already existing small plots into still smaller bits, the land tenure system which is temporary ranging from one to three years and uneconomic holdings which make it impossible for a family of cultivators to make ends meet let alone to live in reasonable comfort. As long as these glaring defects exist, how can mechanisation make any headway? Which ryot would think of incurring heavy initial expenditure, whether in tractor cultivation, commercial fertilisers or soil ameliora-

tion when he is not sure if he would be permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labour for a reasonable length of time? The urgent need is land reformation. New laws should come into force which are in keeping with the land laws prevalent in other parts of the modern world. The cultivator should have a just and equitable share in what he grows with the sweat of his brow.

If we are determined to dig for victory, the responsibility devolves on the new legislatures. I do hope they will give land reform the first priority and not lose themselves in the morass of party wrangles and self-interested schemes. In future, there might be greater co-operation between the legislator and the cultivator. The former should know at first hand what are the latter's disabilities which make him so economically poor and take necessary steps to remedy them through legislation and other methods. The cultivator on the other hand, should realise the all-important role he plays in the well-being of the nation and see to it that the country's cause is not betrayed through his apathy or selfishness. This he can do only when enlightenment comes to him through education. The State should, therefore, see that this defect is removed in the shortest time possible. When this is achieved, we shall not dig in vain for victory.

TO A GRADUATING FRIEND

BY PHILLIP ENGEL

Eighteen. So young, and yet so fiercely placed.
You are the shoulders for this terrible world.
Through you our precious liberties are traced.
Through you our bolts against the foe are hurled.

Yet you may live your life. God, will it so!
Why should we wage these wars around the earth?
It is your right, to find a home and grow.
And rear your children by a cherished hearth.

How well I know the courage in your smile;
It is a priceless look you wear today.
A splendor loaned to you a little while.
I know because I walked the self same way.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

BY SRI R. N. AINGAR, BAR-AT-LAW

—: o:—

MANY will remember the clarion call of Swami Vivekananda—"Awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached." The goal of independence and freedom in economics, politics, and administration for



SRI R. N. AINGAR

India was attained on 15th August 1947, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. After two years of intense deliberation and discussion by some of the best and ablest men and women in the country, the Constitution of India was perfected, and passed in the Constituent Assembly, and it came into force on 26th January 1950. We are now on the eve of the first general election under the Constitution on the basis of adult suffrage—the greatest experiment in Democracy. It is necessary for every citizen of India to take an objective and realistic view of the present set up of the administration in the country, in relation to the past, and in anticipation of the future. Obviously, the first step is to read, mark, and digest the Constitution* which provides the legal framework for the whole country—citizen and State alike. It is the visible embodiment of the Rule of Law and it represents the will of a free people. Every attempt at helping such a study of the Constitution is welcome.

The Constitution of India creating India a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

*THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: By A. R. Malhotra: Published by the Indian University Publishers, Delhi; Price Rs. 22.

guaranteeing to all its citizens, justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity, with its 395 Articles in 22 parts and 9 Schedules, is a most remarkable document, combining great erudition, ingenuity, and a synthesis of the best in the other Constitutions in the world—mainly English, American, Canadian, Australian and Japanese. It is based largely on the Government of India Act of 1935. In particular, a close study must be made of Articles 5 to 11 in Part II, dealing with citizenship; Articles 12 to 35 in Part III, enunciating the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to the citizen; and Articles 36 to 51 in Part IV, setting out the Directive Principles by which the State should be guided in its policies and activities. Articles 92 and 226 provide aggrieved persons with certain constitutional remedies; and people and Institutions are taking advantage of these remedies increasingly; and applications under these two articles are occupying much of the time of the Law Courts all over the Country. Not a day passes without some reference to such applications in the newspapers.

Mr. Malhotra's book gives in full the provisions of the Constitution of India and provides a simple, straightforward commentary. It is easy to read, clear and concise in its treatment, informing and selective in its discussion. The learned author gives an excellent summary of the Constitution in about 85 pages of closely printed matter; and the summary is accurate and sufficient for all practical purposes. In the appendices, the author has collected much useful matter—The Constitution of the United States of America as amended upto 1938; The General Clauses Act of 1937 as amended by the Adaptation of Laws Order of 1950; Notifications, Statutory Orders, Rules and other relevant Law, brought upto 1951; The Preventive Detention Act of 1950 as amended in 1951; and the Constitution (First Amendment) Act of 1951. The book is a useful, authoritative, and timely publication, handy and well got-up.

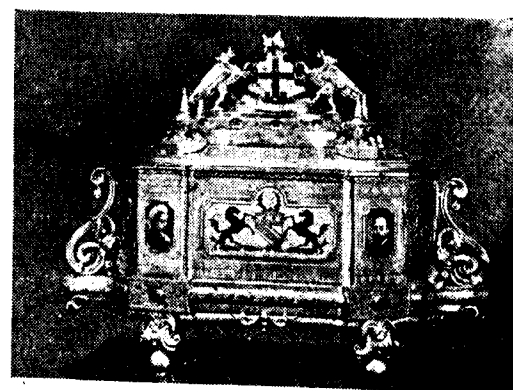
SALAR JUNG'S COLLECTIONS



SATSUMA VASES (JAPAN)



OLD IVORY (JAPAN)

COWS AND SHEEP
BY S. COOPER
(PAINTING)GOLD CASKET PRESENTED TO
H. E. SIR SALAR JUNG, G.C.S.I.,
BY THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY
OF LONDON (1876)

A MUSEUM IS BORN

BY SRI G. VENKATACHALAM

[Before opening the Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad (Deccan) on December 16, Prime Minister Nehru spent a very pleasant half hour inside the Museum seeing the various objects of art and beauty. Mr. G. Venkatachalam, the well-known art critic who had selected the exhibits took him round the various sections and explained to him the value of the exhibits. Opening the Museum Mr. Nehru said he was astonished to find that all these works were collected in the life time of the late Nawab. "Like other objects of beauty in Hyderabad," he said, "I hope this museum will be one of the most attractive in the State (cheers) and I hope all lovers of beauty and art will come and see these exhibits and enjoy their exquisite beauty."—Ed. I. R.]

MEN dream beautiful dreams, but only a few have the good fortune to see their dreams materialise in their lifetime. Yusuf Ali Khan, better known to the world as Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur,

are these art treasures. They were stored at his city palace and in his country mansion at Surunagar; and he knew the value of every object he had collected, and knew where he had placed them. Death robbed him of his ambitious plans for his collections.

A CORNER OF SOUTH INDIAN ROOM
H. E. The Governor of Madras (Centre)
with Mr. G. Venkatachalam (left first)

was not fortunate enough to realise his dreams in his lifetime. He was a lonely man, in spite of his birth and wealth, and he sought solace and joy in life in collecting art objects as bees collect honey.

He was a great collector and collected everything under the sun, from priceless art treasures to common garden tools, from rare jades to plain crockery. It seems a crazy collection at first sight, but at first sight only; a closer examination reveals the unsuspected wealth of a born connoisseur. He knew what he was collecting and why he was collecting. He dreamt big things about them.

He died in 1949, without any legal heirs. His estate came to be administered by a Committee of Trustees appointed by a special Ordinance of the Government of India; and part of his valuable property

It was left to an imaginative statesman to make his dream come true. The art-minded Chief Minister of Hyderabad, Sri M. K. Vellodi, visualised, in a moment of inspiration, the possibilities of making a unique national museum out of these collections; and with his wonted energy and enterprise he set the machinery in motion for its immediate materialisation. He found in the Chairman of the Salar Jung Estate Committee, Sri P. V. Subba Rao, an enthusiastic collaborator, whose active interest is only equalled by his zeal for the Trust.

The invitation to survey, sort out and arrange the museum was as big a surprise to me as it proved to be a tremendous responsibility later. I had met the Nawab Saheb once, years ago, and had specially visited Hyderabad to see his famous marble "The Veiled Rachel". I had no idea of either the nature or the extent of his collection; and when I was taken round to see them after my assignment to create a museum out of, I felt a sense of utter bewilderment as to how to tackle the job. It seemed an impossible task, as everything had to be done from scratch, from sorting out the good from the bad, transporting dozens of large glass almirahs and cabinets, with their precious contents, over rough roads, renovating a whole palace from floor to ceiling and arranging them into an attractive museum.

Thanks to the support given to me ungrudgingly by the Committee and its Chairman, and thanks to the hearty co-operation of my two helpers, Sri D.

W. Deuskar, a life-long artist friend of the late Nawab Sahab, and Mr. Arnold Baron, another friend of the Nawab, the materialisation of the museum has been possible. I should like to acknowledge here the willing services of the whole of the Estate staff in the putting up of this museum, which, I venture to think, is a unique one of its kind.

The Salar Jung Memorial Museum is arranged in his city palace, known as the Diwan Devdi, which consists of an old palace in Indian style and a modern structure attached to it, known as the Nayamakkan. The two century old palace lends itself to the scheme of the Oriental Section and has a distinct Eastern atmosphere. This palace was renovated for the purpose of the museum, and it now houses the Indian, Persian, Turkish, Burmese, Chinese and Japanese Collections.

The exhibits in these sections are vast and varied, and are arranged in over thirty large and small rooms and verandahs. Persian carpets, Mughal miniatures, Rajput paintings, Deccani art, works of modern Indian artists, gold-thread masnads, South Indian bronzes, wood carvings from Malabar and Madura, Bidri and Tibetan metal work, Chinese porcelain, Japanese lacquered ware, are all displayed in this palace.

Some of the outstanding art objects in the Indian section are an exquisite emerald and ruby dagger, once owned by Noor Jehan; the Emperor Jehangir's dagger, encrusted with diamonds, rubies and emeralds; Shah Jehan's enamelled katar; Alamgir's jade dagger, which he used when he took the Golconda Fort; Tana Shah's jewelled sword, Aurangzeb's plain sword; Yacud's illuminated Koran with the hand writing of Jehangir and Shah Jehan; Bizhad's miniature masterpieces, Imad's calligraphy, and a fine collection of rare jade pieces. All these are on show in specially built cabinets in a burglar-proof room on the ground floor. This is one of the most beautifully arranged rooms in the museum.

Next to his jewellery and jades, his Persian carpets are most famous. Among these rare carpets, there are a dozen silk ones, some on gold thread, some of 'raised' work: a pair of century-old gold masnads; a magnificent cloth of gold

24 feet long; an ivory carpet, and some delightful old Kashmir shawls. The silk carpets have a room of their own and are artistically displayed in large gold frames.

In the painting gallery, there are a couple of Mughal miniatures from Shah Jehan's personal album: two drawings in Chinese ink by Bizhad: an exquisite miniature portrait of Aurangzeb on ivory, several 17th Century portraits of Mughal princes and princesses and a large number of Delhi paintings, and copies of old Mughal masterpieces. Out of six complete sets of Raga-Ragini paintings two sets, one in the Deccani style and another in later Mughal style, are on the walls. A small collection of Kangra, along with other Rajput paintings, are exhibited in two small rooms. In the Deccani Room are exhibited, along with a large number of miniatures, two big scenes of a shikari procession of Nizam Ali Khan, by the court painter, K. Venkatachalam. Old Bidri vases, Nirmal and Baiganpalle lacquered furniture and screens, and a couple of Warangal carpets add colour to this section.

South India is represented by a few bronzes, two of them being good museum pieces, one of Somaskanda and the other of Nataraja; about a dozen smaller figures of the Tamil saints Thirugnanasambandar and Thirunavakarasu, a dancing Ganesha, a Balakrishna, a pair of Siva and Parvati, and Vishnu and Lakshmi. These occupy a vantage position near the big staircase leading to the main Indian section upstairs.

Another striking collection in the Indian room on the ground floor contains several excellent examples of the wood carver's art, especially a copy of the stone *mantapam* at the Madura temple in wood, a boldly carved screen and punka with figures of Hindu divinities, also from Madura: some old chairs of the Dutch period from Cochin and half-a-dozen elaborately carved chairs from Malabar. Fine Kashmir Walnut teapots, cabinets, chairs and screens are to be seen all over this section.

Modern Indian art is represented by a dozen or more of Chughtai's paintings, a couple of D. P. Roychoudhry's, one each of the great Tagore brothers, two long panels of Manishi Dey's, a Buddhist theme on silk by Sarada Ukil, copies of the

Golconda and Bijapur Kings by Sakellar's Duekar, and some works of the younger artists.

The Sino-Japanese Section occupies ten large rooms on the first floor of the eastern wing of the old palace. Here too the collection is vast and varied, though not of much value. Much of it is Nikko furniture from Japan, silk-embroidered screens and needle work. Two lacquer cabinets, two camphor almirahs, two shapely pagodas, a couple of carved and inlaid screens, some old Satsumas, and a dozen or more silk needle-pictures are the best art objects in the Japanese rooms.

The Chinese rooms are literally crowded with cabinets full of porcelain, and ivory carvings dozens and dozens of large and medium sized vases, some of rare artistic merit and of the Ming Period; a beautiful bronze of Kwan Yin, a few old pieces of furniture, screens, calladin Plates, carpets and a large number of traditional paintings enrich this section. The rooms are attractive and colourful and have a distinct atmosphere of old classical Cathay (China) and of medieval Dai Nippon (Japan.)

The adjoining rooms are devoted to Burmese wood carvings, inlaid furniture from Turkey, Egypt and India, oriental tapestries, printed chintze and framed calligraphy pictures.

Two *ainakhana*s, one large and one small, on the ground floor, were renovated at great expense and trouble: the small one glistens with its many coloured chandeliers and mother of pearl Damascus furniture. The "Veiled Rachel" by Benazzi (1876), a marble masterpiece, the *piece-de resistance* of the whole collection, is in this mirror hall as it was originally placed by the owner. The big *ainakhana* opposite has an assorted collection of Italian marbles, big and small, surrounded by a forest of white chandeliers.

Next to the room containing those priceless treasures of jades, and daggers and manuscripts, mentioned already, are two large narrow rooms containing the family portraits of the Salar Jung family, with some lovely cabinets and parlor furniture. A narrow corridor from here leads to Nayamakan—the Western Section.

The large halls, two big verandahs and about ten large rooms house a choice but representative collection of Louis XIV and XV, furniture, Dresden China, Wedgwood ware, Sevres, cut-glass pieces, Empire and Sheraton suites. An intriguing statue in wood, representing Mephistopheles and Margaretta, by an Italian sculptor, is a masterpiece of its kind.

The back verandah is the main gallery of Western paintings. Amongst the originals we find "The Watchful Sentinel" by Landseer, "Orpheus et Eurydice" by Watts, "Ariadne Abandoned by Theseus" by Leighton, "Toulon" by Foster, "Cattle in Repose" by Cooper, "Piaso San Marco" by Canaletto, a couple of landscapes by Constable, and a number of other paintings by well-known Dutch, British, Italian and American artists.

Copies of the old masters include those of Rubens, Raphael, Botticelli, Titian, Valesquez, to name only a few, and these should appeal greatly to lovers of European art and prove a veritable paradise to art students. Special mention must be made of two large canvases in oils, "The Last Sacrament" a wonderfully well lit canvas, in which the artist has used both daylight and torchlight with admirable skill; a still larger "The Stigma Diabolicum" by Vander Haeghen. Out of a vast collection of six hundred canvases hardly two-thirds are on the walls.

In the way of furniture, the collection includes rare sets of suites of Louis XIV and XV, Empire, Sheraton, Chippendale, Heppelwhite, Queen Anne and Early Victorian. Nawab Salar Jung's furniture collection must be one of the best in the world, both in quality and quantity: and they are from every country in the world. Over twenty varieties are on view in the museum.

The collection of Sevres porcelain consists of large vases decorated for the most part with hunting scenes and conversation pieces, all bearing the signature of the painter. These, together with the smaller vases and a very interesting Watering Can, range in colour from the rich deep cobalt blue, through the charming pink or rose colour down to a pale greying blue. It may be that some of these pieces are

part of the presentation set which, according to the factory register of sales, was presented by Louis XV to Tippoo Sultan of Mysore in 1788.

The museum is proud of its exquisite Dresden porcelain, and amongst the better pieces are some which date from the factory's early days, namely 1750. Perhaps the piece which will attract most attention is that of Count Bruhl's tailor riding upon a goat with all the implements of his trade. Count Bruhl, it may be mentioned, was at one time owner of this great factory. Pieces to note are the bracket clock with rocco scrolls, the Four-point candelabra, Urn shaped Vases, and the large fruit dishes. The finest pieces are the Dressing Table and Wall Mirror.

The most interesting piece in Wedgwood ware is the copy of the Portland Vase. The original, this gem of ancient art, is in the British Museum, and of it Wedgwood produced some 25 copies only. This is the sepulchral urn which contained the ashes of the Roman Emperor, Alexander Severus, and his mother, and was deposited in the earth in the year 285 A.D. This Urn was dug up by order of Pope Barberini about 1640. One other piece which calls for special mention is a

Hookah Bowl, made specially by Wedgwood for Sir Salar Jung I during his visit to England, at which time he was presented with the Freedom of the City of London.

English China from such well-known factories as Chelsea, Worcester, Crown, Derby, Plymouth, Bristol, etc., are to be seen in two cabinets: a set of Battersea Wine Labels in this needs special mentioning. A large almirah of English cut-glass, containing some Waterford pieces and Beilby wine glasses with the familiar twist of opaque enamel in the stems; two large cabinets with Continental glass ware constitute an interesting collection.

The back verandha at the southern end contains an assorted collection of European bronzes, large and small; Italian marbles of the common garden variety; a gallery of plaster cast busts of the world's great thinkers and leaders. On the two wings of the courtyard is the children's section with toy soldiers, a toy railway and dolls of all sorts.

As one is guided through this maze of art treasures, one cannot help wondering to oneself whether, in the whole world, there ever was another individual collector like Salar Jung or a collection like the one exhibited in this museum!

Steel Industry in Post-War India

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

IN any scheme of industrial development, the production of iron and steel must necessarily occupy the place of foremost importance because the per capita consumption and production of steel is considered to be the barometer of economic progress. But ever since the cessation of hostilities in August 1945, the steel industry in India has faced grave vicissitudes. Five years have elapsed since the Iron and Steel (Major) Panel recommended the erection of two major plants of 5,00,000 tons each in Bihar and C.P. at an estimated cost of Rs. 50 crores and about two years since the three consultants, namely, Messrs. Koppers Co., Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Inc., Arthur G. McKee

& Co. (Cleveland, Ohio) and International Construction Company (U. K.), selected the actual sites at Bilhai (C.P.) and Sambalpur (Orissa) at a revised estimate of about Rs. 90 crores each. But nothing more than this has been done so far and our rated capacity remains the same as in 1945. This has been necessitated by Government's inability to raise enough funds to work into operation such big schemes. The producers also could not go much ahead with their various development plans because of the changing and uncertain Industrial Policy of the Government which made the capital ready for investment very very shy. Fortunately after wasting quite a good deal of

experimentation, the Government realizing its inability to embark upon such ambitious projects, allowed the producers to increase their capital by fresh issues and also granted loans. The Government has already given two loans of Rs. 3½ and Rs. 1½ crores respectively to the Steel Corporation of Bengal and the Indian Iron and Steel Company to increase their production of finished steel by 2,00,000 tons a year, thus bringing their total production to 4,50,000 tons. The Steel Corporation of Bengal has also under contemplation another scheme involving Rs. 17 crores which would increase the steel production of the company to 8,50,000 tons of finished steel and make available an additional quantity of 2,00,000 tons of pig iron. The Government also gave in 1949, through the Industrial Finance Corporation, a sum of Rs. 15,50,000 to the numerous foundries in India to work into practice their various plans. Two further loans of Rs. 10 and Rs. 2½ crores respectively to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works are still under negotiation to enable the former to increase its production from 7,50,000 tons to 9,81,000 tons and the latter from 35,000 tons to 60,000 tons a year. But the above loans granted by the Government constitute only an insignificant part of the total requirements which run over Rs. 33 crores and which would increase the productive capacity of the existing companies by 4,50,000 tons. Of course it is quite true that Government help alone cannot gather every bit of capital required by the industry and producers will have necessarily to tap their own resources as well, but this cannot happen unless and until the Government provide them facilities to do so. And perhaps that is why the Planning Commission while discussing towards the end of the last year the development programme of our iron and steel industry, involving a capital investment of Rs. 682 crores and 5800 skilled and semi-skilled workers, stressed the need for providing greater and greater facilities to the existing companies to proceed on with their various expansion schemes than to give consideration to the establishment of fresh units which would take much

more time and involve much heavier investments.

CONSUMPTION

According to the estimates made by the Planning Commission, the consumption of finished steel during the next three years may be put at 2 million tons per year. But with the completed rehabilitation of railway equipment, the implementation of river valley schemes, the improvement in road transport, the expansion of the ship-building industry and the modernization of the equipment of the armed forces, the demand is bound to increase both in volume and urgency. Hence, the long term target as also assessed by the Iron and Steel (Major) Panel as far back as 1945 might be fixed at 2.5 to 3.0 million tons per annum. They have also estimated the billets requirements for secondary producers and re-rolling mills (about 90 in number) at 6,00,000 tons out of which at present they are getting only 2,00,000 tons. Pig Iron for foundry requirements have been taken of the order of 3,00,000 tons.

PRODUCTION

But as against rising trends in steel consumption the figures for production, which are also given below indicate too wide fluctuations:

Year	Finished Steel (in tons)	Percentage of installed capacity of 1,071,000 tons	Pig Iron (in tons)	Percentage of installed capacity of 1,878,000 tons
1946	8,90,383	80.8	13,46,738	71.7
1947	8,93,296	83.4	13,19,753	70.2
1948	8,56,236	79.7	14,01,885	74.8
1949	9,28,725	86.6	15,27,861	81.4
1950	9,80,000	91.5	10,05,974	53.6
1951	5,25,000	49.0		

(upto June only)

(upto August only)

This has been brought about by fluctuations in the supply of essential raw materials and too frequent breakdowns in plants and machinery.

IMPORTS

The above figures leave an annual gap of 5 lakh tons between the capacity of

steel plants and the requirements of the country even after expansion schemes. Most of it is today met with by importing from abroad which are done at much higher prices than local ones.

Year	Machinery of all kinds (Monthly Average)	Iron and Steel Manufactures (Monthly Average)	Percentage of the latter to the former
1946	Rs. 26026000	Rs. 3773000	14.5
1947	„ 36340000	„ 5676000	15.6
1948	„ 62908000	„ 9276000	14.7
1949	„ 89643000	„ 11597000	12.9
1950	„ 68954000	„ 9355000	13.6

The bulk of imports comprised pillars, girders, bridge work, bolts and nuts, fencing materials, railway track materials, and fittings. To meet the requirements of the secondary producers fairly large quantities of blooms, billets and slabs were also imported. The above picture though not a happy one, is more or less necessitated because India is unable to produce many of these articles, at any rate in sufficient quantities to meet the internal demand. Hence, efforts should be made to completely over-haul the position as to meet at least the local requirements.

Besides increasing production, consideration should also be given towards improving quality. Doubts still exist in some quarters as to the durability of Indian Steel. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore is not using any Indian steel on aircraft parts, but is obtaining certified steel from outside India for this purpose. This is due to uncontrolled heterogeneity in our finished products which can be improved only by standardisation and quality control. While improving the quality of existing production attempt should also be made to produce newer varieties of steels for various commercial purposes at reasonable cost. Fortunately at the instance of the Metal Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, production of many specialised steel and alloys has been undertaken. It was at the suggestion of this committee that the Tata Iron and Steel Company took up production of surgical steel of suitable quality for the manufacture of surgical

instruments and the commercial demand for these steel is now being regularly met. The Committee has completed investigations on 'Electrical steel sheets' and these are now being produced in sufficient quantity to supply the country's requirements to a large extent. Heat resistance alloys have also been made. The scheme now being investigated under the guidance of the Committee includes production of aluminium metal and the effect of high purity manganese as an alloying element in steel. Experiments undertaken at the National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur indicate that manufacture of mild steel having superior properties similar to those of low alloy steel is possible in India. The process which involves controlling the austenitic grain size of steel will help not only to produce steel of required specifications but will also enable India to put to better use such imported alloying elements as Nickel and Chromium. The Mysore Iron and Steel Works' electric pig iron furnaces will also help considerably in the production of special steel which will be required by our Machine Tool Factory.

COST

While producing steel, the major portion of cost is covered by pig iron. So far Australia is considered to be the cheapest producer of iron in the whole world. But as shown below, the Indian figures stand still lower:

Items.	Brookenhill Proprietary Company (Australia)	Tata Iron & Steel Company (India)
Ore ..	Rs. 8.06 per ton	Rs. 4.47 per ton
Coke ..	„ 7.95 „ „	„ 9.14 „ „
Stone ..	„ 1.86 „ „	„ 1.84 „ „
Labour ..	„ 0.99 „ „	„ 0.86 „ „
Others ..	„ 2.61 „ „	„ 2.19 „ „
Total ..	21.47 „ „	18.50 „ „

This can be further brought down by improving the quality of our cooking coal by blending and washing. Only recently the Fuel Research Committee (C. S. I. R.) New Delhi, and the Fuel Research Institute, Digwadih have taken up these questions and it would not be too far to see the percentage of cost on this item

being reduced to a minimum. Equally important is our iron ore which is charged into blast furnace without any previous treatment. The net result is that in spite of its richness in iron content, the actual yield is very low. The yield can be increased considerably by screening the ore to remove the fines which may give trouble in the blast furnace. This can be achieved by breaking and crushing the large lumps to give a suitably sized product and then blending the different grades of ore to give a uniform burden to the blast furnaces.

Of no mean consideration is the efficiency of the furnace and the efficiency of the workers. As for the former, it depends on the preparation of the charge and on the use of mechanical appliances and equipment which are far too old and obsolete in India than elsewhere. But the most important factor affecting the efficiency of the furnaces is their size and modernity. In India, bigger furnaces which are conducive to economy, are almost unknown. Efficiency can also be increased by such technical improvements as compensated charging, high top pressure operation, air conditioning and oxygen enrichment of the blast and the application of oxygen to open-hearth furnaces. As regards worker's efficiency, it has gone down sufficiently during the last ten years. While the annual average income per employee at Jamshedpur has risen from Rs. 768.41 in 1939-40 to Rs. 1851.81 in 1950-51, the average labour cost per ton of finished steel at Jamshedpur has gone up from Rs. 81.54 per ton in 1939-40 to Rs. 94.47 per ton in 1950-51 and the average output per employee has gone down from 24.36 tons of finished steel in 1939-40 to 19.60 in 1950-51. Thus, while remuneration of labour increased by 241 per cent the output fell by 20 per cent. Along with the fall in productivity, the maintenance of a surplus labour force impeded all efforts to lower production costs.

MARKETING

The present rates for steel sales ex-godown Calcutta on a cash basis, as fixed by the Iron and Steel Controller are as follows:—

	Untested	Tested
Structurals	Rs. 320 per ton.	Rs. 355 per ton.
Bars	„ 328 „ „	„ 363 „ „
Plates	„ 349 „ „	„ 387 „ „
Black Sheets	„ 387 „ „	„ 417 „ „
Galvanized Sheets	„ 575 „ „	„ 575 „ „

The prices of imported steel are also fixed with reference to corresponding qualities manufactured in India. Imports of steel articles whose prices exceed the prices of similar articles of indigenous manufacture by a substantial margin, are it is understood, not permitted.

The Government of India, have at the recommendation of the Tariff Board recently announced an overall average increase of Rs. 33 per ton in the retention prices payable to TATAS and SCOB for the steel produced by them. Enforceable from July 1, the increased retention prices will be allowed for a period of three years. The Government has also announced its decision to grant the companies extra depreciation allowances totalling Rs. 114.48 lakhs net—Rs. 100 lakhs for TATAS and Rs. 14.48 lakhs for SCOB. The increased retention price will be given on condition that the additional depreciation allowances are used in implementing the companies' programmes of renewals, replacements and extension of plant and works and that no part of it will be utilised towards the payment of dividends or distribution of profit-sharing bonus to employees. The current statutory selling prices however, will for the time being continue unchanged except for galvanized sheets, galvanized wire and tinplate, which have been revised upwards on account of the increased cost of spelter and tin. The difference between retention prices and current statutory selling prices is contributed to the equalization fund meant for subsidising the sale of the costlier imported metal. The Government of India have also accepted the recommendations of the Tariff Board that the current ex-works retention prices of pig iron payable to the Indian Iron and Steel Company should be increased by about Rs. 20 per ton on the average. The increase ranges between Rs. 16 and Rs. 26 per ton depending upon the grade

of the pig iron. The new prices are effective from August 1, and will remain in force for three years. The selling prices will continue to be on an export basis and will as at present be Rs. 15 per ton over and above the ex-works retention prices.

The above concessions have been granted with the sole object of providing facilities to increase the existing production of our finished steel. This is so because steel is a basic material and we are still deficient in its supply. The net result of it is that import prices of iron and steel quoted by France, Belgium and other European countries have shot up by about 125 per cent in recent months. While some attribute it to the Korean War and the rearmament programme, in the Indian Government's view, the high prices for these supplies are mainly due to the cartel that has come into existence under the Schuman Plan and the international stockpiling. These sources account for over 60 per cent. of India's imports. But whatsoever may be the cause for these spectacular rise in prices, it should be sufficient to serve as an eye opener to our planners. If this is the condition at the present, our plight in times of national emergencies might well be imagined. Therefore our administrators should not remain contented with only this and accord much greater consideration to its development as other countries are doing by assuring an adequate supply of essential raw material helping rationalizing the industry, allowing higher depreciation allowances, providing centralised control of mineral resources and conducting research for developing strategic products. While our rolling and re-rolling mills are faced with a shortage of scrap, Burma, our next door neighbour has got them in huge quantities without any domestic use, and the Government of India should try to secure that, if need be, on their own terms because it would save our excess capacity from going waste.

While granting these facilities to the existing producers, according to the Planning Commission, the Government should also go ahead with its decision

to set up a new plant with a production capacity of 6,00,000 tons of finished steel. And as the supply of billets to our secondary producers and re-rolling mills falls short of 4,00,000 tons the Government plant might concentrate only on the production of billets to meet their requirements. But even the revised proposals received by the Government of India from Messrs. Koppers Company regarding setting up of a steel plant in the vicinity of Hirakund, as also given below, cannot be materialised for paucity of indigenous capital unless and until some sort of external financial help, official or unofficial, wholly or partly, is arranged for:—

1. The erection of a plant with a capacity of 6 lakh tons of finished steel and 93 thousand tons of pig iron for sale at an estimated cost of Rs. 80 crores including working capital and township.

2. The erection of a plant with a capacity of 4 lakh tons of finished steel at an established cost of Rs. 51 crores excluding working capital and township.

The Government of India, in its requirements for the Six Years, 1951 to 1956, submitted to the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia have made provision for Rs. 60 crores under this head. But in the draft Five Year Plan prepared by the Planning Commission nothing more has been mentioned except placing the installed capacity and estimated production of finished steel in 1955-56 respectively at 1659000 and 1815000 tons. Of course, the Government of India have recently entered into an agreement with the Brainard International Company of U.S.A. for setting up a ferro-manganese plant to smelt by 1952 a minimum of 25000 tons of ferro-manganese annually, but that alone is not enough and they should give greater consideration towards the establishment of at least one of the two proposed steel works. Fortunately, as declared by our Finance Minister Sir C. D. Deshmukh in the last session of the Parliament, the Government of India is also contemplating requesting the International Bank for granting us a loan on this account.

HECKLING BY POST: A NEW DEPARTURE

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

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WE have all heard of the fine art of heckling at Parliamentary elections in England. I have been present at some myself and it required all the wit, ingenuity and resource of the



SIR T. V. ACHARYA

candidate seeking the suffrages of his constituency to answer the questions put to him, sometimes from the most unexpected quarter. I recall the case of an old die-hard Tory lady who put the most searching questions to the clever young Liberal candidate and held up his attempted harangue to the voters. He was equal to the occasion and answered every question neatly and promptly. After ten minutes of a searching cross-examination which disclosed no weak point in his armour, the lady could stand it no longer. She threw up her hands in a dramatic gesture and exclaimed, "Mister, if you were my husband, I would give you poison". Ready was the response, "Madam, if you were my wife I would gladly take it". Loud was the cheering and the young man won the day. An English audience is generally speaking good-tempered and fair-minded.

Heckling is the civilised substitute for the old English custom of throwing rotten eggs at the unpopular candidate

with the unpopular views. I seem to remember that Mr. Gladstone in the hey-day of his popularity sustained a somewhat serious injury to an eye in this pastime. Anyway heckling is preferable to stone-throwing or hurling a brick-bat at the speaker.

There is this to be said in favour of the art of heckling. It makes a candidate careful in drawing up his manifesto. Statements that he or his party if elected would put a new heaven on earth stand the risk of being exposed and ridiculed.

I have said all this as a preface to a new "departure" that has been "tried" on me. A clever young journalist who is a budding politician and has not yet made up his mind which party to join has, failing to catch me in person, as I have been constantly on the move, sent me by registered post a set of questions to answer by the same agency. I think this is unfair. I have heard of voting by post but not of heckling by post. Even supposing this is allowable, a voter may heckle only a man seeking his vote. I am not standing for election to any seat in the present general elections. But the questions have been put by a serious student of public affairs and I cannot, with justice to myself, give him the chance of saying that I was not equal to answering them.

I now come to the questions and answers.

Q. Why are you not a candidate at the elections now on? Are you an intellectual high-brow sitting in your ivory tower and looking down with a pitying eye on the rough-and-tumble of the market place?

A. I am not a candidate because none of my "numerous friends and admirers", to use the electionese language, has persuaded me to stand for a specific seat.

Q. Do you object to the universal adult suffrage which is now prescribed by the Constitution?

A. On the contrary the more I see of this election, the more I see the benefits of the law. Prior to this experience I, like the majority of educated people, thought that votes should not be given to the illiterate or the people without property. I thought with them that "heads should not be counted but weighed", and that an elector should have "a stake in the country." I have now changed my opinion. Nothing has so forcibly brought home to "the common man," the man in the street or in the village, the sense of civic consciousness that has been the object of all good Governments to put into his head. When I read of a thousand officials in West Bengal being sent into the interior of jungles and hilly tracts like Tripura to instruct the rather primitive people of that remote tract of country in the objects and methods of elections, I feel that a big step forward has been taken in rural enlightenment. When I read of the Nagas of the Khasi and Jaintia hills in Assam refusing to participate in the elections and demanding a secession from India and their erection into a separate State of their own, I feel that however wrong-headed they may be, they for the first time in history have a glimmering of the light and that the light will soon dawn on them. What the late Mr. Montagu called "the pathetic contentment of the masses" is broken.

Q. To pass on to things other than the elections, May I ask what is your opinion of the demand of the Andhra Nation for a separate State?

A. Pardon me if I charge you with using inaccurate language. The Andhras have never claimed to be a separate nation nor have they asked for a separate State. Enough mischief has been done by a two-nation theory and public men like you should be careful not to create new illusions. All that they want is a separate province under the present Government. That is a matter of administrative convenience which the Prime Minister has promised to consider and decide. I have only two remarks to make in

this connection. These sub-divisions of provinces have a facile tendency to multiply. There will be a demand for a Kanarese province and a Malayalam province. Reflect and tell me, Is the voice of a Madras State stripped of the Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam areas likely to be heard by the Central Government at Delhi with as much respect as an undivided Madras? Also is the Malayali citizen likely to benefit by his language-region being separated from the rest of Dravida? Will the Scot be benefited by being deprived of his ampler opportunities south of the Tweed?

Mr. Heckler, in return for my answering so many questions, will you answer one question I put you? Does not the organisation of this stupendous election covering about 180 millions of voters and a great country of distances shake your belief in the current criticism that Government and its officers are incompetent?

PARTY CLAIMS

"The Congress alone can form a stable Government," declares Pandit Nehru.

"Only the Congress can lead the nation to prosperity," asserts Dr. B. C. Roy.

"Congress alone can deliver the goods," says Mr. Jagjivan Ram.

"Congress alone can feed the nation," opines Mr. K. M. Munshi.

"K. M. P. alone can save the country from corruption," warns Acharya Kripalani.

"Socialists alone can uplift the masses," advises Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan.

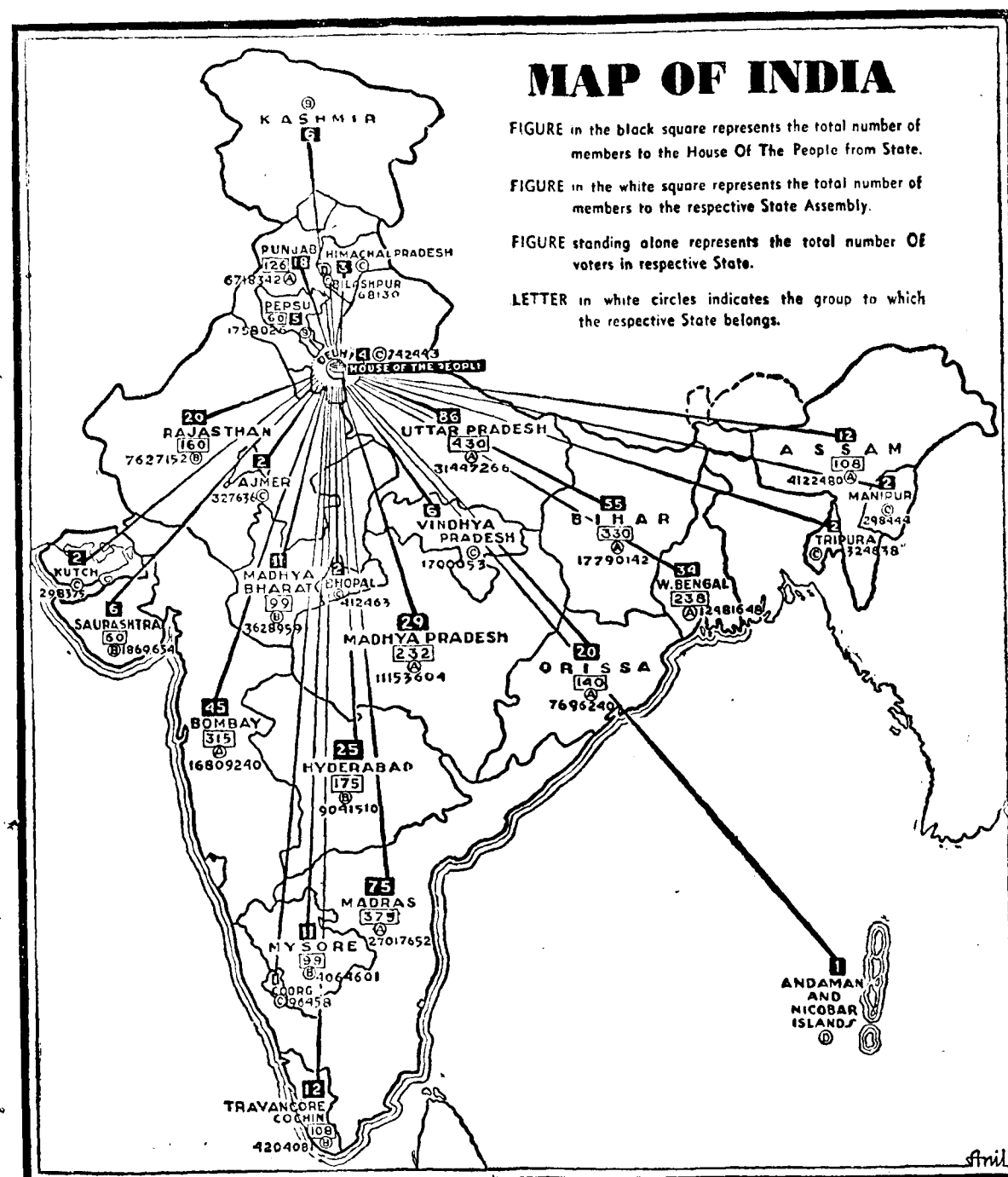
"Jan Sangh alone can undo the partition," proclaims Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

"Mahasabha alone can preserve Hindu culture," suggests Dr. N. B. Khare.

"Left unity alone can bring in a revolution," shouts Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

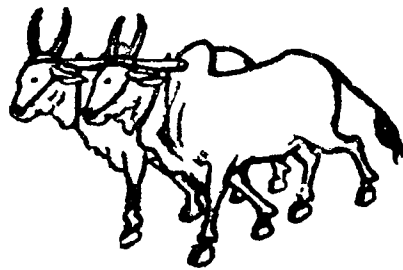
"Scheduled Castes Federation alone can save the Harijans," cries Dr. Ambedkar.

In short, every party, says "Homa" in the *Hindustan Standard*, claims to be a specialist in particular fields and it is for the voter to choose "whether he wants stability, progress, food and goods (Congress), nationalisation and socialisation (Socialist), anti-corruption (K. M. P.), companionate revolution (Communist), Indo-Pak unity (Jan Sangh) or Puranic culture (Hindu Mahasabha). Make your choice!"

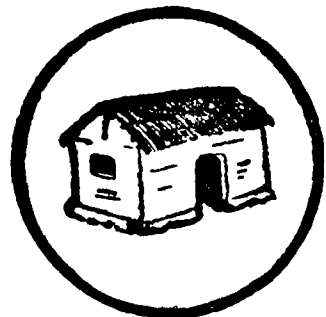


COURTESY; A. B. Patsika.

ELECTION SYMBOLS



TWO BULLS WITH YOKE ON
(Indian National Congress)



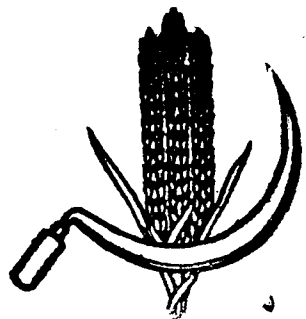
HUT
(Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party)



LAMP—DEEPA
(All-India Bharatiya
Jana Sangh)



HORSE AND RIDER
(Bharatiya Hindu
Mahasabha)



EARS OF CORN AND A SICKLE
(Communist Party of India)



TREE
(Socialist Party)



HUMAN HAND
(All-India Forward Bloc—
Ruikar Group)

THE ELECTIONS ARE ON

BY SRI C. R. SRINIVASAN, EDITOR, *Swadeshmitran*.

THE elections are a matter of deep concern to us, for, on the turn of the vote depends the future of the country. We are citizens of a Sovereign Democratic Republic and an elaborate constitution has been framed to give effect to the ideals of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity that we profess. The Congress has been blamed for many faults of commission or omission during the period it has shouldered the burden of responsibility for the administration of the country. But there is one thing on which it is entitled to claim credit and that is the earnestness and expedition it has shown in framing the constitution. Not that it is perfect; no written constitution is for the matter of that. But ideologically it is a deliberate attempt to give form and shape to the hopes and aspirations we have inspired among the people of this country during the period of our struggle for freedom. The elections that are now on, represent the first stage of implementation of this new constitution.

This constitution as we know is on a three tier basis. We have the electorate as the base of the structure and the sovereignty of the country is vested in it. The representatives of this electorate man the legislatures and form the second tier. The ministry claiming majority support in these legislatures forms the third tier and it exercises power in the interest and for the benefit of the people. Individuals and parties are now seeking the support of the voters. The success of democracy depends on the intelligent exercise of this vote. Every vote is a trust intended not only to protect individual interests but the interests of the community and the country. Therefore it must be exercised as a sovereign right with a full sense of responsibility and without fear or favour. So long as the country was under foreign domination it was easy to blame on the government of the day even our own shortcomings and failings. We still continue to do so though it is our own government that is functioning today. But there is one limiting factor which should not be ignored. However popular the Congress may be in the country, the

Congress Government functioning today is not a popular Government in the constitutional sense.

Congress members now in the legislatures were not elected for the purpose of running the administration. On the other hand they went in to destroy the prestige of the foreign administration rather than vindicate the prestige of an Indian administration. Unexpectedly and all too soon, as the dominant party in the country which played a vital role in the transfer of power, they were called upon to take charge of the administration to maintain law and order, peace and security in the country. Really, therefore, they were functioning as a succession Government. It is only today that the electorate is called upon to return men of integrity, capacity and knowledge to run the administration. On the quality of the men now to be returned to the legislatures will depend how far the freedom that has come our way will serve us in all that we seek of it. This freedom so far has only meant freedom from foreign domination. That is a purely negative gain. The positive contents of freedom must be explored and exploited if political freedom is to be interpreted in terms of economic betterment and common folk realise the fruits of freedom.

As I scan the election horizon today I confess a sense of frustration clouds my vision. We have put on the Register over 175 millions of people qualified to vote in the elections. Adult franchise without any limiting factor by way of sex, religion, caste, creed or community has been introduced. In delimiting the constituencies the average size of an assembly constituency has been prescribed as 75000 while the average size of a parliamentary constituency is about 7,50,000 of the population. A very large majority exercise votes for the first time: not many know what the vote is, why they should vote, how they should vote, and whom they should vote for; no wonder the whole adventure is rated as the biggest gamble in history. There are 489 parliamentary seats and 9288 assembly seats thrown open to contest. Govern-

ment estimate the cost of the elections to the exchequer to be round about 10 crores. In the limits prescribed by law for return of expenses by candidates the maximum provided for an assembly seat is Rs. 8000/- and for a parliamentary seat Rs. 25,000. Allowing only 1000 candidates to contest parliamentary seats and 10000 for state assemblies and assuming that the expenses actually incurred would not exceed the limits prescribed by Government, these elections should cost another 10 crores to the public. Will the return be commensurate with the expenditure? No wonder suitable candidates hesitate to offer themselves for election under these deterrent circumstances.

The nominations filed no doubt suggest that quite a large body of men have come forward to compete but a study of this list makes disquieting reading. The same candidates have filed nominations at different centres presumably to probe weak spots and then decide. Parties have set up duplicate candidates to cover nomination risks. Some no doubt have filed nominations to discover a nuisance value for their advantage. And contrary to experience elsewhere, the total number of independent candidates is more than those claiming any party affiliations. Many parties have sprung overnight recruited mainly from ranks of disappointed suitors for Congress ticket. Outside the Congress there are only a few tall poppies in the new parties who certainly deserve our respect and attention; and inside the Congress sad as it is to confess, the calibre of a large body of men put up as candidates is not one to enthuse over. With symbols to denote ballot boxes of candidates there is tacit admission how large a part ignorance and illiteracy are going to play in the elections. There is no attempt to woo the electorate on the basis of policies, programmes or priorities. I wonder if parties on these lines can grow up in such a depressing set-up. In spite of the Congress President's precepts the dominant note that seems to have prevailed in the choice of candidates is a palpable desire to accommodate sub-communal claims and make sure that elections shall be won.

These elections should give one ample food for thought. My own reaction is that electoral reforms should be taken on hand immediately if self-government is to express itself in terms of good Government. The loose wording of the section governing disqualifications accentuate the urgency. I realise we cannot take away the vote that has been given. I also realise that a sense of responsibility can be built up only by the exercise of the franchise. But it must be admitted that adult franchise by itself cannot ensure a responsible government. Adult franchise is only a means to an end and what we seek is good government in terms of self-government. It should not be difficult to find a way out. It is a suggestion worth canvassing whether with adult franchise for primary voters it wouldn't be wise to form electoral colleges with representatives for every 500 or 1000 voters and entrust the return of members of legislature to the secondary voters constituting electoral colleges. The cost of these elections would then be considerably reduced. A more responsible body of men will offer themselves as candidates and better administration would be secured.

The outlook, disturbing as it is, need not depress us. Great things have really been achieved if one studies issues in perspective, during the short spell of Swaraj we have lived under. For the first time in history, India can claim to be a single national unit where the writ of the Government of the day runs from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. A dismembered economic unit is busy closing the gaps and reforming its national economy. Peace and security have been maintained in spite of many contra-forces at work and in the councils of the world India has blazed a new trail of moral values which should yield dividends presently. The weak spot has been internal administration where men in charge have been tried too high and have not measured up to expectations. Let us hope that the new elections will offer a shake-up to the advantage of the country.

PARTIES AND THEIR ELECTION PROMISES

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[An attempt is made in the following pages to give an objective study of the more important parties in the country and their professed policies and programmes as gleaned from their Election manifestoes and their exposition by leaders of the respective parties. Only parties in the Centre with an all India programme are considered and their declared aims and intentions. Full credit is given to the intentions of the parties as expressed in their Election promises and a note is made of what they stand for in the ensuing General Elections and what they would do if returned to power. Ed. I. R.]

THE CONGRESS PARTY

IN the Central field, the Congress offers the invaluable leadership of Pandit Nehru with the great influence he is said to possess in the International sphere, continuity in administration, stability of Government without sudden changes and solution of all the evils prevalent in the country by gradual rather than revolutionary methods. A secular state to solve the country's religious problems, a five-year plan as drawn up by their planning committee to get the country to tide over the economic drawbacks from which she suffers, and all other methods designed to establish what they call a CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH which is indistinguishable from socialism are other major planks on which the Congress is appealing to the Country. In the sphere of foreign policy the present policy which may be termed NEHRUISM which is claimed to be an independent foreign policy dictated only by considerations of merit, fairplay and justice in each international question completely free from leanings or repugnances to any International power group, is to be continued.

In the provincial sphere, the continuation of prohibition, the completion of Zamindari abolition measures in the various states where they have been commenced, reforms in land revenue intended to secure land as far as possible to actual cultivators, measures intended to ensure proper administration of Hindu religious endowments, etc., are some of the promises of the Congress.

Though the Congress has not officially announced any decisive programme in respect of the Hindu Code Bill, Pandit Nehru in his capacity as President of the Congress has proclaimed his determination to see the Bill passed, which in effect means that the people who vote for Congress also vote for the Bill.

The unique feature of the Congress which distinguishes it from other parties is the fact that it alone among all the All India political parties cuts across all sectional interests either religious or economic, while all the others stand either for some religious or economic group. This feature is both its greatest strength and also its greatest weakness, for while it will secure all those broadminded individuals to its side it will be unable to satisfy any one single sectional interest fully.

The attitude of the Congress on the issue of Linguistic provinces which will dominate at least some parts of the country is one of 'No objection provided essential conditions are fulfilled.' By essential conditions are meant agreement on all those points which are otherwise likely to create conditions of dissatisfaction and unrest. The lessons of partition are too recent to be forgotten.

Congress is now the target of criticism mainly in respect of its administration in the Centre and the states during the last four years. In reply it believes and proclaims that the corruption is exaggerated out of all proportions. Congress also believes that the case for equitable distribution is greater than the case for production. Its promises in respect of economic reforms are moderate arising probably from familiarity and intimacy with reality than fantasy. In short the Congress promises a nondescript state which does not come within the four corners of any "ism" known and practised. According to Congress, votaries of the latter, are talking in the air.

The Election symbol of the party is a yoked pair of bullocks.

NO HOPE

CANDIDATE: "...and may I hope your husband will support me, Mrs. Miff?"

MRS. MIFF: "Support you? Why, he ain't supported me for over a year!"

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The programme of this party has to be taken from its Ranchi manifesto as the speeches of its various protagonists have shown tendencies to variation.

Its most distinctly proclaimed doctrine in foreign affairs is its conception of what it terms the THIRD FORCE by which the party wants India to lead the large number of Asiatic powers into a vigorous Neutral group which will be powerful enough to balance the American and Russian groups in World politics.

In the domestic sphere the party is for the establishment of independent high powered corruption commissions in the centre and in the states to counteract corruption, bribery, nepotism and the like in very high places as well as low. Nationalisation of all key industries including mines is another major plank. The party has distinguished its proposed nationalisation from what the Congress Governments have done in this respect. It claims that the Congress has only substituted Civil Service officials in place of Industrialists. Its solution will be the creation of management boards consisting of technical personnel, representatives of workingmen, the Government, consuming public and other interests connected with Industrial production. Another difference from the Congress is the party's promise to level both up and down all salaries such that the minimum is Rs. 100 and the maximum Rs. 1,000 per month. Foreign trade is to be state managed at higher levels, leaving only small traders to carry on in their own right. All existing controls are to continue and are even to be intensified.

In the provincial field, the creation of land army of peasants and cultivators is suggested to meet the food problem without foreign aid for bringing greater areas into cultivation and also to improve and intensify existing cultivation. Land is to be redistributed to actual tillers such that none gets less than 12½ and none more than 30 acres of land but everyone getting an approximately equal area having regard to productive capacity and quality. There is to be no compensation for taking over Zamindaries or for

taking over land in excess of 100 acres but solatia are to be given in deserving cases individually considered. No commitment either way in respect of prohibition has come from the party except in the state of Bombay where it appears to have promised its abolition.

Substantial changes in the constitution to enable the party to give effect to its programmes and policies and also to do away with what the party considers as obnoxious features in the constitution such as provisions relating to privileges of princes, certain types of civil servants, compensation in case of acquisition of property, the creation of linguistic provinces which the party has agreed to at least in respect of the Andhras etc. The party's main difference with the communists is its nationalism and abhorrence of extra territorial loyalties and use of extremist methods rather than constitutional for achieving its objects.

The Socialist party has also chalked out a five year programme. It would be financed by a capital levy on all those who possess more than five lakhs of rupees.

The party's election symbol is the Tree. It has entered into election alliances at state level with Dr. Ambedkar and his men in Bombay, with the Adi Basi Mahasabhas or its equivalents in U.P., Bihar and Orissa and has to its credit the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain who has himself refrained from contesting any seat in order to keep the party in strength. In political ethics the party led by him is trying to combine Marx and Mahatma Gandhi.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The party stands for the establishment by whatever means it can resort to of a communist state in India either on the Russian or on the Chinese model, the preference remaining till now undisclosed by the party. In foreign policy the party rejects the policy of Nehru and does not accept the THIRD FORCE. It stands for complete alignment with the communist group led by Russia and China in the International sphere.

In the domestic field it has been very difficult to get at their exact scheme of things. Recently there have been so many changes of programmes and fronts followed by changes in leadership personnel at the top inside the party in order to lend verisimilitude to the proclaimed changes. A second distinguishing feature of the party's ethics and programme is the fact that it believes in the use of violence to achieve its objects while it is not slow to criticise others for even unavoidable use of violence.

One great departure the party has made from orthodox principles is its announcement that it does not believe that India is ripe for nationalisation of Industries. The party is significantly silent as to whether this means Capitalism to exist or is only a ruse to hand over the industries to Individuals of its choice when the time comes. Like other parties of the left it has also offered redistribution of land to the tiller of the soil and equalisation of incomes to a great extent. It is for positive secularism and in the state of Madras some of its leaders have threatened religious heads with worse than extinction.

It does not believe in the present constitution of India except to use its provisions for securing unhampered practice of its principles. Its differences from other parties in the field therefore are mainly in respect of its attitude to the constitution, the use of violence and the possibility of the Interests of India being subordinated to the interests of "The Workers of the World" in the International sphere. At its lower levels the party has promised quite a good number of shootings and confiscations of capitalists, bourgeoisie etc. The leadership of the party is invisible. Mr. A. K. Gopalan appears to have attained All India status.

There is far greater discipline inside this party than in any other in the country. It believes that communism has produced miracles in Russia and China and refuses to be convinced to the contrary. It also believes and states that India is being victimised for selfish ends by the Anglo American block and that all other parties in India except itself are

either victims of this block or reactionaries by nature. But its past collaboration with British Imperialism during the days of the struggle of Indian Nationalism stands as its worst blackspot in spite of its attempt to explain it away. Its main plank appears to be a negative appeal to emotion on the avoidable sufferings of downtrodden humanity. It has not announced any definite economic programme, partly because some of the leaders are underground or otherwise prevented from coming into the open and partly because the party does not believe that time for such programme has come. It is also possible that the party does not have one. The main election slogan is exploitation of the workers by the capitalists.

The party has made very strange election alliances. In the south it has allied itself to the pro Dravidian organisations which are pronouncedly communal bodies though the party claims to be not even national but Universal in its approach to politics. The defence appears to be expediency and the need to defeat the Congress at any cost. The election symbol of the party is a sickle and ear of corn.

K. M. P. PARTY

This creation of Acharya J. B. Kripalani is hardly nine months old. The party was formed mainly as a protest against Congress impurity consisting in black marketing, corruption in official ranks, bribery, communalism, negation in practice of Congress principles and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi etc. Otherwise this party is not very different in proclaimed ethics or political principles from orthodox Congress.

Like the Congress its stated object is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth but it claims that while the Congress intends only to pay lip sympathy to this ideal the K. M. P. intends to put it into practice. It also claims that the Co-operative commonwealth of its view is nearer Gandhiji's aims than that of the Congress. In other words, the K. M. P. claim to be the orphaned

children of Mahatma Gandhi while the Congress appears to have officially inherited all the wealth of Gandhiji.

Like the Socialists they are for levelling salaries to a maximum of Rs. 1,000 (with a maximum allowance of Rs. 100 in very special and deserving cases) and a minimum of Rs. 100 per month. They are perhaps the only party who have stressed on a very important though unnoticed evil namely the costliness and the great delay in the administration of justice in this land; they have promised remedies in this respect. Another distinguishing plank of theirs is the stress on housing for everyone. They differ from almost all the other parties and particularly from the Congress and the Socialists in standing for removal of all controls (they claim that this was Gandhiji's idea too) and for being against nationalisation of any kind in industry.

The K. M. P. solution for evils in industry is characteristic of its Leader's sharp intellect. It is to provide for shares in Industrial holdings for all manual workers and labourers, to restrict Industrialists and magnates to the adoption of anyone industry and to ensure complete decentralisation in industry. Other striking features in the K. M. P. programme are prevention of cow slaughter, complete prohibition, state monopoly of all Import and Export Trade and stress on cottage industries which is in fact typified in their election symbol.

Their solution of the food problem is by bringing into cultivation more land and by improved methods of cultivation even if necessary by penal measures. The latter again is unique to this party.

The party has great wealth of leadership with stalwarts like Kripalani, P. C. Ghosh and Prakasam. It has to some extent suffered by the indecisive action of Mr. Kidwai who has eventually deserted it. It has not made any decisive pronouncement in regard to foreign policy and can therefore be inferred to agree with the Congress in this regard. It is also for abolition of Zamindari. Its election symbol is the hut.

THE BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

Though the Jan Sangh has come as an overnight phenomenon, from the fact that it has received considerable attention to the point of vehement denouncing at the hands of Pandit Nehru and also the Communist party who in some states have according to their own statements set up candidates only to reduce the influence of the Jan Sangh, it is clear that this child has come into the world with Giant's stride.

Its main platform is what it terms as Bharatiya Culture as was practised in ancient India. The party is for a revival of the ancient glorious life of India in a modern setting. Its official programme on the economic side lays stress on the need to build the country with the self-sufficient prosperous village as the unit. In other words it would have the country's inspiration and strength to travel from bottom upwards while others would have it in the reverse direction. As a logical corollary, it is, for decentralisation of power to the maximum extent possible consistent with progress and safety.

Some individual features of the party's programme are (1) Abolition of Zamindari but with compensation like the Congress (2) Land to belong to the tiller and not to the absentee landlord (3) Increased production by help at the bottommost level to the actual tiller etc.

By far the most important feature of its programme is the belief in Akhand Bharat or undivided India. The Sangh holds that partition of the country is a betrayal and that the partitioned countries should be reunited. The Sangh further wants that as Mahatma Gandhi advised the Congress should be wound up and adds that it can successfully implement Gandhiji's Lok Sevak Sangh programme.

As was stated earlier the party is in its infancy but at its head is Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee whose abilities and resources are unquestionable. The party has hardly had occasions, opportunities or time to publicise its views well. Here and there the party's candidates and the Candidates of the allied organisation Ram Rajya Parishad of Swami Karpatriji of Benares support each other.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA

The Mahasabha is an old hardy annual in the field of elections in India. It stands for a HINDU Raj as opposed to the secular state ideal of the Congress and other political parties. According to the Mahasabha the secular state has no meaning where the great majority are Hindus but at the same time it has proclaimed a fair deal to all the religious minorities in India. In fact it is said to have accommodated even some Muslims with its ticket for the elections.

The Mahasabha believes that the Congress policies of placating the Muslims inside India and Pakistan outside in the name of secularism are born out of fear of Muslims. The party refuses to recognise Pakistan as a fact and considers that the territory of Pakistan is only either the occupied portion of undivided India or alternatively, a group of Provinces of the mother country who, with the help of some traitorous elements and the British, have rebelled and therefore the Mahasabha claims its right to bring the rebels to their senses.

There is no well-known economic or social programme announced on behalf of the Sabha which makes one infer that it stands for either the *status quo* or perhaps the *status quo ante*. The Sabha believes that the first problem in the country is to rectify the wrongs stated above and other problems, economic and social, come later.

The Mahasabha is definitely against the Hindu Code Bill and is also not in favour of the state legislating in religious matters. The Sabha intends to devise measures to preserve and strengthen the ancient Hindu faith. In the matter of preserving the features of the Hindu faith, its inspiration appears to be derived more from Swami Dayanand Saraswathy and the Satyarthi Prakash than Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa or Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Khare is the present head of the party. The Sabha is said to have the invisible support of several princes and their families, other nobility, great landlords etc., as well as some religious heads.

THE FORWARD BLOC

The forward Bloc is as old as Subhas Babu's rebellion from the official Congress at Ramgarh. It naturally stands for the ideals of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose but various groups have crept into it such as the Sheela Bhadra Yajee group, the Ruikar group etc., One of its former leaders Shri H. V. Kamath is himself contesting the elections as an independent and not as a member of the bloc. In the context of the elections however only the Ruikar group appears to be in the field calling itself Forward Bloc.

In programme and policy the party is nearest to the Socialists. Its members are intense nationalists and against any allegiance to powers abroad. They believe in a democratic socialism for India without distinctions of caste, sex, religion etc., as was practised in the I.N.A., In the sphere of foreign policy they have a predilection in favour of China but certainly not to the extent of sacrificing any interests of this country or its people.

They criticise the Congress for the partition of the country and for compromising with the country's former rulers as well as for retaining persons in service who according to them were traitorous to the interests of this country though Congress interprets its action as the result of magnanimity and largeheartedness.

They would have come to an agreement with the Socialist party but for an emotional disagreement between the two. It would appear that the bloc insists on accepting the leadership of Netaji Bose dead or alive (in fact some of their leaders still believe in the great Leader's return) while the Socialists repudiate the same on the ground that the Netaji himself would resent any such idolatry if he were alive. Otherwise their programme does not differ much from other moderate leftist groups. They differ from the Hindu Mahasabha on the issue of Communalism as they believe in India and not Hindu India. The party has not received much publicity and is contesting only a few seats in the states and also for the Parliament. The symbol is typical of its great founder namely the hand or more correctly the uplifted open palm.

WHAT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT DO

By MR. W. F. DEEDES

AS a journalist I spent some years observing Members of Parliament before becoming one myself: so I know what they look like from outside the cage, so to speak, and I now know how it feels to be behind the bars.

Of course, every Englishman tends to look on his M.P. as a bit of an ass. That is traditional, part of the English character—and no bad thing, in a way. It prevents anyone from becoming too important and dictatorial, and stops pomposity in public life. But, after all, the Member of Parliament represents a democratic way of life; and while it is harmless enough to poke fun at him, criticise him and so on from time to time, we do not want to let the profession fall into disrepute.

In all human institutions, no matter how deep and respected their traditions, it is the contemporary human element that counts; once that slips from grace, the institution may languish.

CHANGES OF A GENERATION

The M.P.'s profession has undergone some fairly drastic changes in the past generation or so. Certainly it is true that up to the first world war it was helpful if not necessary to have a good deal of money. Now I think it can be said of all parties that money does not enter into the choice of a candidate. He need have no private means. There is, however, a lot to be said for an M. P. having a profession or business of his own. It saves him from being a professional politician and helps to bring him to the nation's councils some special and up-to-date knowledge.

So you might say, I think, that the entrance gate has got wider but the course beyond is considerably harder: yes, considerably harder. Half a century ago an M.P. represented perhaps 8,000 people. Business hours in the House were short. Attendance, save on special occasions, was optional. We all lived at a more leisurely pace. A private Member, not seeking office, could take it quietly. He was paid nothing for the job.

After the first world war a salary of £400 a year was paid, rising to £600 in 1937, and to £1,000 in 1946. That sounds quite a lot of money. But quite a lot of work—and expense—goes with it. With universal suffrage an M. P. now represents perhaps 40,000 to 60,000 people. A fantastic weight of public business is now concentrated in Whitehall and through the ministries there in the House of Commons.

In the modern welfare state the M. P. has tended to become the welfare officer for his constituency. His mail may run up to fifty letters a day. Of these a dozen perhaps are personal problems to be taken up with Ministers—to whom an M.P. has direct access. The House meets, I suppose, about thirty-five weeks in the year. Officially business runs from 2.30 to 10 p. m. daily. But sometimes it drags on into the small hours.

A HOST OF MINOR DUTIES

There are morning committees and a host of minor duties such as showing parties of constituents round the Palace of Westminster. In the summer an M. P. may spend a couple of hours in the morning, twice a week, doing this. The parties that worry me are the school-children. They are too intelligent. I have an appallingly bad memory for dates, and I find that as often as not the children have had a special history period on the previous day as background to their visit. They do not hesitate to put the Member right.

Weekends can be the busiest time of all. The Englishman's weekend is supposed to be private property but that does not apply to M. Ps. The House rises early on Friday and most M. Ps. are off to their constituencies, probably for a meeting or two that night.

On Saturday there are visits to pay, local public activities at which the Member must be present, local problems to investigate, and constituents to see. His constituents expect and like to see him—and quite right, too. His local organisation may run into twenty branches—

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WHAT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT DO

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perhaps fifty in rural areas—and the Members must keep an eye on all their social activities and speak to them at least once a year.

It must never be forgotten, moreover, that an M. P. represents everyone, not just his own party. So on top of party work he must be available to the multitude of local organisations and voluntary bodies which are part of the fabric of English life.

He must be at home in the clubs and 'pubs' of his constituency where the real sense is talked by chaps who would not dream of turning up at a public meeting. If I were asked the most important asset for a successful M. P. I think I should say a strong digestion.

HOW THE TRICK IS DONE

Now I have dwelt a certain amount on the constituency side of the Member's duties because that is where the great change has come about in recent years. It is not so long since a Member could pay, say, £1,000 a year to his constituency organisation and visit the place twice or four times a year. Now his constituents put him in the way of earning £1,000 a year, and they like to have a close view of how the trick is done.

After all, no one is compelled to take on the job, and the young man who aspires to public life ought to know what he is in for before he starts. There are good things and bad things about all this. The Member is, among other things, one of the nation's legislators. If he is to do his job properly in the House he ought to have reasonable time to read, to study, and to keep abreast of current affairs. But what does this mean? You might say it means knowing all about Germany, or Marshall Aid, or Asia, or Persia. But there is more to it than that. Today it also means knowing what goes on in the daily life of the constituents.

So while it is tempting to think sometimes that there ought to be more time available for the study of world problems and so on, social contact with the electors is never a waste of time. Every now and again you will meet a man in

the pub whose views on some aspect of the international scene will be just as instructive and illuminating as any of the comments at Westminster, where they are supposed to know all about it. I have spent a good many hours doing this, and I count few of them wasted.

But I think there must be a balance. Certainly today Ministers do far too much. They are beset by far too many distractions, public engagements, party work, and conferences. Too often you may doubt if they can bring a fresh mind to bear on the terrible problems which confront all politicians in this stormy world. To a lesser degree, too, M. Ps. suffer from the same desire to do far too much far too quickly.

EXACTING DUTIES

Democracy is exacting. She demands from her representatives the qualities of a public entertainer, a welfare officer, a lawyer, a legislator, a friend and confidant. And again, there was a time when elections were fought out on the hustings and then political activity dwindled to a trickle until just before the next campaign. That is all changed. Today there is precious little relaxation between campaigns.

We must, I think, watch these trends. A weary politician is not of much value. Indeed on occasions, he may be a menace. We all live too fast. Perhaps it would be a good thing if the legislators were to set an example themselves and reduce the pace a bit.

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.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Himachal Pradesh Elections

HIMACHAL Pradesh, at the foot of the Himalayas, was the first of the States to go to the polls and it has returned a comfortable majority for the Congress which has won 24 out of the 36 seats. The elections started early, far in advance of elections in other States, with a view to avoid the rigour of winter in that region of snow clad hills. A part C State Himachal Pradesh is backward in many respects particularly in the matter of literacy. And then communication is so difficult in the mountainous terrain. These factors must account for the meagre voting in the State: for only 1,79,474 voters exercised their franchise out of a total electorate of 5,28,879. Progress of literacy and improvement in communications must go far to remedy this defect. A popular administration is a new experiment in the Pradesh and it calls for wholehearted co-operation of the public. The success of the Congress is particularly welcomed in the State as it would have to depend to a great extent on the centre for its political and economic development.

Kashmir

Dr. Graham's report on his renewed attempt to evolve a formula acceptable to both India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue has again failed. With commendable tact and patience the U. N. mediator has carried on his six weeks' talks with representatives of either Government and submitted a report in which he blames neither but merely records their answers to his questionnaire. There is evident misgiving among a section of the political circles that Dr. Graham is rather favourably disposed to Pakistan's desire that Pakistani armed forces should be allowed to remain on their side of the cease-fire line, so long as Indian armed forces remained on the borders of Jammu and Kashmir.

But one must not forget the basic issue on which India has been so consist-

ently firm and that is precise what is lost in the plethora of arguments and discussions. The basic issue, as Sheikh Abdullah sees it was, what was the position of India and what was the position of Pakistan *vis-a-vis* Kashmir. India had gone to Kashmir to defend her, while Pakistan had gone there as an aggressor.

You cannot have any solution unless you recognise that basic fact and failure will be the fate of all such missions so long as this basic issue is not 'tackled.'

This is also India's feeling on the matter. Hence the Pak. Prime Minister's threat of the U. N. urging to force a decision against India will only provoke the counter demand that as Pakistan is the proved aggressor in the case, the U. N. must first deal with it in the only way that aggression should be met by a body with any pretensions to authority or self-respect.

Abanindranath Tagore

The passing of Abanindranath Tagore at the age of 81 marks the close of a remarkably fruitful era of creative art in Bengal. A gifted scion of the Tagore family, he was a nephew of the poet Rabindranath with whom he had many traits in common. He did through painting what the poet did through his verses. Both were inspired by the tumult and storm of resurgent India. Both shook off the spell of foreign and alien influence and for once turned to the hoary tradition of ancient and medieval India for inspiration. Abanindranath learnt the technique of European painting but he drew his inspiration from Ajanta and created a style of his own. He founded the Bengal School of Painting and was the pioneer of a movement which played a distinct part in the national awakening. What Vivekananda did in the realm of spirituality, what Surendranath and Bipin Pal did for political awakening and what Rabindranath did by his poetry and songs Abanindranath and his disciples accomplished in the sphere of art, by hearkening back to the grand traditions of Indian painting.

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One of the earliest and greatest influences on his life and art was, of course, the poet Rabindranath at whose suggestion he attempted to illustrate the lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidasa. But he could not get rid of the European influence. And then came E. B. Havell on the scene—Havell, Principal of the Calcutta School of Art. This meeting was a turning point in Abanindranath's career.

Havell fired the imagination of Indian people with his warmth of love for Indian ideals in art. Havell showed him some masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal paintings, which he had acquired for the Picture Gallery then attached to the Government School of Art. By quick assimilation of their technique, Abanindranath at once carried on experiments and brought out a number of paintings such as illustrations of Betal Panchabishati, Birth of Buddha, Buddha and Sujata, Building of the Taj, Death of Shahjehan and many others. Havell looked upon him as the real artist who alone could lead his countrymen to salvation—salvation from the slavish imitation of Western art.

Abanindranath Tagore was destined to revive the art tradition of our country and to save our countrymen from the intellectual sordidness which succeeded the glorious period of Indian art when the paintings of Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh were executed.

Indo-Turkish Pact

It will be recalled that a cultural agreement between India and Turkey was signed by Maulana Azad during his last visit to Europe. And now the signing at Ankara of a treaty of friendship between the two countries is a welcome move to strengthen our ties with the Middle East. There are, of course the usual clauses regarding commercial relations, customs, navigation and aviation and consular privileges on a reciprocal basis; but the treaty provides further,

Article 4. The nationals of each high contracting party shall have, on a reciprocal basis, in the territory of the other subject to the laws and rules in force in that territory, the right of establishing themselves and of residence going from and coming to and moving freely within that territory.

Article 5. The nationals of each high contracting party shall have, in the territory of the other, the right of access to the law courts and the assistance of the judicial machinery in the same way as the nationals of that party.

And then all differences are sought to be settled by peaceful means.

Article 7. The high contracting parties agree to settle all disputes between them through ordinary diplomatic channels and if no settlement is reached within a reasonable period by such other peaceful means as both parties may deem most suitable.

Article 8. Any dispute arising out of the interpretation of this treaty shall be settled in the first instance, by negotiations, and if no settlement is reached within a reasonable period in such manner as may be agreed upon.

There is already in existence a similar treaty with Iran and negotiations are afoot for concluding such alliances with countries like Egypt, Syria and the Yemen.

Libyan Independence

Libya became a sovereign independent State on Christmas eve. And Christmas for Libyan people in future will be invested with more than usual significance and rejoicings. For forty years the people of this dismembered Italian colony have struggled for unity and freedom till at last it was left to the United Nations to make this momentous decision. Italy had renounced all claims to her former colonies at the Paris Peace conference of 1917, yet a couple of years later she made frantic efforts to regain her lost colonies with the help of the western powers. The story of the Libyan struggle for freedom is easily told. The U. N. resolution of May 1949 recommended the division of Libya into three parts, Cyrenaica, the Fezzan and Tripolitania, to be administered as trust territories by Britain, France and Italy respectively. The resolution had the support of U. S. A., Britain and France, it was stoutly opposed by the Asian power, India and Iraq, in particular.

The Iraqi representative proposed immediate independence and said:

No peace in the world can be sustained for any length of time 'if peoples and territories are still regarded as prizes to be sought and schemed for by the more powerful nations.'

Other Asian representatives were equally outspoken. And when the question came up again at the next session in September 1949 the Assembly passed a resolution which provided for the establishment not later than Jan. 1, 1952 of an independent and sovereign state of Libya comprising Cyrenaica, the Fezzan and Tripolitania. That resolution became effective on 24th Dec.

Bhavan's Book University

Here is a magnificent scheme in book production sponsored by the Bharat Vidya Bhavan which has already made its mark by the publication of the monumental "History and Culture of the Indian People" in ten volumes of which the first volume on "The Vedic Age" was reviewed in these pages in a recent issue. The object of the scheme, is to produce books "in a uniform get up and at cheap price" covering the best literature in the world and in particular "the literature which stands for India and the fundamentals for which Indian culture stands." As a first step in this plan it has been decided to publish in English 100 selected books of which 50 have already been taken on hand. It is also decided to publish books in eight Indian languages (1) Hindi, (2) Bengali, (3) Gujarati, (4) Marathi, (5) Tamil, (6) Telugu, (7) Kanada and (8) Malayalam. The scheme involves the publication of 900 volumes in two years.

The Bhavan's objective is defined as "the reintegration of Indian culture in the light of modern needs and a resuscitation of its fundamental values." The first four titles since released fully vindicate the high aims by the General Editors Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer. Appropriately enough the Book University's first book is the Mahabharata, the book of life, which is not merely an epic but a tale of heroic men and women and of some who are divine—This grand saga of life in ancient India is summarised by "Rajaji" one of the most eminent of living Indians who, as writer and statesman, has made his mark in contemporary history. Rajaji has a flair for telling stories and applying their moral to the needs of modern times. The stories, as any South Indian reader knows, were originally written in Tamil and have now been rendered into excellent English by Rajaji himself. It is difficult to preserve the beauty and spirit of the original in an English garb; but Rajaji's version is a triumph of art. The simple and refined prose is a great tribute to his craftsmanship. The book will remain a permanent source of

inspiration to generations of English knowing students.

Three other titles in the series which have appeared with the Mahabharata (though they cannot be placed in the same category) are yet typical of the kind of literature envisaged by the Bhavan. They set a high standard with Sri H. V. Divatia's "Art of life in the Bhagavad Gita". Dr. K. M. Munshi's "Sparks from the Anvil" being mainly reproductions of articles and talks on contemporary men and affairs, and Sri Shukla's interpretation of "Gandhi's view of Life." These are books which must have a popular appeal in free India.

Thus the Bhavan has undertaken a gigantic task and judged by the first fruits of its labours it is an enterprise fully deserving public support. For to bring the literature of India, ancient and modern, through all its languages, into a common pool easily accessible to all, is a stupendous business proposition involving financial output of no mean proportions. Until the Bhavan is in a position to put sufficient number of volumes in the market it must depend on the discerning public to help support a scheme, which apart from being a centre of light and knowledge has the making of a first class business in prospect.

The Catholic Centre in Madras

The Catholic Centre, opened by His Grace the Archbishop of Madras, on the closing day of 1951 is a welcome addition to the amenities of the city. Ideally situated in the heart of an area teeming with social and intellectual activities the new mansion offers an excellent venue of social fellowship for the youth of the city whose needs are provided for with admirable thoughtfulness and imagination. The Centre, housed in a new and imposing structure of marked distinction, would comprise a club, a public reading room, a library, an auditorium and a hostel. The advantages that such a Centre would confer on the citizens of Madras are obvious: and the thanks of the public are due to the good Archbishop who has spared no pains in giving concrete shape to his long cherished vision of faith and fellowship.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

HUMANITY AND DIETY. By Willeur Marshall Urban-George. Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, Museum St., London.

The book deals with a subject which is of the greatest interest to all thinking men. It is not for the average reader. It maintains that there is a language of religion, which is not merely a form of poetry but "Numinous Poetry". This language "differs from the language of common sense and of science in its intuitive and figurative character". The book is likely to appeal mainly, to those conversant with this language. Since science and religion speak two different languages, it is idle to try to judge one by the other. Religion is hard to define. The author says that it is "impossible to express the essence of religion without recourse to the idea of the infinite". There must indeed be a large measure of agreement with this view. But it is doubtful if the positive stand taken by the author that the modern awareness of the limitations of science and scientific thought has helped in the renaissance of Christian theology, can command an equal measure of acceptance.

It is western theology and philosophy which is dealt with by the author. He is concerned solely with the philosophical theology of Christendom, as it has developed in the West. There is hardly any reference to primitive religion and ancient Mythology. Neither has he drawn upon the concept of the Deity found in the Upanishads and other Sacred books of the East. If the book does not attempt to justify the ways of God to man—it is not aimed at that purpose—it sets out to prove that "the notions of humanity and Deity cannot be separated without making both unintelligible." How far the author has succeeded must necessarily depend upon the receptivity of the individual reader. To one who believes intuitively in the possibility of 'Divine revelation,' a study of this book would be of considerable interest.

20TH CENTURY. World Socialist or Communist Manifesto by M. J. Panicker & ? ? Pp. 88. Publishers: Padical Bros., 57, Gloucester Crescent, London, N. W. 1. Price 2 s. 6d.

This is a brief resume of a few of the various theories of Marx and Engels and in a sense it is a Marxian wine in a much smaller bottle. The author's contribution is exactly where he refutes popular belief that the U.S.S.R. block of countries are followers of Marx and shows that the latter are not a little different from those which are known as their political opponents. For a professed communist or socialist (to the author the terms are synonymous) the writing is certainly moderate and in suggesting that capitalists as individuals are not to be blamed for the evils of capitalism the author has shown a way to the large body of leftist propagandists that there is no need for poison, fire and sword in the preaching or practice of socialism.

The usefulness of the book, however, will mostly be to those who have already read Marx and Engels. To them it will come as a handy aid to memory. The pamphlet is a sensible addition to Marxian literatures which has suffered considerably from zealous votaries from the point of view of objectivity.

"VOTERS' DILEMMA". By Kamasas. Published by the All-India Printing Works, 65 Thambu Chetty St., Madras.

"Voters' Dilemma" is the name of a very short pamphlet which pleads for election of the best men irrespective of party affiliations. But the pamphlet itself is far from being mere propaganda trash. It is a reasoned, powerful, very fair and unprejudiced estimate of the Congress that was and the Congress that is to-day. At a time when political partisanship has reached its worst levels such fair criticism which is free from laying the blame for even the failure of the weather at Congress does as is the fashion from an obvious opponent comes as a cool breeze.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By K. Chandra-sekharan and V. A. Subramania Sastri. Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay 1 Price: Rs. 6/-

This little book is the latest of the Indian Literatures Series sponsored by the Indian P. E. N. As is well-known the Indian P. E. N. is playing, under the leadership of that gifted lady Mrs. Sophia Wadia, a magnificent role as liaison officer between men of letters in India and their confreres abroad. The Indian Literature series itself is remarkable both in conception and execution. Designed as a means of introducing foreign writers to the principal literatures of India, it has come to be as well a means of introducing the principal Indian literatures to Indians themselves. The literatures of the various Indian languages are still not as well known as they should be to writers in the various Indian languages themselves. Despite a fundamental community of spiritual and moral outlook writers in one Indian language are strangely unaware of developments in other Indian languages, and the literature of one Indian language is mostly *terra incognita* to those working in other languages in India. The P.E.N. is unostentatiously busy breaking down the unnatural barriers to understanding and fellowship among men of letters that the rich diversity of languages in India raises. When all the projected sixteen books of the series have been published we shall have less ground for complaint on the whole.

The authors of this book would seem to be conscious of the magnitude of their task and of their own inevitable limitations in seeking to deal with so important and vast a subject within the exceedingly narrow compass fixed for books in this series. Their courage and their enthusiasm are worthy of all praise. Their deep and passionate love of their subject is evident on page after page of this book. But the subject of Sanskrit literature is almost as inexhaustible as it is important and if, in spite of the devotion the authors show, there is a residual element of dissatisfaction it derives from the curious inadequacy and parochialism of their literary and critical standards. Sanskrit literature stands in no need of special pleading or apologetics. It will survive the

application of the most exacting critical standards that ever have been applied here in India or elsewhere to the art of literature and indeed, it insistently demands such rigorous evaluation of its quality. The consummate insight, both artistic and spiritual, of the great figures of Sanskrit literature will be but the more clearly revealed and indicated thereby. The failure, truly lamentable, to take into account the basically universal criteria of literary worth on the part of the authors, leads to slipshod assessments and a certain commonplaceness in their critical comment. But the history of every literature affords evidence of the rise and fall of literary theories and reputations and as the old saying has it, there is no disputing about tastes. There is marked skill and competence in the general management of the narrative part of the authors' task. As we have acknowledged already, a loving regard for Sanskrit literature inspires their approach to their task. They confess with commendable frankness their lack of acquaintance with contemporary work in Sanskrit literature outside Tamilnad and their account of what has been achieved within Tamilnad itself will disappoint those who think the cultural renaissance of India bound up with the revival of Sanskrit. But what has been accomplished within 300 odd pages herein is something to be thankful for indeed, amid the pervading gloom.

TALKS WITH NEHRU. By Norman Cousins, Victor Gollancz Ltd., Allied Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

When in March last Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, came to India on a lecture tour he had two interviews with the Prime Minister when he discussed dominant questions of the day with him. This is a record, complete and unaltered, of these in discussions. Both in range and content the conversations are of remarkable interest. Nehru's answers to the questions are straight, candid and illuminating. The pamphlet throws much needed light on India's position in the cold war and the present day American attitude to India. Nehru explains India's approach to the crisis of our times with great clarity and precision.

GUIDE TO COMING ELECTIONS. Himalaya Publishing Co., 264, Linghi Chetty St., Madras.

This small volume has really nothing to do with the machinery or technique of election. It purports to offer a series of solutions for the various ills prevalent in the country such as corruption, inflation, black marketing, etc. Some of the solutions offered are (1) To reissue the currency every three years, (2) To insist on spending and tax savings, (3) To provide wages and remuneration in kind to a great extent and in money to a little extent, (4) To provide for compulsory enregistration of all cash transactions above Rs. 20, (5) To substitute the complicated system of taxes now prevalent with a single receipt tax on all cash transactions and more than all these to restrict the State to the functions of external and internal defence.

It is doubtful whether the author has bestowed thought on the practical side of his suggestions but none can deny that his suggestions provide nuclei for thought in very important problems of life.

SONNETS TO EVE: By R. M. Challa.

THE ANCESTRAL FACE: By Armando Menezes. (Both published by Nalanda Press, Bombay, Price Re. One and Rs. Three.)

It is often hard to find readable poetry written in English by Indian writers. But there have been exceptions, and here are two of them. Both Challa and Menezes have a command of the language and are able to write with ease. The twelve sonnets of Challa express with some power the force of emotion evoked by woman in one form or another. Mr. Menezes' poems are more varied, and some of them very beautiful. There is much tenderness, fancy and wit in his poems. It is especially pleasing to find that he writes with great clearness and grace, and avoids successfully the obscurities and banalities of much of modern English poetry. He has something to say, and says it with a fresh beauty that awakens bright thoughts and lively feelings in the reader's mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By K. G. Saiyidain, Asia Publishing House 17 Gunbow St., Bombay.

THUS SPAKE THE MAHATMA. By Mr. K. Krishnan. Asoka Betal-nut factory, Coimbatore.

MAHAPURUSHIYISM. A Universal Religion, By Dimbeswar Neog, M.A. The Beauty Cot, Jorhat, Assam.

ELEMENTS OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. By H. R. Bhattacharya, Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras. Rs. 8.

AT THE THRESHOLD OF LIFE. By S. Satyamurti. Asia Publishing House, 17 Gunbow St. Bombay. Rs. 5-8.

CHEKHOV. A Biographical and critical study, By Ronald Hingley, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

ST. FRANCIS IN ITALIAN PAINTING. By George Kaftal, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

ASPECTS OF HUMANISM IN THE BHAGAVAD GITA. By Mr. V. V. K. Rangachari. Frazesheta, Kakinada.

SWAMI SIVANANDA: MYSTIC SAGE AND YOGI. By Swami Venkatesananda, Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg and others, The Sivananda Publication League, Ananda Kutir Post, Rishikesh.

THE DEMON LOVER AND OTHER STORIES. By Elizabeth Bowen, Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Sq. London.

THE HEAT OF THE DAY. By Elizabeth Bowen 30 Bedford Sq. London.

SARVODAYA: Its Principles and Programme. By M. K. Gandhi. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

THE CONCEPT OF TIME IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Swami Madhavhirtha. Published by the Vedant Ashram Pat Valad, Ahmedabad.

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Maurice Dobb Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

THE STORY OF THE BIBLE. By S. K. George. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

IN THE MOTHER'S LIGHT. By Rishabchand Society for the spiritual and Cultural Renaissance of Bharat, 6/23 Edward Elliot's Road, Madras, 4.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 1. Egyptian Foreign Minister denies that Britain has offered any new offer to solve Anglo-Egyptian dispute.
- Dec. 2. Persian Cabinet decides to recognise Farouk's new title as King of Sudan.
- Dec. 3. Communists call for neutral inspection team in Korea.
- Dec. 4. New Turkish Law provides death penalty for Communists.
- Dec. 5. Death of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, in Calcutta.
- Dec. 6. Sir B. N. Rau elected Judge of the Hague Court.
- Four power disarmament talks in Paris end in failure.
- Dec. 7. U.N. Assembly favours admission of Italy to full membership.
- Eight nations call on S. Africa to accept U. N. supervision over S. W. Africa.
- Dec. 8. Rev. Michael Scott appeals to U. N. Trustee Committee to allow Herero tribal chief to appear before the Committee in Paris.
- Dec. 9. Cairo to break off relations with Britain.
- British officials and servicemen in Egypt to be dismissed.
- Dec. 10. Mr. Deshmukh re-states Government policy at Associated Chambers' Annual meeting at Calcutta.
- Dec. 11. Four power agreement on Disarmament issue.
- U.N. Committee resolution on S.W. Africa appeals to S. Africa to resume talks.
- Dec. 12. Dr. Malan, South African Premier, withdraws U. N. delegation.
- Dec. 13. Congress gets absolute majority in the 86 member Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly.
- Dec. 14. Indo-Turkish treaty of friendship signed at Ankara.
- Mr. Dulles advises Japan to rearm.
- Dec. 15. S. S. *Jalapushpa* of the Scindia's launched by Mr. N. V. Gadgil at a synchronised ceremony at Bombay and Visakhapatnam.
- Dec. 16. Prime Minister opens Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad.
- Manilal Gandhi enters Free State on one-man protest campaign.
- Dec. 17. Nehru warns officials in Madhya Pradesh against interference in elections.
- Dec. 18. Genocide charge against U.S. in U. N.
- Dec. 19. Dr. Graham submits report on Kashmir issue to U.N.
- U. N. Committee votes Western plan world disarmament.
- Dec. 20. A five nation resolution recommends appointment of a U. N. Commission of three to resolve Indian issue in S. Africa.
- Sardar Malik to succeed B. N. Rau as India's delegate to U. N.
- Dec. 21. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung appointed Ambassador to Argentina.
- Paul Hoffman calls for U.S. investment of 620 million dollars to save India and Pakistan from communism.
- Dec. 22. Madhya Pradesh goes to the polls.
- Mathematical Conference meets at Bangalore.
- Dec. 23. Rajaji opens Bridge across Cauvery linking Salem and Trichy.
- Dec. 24. Libya becomes independent: the first State to be declared independent under the U. N.
- Dec. 25. Mr. Eden enunciates four conditions for withdrawal of U. K. forces in Suez area.
- Dec. 26. Korea truce line pact ends to day: Front lull broken.
- Dec. 27. Nehru, touring Andhradesa, re-states policy on linguistic Provinces.
- Dec. 28. India recognises the New State of Libya.
- Dec. 29. Indian History Congress meets at Jaipur, Dr. G. S. Sardesai presiding.
- Dec. 30. U. S. orders closure of Hungarian Consulates in Cleveland and New York.
- Governor takes over administration of Sind.
- Dec. 31. Mr. Churchill leaves for Washington to meet President Truman.



READERS' DIGEST



THE ELECTORATE MAKES ITS CHOICE

India is the latest in the family of free nations to initiate nation-wide general elections under adult franchise. In this country, with a population of 361 million and an enrolled electorate of more than 176 million men and women 21 years of age or older, the forthcoming polling will be an historic event of worldwide interest.

But what of other nations, where free elections have formed an essential part of government for many years?

The American system of government, like India's, is founded on the right of the people to choose freely their representatives in every sphere of public activity—municipal, district, state and national.

Of course, the most important elections in the United States, like those in any other country, are the biennial national elections, held early in November. The people's votes fill 435 seats in the House of representatives, 96 seats in the Senate and choose the President and Vice-President. Representatives serve for two years, Senators for six years, and the President and Vice-President for four years.

Members of the House of Representatives are chosen on the basis of population—approximately 800,000 to a congressional district, compared with one representative for every 720,000 citizens in India. Two Senators are elected from each of the 48 states in the United States.

Under the U. S. Constitution, representation by election is guaranteed, but the methods of voting are left to the individual states, with Congress having the power to alter their regulations. The 15th Constitutional Amendment (1870) conferred the franchise on Negroes and the 19th Amendment (1920) upon women. Now U. S. adults are eligible to vote irrespective of sex, race or colour. Of the 160 million U. S. population, more than 80 million are eligible to vote.

In a democracy, the political party is the main instrument of popular control over government. The party formulates and propagates political programmes, rallies voters behind them and proposes candidates to carry them out.

The two major parties in the United States are the Democratic and Republican. Each has a nation-wide organisation, the important components being the national committees, congressional committees, state committees and district, county, city, ward and precinct (division within cities) committees. Candidates are usually selected at party conventions, or by the votes of registered party members in "primary" elections. The presidential and vice-presidential candidates are nominated at national political conventions.

Political campaigns in America, as in India, are conducted by each party to hold and strengthen the support of convinced partisans, and to convert the undecided or independent members of the electorate in sufficient numbers to win the final elections. Campaigns usually begin quietly, long before party conventions or primaries, and continue actively up to the eve of Election Day. They are conducted with great vigour and are one of the most interesting features of American public life.

However, in spite of the intensity of campaigns, the electorate makes its free and unfettered choice on Election Day and sometimes confounds party leaders, political analysts and public opinion pollsters. For example, in the last U. S. presidential elections, President Truman was re-elected in spite of heavy prediction to the contrary by political experts.

The most important factor in an election, especially a national election, is not the way in which a voter votes but the fact that every eligible voter *does actually* cast his vote for a party or candidate of his choice. Only in this way can the national will be gauged by an election.

It has been said "*bad politicians are elected by good citizens who do not vote.*"

TWO VIEWS OF KOREA

In their policy pamphlet *One Way Only* Mr. Aneurin Bevan and his friends demand that Britain should "restrain the Americans". "The only hope of peace in the Pacific is a positive and independent British policy." In this part of their pamphlet they come nearer than in most other places to a widely held opinion in Britain, writes the *Round Table*. By a surprisingly large number of people it is being taken for granted, as axiomatic, that American policy in the Pacific is peculiarly irresponsible, far less well considered than American policy in Europe. In some respects this may be true. But how true? And is British policy more firmly based on acceptable principle?

Which approach has in general been the more correct, the British or the American? History must decide.

Britain in its present mood would probably not, if left to itself, have intervened in Korea. That would almost certainly have been a mistake. But if the British policy towards China had been adopted by America, it is just possible—though no more than just possible—that China might have been made less aggressive, at least for the time, and less dependent on Russia. But there is little enough evidence to show how real the possibility may have been. On the other hand, Britain was almost certainly right in urging that the hostilities with China should be strictly limited. This was required for military as well as political reasons.

The American Government's general line of policy during the twelve months was proved right in the most dramatic way when Mr. Malik made his peace proposals. Communism had been "contained," and that without general war. But would this general war have been avoided if America had acted entirely on its own and without the restraint of its less sanguine allies? The answer is not clear.

The Far East crisis is not yet over, and judgment on the British and American attitudes must be provisional at least until they can be seen in perspective. Further disputes certainly lie ahead.

If there is an armistice in Korea, followed by political negotiation, it will be hard for Britain and America to agree about Formosa; as time goes on, they may disagree increasingly about Japan. America's aim will be to keep intact the grand alliance by which the Communist Powers can be held in check. The British may ask whether the tension which this involves will not cause the crisis to continue indefinitely. May it not be possible for the West and the Communist

powers to disengage in the Far East and leave each other alone, though without any real reconciliation? But if America is active in Formosa there can be no real disengagement.

Finally the British may doubt whether this grand alliance will last unless America shows itself more sensitive to Oriental and world opinion about the quality of the regimes in the different countries which make up the alliance.

What is to be thought of Bao Dai in Indo-China? The British view is that the alliance alone is not enough. There must be a more radical policy than America yet contemplates for developing the non-Communist countries economically. Britain has evolved the Colombo Plan. Will America give it adequate support?

ABDULLAH'S HOLD OVER KASHMIRIS

The *Washington Post*, in a special article on Kashmir, says that "if a plebiscite were taken to-day, Premier Sheikh Abdullah and his pro-Indian Government would win it."

Date-lined Srinagar, and carrying a photograph of Sheikh Abdullah, working at his desk, the article says:

Opposition to Abdullah, and to India, does exist in Kashmir. But it is hard to find, and a careful survey of varied opinion indicates, that Abdullah has such an overwhelming support that in an election on almost any subject in Kashmir, he is likely to emerge an easy winner.

The writer, Harold Mills, says:

Ask any rural citizen of Kashmir whether he favours accession to India or Pakistan and he is likely to answer, "I favour Sheikh Sahib." Sheikh Abdullah is variously described as a dominating, ruthless politician and a benevolent national leader. Whichever he is, he has the Kashmir country-folk solidly behind him.

Detailing the reasons for Sheikh Abdullah's popularity, the article says that the land reform and debt conciliation programmes appear to be responsible for this situation and a third reason which appears to weigh heavily among the Kashmiri Muslims and the Hindus alike is, according to the writer, that "Sheikh Abdullah was one of the earliest freedom workers. For more than 25 of his 46 years, this towering Kashmiri leader has worked for the people." This, he adds, explains in part why Kashmir's 45 seats in the Kashmir and Jammu Constituent Assembly all went uncontested to Abdullah's National Conference party.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD

It is too late in the day for little minds to waste time discussing the pros and cons of the desirability of birth or rather conception control. Great minds have debated the question threadbare long ago and have given a verdict in its favour. Science has supported this verdict in favour of contraception. So the question is not whether or not contraception is desirable, but how to bring this relief to our people who are desperately in need of it. We have simply to catch up with the time. Thus says Dr. S. Chandrasekhar of the University of Baroda, in an article in *People's Health* discussing the need for planned parenthood in India.

It is in this context, he adds, that we should warmly welcome the report of the Planning Commission and its timely and courageous reference to the imperative need for family planning.

After examining the nature and significance of India's population pressure and its bearing on national development they point out:

While it may be difficult to say what the optimum level of population for India should be... it is clear that under present conditions an increase in manpower "resources" does not strengthen the economy but in fact, weakens it. It is necessary in the present context only to stress the fact that unless measures are initiated at this stage to bring down the birth rate and thereby to reduce the rate of population growth, a continuously increasing amount of effort on the part of the community will be used up only in maintaining existing standards of consumption. Increasing pressure of population on natural resources which must inevitably be limited retards economic progress and limits seriously the rate of extension of social services so essential to civilized existence.

What then is the Planning Commission's plan to spread the planned family habit? They urge that:

(a) The State should provide facilities for sterilization or giving advice on contraception on medical grounds.

(b) Such help and advice should not be withheld from others who seek and need it on social and economic grounds. Such services, however, should be provided to the extent that personnel in hospitals and health agencies can undertake them consistent with other duties.

(c) The State should also through financial aid and otherwise assist in the establishment of

research and information centres organized for the following purposes:

(1) The collection, study and dissemination of information based on scientifically tested experience in our country and abroad in respect of all aspects of family limitation and the countering of ill effects of incorrect information; and

(2) Research necessary for the development of inexpensive safe and efficacious methods of birth control suitable for all classes of people; and methods of preparation of necessary appliances and materials based on raw materials available in the country.

These recommendations are extremely sane and the Government can and should implement them almost immediately without incurring any great expenditure. It is to be hoped that the Government will not solve this report as they have many others in the past but will take immediate action. Our population problem is distressing enough as it is today and any delay will only accentuate the difficulty.

SOWN WITH THE WIND

The Elections are fostering new Parties. As many as fourteen are already in the field, and more are emerging as the elections are going on.

Those in the process of taking Party shape, are Ambedkarites, the former Muslim Leaguers, and those "independents" who are yet unattached to any party.

Those that have taken substantial or titular shape are:

The Congress.

The Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party.

The Socialist Party.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party.

The Forward Bloc (Marxist).

The Forward Bloc (Subhasist).

The Bolshevik Party.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (Tagore Group).

The Socialist Republican Party.

The Democratic Vanguard.

The Socialist Unity Centre.

The Hindu Mahasabha.

The People's Party (Jan Sangh).

The Ramrajya Parishad.

The National Synthesis Party.

CHINA AND THE WEST

The *London Times* in its issue of Dec. 11, said, "It is difficult not to sympathise with Mr. Nehru's hopes that China and the Western Powers may reach an understanding that will set the peace of the Far East on a firm foundation." But, it added "that hope can have no prospect of fulfilment until a real armistice is arranged in Korea."

In an editorial entitled "China and India", the "Times" said:

Most politically-minded people in India agree with Mr. Nehru in holding that the Chinese People's Government for all its Communist complexion is the only effective Government of China: that it commands the support of the immense majority of the Chinese people; and that it is essentially a Chinese creation, not a system imposed by Soviet Russia.

Mr. Nehru is also influenced by the fact that China and India are neighbours; unless they remain on good terms the India Government may easily run into trouble over its own vital interests in Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Assam, Bhutan and Burma.

It would be unjust to Mr. Nehru however, to maintain that his policy towards China is determined solely by these considerations. He believes that an understanding between China and the West is necessary both for any lasting settlement in the Far East and for the peaceful progress of the peoples of South-East Asia, and his hope that India may be able to help in removing misunderstandings between China and the West is sincere."

It added:

India belongs both to the East and to the West. She is a great Asian power and is at the same time linked both to the Commonwealth and to the Western World by cultural as well as political and economic ties.

At present India has better opportunities than any other Commonwealth country for finding out what is happening inside China. Her Ambassador in Peking, since he represents an Asian power, is treated with less suspicion than even the envoys of the Iron Curtain countries who are classed as Europeans.

There are signs that China values Indian friendship. Some friction there has been over China's intervention in Tibet and over India's humane decision to admit into Ladakh refugees seeking sanctuary from Chinese forces; but China has respected the borders of India's sphere of influence even where the frontier is still undefined and has refrained from adding to the troubles of India's close friend, Burma. On the whole the relations between India and China reflect the success of Mr. Nehru's efforts to foster an understanding between them.

U. S. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The American farmer is producing more food and fibre per man-hour of labour than ever before. Although the farm population of the United States has been declining steadily, total farm production has been increasing.

Between 1935 and 1950 the U. S. farm population dropped from about 31,000,000 to 24,583,000. At the same time, farm production climbed 44 per cent. Farmers harvested 382 million bushels more of wheat in 1950 than in 1935.

Modern farm implements account for much of the expanded production. In 1935 there were 1,018,000 tractors on U.S. farms. In 1950 the number has risen to 3,825,000—a tractor for every six Americans living on farms. By 1950 American farmers were using 410,000 mechanical pickers, 650,000 grain combines, and 710,000 milking machines.

The U.S. farmer's modern harrow will prepare for planting 100 acres of land in a day. His planting machine will seed that amount of land in another day. At harvest time his combine will reap and thresh the wheat from 40 acres in one day.

Whatever the farmer's job there is a machine to help him do it. One machine digs, cleans, grades and bags potatoes. Another bores holes in the ground faster than a farmer can set fence posts. California farmers use crawler-type tractors that pull heavy plows capable of turning a furrow six feet deep. The mechanical cotton picker, now coming into use in the South, picks as much cotton as 70 to 80 field hands.

Closely linked with the mechanisation of the American farm is the ever-increasing use of electric power. In 1935 only one out of every 10 farms in the United States had electricity. In 1950 nine out of 10 had it.

Electric power does hundreds of farm jobs cheaply and efficiently. A one-horse-power electric motor can do as much work in an hour as a man can do in a day. One kilowatt-hour of electricity will pump 1,000 gallons of water, milk 80 cows, grind 200 bushels of grain, or shell 80 bushels of corn.

HECKLING AT ELECTION MEETINGS

Election campaigns, for all their hot and tense atmosphere, are not without humour. Hecklers have a gala time causing embarrassment and discomfiture to candidates but hecklers themselves get it hot too at times. One of the wittiest retorts on record, Trevor Allen writes in *Tit-Bits*, London, was Mr. Churchill's to a persistent heckler with whom he had tried to deal patiently.

"Aw, anyway," shouted the man finally, "if you was the member for 'Eaven I wouldn't vote for yer!"

"Indeed?" Winston replied. "And if I ever have the honour of representing that Celestial constituency, which is unlikely, I very much doubt if my questioner's name will be found on the electoral roll!"

A master of the quick retort was F. E. Smith, later Lord Birkenhead.

At Liverpool, a heckler kept shouting: "What about food taxes? Who's going to tax my food?"

"Reassure yourself," said F. E. "I have yet to hear that thistles are to be taxed under Tariff Reform."

Lloyd George's election squibs seldom misfired. A suffragette shouted at him:

If I were your wife I'd give you poison!
"If I were your husband," he flashed back "I'd take it."

A young peer who had been roughly handled at a meeting was challenged:

Where did you get your—title from?
From where you got your—face—from my father," he countered.

At a Durham by-election meeting, a heckler shouted at the speaker:

Gang awa,' man, an' dee some woork!
I'm as much a worker as you are, he protested.

What do you work at?
At the moment," the speaker edged, "I'm trying to get some sense into your head, my friend."

Aal reet, said the man "but what are ye?"
Well, you can put me down as an unsuccessful woodcarver!

Often the last laugh is with the heckler. Sir Ian Malcolm, recalling when the constitutional question brought the peers out on the war-path, told of one who explained to the meeting that he was taking part in the campaign because he was the lord of the manor.

Then you ought to have the manner of a lord, came the retort.

Sir George Reid, former Australian High Commissioner, who was very stout, told a meeting the last time he stood for Parliament:

Gentlemen, this is the last time I shall ask you for your suffrage before I go to that bourne from which no traveller returns.

Voice: The fat will be in the fire then, Georgie!

A speaker who asks questions rarely gets the answer he expects.

Are you Englishmen going to take all this lying down? one of them demanded.

The reporters are doing that was the quick come-back.

What we want, said another, is men with convictions, and where shall we find them? A voice: In Jail, guv'nor!

One keen canvasser who rang at a voter's door to find out his political colour was answered by his young daughter, who said her father was out.

And what colour is he, my dear? he asked. Well, she said, I think he used to be ginger, but he is quite bald now!

After young women were given the vote a canvasser tried to explain the different parties to a dumb blonde who seemed to know nothing of politics. Hoping that he had impressed her with the importance of his own, he said:

Well, there you are, those are the parties you have to choose from. Which do you prefer?

"Bottle parties, was the pert reply."

A street-corner speaker fiercely attacked capitalism.

You may think that car is yours, he jeered at a motorist on the fringe of the meeting, but in reality it's ours

Interruptions followed, and he sprang down from his box to tackle a heckler in the crowd, then discovered that someone had walked with it.

Hi! he shouted indignantly, who's collared my orange box?

In an Irish election Tim Healy and William O'Brien, on opposing sides, had to address the same meeting from a wagonette. When O'Brien sat down Healy saw T. M. Kettle, a Nationalist, rising to speak.

A kitchen utensil! he gagged. In the uproar which followed Kettle couldn't get a hearing. At the first lull Healy roared: "But without a spout!"

THE BEGGAR PROBLEM IN INDIA

There are some 14 lakhs of persons in India, whose sole means of subsistence is begging. They are composed of both sexes of different physical and mental traits. There are those who are able-bodied but lazy, and prefer to live by begging and there are others who are unemployed and must perforce depend on others for support, writes Sri S. M. Shukla in *People*, Delhi.

Then there are religious mendicants who have taken a vow of poverty or find dependence on charity an easy way of making a living. But these are not all; there are the disabled ones—the blind, the crippled, the deaf and the mute as well as those who are mentally deficient and others who suffer from numerous horrible and loathsome diseases—and the little children with and without parents, who are victims of neglect or exploitation.

Dr. Sen Gupta gives us a psychological analysis of the beggar personality, and shows that "the beggar exhibits a certain deficiency in durable emotional ideational motor orientation to the situations that daily life precipitates" and that he represents a case of mental atavism and a throw-back to an earlier social order.

Studies in beggars' group life, show that they tend to evolve into highly systematized units with administrative machinery of their own. In tackling the beggar problem, it is necessary to attack the units of which they are a part and mobilize them for productive effort.

THE 'ABOMINABLE SNOWMAN'

Dr. Michael Ward, a member of the British Reconnaissance Expedition to Mount Everest, said he thought the "Abominable Snowman" was a bear. He added: "I do not know what it would live on. There was sparse grass up to 17,000 feet and small kind of mountain deer or goat lived at that height".

The footprints of the "Abominable Snowman" were about nine inches long and two to three inches deep, Mr. Ward said. It was difficult to say which way the tracks pointed, but he thought they were towards the foot of the mountain.

ELECTRONIC BRAIN

At the rate at which the electronic brain is being improved, it looks as though very soon that Frankenstein's Monster would cease to be the result of a writer's nightmare, observes Mr. K. Balaraman special correspondent of the *Hindu* in a recent message to the paper.

Some months ago, the International Business Machines Company startled the world with its electronic brain capable of solving problems needing at least 65 divisions in just one minute. Last month, a California laboratory went one better and built "electronic digitals which can play chess and always win", whether it is Sultan Khan, Capablanca or any other opponent it is pitted against.

To-day, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology announces a contraption which makes these earlier two as already outdated as a T-model Ford. The Institute's brain child is a digital computer which thinks 20,000 times a second. It seems it can receive, remember and deliver the result on a digit at the rate of 2,000 times per second. Appropriately called "Whirlwind I", the machine does computing practically instantaneously. A 16-digit number can be read into and out of its memory section in the twenty-five-millionth of a second. The Laboratory Director says it can figure out and deliver instructions at an airport for flights of hundreds of planes, which might be approaching and plot a safe course for each.

This electronic genius has already proved its value. It is said to have worked on the assignment of the proposed ultra-high frequency television channels throughout the U.S.A.

IRAQ IN EGYPT'S FOOTSTEPS

After Iran nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., its neighbouring country Iraq got into the act—with a difference, says *Newsweek*, the U.S. magazine. It asked for and got a 50-50 split of oil profits from the Iraq Petroleum Co. When Egypt cancelled its British alliance Iraq again followed the leader—with a difference. "Prime Minister Nuri-Said Pasha, the London-tailored, bridge-playing ex-comrade in arms of Lawrence of Arabia, politely asked for the revision of the Anglo-Iraqi alliance. The pact permits the RAF to garrison two Iraqi air bases until 1955. It was from the Habbaniya air base in 1941 that the British put down a pro-Axis coup and restored Nuri ex-Said to power. The alliance dates back to 1930 when Britain agreed to relinquish its mandate over this former Turkish vassal and Iraq became a sovereign power."

NEGROES IN U. S.

Paul Robeson, the singer, led a delegation of 1,000 persons to the United Nations on December 17 to present a petition charging the United States Government with genocide (race murder) against the Negro people.

The 240 page petition was handed to Mr. William Agar, acting Director of the Special Services Division at United Nations headquarters. He said he would see it was put in the proper hands.

Sponsors of the petition were the Civil Rights Congress, listed by the United States Justice Department as a subversive organisation.

Mr. Robeson said he hoped the petition would be put before the General Assembly in Paris. He added that he knew from experience the working of genocide in the United States, particularly in the South. The feeling of genocide is not simply a fear of death, he said. It is disintegration of minds by fear.

The petition asks the General Assembly to "demand that the United States immediately take effective steps to carry out and fulfil international obligations under the U. N. Charter and genocide convention."

It said: "This crime of genocide is the result of a massive conspiracy more deadly in that it is sometimes 'understood' rather than expressed... but always directed to oppressing the Negro people."

While Mr. Robeson filed the petition in M. Lie's office, Mr. William L. Patterson, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress presented copies of it to the delegations at the General Assembly and asked them to press for a full debate there.

INDIA AND WEST GERMANY

A Press communique issued by the External Affairs Ministry states that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of India have agreed in principle to the raising of their diplomatic representation with each other to Embassy level. The exact date of this change will be announced later.

DISCLOSED INCOMES

The final figure of hidden income disclosed under the Government of India's drive was Rs. 44.73 crores, the assesses numbering 14,233. Uttar Pradesh led with the largest amount, Rs. 11.42 crores, Bombay city coming next with Rs. 8.80 crores. The contributions from other areas in charge of Income-Tax Commissioners were: Bombay North Rs. 3.95 crores. Bombay South and Central Rs. 89 lakhs. West Bengal Rs. 6 crores, Madras Rs. 4.88 crores, Bihar and Orissa Rs. 2.63 crores, Delhi Rs. 2.05 crores, Punjab Rs. 1.67 crores, Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal Rs. 1.07 crores, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin Rs. 64 lakhs, Calcutta Central Rs. 39 lakhs, Hyderabad Rs. 22 lakhs and Assam Rs. 18 lakhs.

EMIGRATION OF PERSIAN JEWS

The Persian Government has promised its "unstinted aid" to the Jewish Agency in the organisation of a well-ordered, peaceful emigration of Persian Jews to Israel.

In contrast with the precipitate exodus of Iraqi Jews, who were stripped of most of their belongings before they left, Persian Jews will continue to migrate at the present low rate of 2,000 a month. Instead of coming by the air-lift as heretofore, they will travel overland by a newly-constructed mountain road linking Persia with the Turkish port of Alexandretta, on the Mediterranean.

SUBMERGED PEAKS DISCOVERED

The British naval survey ship "Cook" reported recently that she had discovered two submerged mountains rising 10,200 feet from the floor of the Atlantic Ocean half-way between the Orkney Islands and Spitsbergen. Their peaks were 1,800 feet below water level and two miles apart.

SINDRI FACTORY

The Sindri fertiliser factory went into production at midnight of October 30-31. The first quantity of ammonium sulphate in crystallised form was delivered by the giant Rs. 23 crore works at the receiving end at "zero hour." The factory is expected to go into full production (1,000 tons of ammonium sulphate a day) within the next five or six months.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

MANILAL CROSSES THE BORDER

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, who is carrying on one-man protest campaign against South Africa's Segregation Laws, crossed into the central province of the Orange Free State by train on Dec. 15 unhindered.

The Orange Free State has less than 20 Indians in the population and by law no more may enter. But there were no officials at Van Reenen station, on the border of Natal and the Free State, to arrest Mr. Gandhi despite his warning earlier in the week to Prime Minister Malan of what he was going to do.

Mr. Gandhi, said in an interview at Harrismith that he was both pleased and surprised at being able to cross the border at Van Reenen without incident.

I have only one object and that is to oppose 'apartheid' in all its aspects and try to break down provincial barriers in the Union, especially as regards the access of Asiatics to the Free State, he said. (South African law prohibits Asians from entering the Free State without permit, and they are not allowed to settle there.)

Mr. Gandhi said the Union was out of step with the rest of the world as was proved at the U.N.O.

Liberalism and the abolition of racial and colour barriers are a matter of evolution which you cannot fight with legislation. Liberalism is spreading throughout the world and much more rapidly than usually well-informed people know or think. South Africa will one day have to accept it, whether it likes it or not.

Mr. Gandhi added in passive resistance one breaks laws with the minimum of offence and he was thus achieving his object merely travelling through the Free State without a permit.

SOUTH AFRICA AND U.N.

The South African Government has decided to withdraw its delegation from the United Nations General Assembly pending satisfactory consideration of its complaint against the Trusteeship Committee.

Prime Minister Malan announced that his Government had also decided to recall its delegate, Minister of Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, for an oral report and further consultation.

North Africa

INDIANS IN SUDAN

The Sudan's Indian business community is probably the only Indian colony overseas that has no "problems," writes the P.T.I. special correspondent.

A compact little colony of about 500 in number mostly from Saurashtra, they have no colour bar to contend with no undue interference by Government, no animosity from the local people and no competition in their chosen field of business.

These merchants many with only a small capital have an established business in textiles, holding a virtual monopoly in the Sudan. They handle well over 90 per cent of the import wholesale and retail trade in this country. They also handle about 20 per cent of the Sudan's tea imports and sale, ten per cent of the coffee trade and much of the jute trade.

The head of a leading Indian firm said: "We stick to business and do not interest ourselves in politics and other matters, though we maintain the most cordial contacts with the local people."

Ceylon

RESIDENT PERMITS FOR INDIANS

Replying to questions in the House of Representatives at Colombo on December 7 on the issue of resident permits to Indians, the Premier, Mr. Senanayake, said the exact number of applications made for permits could not be given as the statistics of applications made had not been kept periodically. It was roughly estimated, he added, that 50,000 Indians had applied for temporary resident permits since November 1949. Out of this number 38,218 persons were granted resident permits and 5,000 applications were finally refused.

To a question regarding permanent resident permits the Premier stated that 512 Indians applied and 187 Indians were issued permits. Two hundred and twenty-six applications were rejected and the rest were under consideration.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

DR. GRAHAM'S REPORT ON KASHMIR

India and Pakistan have failed again to agree on a plan for the demilitarisation of Kashmir prior to the holding of a United Nations plebiscite on the State's future. Disclosing this in a 14 page report Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for Kashmir, gives an account of the talks which he has had with Indian and Pakistani representatives since November 10.

The report also contains 34 pages of annexes, setting out relevant documents and correspondence with both parties.

Dr. Graham says that agreement has not been reached on 4 paragraphs of his original 12-point demilitarisation plan, and adds,

Agreement on these 4 paragraphs is most essential for carrying out the plan envisaged as an integrated whole in the 12 proposals.

Dr. Graham lists the 4 points of disagreement as:

1. Demilitarisation "in a single continuous process";
2. In 90 days;
3. Leaving forces of agreed size behind the cease-fire line, and,
4. Appointment of a plebiscite Administrator by the end of the 90 days.

He suggests two changes to his original proposals. They are demilitarisation by July 15, 1952, unless otherwise agreed, instead of in 90 days, and "the lowest possible number of forces being left behind the cease-fire line instead of a fixed number.

The two major differences on which he has concentrated, are the size of forces to be left on the ceasefire line, and the date of appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator.

The report says that, if India and Pakistan could agree on the size of these forces, and the date for the Administrator to be inducted to dispose of these remaining

forces, "we believe that an agreement can be reached on all 12 proposals."

After recalling the main points of difference between the two Governments as shown in his October 15 report, Dr. Graham states:

From the outset the U.N. Representative emphasised the desirability of concentrating his efforts on endeavouring to narrow the differences of the parties on these two fundamental points:

A. The minimum number of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation; and

B. The day on which the Government of India would cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office.

To this end, the U.N. Representative had several meetings with the parties, jointly and separately, and his efforts covered the period that started on Nov. 10, and finished, practically speaking, with the drafting of this report.

Dr. Graham says he sent questionnaires to the two Governments, and asked for their views. Pakistan replied on Dec. 11, and India on Dec. 14.

During the negotiations, it was deemed useful that informal conversations be held at a military level. To this end, the Military Adviser of the U.N. Representative, Gen. Jacob Devers, at separate meetings with the Military Advisers of the representative of India and with the representative of Pakistan, discussed relevant military matters in a purely exploratory manner.

These discussions showed that although agreement might have been reached on the phasing of some of the withdrawals, the differences between the parties on the quantum to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation, were essentially the same differences that had previously impeded agreement.

Recalling the points of difference between the two Governments on the original Graham proposals, the report says:

The conversations held by the U.N. Representative with the parties, as well as the answers he has received to the different questions put to them by him, have convinced him that at this stage of the negotiations the parties could not achieve agreement on the draft agreement as a whole, submitted to them by the U.N. Representative on September 7.

MR. NEHRU'S CHALLENGE
TO SOCIALISTS

The Congress President Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting at Allahabad on December 12 said that the capitalist system had to be changed because it could not fulfil the growing needs of society any longer. Sri Nehru reiterated that he agreed to a large extent with the principles of Socialism and said:

Our ultimate aim, as far as I understand it, is to establish a classless society. When this will be achieved I do not know. It will depend on us, on the conditions existing in the world and hundred other things.

"The first article of faith of the Congress," Sri Nehru said is the establishment of a classless society and a co-operative commonwealth. If there is criticism that our pace of progress in the achievement of this aim has been slow, I agree with it. We may have followed the wrong path but such things cannot be achieved by our rushing through things. In doing so we may remain where we are.

Socialism could not be achieved by legislation, Sri Nehru said.

Not that socialism could be brought about only slowly, it could be achieved rapidly provided the country and the people were prepared for it and the right conditions existed for a rapid change. If one did in a hurry things which did not fit in with existing conditions one would only succeed in undoing what one wanted to achieve. These things could not be achieved in any dictatorial manner. Only by adopting the proper method and means, keeping in view the conditions obtaining at particular moment could any progress be made in the achievement of this aim.

"How are we to achieve a better state of society," Sri Nehru asked:

When we take up any question, we have to see how it affects other questions. Remember, you are inter-related and when we take the question of taking the people forward, we have to take so many things into account. We have to build the edifice of a new social order brick by brick. Ultimately it is a question relating to the problems of the whole people, their ways of living and their method of work.

The Congress President referred to the Chinese revolution and said that the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communists and their leader Mao Tse-tung had achieved a revolution. But Mao Tse-tung had himself said that to bring in Communism it would take him 20 years. Nobody should therefore think that Socialism could be achieved by merely passing resolutions.

J. P. PROMISES FAIR DEAL

The Socialist leader, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, addressing a mammoth election meeting in Bombay on Dec. 10 under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party and the Scheduled Castes Federation promised a square deal to the working classes and the middle classes in a Socialist regime. The only way it could be achieved was to take away the wealth from the rich and distribute it equally, he added.

The Socialist Party, he said, was the only alternative to the present state-mate in the country. It was pledged to establish a welfare State in which there would be a radical change in society. There would be equal distribution of wealth, equal opportunities to all and freedom from want and fear.

Giving his party's immediate programme if returned to power, Mr. Narayan said landlordism would be immediately abolished and would be redistributed, important industries would be nationalised and economic equality would be maintained.

Mr. Narayan added, the Congress today is a tottering organisation, so full of corruption, jobbery and internecine quarrels that no one can save it. It cannot be trusted to reorganise our society. It cannot be expected to give a square deal to our toiling millions because people who back it, and even control it, are capitalists and former Maharajas.

Mr. Narayan called for an immediate 'readjustment' of society and said unless that was done the country could not produce wealth, nor achieve any self-sufficiency or economic progress. The Congress since four years has been appealing for increased production. What is the increase in production they were able to achieve? he asked.

This cannot be achieved by declarations and setting targets but by giving the tiller of the soil and the worker at the wheels his due share and freedom from fear and want.

The Congress, an organisation too old and bereft of enthusiasm, cannot achieve this. Only socialism can achieve this by revolutionising the society.

The Socialist leader challenged the statement made by Mr. Nehru in his speech in Bombay recently that he too was a Socialist but his method of achieving the goal differed from that of the Socialist Party and said

Mr. Nehru is the greatest obstruction today in the march of the nation towards progress.

ARTICLE 871: EXEMPTION FOR
MYSORE

The Government of India has decided to exempt Mysore State from the operation of Article 871 of the Constitution, which provides that Part B (former Princely) States "shall be under the general control of, and comply with, such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given by the President."

The exemption proposed, is however subject to cancellation, or withdrawal, if, at any future date, circumstances so warrant.

The Article specifically mentions that during a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, or "during such longer or shorter period as Parliament may by law provide in respect of any State," Part B States shall be under the general control of the President.

The President has issued the necessary order. It is understood that there is no intention at present to extend this exemption to any other State.

The exemption granted however, does not absolve Mysore State from the covenantal obligations entered into between the Government of India and the ruler of Mysore, or certain other obligations cast upon Part B States in regard to the integration of federal finances. In the Constitution Mysore will continue to be specified as a Part B State.

... When the Constitution was under discussion in the Constituent Assembly, the late Sardar Patel, Minister of States, assured that a State like Mysore, where democratic institutions have been functioning for a long time, with a Government responsible to a legislature, must be treated differently from States not conforming to those standards. His successor, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, had also taken the same view. Since the Constitution came into force 2 years ago, only once it became necessary to issue a directive under Article 871, calling upon Mysore Government to transfer the case against L. S. Raja and others to a Court outside the State.

DARBAR GOPALDAS DESAI

Darbar Gopaldas Desai, President of the Saurashtra Congress Administrative Committee died at Rajkot on December 5. He was 63. The death of this veteran Congressman who sacrificed his health and property in the cause of the nation at a time of acute crisis is deeply mourned.

Darbar Gopaldas was a talukdar in Saurashtra. He was deprived of his Jagirs by the Political Agent, for holding nationalist views and migrated to Gujarat, where he courted imprisonment during the 1930, 1932 and 1942 national movements. With the attainment of independence, his jagirs were restored to him.



LOY W. HENDERSON

New Ambassador of the United States of America to Iran. Mr. Henderson, a veteran career officer in the U. S. Foreign Service, had been U. S. Ambassador to India since 1948. Earlier, he held diplomatic posts in Ireland, Russia and Iraq.

RECENT CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

As usual important addresses were delivered at the Annual convocation of the various universities by leading educationists and public men in India. Here is a brief summary of the latest of these addresses:

PRESIDENT PRASAD AT ALIGARH

President Rajendra in his 25 minutes' address at the annual convocation of the Aligarh University on December 8 delivered, in Hindi for the first time in the history of the University, said: "It is a historic truth that notwithstanding the many external differences the people of all provinces and of all religions in India have at bottom a fundamental unity among themselves."

Dr. Prasad called also upon the Universities of India to be a beacon light of the principle of "sulah-i-kul" (peace and toleration), the rays of which would penetrate into the heart of every section of the population in the country and completely remove the darkness of all communal ideas and conflicts.

H. E. DR. MOOKERJEE AT NAGPUR

Addressing the graduates of Nagpur University at the annual convocation on November 26 Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, observed:

"We would be failing in our efforts to have a well ordered and genuinely Indian social organization, if, in actual operation, our democracy leads to an unfortunate division of the people into privileged leaders and the under-privileged led." For the peace and prosperity of our country it is absolutely essential that the gap between the leaders and the led, which is gradually appearing in many areas, should be narrowed till all its evil consequences are eliminated.

The solution of the problem lies in the achievement of intellectual discipline and culture, which not only give quality to leadership but, at the same time, maintain identity with the common people.

Dr. Mookerjee went on to add:

The presence of two well-marked linguistic zones—the Hindi and the Marathi-speaking areas—and that of a strong tribal area cannot but create problems peculiar to this State, some political, some social and some economic, and that their satisfactory solution demands tact, firmness and understanding. These impose a great responsibility on its educated people, a majority of whom must, in future, necessarily be the products of this university.

H. E. MAHARAJ SINGH AT PATNA

Raja Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay, addressing the annual convocation of the Patna University on December 22, emphasised the need for having Hindi as the medium of instruction in the higher and secondary stages of education. But at the same time, he said, it was both necessary and desirable to retain English as one of the compulsory subjects in the curriculum in secondary schools and colleges.

No odium, he said, should be attached to English as a foreign language.

The wealth of the world's learning in diverse subjects is increasingly enshrined in this international language, and unless one knows English well, one will not hold the key to this rich store house.

Emphasising the need for intellectual, ethical and social discipline Raja Maharaj Singh said that the universities ought to be model institutions in which discipline was maintained both in the class rooms and outside. "From time to time", he said, one reads with regret of the misdirected enthusiasm and outbursts which take place in schools and colleges and even in universities. The perpetrators forget that strikes and such like manifestations of displeasure are double-edged weapons. When in later life, former strikers hold responsible posts as teachers, executive officers in Government service or commercial and industrial houses, how will they be able to prevent strikes and reason with strikers?

DR. KATJU AT LUCKNOW

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, India's Home Minister, addressing the Lucknow University convocation said that the adult franchise in the country would make the lowliest in the land feel that he was a real participator in the governance of India. He said that adult franchise, the very cornerstone of the nation's democratic political structure, would make the people appreciate that the country was their own and its independence meant their independence. The lack of this consciousness had been the cause of their subjugation.

Dr. Katju said the problem of making the people feel that they had something distinctive to fight for had the widest implications. Every country possessed something distinctive which its people felt they contributed to the common welfare of mankind.

We must find out and properly cultivate these distinctive elements in our national life and institutions political economic and cultural.

UNIFIED BAR FOR INDIA

The Government of India have decided to set up a Committee to enquire into the desirability and feasibility of a unified bar for the whole of India and other connected matters, states a Press Note.

The Committee will consist of

Mr. Justice S. R. Das, Judge, Supreme Court (Chairman); Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General, India; Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand, M. P., Mr. V.K.T. Chari Advocate-General, Madras; Mr. V. Rajaram Aiyar, Advocate-General, Hyderabad; Syed M. A. Kazmi, M. P., Mr. C.C. Shah, M. P., Mr. D. R. Bhandari, President, Jaipur Bar Association (members); and Mr. P. N. Murty, Registrar, Supreme Court (Secretary).

The terms of reference of the Committee are to enquire into

(1) the desirability and feasibility of a completely unified bar for the whole of India; (2) the continuance or abolition of the dual system of counsel and solicitor (or agent) which obtains in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts at Bombay and Calcutta; (3) the continuance or abolition of different classes of legal practitioners like Advocates of the Supreme Court, Advocates of the various High Courts, District Court Pleaders, Mukhtars (entitled to practise in criminal courts only), revenue agents, Income-Tax practitioners, etc.; (4) the desirability and feasibility of establishing a single Bar Council (a) for the whole of India, or (b) for each State; (5) the establishment of a separate Bar Council for the Supreme Court; (6) the consolidation and division of the various enactments (Central as well as State) relating to legal practitioners and (7) all other connected matters.

In considering these matters, the Committee will also take into account the important bearing upon them of the official languages at present used, and that may hereafter come into use, in the Supreme Court, the High Courts and the subordinate courts.

A QUESTION OF JURISDICTION

An appellate bench of the Bombay High Court, consisting of Chief Justice Chagla and Justice Gajendragadkar, quashed the order passed by Justice Shah granting a writ of *certiorari* to an ex-employee of the Madras Electric Tramways Ltd. Their Lordships held that the Bombay High Court had no jurisdiction to issue the writ.

The writ had been granted against the award of the Labour Appellate Tribunal of India reversing an award made by the Industrial Tribunal II of Madras.

PENSION FOR HIGH COURT JUDGES

The Government of India have decided to undertake legislation as soon as possible to provide *inter alia* for a minimum pension of Rs. 500 a month to any Chief Justice or other Judge of a High Court who has retired on or after the inauguration of the new Constitution before completing seven years of service for the reason that he attained the age of 60 or due to ill-health.

Under the existing provisions a non-Service Judge is entitled to a pension only when he has completed 12 years' service or when he has completed seven years' service and has attained the age of 60 or when he has completed seven years' service and his retirement is medically certified to be necessitated by ill-health.

MAXIMUM NUMBER OF JUDGES

The President has issued an order called the High Courts (Judges) Order, 1951 specifying the maximum number of Judges in each High Court including the Chief Justice as follows:

The High Court at Allahabad 20; the High Court of Assam 5; the High Court at Bombay 14; the High Court at Calcutta 20; the High Court at Madras 16; the High Court at Nagpur 10; the High Court of Orissa 7; the High Court at Patna 14; the High Court of Punjab 9; the High Court of Hyderabad 11; the High Court of Madhya Bharat 8; the High Court of Mysore 6; the High Court of Patiala and East Punjab States Union 5; the High Court of Rajasthan 10; the High Court of Saurashtra 5 and the High Court of Travancore-Cochin 8.

ESTATES LAND ACT

An important question of law relating to the construction of Section 8 (2) (D) of the Madras Estates Land Act was decided in the Supreme Court on December 10 when Their Lordships Mahajan and Chandrasekhara Aiyar allowed the appeal of the District Board of Tanjore against the judgment of the Madras High Court.

ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS RESOLUTION

The Associated Chambers of Commerce at its annual general meeting at Calcutta on December 10 urged a reduction in the level of taxation on income with a view to stimulating business enterprise and investment, so vital to the development and expansion of the country's economy as envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

The meeting in a resolution requested the Government of India to invite State Governments to agree to Parliament enacting a uniform Sales Tax Act. The Act could either be administered by the Centre which would distribute the proceeds to the units or by the units themselves within their own jurisdiction as the consensus of State opinion might incline. It suggested that Government should appoint a committee to evolve and recommend a comprehensive tax system adequate to the financial needs of the country.

Welcoming the recent improvements in the working of the machinery of import control, the Association in another resolution, emphasised the importance of making a clear distinction between those cases where indigenous production was protected as the result of a Tariff Board decision and those cases where the protection was only an incidental result of India's shortage of foreign exchange. It reminded the Government of the long-term risk of the loss of important foreign markets through the imposition of high export duties and the restrictive effect of the quota-system and the desirability of its abolition as regards both quantities and destinations.

Describing the Planning Commission's draft outline of the first Five Year Plan as the most realistic contribution yet made to the problem of planning India's future development the Association expressed the opinion that if private enterprise was to perform successfully the role allotted to it, it should have the freedom without which it could neither plan its own expansion nor even raise its own finances in the way the draft Plan assumed it would.

Expressing alarm at the increase in the manufacture of spurious drugs, it suggested that the Drugs Act should be so amended as to make the manufacture of such drugs and the practice of misrepresenting and misbranding chemicals and pharmaceutical preparations cognisable offences and to enhance the penalties for them.

Two other resolutions urging immediate rationalisation of steel distribution by increasing steel allocations to the steel processing and fabricating industry and assumption of responsibility by the Government for the distribution of rationed foodstuffs to plantation and colliery labour or arrange supplies to them to meet their requirements at the level of the all-India ration scales were also adopted.

REMITTANCES TO PAKISTAN

The Government of India have decided to allow moderate remittances to Pakistan for the support of dependants. The Public Notice, setting out the details of the scheme, has been published in the *Gazette of India*. Persons of Indian domicile as well as persons of Pakistani domicile, residing in India, who have dependants to maintain in Pakistan, will be eligible for permits under this scheme. The maximum amount normally permissible to be remitted will be Rs. 50 (Indian) per month, but applications for remittances in excess of this limit will also be considered on merits in exceptional cases. Applications are to be made in a prescribed form with supporting evidence to the Collector/Deputy Commissioner of the District in which the applicant resides. The Collectors/Deputy Commissioners have been authorised to issue permits for remittances up to Rs. 50 per mensem in individual cases. Applications for higher amounts have to be submitted to the Reserve Bank in the prescribed form after getting them scrutinised by the Collector/Deputy Commissioner concerned.

For the present, remittances will be possible only through banking channels, but when money order transactions between India and Pakistan are resumed, it will be possible to use the permits for remittances through the post office also.

WOMEN AND ELECTIONS

The Women's Indian Association has called on the women of Madras State to cast their votes in favour of those candidates who supported and agreed to implement the Association's 14-point manifesto. The manifesto was drawn up at the 34th annual meeting of the Association held on Dec. 12 in Rajaji Hall under the presidentship of Srimathi Rukmini Devi. Begum Amiruddin read the manifesto, which contained the following 14 points addressed to the candidates in the election:

Will you support the implementation of the Fundamental Rights as defined in the Constitution? Will you support legislation to bring the existing laws into conformity with the Fundamental Rights as defined in Articles 14, 15 and 16? Will you support the principles underlying the Hindu Code Bill? Will you try to abolish the evil of the dowry system prevailing in our society and support legislation for the same? Will you strive for raising the character and morale of the people in all relationships, both public and personal, and thereby root out dishonesty and corruption in public affairs? Will you endeavour to promote and establish single high moral standards between sexes? Will you give priority to free compulsory education, health services and proper distribution of food? Will you urge the Government to establish adequate rural medical aid so as to make it available to every man, woman and child by offering the same scale of salary to the medical practitioners and nurses as in the provincial medical service, and Cancer clinics, Cancer diagnostic and detection centres in every taluk area and a separate self-contained Cancer hospital in every linguistic area? Will you make education practical and include social service in the curriculum of studies? Will you give preference for admission into the professional colleges and service to such students as have spent at least one year in doing social welfare service either in the urban or rural areas? Will you follow a policy of economy in the administration by retrenchment of scaling down the salaries of high grade jobs? Will you always support the policy of uniform standard of living and prevent the Government entering into disproportionate expenditure on brick and mortar buildings and support financing local bodies and co-operative societies to build houses for the poor and the pavement dwellers, hospitals for the sick, and schools for the children? Will you help in organising orphanages for children and asylums for the old, the infirm and the disabled and thus eradicate beggary from the society? Will you support the principle of family planning and create centres in every maternity hospital and health centres for its practical application so as to make the individual family content, healthy and happy?

WOMEN DOCTORS AS D. M. Os.

The Government of Madras have for the first time appointed women doctors as District Medical Officers. This is made possible, because the Indian Constitution bans discrimination on ground of sex in the matter of promotions in Services.

Orders have now been passed appointing four women doctors as District Medical Officers. They are Dr. (Smt.) K. Chockalingam, temporary physician, Kasturba Hospital for Women and Children Madras to act as D.M.O. Chittoor "vice" Dr. S. Krishna Rao Pautulu transferred to West Godavari in place of Dr. R. S. Kesavaraj posted to Guntur "vice" Dr. A. Umapathy Mudaliyar granted leave: (Dr.) (Smt.) S. Subbulakshmi, Civil Surgeon to act as D.M.O. Ramanathapuram, Dr. (Smt.) F. Mathuranayagam, Assistant Surgeon is to act as D.M.O., Chingleput "vice" Dr. C. B. Ethirajulu transferred to Nellore; and Dr. (Kumari) A. K. Varghese, Assistant Surgeon to act as D. M. O. Visakhapatnam.



MAUREEN CONNOLLY

At 16, became the United States National women's singles tennis champion recently at Forest Hills, New York State.

SIR RONALD ADAM ON THE WELFARE STATE

Sir Ronald Adam, Chairman of the British Council, delivering a lecture on "Social Welfare State" at the Madras University Buildings said there was ample scope for voluntary service in the field of social activities.

Sir Ronald detailed mainly the social welfare activities in Great Britain. In the field of education real advancement was achieved when compulsory education was introduced in 1918. In social security, a start was given by the Liberal Government in 1906 with good support from Labour. As regards health, Sir Adam felt they had done really something substantial. A good number of housing Acts were also introduced. Sir Ronald referred to the Beveridge Report and said the measures taken on this original and important report had immense and tremendous effects. Adverting to the 1944 Education Act, Sir Ronald said that one of the finest achievements of that Act was the emergency training scheme. Over 28,000 trained teachers went through this scheme and the standard of education went up.

There was no unemployment problem in Britain because of the rearmament programme. In fact, due to the Korean war and rearmament plans there was "over-employment," he claimed. Sir Ronald expressed the difficulties experienced by small employers in introducing certain welfare measures and said that some time or later this problem could be well tackled by local authorities.

HIRAKUD PROJECT

A three-man committee of independent technical experts is to be set up shortly by the Government of India to examine in detail and report on the revised project estimates of the Hirakud Project.

The Project, according to the original estimates prepared in 1947, was to have cost Rs. 47 crores, but according to the revised estimates is now likely to cost about Rs. 87 crores.

MR. BOWLES ON INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA

"A free, democratic, successful, confident India is the greatest asset to the future of Asia. If you accomplish that—I hope you will—I am not going to worry about Communism", observed Mr. Chester Bowles, United States Ambassador to India, addressing a Press Conference in the United States Information Library, Madras on December 12.

Mr. Bowles made a brief statement about the impression he had formed about India before answering for over an hour numerous questions put to him. He said that though he had arrived in India hardly eight weeks ago, he had a feeling that he had been in India for a long time. What India had been able to achieve during the four and a half years of independence was remarkable. "India has many problems. But I find a great deal of determination in the way you tackle them, and I have great faith in what India will accomplish in the next few years."



WALTER LIPPMANN
Author and political columnist
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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 Saheba 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 Sri 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 Tempq, 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. Issac 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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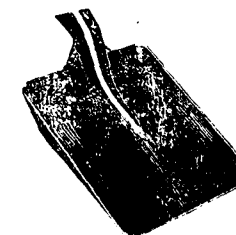
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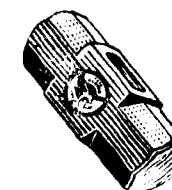
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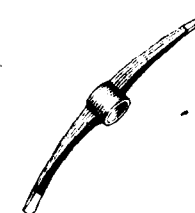
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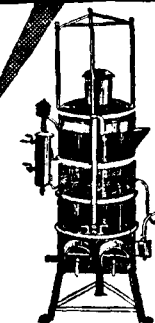
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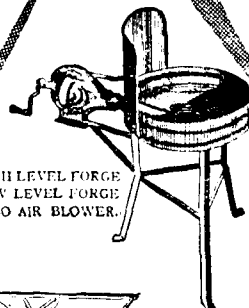
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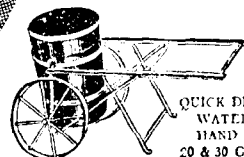


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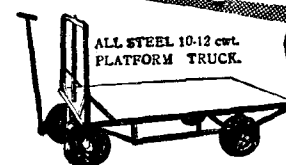
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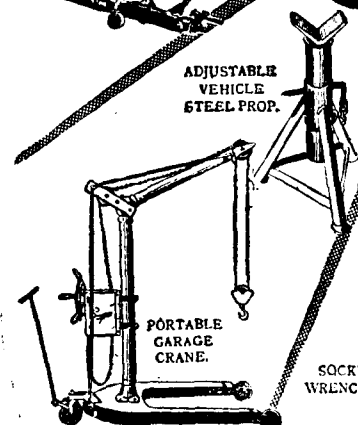
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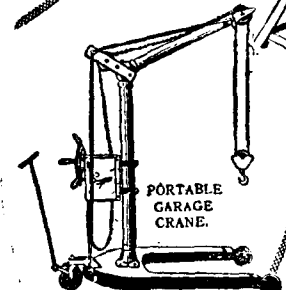
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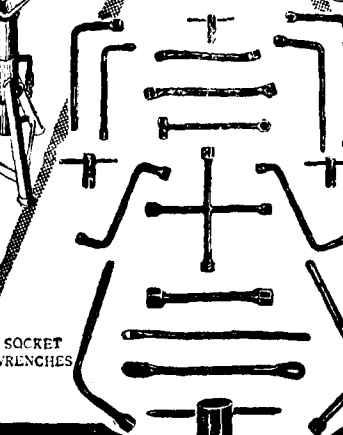
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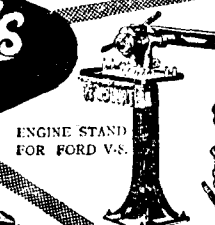
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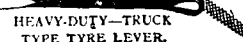
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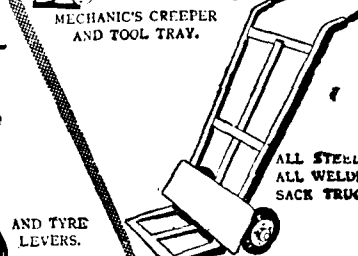
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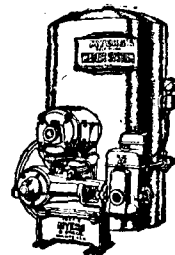


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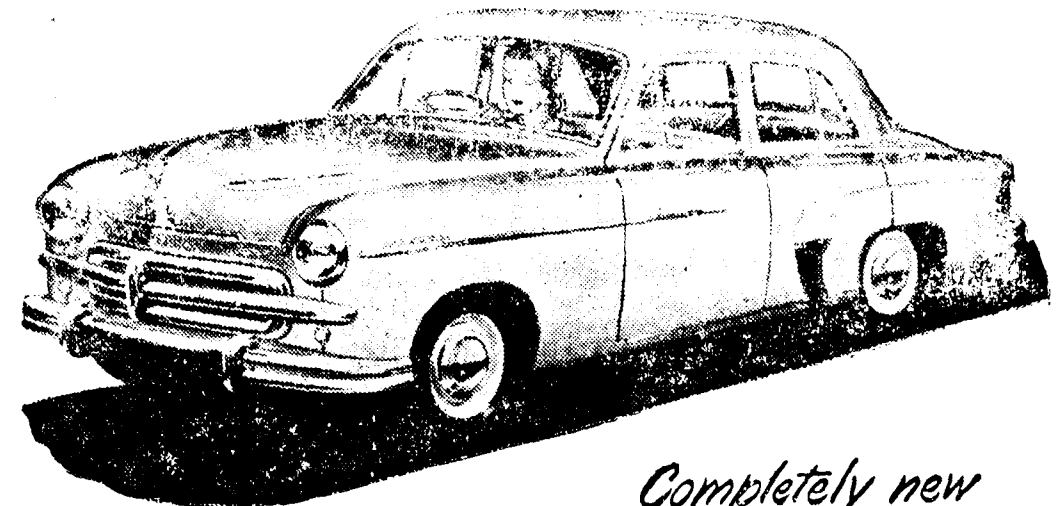
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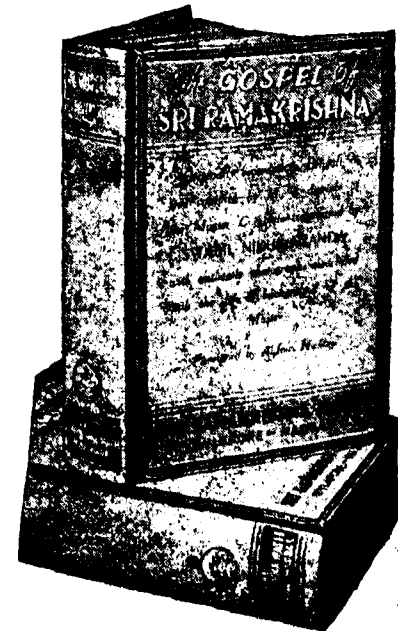
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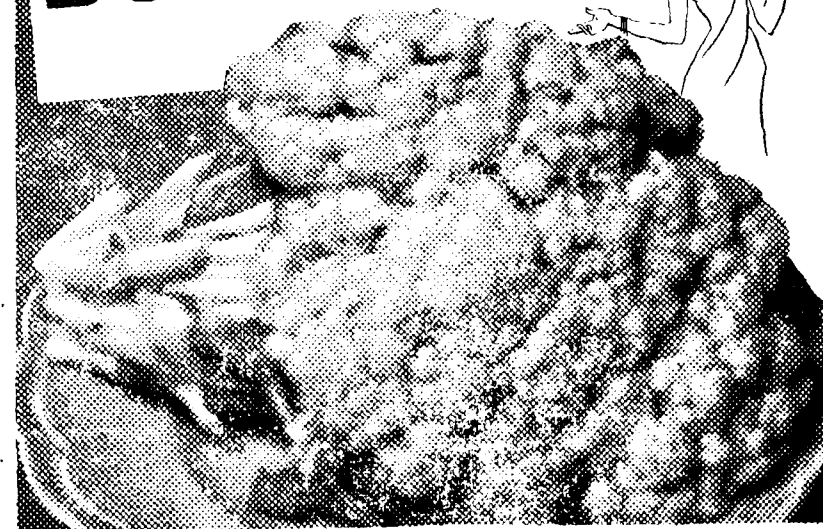
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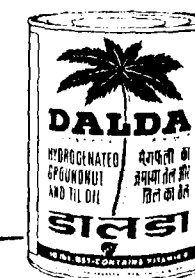
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THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

BY SRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

THE machinery of Democracy was set in motion in India in December 1951 and the elections for the State Assemblies and for the House of the People in Delhi began. It was difficult to forecast the results. In itself the exercise of suffrage by over 17 crores of people, the

that it was the organisation that shouldered the responsibility for running the Government for over four years which happened to be a period when innumerable difficulties had to be faced by Government. That the Congress party did not succumb before such ordeals is scarcely realised when no tangible improvement in the living conditions of the bulk of the people was visible, and in fact if anything it was the other way. Another defect in the Congress party's armour was that it could not put out the story of its achievements in an effective manner. The sole though a grand propagandist it had was its leader, Jawaharlal Nehru. His effort during these eight weeks was superhuman. Even so it could hardly suffice to awaken the conscience of 17 crores of people.



SRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

bulk of them being unaccustomed to the ordeal was one of the major imponderables. It cannot be said that the political parties which set up candidates were fully prepared for the task they undertook. Congress, the main political party in the country, was weakened by defections from the organisation, the saving factor being that, by and large, such defections were caused by personal differences rather than disagreement on major political issues. The Congress suffered from another major weakness in

The Congress was mildly optimistic. It had no great expectations from Bombay City, Maharashtra, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, the Andhra area of Madras, Bengal, Pepsu, Punjab, Sourashtra, Rajasthan and Madyabharat. Sri S. K. Patil switched a hostile Bombay City overnight to the Congress and Maharashtra followed suit. Hyderabad did not do badly nor has Bengal been as bad as was expected. The situation in Andhra worsened and its ill effects reacted on Tamil Nad. The problem areas with the imperfect picture of the election results before us appear to be Travancore-Cochin and Madras. In both areas Congress, though it has not secured a majority is still the biggest party, and the Communists come next. The picture is clear in Travancore-Cochin but more confused in Madras. In Madras the Independents are the largest group next to Congress. But what their political proclivities are is not clear.

Whether they have any definite political views is not known. The attitude of minor groups like the Justice party, the Schedule Caste federation and the Muslim League can be guessed but not so that of the Praja Party, the Krishik Lok Party, the Tamil Nad Toilers Party and Commonweal Party. All kinds of possible combinations of political parties or groups form the subject of speculation regarding the future Government of Madras.

But broadly speaking three combinations are possible. The Communists and their fellow travellers some of whom for reasons of their own are for the time being labelled Independents might be able to muster sixty members or thereabouts. The Congress can expect between one hundred and forty five and one hundred fifty. It seems likely that some thirty to thirty five members who are either Independents or have assumed a party label will not ally themselves with any group whose programme is greatly at variance with that of the Congress party. The attitude of the rest of about one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty members is uncertain. How many of them will seek alliance with the Communists cannot even be guessed now. Few amongst them can possibly subscribe to the Communist party's objectives. A minimum programme for such an alliance as indicated by talks of Communist leaders is a smoke-screen and not a reality. The lessons learnt from the course politics has taken in the satellite countries of the U. S. S. R. in Eastern Europe cannot be altogether ignored by those seeking an alliance with the Communists. But personal ambition coupled with political frustration produces a neurosis which might make those subject to these maladies do anything to spite people or groups of people whom they hate. Even so it does not seem that such makeshift alliances can command that quantum of support which will create a majority in the State Assembly for the leaders of such groups.

So far as the Congress party is concerned political power is not an end itself. It is only a means for the attainment of certain objectives. If a bold and dynamic programme for economic

betterment of the masses is launched in the States where the Congress party will be in power, such action cannot but have its effect on the position of the Congress parties in the States where they do not seek to take up the responsibility for the administration of such States. It is true that Congress propaganda can hardly be as successful as that of the Communists as it cannot hope to outmanoeuvre them either in the intensity of its insidiousness or in the quantum of falsehood they import into it. But the bulk of the people cannot be cheated all the time. Methodical and continuous work amongst the people and propaganda carried on with dignity and restraint cannot but produce results and it has been demonstrated even in these elections that they do. Surely it is not the time for mutual recriminations or attempts at apportioning blame on those who deserve it. The call of the hour is for hard thinking and effective action amongst the saner sections in our public life so as to win in the first test that democracy faces in India. I firmly believe that Democratic forces will win.

To The Memory of Mahatma Gandhi

BY PROF. BERNARD BAUM, M.A., Ph.D.

Darkness dropped no calumny on light
For him; his gentleness was strong enough
For both. He knew the hater's need was love,
And giving it, performed the golden rite
By which heart after heart might glow to faith.
Though forked tongues preach to stone the tears
Of splintered selves, wedged in iron fears,
And love be mangled by the carrion teeth
Of maya—disgorger of oil drums, gears
And politicians—that love still warms beneath
The fractured scene. Fed by his prayers,
The sages' fire brighter burns, melting the iron myth.
Of freedom in the unbound self. Finally one hears
Merging voices in the ashram of his life and
ritual death.

CHINA AS I SAW IT

BY SRI J. C. KUMARAPPA

THOUGH our stay in China was only six weeks, the organising genius of the Chinese elongated it into an equivalent of six months by a crowded programme. They allowed each one of us to study whatever interested us, and afforded ample facilities for our purpose. In this note I can only record my observations and impressions, sketchy though they may be.

They have had barely two years to carry out the reconstruction of a highly exploited nation, on the verge of starvation, oppressed by wars—internal and external.

The first thing that strikes a visitor is their communal cleanliness. Cities like Canton and Shanghai were noted formerly for their filth and dirt, yet we missed our ubiquitous friend in India—the fly. It was a real miracle to have achieved this high degree of cleanliness in so short a time.

Then one noticed that the air was clear of petrol smell, smoke and the din of motor traffic. Practically all motor vehicles were off the roads. Only a few Government cars and trucks were plying. The most popular means of transport were the bicycle, cycle rickshaw, trams and buses.

Most people were in austerity clothing. The shops were full of consumer goods other than luxury articles. Though the prices appeared high, yet, because of the Government programme of regulating prices, these latter were steady and showed little or no fluctuation.

There was plenty of food everywhere including fruits, and the prices were reasonable. The peasantry was contented with the land reforms, and were putting in their best to increase food production.

The range of income had been shrunk, and the difference between the rich and the poor had been considerably narrowed down.

Land revenue is collected in kind. With this stock part of the salaries of Government employees are paid in kind, and Government is also in a position to control prices and to regulate the grain market.

At Canton prostitution and vagrancy have been banished within a year by providing gainful occupation to the erstwhile out-castes.

Justice has been expedited and made easily obtainable without cost through "The peoples' courts".

Railway travel has been regularised and made orderly.

The military and police mingle cordially with the public, and when off duty help the villagers in their field work.

Children have been provided with proper schooling and given free boarding and are being well looked after.

All these have been inaugurated within an incredibly short time. How was this possible?

Under Chiang-Kai-Shek's regime the Bourgeois were laying down the plan of action as it suited them. Mao and his followers did not see salvation in that programme. They felt that the people's interests should receive first priority. Their programme was to bring democracy to the common people who can then decide what is best for their welfare. Such a programme originating from the workers and peasants was to be laid down for the Bourgeois also. This is the first step which they term "Democratic Dictatorship." This they have achieved with the co-operation of the people by driving out the previously existing Chiang Regime—the Bourgeois Dictatorship. This is their present position where the least amongst them is taken care of, but the nation is not running on its own steam but is being towed along by a group of seasoned leaders.

The next step in their programme is to attain socialism where the State will run or control all activities.

From this they hope to proceed to full fledged communism where the State will yield place to the people as a whole. This is their ideal of Communism—a kind of a national joint family. Only at this stage China will call itself Communistic. At present they do not regard themselves fit to be called Communists excepting for a few top ranking leaders who have "attained".

With this analysis when we look at India, we too are working towards Ram Raj. We have not yet got out of the Bourgeois Dictatorship stage. We have

slipped out of Foreign Bourgeois' Dictatorship and are, at present, in the National Bourgeois Dictatorship. This has to go yielding place to Democratic Dictatorship. Then we shall have two more stages to go!

The Chinese have not considered the use of a non-violent method. So they are yet a way off the Gandhian route. In spite of it all their burning patriotism is worth emulation and their attainments are praiseworthy. Their goal appears to me to be like that of Sarvodaya without the emphasis that we place on non-violence. Some of us stand aghast at the use of violence in the Chinese revolution. China had not forsworn violence and all forms of Government do imply violence. We hope in time their leaders will come to realise that the violent way, though it may appear a short cut, does not really solve any problem. What a leadership it would have been for the world had they based their programme on non-violence!

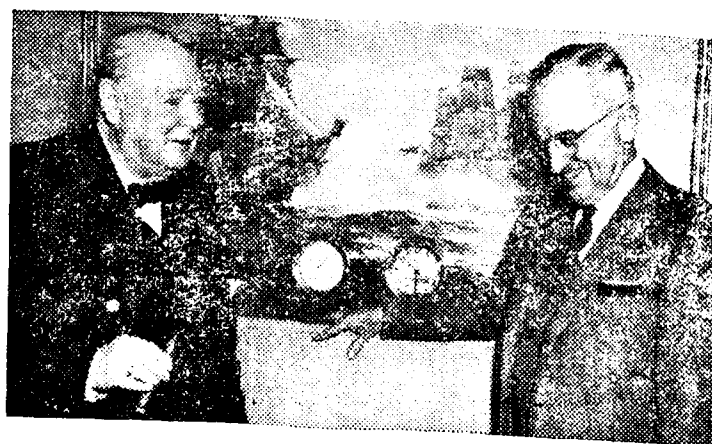
The Soviet Communism started and ended with the Proletariat. The Czar's Court set the example of material enjoyment. So the Bolshevik regime that followed emphasised large scale standardised production while China has rightly started with placing the peasantry on their feet. They have widely distributed the land among the actual tillers and left them to manage their lands them-

selves. Even the rich peasants were left untouched.

The present attitude of the Chinese Government to private property, profit and private enterprise makes them anything but Communistic. Their Central Government too is not wholly composed of Communists but contains only 31 per cent. of them. Hence it is wholly wrong to call China "Communist" at present. There are newspapers in China, especially in Shanghai which represent other points of view. There is no doubt the Communist group is powerful and influential but they are not all.

China has drawn freely on Russian experience but has not followed the Soviets blindly. The Russian experts are there to help China where and when wanted but do not boss the country as patrons or as superiors. Even the Russian Military experts are under the Chinese Command. On the whole China is solving her problems according to her lights rationally.

We in our turn would do well to profit by China's experiments and achievements, and solve our problems as best suited to our conditions under the powerful flash light of Non-violence and Truth provided by Gandhiji, and wish China every success in her efforts to work out her own salvation.



For the first time since he again became Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill visited the United States for a series of talks with President Harry S. Truman.

THE SOLDIER AS A CITIZEN

BY OUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

THE narrowing of the distance between the Defence Forces and the general public is one of the welcome consequences of the attainment of freedom by India. It has, among other things, led to serious thought among men of public spirit and intelligence as to what Military Law really is, and as to how it is related to Civil Law. The attempt will be instructive therefore to consider for a while what its origins are, and what its characteristics. A treatment both historical and expository will perhaps conduce to greater clarity.

It is necessary to emphasise, at the outset, that Military Law though distinct from Civil Law is by no means in conflict with it; rather, it is based on the same principles as the other. The need for it arose however from the fact that without special powers, military authorities could not maintain proper discipline in the army. Such powers, collectively known as Military Law, govern the soldier in peace and war, at all times and in all places. But a man enlisting as a soldier by no means secures freedom from his obligations as a civilian. He is bound besides to come into contact with civilians in many instances, e.g., in respect of billeting, recruiting regulations, impressment of transport etc. In this manner, Military Law is bound to affect civilians also. Its procedure not being so slow nor its code so elaborate as those of Civil Law, it is better able to meet the requirements of the military. Lastly, it alone can deal with certain offences not recognised by Civil Law, e.g., disobedience of orders, insubordination, drunkenness on duty, sleeping on sentry etc.

The need for some means of legally and speedily punishing soldiers has been recognised from the earliest times. Before the establishment of a standing army, it did not arise in peace times, but during war, ordinances and articles of war were issued by the Commander of an army possessing the authority of the Crown or by the Crown itself to govern troops when actually engaged in hostilities. But at the close of a war, when the army was disbanded, the articles ceased

to have effect. When in 1660, a standing army was established in the U.K., articles and regulations to govern it were made. But they were never sanctioned by Parliament; the Crown issued them under special powers assumed by it. In 1689 for the first time, when the Mutiny Act was passed, Statute Military law came into being in time of peace. But the Royal Prerogative of making articles for governing troops in time of war was never interfered with. In 1712, power was given to the Crown to make articles of war for all troops serving in the dominions abroad. Three years later, similar powers were conferred with respect to the troops at home. In 1718, all the preceding Acts were consolidated, and the discipline of the army in every part of the British dominions both in war and in peace was regulated either by statute or by articles sanctioned by it.

Still troops engaged in active service in foreign countries continued to be governed as before by articles issued under the Royal Prerogative. But in 1803, this gap was filled up by the passage of the Mutiny Act, and by statutory articles being extended to the army whether within or without the dominions of the Crown. In this manner, the exercise of the Royal Prerogative became unnecessary, and the army came to be governed under all circumstances by statute law. But still, considerable inconvenience was being felt on account of a military code contained partly in a statutory act, and partly in articles derived from that act. 1879 however both the act and the articles were consolidated by the Army Discipline Act of that year which two years later was repealed and re-enacted with amendments as the Army Act of 1881.

A word about the administration of the military code will here be relevant. The first military court appears to have been the 'curia militaris' or the court of chivalry which was a part of the supreme court of the great officers of state established by William the Conqueror. It consisted of the Lord High Constable who was the

King's General and Commander-in-Chief and of the Earl Marshal whose duty it was to marshal the army and to see that persons liable to serve fulfilled their duties. In time of war, the court followed the army; but this was obviously impossible when troops were functioning on different fronts. Therefore additional Marshals and Constables were empowered by the Crown to form other courts as and when required. Henry the Eighth abolished the office of High Constable, and with it lapsed the criminal jurisdiction of the court of chivalry. After that Military Law was administered by Commissioners who were usually officers of the army, or by the general in command of the troops sitting himself as Marshal, or by his deputies whom he was authorised to appoint. These courts were known as courts-martial. When the Mutiny Act was passed in 1689, they were continued with slight modifications regarding constitution and power. From them flow the present military courts.

In India, during the first half of the 17th century, the East India Company re-enrolled guards for the protection of its factories. Gradually these guards improved in organisation and efficiency, and eventually were transformed into the Company's European and Native troops. In 1754, an Act was passed by Parliament for the discipline of these troops but doubts arose as to the applicability of the Act to the Native troops. In order to clear up matters however power was given in 1813 to the Governments of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal to make laws, regulations and articles for governing troops who were "natives of East Indies." But in 1824, Parliament passed another Act to declare that all such troops would be bound by the existing laws.

The Governor-General in Council was empowered in 1833 to make laws applicable to all native officers and soldiers wherever serving. The articles of war made under this authority, with minor amendments, were the statutory basis for the Indian military code till 1911. In that year the Indian Army Act was passed consolidating all the existing laws of the Indian Army with the

addition of such provisions as experience suggested. The law in force today is the Army Act of 1950 which takes into account the changed political status of India.

Behind the various sections and subsections of the Army Acts in India and the U.K., there are found certain broad principles which it will be interesting to know. The basic idea of all popular government is the rule of law. But the existence of a body of paid soldiers appeared to conflict with it. This was the fear of Englishmen during the latter part of the 17th century and the earlier part of the 18th. Dicey has put the point very well. "With a standing army, the country could not, they felt, escape from despotism. Without a standing army, the country could not, they felt, avert invasion. The maintenance of national liberty appeared to involve the sacrifice of national freedom." This was a dilemma but it was resolved in due course by the authors of the first Mutiny Act who harked back to the fundamental principle of English law that a soldier like a clergyman, incurs special obligations in his official character but is not thereby exempted from ordinary liabilities of citizenship. The first Mutiny Act of 1689 and the later Army Act of 1881 in the U.K. were both based on the doctrine of the supremacy of the law of the land, and they manage to reconcile the maintenance of military discipline with the preservation of freedom. The Preamble to the Mutiny Act recites:—

Whereas no man may be judged of life or limb . . . in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers, and according to the known and established laws of the realm, yet nevertheless it is requisite for retaining such forces . . . in their duty and exact discipline and so that soldiers who shall mutiny . . . be brought to more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of law will allow. . . . etc.

It is thus clear that a soldier has a two-fold relation: one, towards his fellow citizens outside the army, and the other, towards the members of the army. He is a citizen as well as a soldier. By enlisting in the army, he only takes on additional duties and obligations, without escaping from those already incumbent on him as a citizen. He is subject to

criminal liability as much as a civilian, for instance, for murder—He cannot escape civil liability for debts. When there is a conflict of jurisdiction between a civil and a military court, the authority of the former will always prevail. Thus, when a soldier has been tried by a competent civil court, he cannot be tried for the same offence by a military court. But if he has been acquitted or convicted by a court-martial, he may still be tried by an ordinary criminal court.

The supremacy of the law of the land is illustrated more clearly in the instance of a soldier who obeys the orders of his superior but in doing so, commits a crime according to ordinary law. Thus, if he shoots down members of a crowd in carrying out orders, he is on the horns of a dilemma. "He may

be shot by orders of a court-marshal, if he disobeys, but may be hanged by a jury and judge, if he obeys." The real position seems to be that obedience to orders is not by itself a valid defence if, as a man of commonsense, the soldier should have known that the orders were criminal. He will be protected for obeying only those orders for which he may presumably believe his officer had good grounds. In other words, when there is conflict between the supremacy of the law and the discipline of the army, the latter goes to the wall.

Thus Military Law is just a body of law, like Civil Law, based on the same fundamental principles of justice and jurisprudence but with certain modifications rendered necessary by reasons of discipline.

ELECTION RESULTS AT A GLANCE

(UPTO MIDNIGHT OF JANUARY 31—FEBRUARY 1)

		Congress	Socialists	K.M.P. Party	Jan Sangh	Communists and allies	Scheduled Castes Federation	Krishak Lok Party	Other Parties	Independents	Total
PARLIAMENT:											
(House of the People)	(489)	147	4	6	..	17	1	..	14	24	213
STATE ASSEMBLIES:											
Assam	(108)	53	4	1	..	..	..	..	6	7	71
Bihar	(330)	118	13	1	..	..	..	..	33	5	170
Bombay	(315)	269	8	..	..	1	1	..	18	17	314
Madhya Pradesh	(232)	185	1	6	..	..	..	..	4	22	218
Madras	(375)	140	13	33	..	57	2	13	32*	59	349
Orissa	(140)	54	10	..	..	7	..	..	28	18	118
Punjab	(126)	33	..	..	..	4	..	..	3	5	45
Uttar Pradesh	(430)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Bengal	(238)	119	..	13	7	23	..	..	18	11	191
Hyderabad	(175)	93	11	..	..	42	5	..	10	14	175
Madhya Bharat	(99)	59	4	..	4	..	..	..	8	3	78
Mysore	(99)	68	3	7	..	1	2	..	..	8	89
PEPSU	(60)	15	..	1	2	1	..	..	9	6	34
Rajasthan	(160)	37	1	1	6	..	..	4	17	25	91
Saurashtra	(60)	49	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	54
Travancore-Cochin	(108)	44	12	..	..	32	..	..	9	11	108
Ajmer	(30)	15	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	4	25
Bhopal	(30)	17	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	20
Coorg	(24)	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	24
Delhi	(48)	39	2	..	4	..	..	..	1	2	48
Himachal Pradesh	(36)	24	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	8	36
Vindhya Pradesh	(60)	15	9	..	2	..	..	..	2	2	30
ELECTORAL COLLEGES:											
Kutch	(30)	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	30
Manipur	(30)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
Tripura	(30)	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	6

* Commonweal 6, Muslim League 5, Tamilnad Toilers' Party 17, Justice Party 1, and Forward Bloc (Marxist) 3.

EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS

BY MR. JOHN RIGG

UNIVERSITY students in a number of countries have for many years spent their summer holidays working abroad. At one time they usually did casual work as labourers or waiters. Now increasingly they find employment in reconstruction work or in farm camps—perhaps even doing welfare work in the poorer districts of big cities.

However humble their employment, the time they spend in each other's countries is never wasted. Many of them have, however, often wished they could spend their holidays working at some job for which they were particularly qualified. That wish, at any rate for technical students, has been fulfilled.

Through the International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience, founded in Britain, the engineering student can now work in an overseas foundry, the agricultural student on an overseas farm, the mining student in a foreign coal or iron mine.

In 1951, through the help of the Association, hundreds of technical students from the universities of Western Europe, the United States and Israel spent two months or more working in each other's countries at their own jobs.

Britain sent 422 students overseas to gain technical experience—106 to Sweden, 68 to France, 48 to the Netherlands and 200 to Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. In return she welcomed 457 students from these countries and from Iceland and Israel.

22 SUBJECTS STUDIED

In all, 2,433 students left their own countries in 1951 to gain experience in industry and commerce through the Association. Students of mechanical engineering were in the majority; 708 of them went abroad. Hundreds of other students took up work which gave them practical experience in their own subjects of electrical engineering, civil engineering, chemical engineering, chemistry, mining and metallurgy. Twenty-two subjects were studied by students taking part in these exchanges.

The Association sponsoring the exchanges, which is recognised by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and by UNESCO, has its headquarters at the Imperial College, South Kensington, London. It was through the initiative of the Imperial College that the Association was founded in 1948.

While it is the international secretariat for the 16 member nations of the Association, the Imperial College, on behalf of 22 universities in Britain, arranges reception for overseas students wishing to spend their vacations working in the United Kingdom.

Every student who visits Britain is asked to give his impressions of the arrangements made for his journey, his reception and accommodation, the facilities provided by his holiday employers and his relations with his fellow-workers. He is also asked for his impressions of social and cultural life in Britain.

IMPRESSIONS

The most striking thing about their impressions is that all the students visiting Britain declared that their relations with their fellow-workers—English, Scottish and Welsh—were perfect. Sometimes it took them a week or two to become familiar with dialect expressions or workers' slang, but all spoke well of their fellows.

A number of students said they were impressed by Britain's State insurance schemes and the "Third Programme"—provided for the more intellectual listeners by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

But students who visit Britain are not left entirely to their own or their fellow-workers devices for sparetime relaxation. The Students' Union of the Imperial College of Science (part of London University) held a dance in London for overseas students and the Federation of British Industry (an employers' association) gave a reception. The British Institution of Civil Engineers also entertained the students, and the Port of London Authority invited over 100 of them to inspect from a private launch, London's extensive dock system.

INDIA AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS

By "KEITH AUSTIN"

—:O:—

AT a critical period of the last war, when the German mines in Europe and the Japanese forces in the East were carrying all before them, the late President Roosevelt made a speech that will go down in history with Lincoln's address at Gettysburg and Churchill's after Dunkirk. For at a moment when the powers of darkness were threatening to extinguish the light of freedom in the world, the American President set clearly before his countrymen, and before the free world, the ultimate ends for which they were fighting. Their struggle, said President Roosevelt, was a crusade to achieve for the world the Four Freedoms which he considered absolutely essential for its future progress and development—Freedom of speech, Freedom of worship, Freedom from want and Freedom from fear.

The war is now an evil memory. Freedom triumphed. But the war merely lowered temporarily the barriers to the advance of culture and liberty. Since the war has ended, obstacles, material and human to the Four Freedoms have reared their ugly hands once again, with renewed strength and vigour. The war was won; the peace still remains to be won, and, as Jawaharlal Nehru has said, true peace will never dawn in the world while there is a single unfreeman in it and peace, justice and happiness for men and for nations will remain idle hopes until Roosevelt's Four Freedoms flourish in every country of the world.

India was, till recently, denied to a greater or less extent the last three of these four freedoms. With the dawn of Independence, in 1947, she found herself in a position to set about to achieve them. Independence was a priceless gift; it was also a responsibility for it placed on her shoulders the duty and the privileges of working out her own salvation and destiny. By following the long, narrow, and exacting road that leads to true Democracy and to the attainment of the ideals of Liberty, Fraternity, Equality and Justice, in short to the winning of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms

How far has India progressed in the Four years she has been free towards the establishment of these Four Freedoms and what obstacles have her Government and people still to overcome before they are won? Freedom of worship has been part of the Indian heritage from time immemorial. Barring short periods of darkness, toleration and liberality have been the keynotes of the religious history of India which has on the whole not been marred by those bitter religious struggles which raged in Europe till very recent times; India's greatest sons—the Emperors Asoka and Akbar in the past, and Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru in our time—have been firm believers in every man's inherent right to freedom of conscience and belief. The first three even went a stage further and tried to establish a "Universal Religion" that would unite all Indians and eliminate the differences and occasional frictions between the various religious groups in India. The British Government took over and extended the policy of religious toleration, and gave complete freedom of worship and religious equality to all the people of India. It is true that, from time to time India's recent history has been disfigured by riots and clashes between the two main religious communities in India—the Hindus and the Muslims. But the source and root of these conflicts and of the bitterness that has existed, and still exists to some extent, between the two majority groups in India is political rather than religious, religion being used as a cloak and as a lever for the attainment of political objectives. India's Constitution continues and confirms her firm belief in religious toleration and freedom of worship. Though the Hindus constitute over 75 % of the population of India, India is to have no state religion nor is any religion to be taught in her State Schools and the adherents of every religious denomination in India have been given complete religious equality, and the right freely to believe, practice and propagate the religion of their choice and to run their own educational institutions in which children may be taught the

religion of their fathers. Thus Freedom of worship is a living reality in India at the present moment. It is being threatened by a small but active group of communal fanatics and bigots who want "India for the Hindus", but the mass of enlightened opinion is against them and it seems unlikely that India will, at least in the immediate future, waver or wander from her chosen path of religious toleration.

Freedom of speech both of the individual and of the Press is the most cherished civic liberty of mankind. Where it exists, Democracy flourishes; if it is muzzled or stifled, Democracy will soon wither and die. How far do liberty of individual thought and speech, and liberty of the press which is the best guardian of the individual's liberty exist in India? They have been both guaranteed under Article 19(2) and 22 of the Constitution's chapter on "Fundamental Rights." But so are they in Russia where the individual and the Press both have complete freedom to believe what their rulers tell them. One must leave aside theory then, and attempt to assess how far freedom of speech for the individual and for the Press is a reality in India today.

Individual liberty of belief and speech existed to a very great extent till recently, subject of course to the laws of libel and subversive or immoral speech. Recently there has been a tendency on the part of the Central and of the State governments to control and curb this liberty of the individual—in some cases to far too great an extent. The Preventive Detention Bill passed last year, and renewed since then, for instance, gives the Executive the power to detain any person they consider to be a potential danger to the safety and security of the State without trial. Though specifically designed, and perhaps necessary, to curb the growing communist anarchy and violence in the country, this Act places too great a power in the hands of the Executive who can use it to curtail the liberties of any "persona non grata" under the plea that he is a Communist. The fact that article 14 of the Act which prevented the arrested person from appealing to any court against his detention, has recently been declared *Ultra Vires* by the Supreme

Court of India, and the setting aside of one or two unjustified detentions of State High Courts shows that the power placed in the hands of the authorities to suspend Habeas Corpus have been, and can be, abused. There is no doubt that the Communists, who are out, in Nehru's words, to "destroy the country and the youth", have forfeited their right to the enjoyment of full civil liberties; still the Preventive Detention Bill even in its modified form is perhaps too extreme a measure, and there was and still is much justification for the resolution passed last year by the Indian Socialist Party that "the assumption of such powers during peace is subversive of all rule of law and is a confession that free India cannot govern itself in a civilized way, 'for their fear that the extra-ordinary powers which this Bill gives the Party in power, may be used to suppress all political opposition. A genuine Democracy is impossible without a free Press. The Indian Press has enjoyed a fair amount of freedom since Independence, though at critical times this freedom has been often curtailed, to a greater or less extent. Still freedom of the Press guaranteed under the Constitution, was very real till the recent enactment of the Constitution Amendment Bill by the Central Assembly. This Bill, which raised heated passions in the Assembly and has been greeted by a storm of protest from the Press, gives the State the power to pass laws to impose restrictions on freedom of speech and expression with regard to three matters—interests of friendly relations with foreign states, public order, and incitement to an offence. Of these the most dangerous is the second for the scope of "public order" is so wide that an unscrupulous Executive, either at the Centre or in the States, could use it as an excuse to gag the press and suppress all criticism of its actions. Mr. Nehru's repeated insistence that the amendment of Article 19(2) of the Constitution was not meant to destroy the legitimate freedom of the press, but was merely an 'enabling measure' giving the Central and State governments reserve powers to restrict and punish any abuse of that freedom was reassuring but not completely so. There is no doubting the

Prime Minister's honesty and integrity and his sincere desire for a free press which he has always championed. But, unfortunately other leaders, both at the Centre and still more in certain States, have not the Prime Minister's breadth of view, tolerance and faith in liberty. In many States there has already been a regrettable measure of Governmental interference and hostility, open or concealed, towards any paper critical of its policies or actions. Their newly acquired powers under the Constitution Amendment Bill might tempt them, in the supposed interests of public order, to muzzle the opposition and suppress all hostile criticism. The Freedom of the Press has been placed in jeopardy, only a vigilant press and public opinion will ensure that the Central and State governments do not abuse the autocratic power placed in their hands.

To create freedom from want for India's teeming millions is the greatest challenge which India's statesmen have to face. The British were unable to solve this almost overwhelming problem, and the baby has been passed to India's first free government. Freedom from want is basic to the other freedoms. A man who is never sure where the next meal is coming from has not the time nor the energy to value his liberty which only begins to be precious to him when he has ceased to be overwhelmed by the sheer struggle for existence. Political freedom must be founded on economic freedom if it is to have any meaning or reality. Ninety per cent. or more of India's people have not even the beginnings of economic liberty. It has been said truly that the Indian peasant, who is the typical Indian, is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt; the same is probably true of a large percentage of the poorer class of town dwellers. A recent survey of a villager's budget in a typical Indian village gives a grim index of the appalling poverty of the average family in India. His annual income for a family of six, was Rupees 444; his annual expenditure Rs. 616! Eighty-five per cent. of his expense budget was spent on food—mostly cereals and pulses which form the bulk of his one square meal per day—for he cannot afford sugar,

butter, milk, vegetables or meat which is only eaten on ceremonial occasions. Only 9 per cent. is spent on clothes—fortunately nature is beneficent—and 8 per cent. on small luxuries like cigarettes, betel-nut etc. Such abject poverty is unknown and undreamt of in the West—it is just the sort of soil in which Communism thrives and it speaks volumes for the Commonsense, the resignation, and the essentially spiritual outlook of the Indian masses that they have not in spite of intensive Communist propaganda, risen against the remaining 10 per cent. who control more than half the nation's wealth. But even if this wealth now concentrated in the hands of a few were distributed more equitably it would not go very far towards relieving the widespread distress and poverty, which increase yearly due to the ever rapid growth of population, for India is not producing enough wealth to ensure a decent standard of living for her children. The long term objective, then, is an increase of national wealth through industrialization and a fuller development of all India's economic resources. The immediate problem is to feed the starving and clothe the naked, and to save them from the specious promises and bribes being dangled before them like carrots by the Communists. The Indian peasant is content with very little and is not easily deceived or stampeded into violence. But there is a limit even to his patience and endurance and there are ominous signs that that limit is being reached. Unless America and the Western Powers, in the near future, supplement the present Government's efforts to improve the lot of the masses and to ensure them at least a full stomach, there is a grave danger that India will go the way of China. One recalls in this context Francis Bacon's wise words "the matter of revolutions is of two sorts—much discontent and much poverty. Rebellions of the belly are the worst." Liberty means nothing to starving man. Can he be blamed if he, like Esau sells his birthright for a mess of porridge, real or hoped for?

"The only thing" once said the late President Roosevelt in an inspired moment "that we need fear after the war is fear." Other freedoms will be sterile, even

dangerous, unless mankind in general achieves freedom from fear; for fear is the great destroyer of the peace and sanity of the individual, the nation and the world. India is very far from achieving this most vital and basic of the four freedoms. One or two of her leaders have achieved it, but the majority of them are too blinded by fear of one sort or another to be equal to the gigantic task ahead of them. Nothing less than a peaceful social and economic revolution is essential if India is to make her political independence have any vitality or significance. India's leaders realize this but most of them are afraid to take the necessary steps to achieve it and content themselves with peace-meal improvements which achieve little or nothing. The masses are too sunk in hopelessness, apathy, hunger and despair even to fear—they have nothing to lose

and so nothing to fear. India must be freed from fear before she can have the courage to achieve all her statesmen dream of achieving.

Of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, then, India possesses freedom of worship, and to a much less extent, freedom of speech. But freedom from want and freedom from fear are practically non-existent. India must awaken to the peril of her position, and bend all her energies to achieve them, for these two Freedoms are the bases of liberty, and without them, to the vast majority of India's citizens, her new found freedom will only mean the freedom to starve, or the freedom to remain enslaved to their more primitive instincts. Liberty is not a gift, but a conquest, and unless India conquers the twin evils of Want and Fear, her political liberty will be in grave danger of being strangled at birth.

THE INDO-U. S. FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

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

THE Indo-American aid agreement signed at New Delhi in January this year for accelerating the economic development of India is yet one more indication of the generosity of the U.S.A. and her keen anxiety to help the under-developed areas of the world to raise their standard of living. In 1947, the U.S.A. launched the famous Marshall Plan which has enabled the nations of Western Europe to stage a remarkable recovery from the effects of their war-shattered economy. Two years later, President Truman announced the Point Four programme for stimulating economic progress in the under-developed countries. Last year the U.S.A. came to our rescue by offering us a loan of two million tons of wheat. And now she has come forward to give us the benefits of her scientific advances and industrial progress. In offering financial and technical assistance, the U.S.A. is obviously actuated with the desire to check the spread of militant communism. But it will be wrong to suppose that Point Four is meant only to combat communism. "If that were

its sole object" says an American author, "it would fail ignominiously. It would be just one more way of dancing to the Russian tune. For the fact is that if Russia and America were the closest allies, Point Four would be no less necessary and no less a natural expression of the American genius."

The Indo-U.S. Agreement is a tribute to the statesmanship and farsightedness of the Government of the two countries. Although they differ on some issues of foreign policy, they have rightly refused to allow these differences to come in the way of mutual co-operation. After all, both are devoted to the pursuit of peace and democracy and these can be attained only by closer co-operation and understanding. India can play her part effectively as a great power only when her economy is strong and prosperous. Towards this end, the Government of India, since Independence, have been making vigorous efforts but in view of the magnitude of the problem it is difficult to secure rapid and substantial progress without external assistance. It is interesting to

note that the initiative for the agreement came not from India but from the U.S.A. Mr. Chester Bowles told a Press conference at New Delhi that India did not make any request for the amount but America offered the aid in consonance with her policy to fight hunger and poverty in this region. The Ambassador added that India had a right to expect such help from the U.S.A. At the same time, he made it clear that it was not an act of charity but an act of enlightened self-interest on the part of America which did not like to have areas loaded with hunger and poverty.

Some broad facts of the agreement may be mentioned here briefly. The two Governments will set up an Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund in which the Government of the U.S.A. will deposit upto June 30, 1952 the sum of \$50 million. The Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund with a sum of Rs. 25 crores. The funds will be utilised only for the execution of agreed projects of technical co-operation. The administration of the programme will be in charge of a Central Committee appointed by the Government of India while on the American side, there will be a Director of Technical Co-operation. The agreement provides that the funds may be disbursed by means of grants-in-aid as well as by loans. Repayment of loans is to be made in rupees to the Government of India, such proceeds being credited to the Special Development Fund. On every project agreed to by both the Governments, a loan or grant-in-aid will first be given from the Technical Co-operation Fund and any supplementary finance that may be needed will be provided by the Government of India, if necessary in co-operation with the State Governments.

The agreement will remain in force till June 1957 and will thus cover the duration of India's Five Year Plan. It is laid down that the Government of the U.S.A. will make available additional funds from time to time "subject to the availability of appropriations for the purposes of this agreement". Although it is an extension of the Point Four Plan it provides funds not only for technical assistance but for

the purchase of capital goods and these can be got not only from the U.S.A. but from any part of the world.

The agreement does not specify the nature of the projects to be financed but it is clear that the emphasis will be on the development of such schemes as are related to refugee rehabilitation and the improvement of agriculture. The refugee townships in Faridabad and Nilokheri have been conspicuous successes and hundreds of displaced persons have been able to settle themselves with dignity and comfort mainly with their own efforts supplemented of course by state assistance. With the aid now available, it will be possible to set up many more such townships and thus accelerate refugee rehabilitation. As regards agriculture, it is well known that there is tremendous scope for improvement. Not only is the yield per acre very low in comparison with other nations but we have nearly 100 million acres of cultivable land still lying unused. And what stands in the way of increased production is the ignorance of the peasant as well as the inability of the State to provide him with modern facilities to improve his technique. "There is no question", says an American writer, "of India's ability to grow the greater amount and more. Where an Indian to-day raises 1,133 pounds of rice to an acre, his American opposite number raises 2,293 pounds. Nature sets no 1,133 pound limit on Indian soil. The same treatment as is accorded in America would bring the same results". It is heartening to note that the agreement has stressed the need for proper co-ordination and expeditious execution. It is laid down, for instance, that "each project agreement shall define the scope and the specific character of the project to be undertaken, the method by which it is to be carried out, the period within which and the agency or agencies through which it shall be executed and all other matters required for its effective implementation".

The agreement is a triumph of Indo-American statesmanship and it is to be hoped that it will be a prelude to greater flow of capital and technical aid from the U.S.A. and increasing goodwill and understanding between the two countries.

STATE ENTERPRISE IN ASIA'S INDUSTRIES

By Mr. E. P. W. DA COSTA

ASIA'S industries must be seen against the great freedom movements of recent years. At first sight it may appear that there is not much connection between the two. But it is to be remembered that if the burning desire for freedom was the political impulse of changes in Asia, industrialisation was the means by which the economic fulfilment of our freedom dreams was sought. It is true that in many countries in Asia freedom has not yet brought industrialisation. The time has been short and, in most countries, specially difficult. Even in India where we have had the great good fortune to take over an administration untouched by civilian strife progress has not been marked. Whatever the views we entertain in regard to the merits of private enterprise, it may be stated that all over Asia as a result of the emphasis that freedom movements have placed upon State activity, the volume of State enterprise will go on increasing even if it does not always encroach on the private field.

So far as countries in Asia other than Japan and India are concerned this is an essential development. Private enterprise in South East Asia is doubly restricted. The volume of private enterprise in industry in Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Indo-China might all be contained within a figure of Rs. 1,000 crores and at the present time not a little of the private industry is dislocated and functioning under new handicaps. While a new pattern of industrial co-operation between Governments and private companies on the type of the new agreement between an oil company and the Government of Burma announced today may be forthcoming, the area even of joint enterprises will be small. In India, and of course in Japan, the position is different. Much the larger share of industry is in the private sector. The rate of development of State enterprise here may be more rapid than elsewhere but there is no indication that the percentage share of the public sector will rise. In India it will rise only if, as in the Draft Five Year Plan, a deliberate bias works in favour of the public sector.

Conditions today are vastly changed from those early days when the timid private entrepreneurs venturing into the unknown East insisted on guaranteed dividends and on the reimbursement to them of all capital in the event of failure. It cannot also be reasonably said in the light of what has happened in India since these early times that indigenous industry has not shown any enterprise at all. I am afraid that Westerners who judge us have been less than just to the initiative which has been shown in this country in the building up of the steel, cotton, textile and sugar industries. These are examples of purely indigenous enterprise and these I think are a standing refutation of the contention of Westerners that private enterprise is, by and large, inept in Asian countries.

Government machinery is very ill-adapted for taking over and running any new industries in the interests of balanced and rapid development. Governments would need in any case to concentrate on the development of the primary sector, and private foreign capital and enterprise—if they are to be imported at all,—will most probably choose to come into this country and into the other countries in Asia only in collaboration with private enterprise.

This is, I believe, the substance of what Dr. Schacht, the German financial genius who has just been in the East, has recently told the Indonesian and Indian Governments. His conclusions while they seem familiar at first sight are not so easily accepted in detail. He, like others (Sir Jeremy Raisman, for example) has said in effect: "Concentrate on agricultural development, without which all planning will be waste of effort, keep the ring free for private enterprise in industry, and keep the door open for foreign co-operation and participation in industrial development." Keeping the ring free is in essence the substance of what I had been trying to say.

The anxiety of this generation is not to grant too much freedom to private enterprise. The reasons why the middle classes and white-collared workers are

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against business interests in striking contrast to the days when economists like Wilson and Bagehot were supporting these interests are easily understandable to those who have grown up during the war and prewar years. Many of us who have lived through one or more world wars, will find within the range of our own experience something to urge against the proposal to grant a larger measure of freedom to industrialists than they enjoy at present. However, no social problem ever involves a choice between two alternatives one of which is absolutely good, while the other is absolutely bad. We have to weigh our prejudices against the larger social ends and decisions have always to be taken on a balance of considerations. In striking that balance, it will be useful to bear three points particularly in mind.

First, the State will have to concentrate on the primary sector and on what is called social capital, whether it likes it or not. If this prior responsibility, which governments owe to their peoples, is ignored, there will not only be no food and raw-material for us in this generation but we are likely soon to end up with no industry. Secondly, the poor and impoverished governments in Asia cannot be expected to take both industry and agricultural in their stride. To try to do so would merely increase the chances, which would be present in any case, that the resources

of the communities will be strained beyond bearable limits. Thirdly, if the State nevertheless does attempt in all these areas to assume a dictatorial and monopolistic position, it will flounder on the laws of supply and demand. If supply is inadequate, demand being irreducible, prices must rise. Less production means in effect more inflation.

May I sum up briefly the conclusions which can be drawn from this discussion? The State, as far into the future as we can see, will have little to do in the field of consumer industries in most Asian countries. We may borrow a famous constitutional phrase and say that its function will be to advise, to encourage, and to warn. It will have its hands too full with other more immediate tasks and the best it can do will be to promote a proper climate for industrial development. I cannot say that at the present time the ingredients for that climate have been well conceived. It is partly because Asian States are so confident of themselves that they have not realised the essential functions of trust and economic incentive. But experience is coming fast; there are no teachers as good as hard facts. The story of State enterprise in Asia in the last five years has a sure moral; while the State is striving to grasp more it should not bar the road to agencies nimbler in mind and swifter of foot. [A. I. R. *External Services.*]

THE POOR HOUSE: A STORY

By SRI S. D. VISHINANI

A tramp, rugged in clothes with a staff in one hand and a bag in the other, was plodding his weary way through the street of Chandni Chowk when he dashed against a lamp post. Strange enough, the street was well lit although it was nearabout midnight. Dinoo, for that was the name of the tramp, was saved however, with the help of his staff, from getting a severe knock. Nevertheless, his forehead was a bit swollen and caused some pain. Unmindful of the mishap, he continued his journey. Hardly had he treaded a small distance

when he was halted by a policeman on duty.

"Who are you? Where are you going? Aren't you a thief? What have you got in the bag? Where do you come from?" the policeman went on querying one after another without waiting for reply.

"I am a poor man and want to go to the Poor House. Can you tell me which way it is?" was Dinoo's dignified reply.

"That way", said the policeman pointing his finger in the right direction.

"Thanks", replied Dinoo and resumed his journey.

After a fairly long time Dinoo found himself at the gate of the Poor House. What a huge building it was! The construction had just been completed and it now housed about 500 homeless and penniless people. The problem of beggars in India is a nasty one. Due to poverty, illiteracy and scarcity coupled with unemployment, rising prices and food shortage in the country on an unprecedented scale, it is not surprising to find batches of beggars everywhere, squatting on pavements, roads, streets and even public gardens. They form a community by themselves. Some of them subsist only by begging; others sell beads, rosaries and an odd assortment of goods. One finds them in dark corners, all smoke, cooking their food in charred utensils on the road and in the bazar. The other day I happened to pass by the Queen's Road near Novelty Cinema when I was astounded to find a dead body, presumably of a beggar, covered with a dirty sheet of cloth lying on the pavement of the road. More than a dozen of beggars had collected there and were asking every passer-by to contribute something to make for the expenses of the funeral of their unfortunate brother. I was very much moved by this pathetic sight for the poor man had begged all his life; but what was worse still that even after his death he would not be cremated unless others paid for his funeral.

Dinoo pulled the chain that was hanging outside the gate and a hoarse noise of the bell echoed. "Who is there at this hour of the night?" exclaimed the chowkidar who slept near the gate, putting his shawl over his shoulders and coming out.

"A poor man seeking shelter" Dinoo replied solemnly.

The chowkidar took him to a nearby room meant for new comers. Dinoo was asked to pass the night there and to appear before the Warden in the morning.

The morning came as usual, but it meant a new dawn of life for Dinoo. He found in it a message of a new life putting an end to his past miserable life.

In the big compound that stretched over a green lawn there stood men, women and children, all in different rows. The Warden called every name and a reply came. When the calling was over all the new comers were invited to register their names. They had also to state whether they knew any handicraft or had tried hand at any profession. Each one was allotted a piece of work according to one's ability, which one was expected to finish by the evening. There were also a number of disabled persons who had found refuge in the Poor House, who had to be provided for with the necessities of life. The Poor House had not yet become a self-sufficient unit and depended on the Government as well as the public for help. Often, rich and benevolent people will visit the place and make substantial donations. The Government met with all the remaining expenses of the Poor House.

Dinoo had tried hand at carpentry and was an expert at making simple household articles. He was, therefore, put to the same work and busied himself with the task of boxmaking. He was to get free food and clothing and a living space plus a small cash allowance for his day's labour. It was definitely better and more paying than begging.

The other handicrafts taught at the Poor House included mat and basket making, grinding, husking, pounding of condiments, spinning and weaving, toy-making, pottery, carpentry, leather work, etc. There was also a seminary where children and the young folk were encouraged to learn to read and write. Some of the inmates served as volunteers in the Poor House. Sweeping, washing, cooking and serving food were some of their duties. There were others who stitched clothes, prepared beds and quilts for the inmates. Some of the inmates went out and sold the products in the market.

One evening, after he had finished his day's work, Dinoo set out for a short walk. The world outside looked quite different from what one found, within the Poor House. There, all belonged to the same class, 'poor' and enjoyed equal

rights and privileges. In the outside world there were numerous classes and sections of people. One looked upon the other with suspicion and jealousy. It was his first chance to go out ever since he came to the Poor House. He had now become a full-fledged carpenter and was good at furniture making. If he could be gainfully employed in some furniture making concern, he was prepared to leave the Poor House and settle down in the city as a respectable citizen. He liked the free and independent air of the outside world. Moreover, he had started liking Raza, a maiden of 17 years, who used to serve food in the Poor House and also looked after the comforts of the disabled.

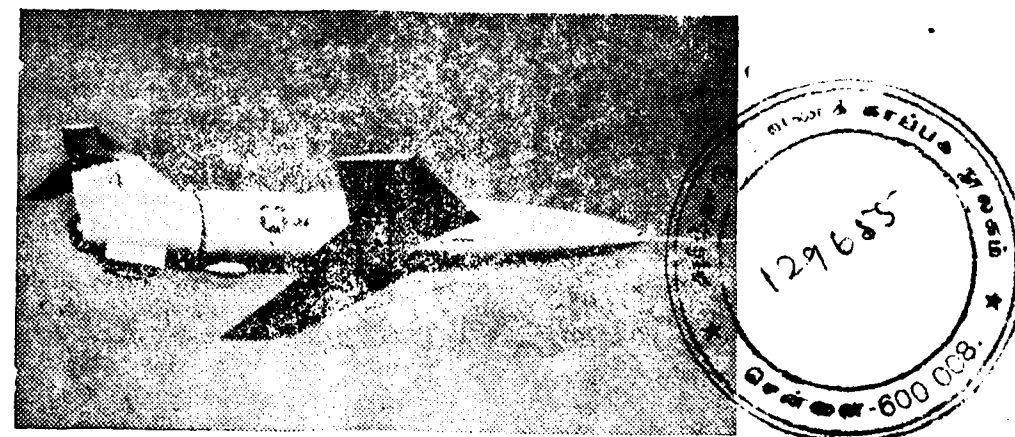
When he returned from his walk, Dinoo went upstairs and calling Raza aside told her everything. She was very happy indeed and promised to speak about it to the Warden.

Raza was an orphan girl. She had not seen her parents as far as she could remember. She used to get on from what she earned by begging and lived a

homeless life. She was, therefore, probably the first girl to be admitted to the Poor House. She had been doing splendid service and nobody would like her to go away. But, Dinoo had attracted her for he was able-bodied and fairly handsome in appearance and could by his profession of carpentry, earn an honourable living. She, by marrying him, would enter a new world full of hope and inspiration. She would pass an independent life with her husband and fully participate in the national and social life of her country.

The next day, Dinoo and Raza saw the Warden and narrated everything. The Warden was exhilarated and promised to render all possible aid. Within a week the Warden found a job for Dinoo in a big furniture-making concern. He also got a small house for Dinoo and Raza in one of the nearby localities.

The marriage of Dinoo and Raza was solemnized and all the inmates of the Poor House blessed the couple to pass a happy and prosperous life. While departing, Dinoo and Raza bowed to the Poor House in reverence for it had moulded their lives and given them a new status.



The First Pilotless Bomber Squadron is being activated by the United States Air Force at the Missile Test Center in the State of Florida. The squadron is the first operational unit of its kind. It will be equipped initially with the B-61 pilotless bomber, called the "Matador." After initial training, the squadron will be placed under supervision of the U. S. Tactical Air Command.

Village Democracy for Rural Reconstruction

BY DR. BALJIT SINGH, Ph.D., B.Litt.

Lucknow University.

THERE is little recognition of the fact, today, that the countryside is denuded of its best men — men with initiative and education, those who have, among other things a social horizon and understanding of new ideas and ideals, and above all the enterprising youths and sturdy workers of good health — through a process of movement and migration of population, which in economic terms is apparently desirable as it results in relieving congestion in agriculture to some extent and is an aid to the formulation of balance in occupations and regions. But the migrating youths constitute the backbone of a village and if genetic selection or biased environmental forces are not subdued by an equalitarian movement in its widest amplitude the countryside will hardly ever extricate itself from its present prostrate position. The road to rural reconstruction work in the country is strewn with the wreckages of diverse schemes due to lack of initiative, leadership and enthusiasm within the village. Hardly any scheme could last, none has spread. Pulsation almost stops with the withdrawal of outside stimuli.

Progress implies a pattern in the distribution of population from a qualitative angle, that in an ideal case would perhaps be represented by a skrew curve with its bulge above the axis of mean. Its actual form in our villages corresponds roughly to an inverted top lying almost flat without any height. Yet at its uppermost point the top is continuously being scraped off by the 'drain' to cities and industrial areas leaving the countryside almost socially barren stemming all barriers to progress. True it is, that the ideal pattern can be obtained only in a new social order 'casteless and classless' as Gandhiji called it. Nonetheless it would make all the difference between responsive action and social torpidity if migration is confined to the bottom taking off the pressure from the upper layer. The distributional pattern of village population would rise in shape and new economic and social contacts inherent in nobility

of labour would operate in the most healthy direction.

Under the present set up it is not so on account of the disparate conditions of living and social amenities in the villages in contrast to cities. Ambition pulls away from the village people from the upper income groups having education and wide outlook. Poverty, likewise pushes to industrial areas youths with courage and stamina. Cities obtain the progressive elements from the villages which account for their development and expansion, but the burden is borne by the village people, as it is they who bear, rear and educate the migrating youths from the rural areas. It is nothing less than an irony that people with the least income should bear the largest share of the replacement costs of our population. Inequity implied in this pulls down their standard of living still further and makes the task of salvaging all the more difficult.

Approach to the problem of rural reconstruction has so far over-emphasised the utility of an extension service or link carrying information about improved techniques or processes to the countryside and its reactions back to the research stations and the welfare departments. No doubt, it has a definite place in a progressive economy and the Economic Programme Committee has taken a right view in recommending that the state 'must organise expeditiously Agricultural and Co-operative Information Services to work in co-operation with and through the local co-operative organisations, village panchayats and agriculturists' Organisations and see that every village is brought in direct contact with this service.' Proper organisation of the type is not to be found even for agricultural development, let aside the needs of rural reconstruction. The following suggestions of the Advisory Planning Board therefore need a very careful consideration: "The mere task of collecting data and carrying out detailed surveys in order to ascertain what works and facilities are needed and where will involve very considerable labour, and, when this has been done,

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there will still remain the task of procuring and distributing the requisite resources and seeing that they are actually put to proper use. The organisation needed for these tasks hardly exists at present. Its creation is a matter of urgency. We have the following suggestions to make regarding the form which such organisation should take:—

(i) Multi-purpose co-operative societies should be set up in the villages as far as possible, as it is essential to build up local initiative.

(ii) An executive authority should be set up for each district and made responsible for carrying out, in consultation with the villagers and their societies, investigations as to the works and facilities needed in each tract and for arranging the supply of the facilities and the construction of the works needed. For these purposes this authority must be provided with adequate funds and given a fairly free hand.

(iii) Such executive authority should consist of the representatives in the district of the departments concerned, e.g. Revenue, Agriculture, Public Works, etc., brought together under a united command.

(iv) The nerve centres of direction must be district headquarters under the general guidance of the provincial authorities."

'Action research' as the Americans would put it has now been started on some such lines in the United Provinces in a Pilot Intensive Project in Planning, Development and Development Co-ordination at Etawah. A new addition to the social-technical approach in the scheme is the introduction of the services of a Rural Life Analyst, 'who interprets the people and their culture to the technical and official and the technicians and officials to the people', and 'who from this knowledge and experience helps to time the introduction of elements i.e., to advance or to retard them based on the people's readiness or otherwise.'

Tools for building up local initiative would be lacking and therefore no work would leave its permanent abode so long as the living conditions in the villages are not brought to a level at which wholesale exodus of the upper

class to the cities may cease. We will have to draw a minimum national standard in food, clothing, shelter, medical attention and education, which would be guaranteed equally in the villages and towns. As a first step in this direction, besides the application of distributive justice through the technique of minimum wage, a part of costs inherent in maintaining the social efficiency of the individual as at present falling almost in toto on the family in rural communities will have to be shared on a corporate basis as individual incomes are too low and investments for the replacement of population cannot be made at a satisfactory level by the individual. Such arrangements imply public services and amenities in the villages for sanitation, medical aid, education, etc. The nation has a vital interest in this matter for with investments of this type falling below the requirements to maintain and improve the level of efficiency total wellbeing is reduced and the standard of living and productivity is pulled down throughout setting in motion the most severe cyclical disturbances.

Analytical technique in recent years has emphasised the significance of such investments and even in these countries where living conditions in the countryside are not so disparate as in our case the issue has acquired particular importance. The Committee on post-war Agricultural Policy of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities in the U.S.A. has emphasised that since the youth from the farm help maintain the urban population and the income of many farm families is simply too small to provide an adequate level of living more support should be given to schools, medical centres, housing, electrification, communication, roads, recreational facilities and nutrition in the rural areas. Urgency of such work cannot be over-emphasised in our case. Gandhiji has insisted that sanitation is the first step in village work. The task of education is no less overdue and if it has to be properly done, as it should be, the quality of teaching personnel will have to be raised considerably, that implies much higher salaries, improved living quarters, and well laid out school buildings with modern amenities and

equipment to attract well trained qualified teachers to the villages. Conscription for such village welfare work of those who wish to enter universities may have soon to be introduced if cent per cent. literacy is to be obtained expeditiously. More than anything else the villager feels the lack of medical facilities and no social worker is more welcome in the countryside than one with a stethoscope and syringe. Mobile hospitals and clinics such as for the treatment of eyes have to be provided in thousands while a special ambulance service for rural areas must await development. Problems of sanitation, water supply, village roads and housing are no less urgent and important.

Public services and amenities of this type can best be administered by a local body, having an intimate knowledge of local needs and a position wherefrom constant and close supervision can be exercised. The United Provinces is now glistening with 35000 tiny village democracies established on the basis of adult franchise which would fail in their purpose without an enlargement of their functions to embrace village education, sanitation, medical aid, water-supply and lighting besides the limited judicial administration, which is already emphasised. A panchayat should also build a library and a reading room, a village hall, a recreational and cultural centre and a market place. It should undertake responsibility for village roads and housing of its functionaries. A group of them may have between themselves a holiday centre or a health resort having amenities of a modern life in a rural setting to attract well educated people from the town and permit enrichment through the contact process. A striking feature in the infiltration of new ideas among the rural people in China has been the contact of educated groups of men and women all over the country going out from the town and settling or staying for a while in the villages. Panchayat grouping would be necessary also for the provision of many services on a regional rather than strictly local basis to secure economics and uniformity in standards, wherever desirable. Supervisory personnel will have to be provided through Unions of Panchayats forming suitable administrative

Units. Internal reforms like abolition of untouchability, superstitions, social evils, gambling and drinking can best be left to these bottom layers of Government, which will also be the agencies for giving people training in civic responsibility and inculcating the values of village citizenship.

Village autonomy without adequate finances would remain a visionary's dream. The Economic Programme Committee has recommended statutory village panchayats for a village or group of villages for self-governing purposes with well defined powers and adequate financial resources as well as having supervisory jurisdiction over all other institutions in the village. But this committee failed to realize the importance of panchayat unions and did not suggest measures required to put panchayats financially on an even keel. It may be suggested here that besides grants-in-aid from the provincial exchequer the panchayats should be vested with the collective ownership of land and should have the right to redistribute land and collect such dues on it as are necessary to discharge their own obligations including payment of an agricultural tax on the total farm income on their holdings and assessed collectively on a village community to replace the present land revenue system.

There is no gainsaying that such heavy responsibilities cannot satisfactorily be discharged all at once by these institutions at their infant level and without the services of properly qualified staff, which is very much lacking to-day in the country. The universities can help in providing the required trained personnel by instituting special courses in rural reconstruction and local government based on instructions and practical training in Agricultural, Economics, Co-operation, Local Finance, Local Government and Social Welfare. Aided by such personnel at the Panchayat union level and having an autonomous fiscal and financial apparatus to provide a national standard of public amenities for living and social contact, the village communities will soon become active and pulsate with life.

POST-MORTEM ECCENTRICITIES

By "LONG TOM"

NEWSPAPERS are constantly chronicling stories of wills sometimes surprising and very eccentric. I have reproduced below a news-item from London regarding Mrs. Shaw's bequest and its repercussions which go to show that the testatrix had a bee in her bonnet.

A British judge to-day ruled that a bequest of £94,000 left by Mrs. Bernard Shaw, wife of the dramatist, to teach the Irish people self-control and the arts of social intercourse was a true charity.

An official of the National City Bank in Dublin said that beyond taking care of the money the bank had no idea as yet as to how it might be used consistently with the terms of the will.

Mr. Justice Virisey was asked to decide if Mrs. Shaw, who died in 1943, had made a valid charitable bequest. He found that she had and added amid laughter: "I think there is an inspiration in the draft which derives from another source, but I must not say where."

Mrs. Shaw, he said, seems to have got tangled up in a web of her own verbosity and it makes it very difficult to untangle her. Mrs. Shaw, he continued, envisaged helping the Irish people to earn their living better and to enjoy life better. She intended to teach people to behave better, and no one can deny that, not in Ireland any more than in England, those arts and graces ought to be taught.

Story-writers have made abundant use of such wills. Recently I have read in a book titled *THE D. A. BREAKS A SEAL*, by Gardner how a will made by undue influence was declared void on the ground that the testatrix outlived a legatee by a couple of seconds after a fatal motor accident. Or again in a Western by Tuttle where the dead body of the testator bound for home-town was spirited away from the train raising the issue of *corpus delicti* and its attendant legal nuisances before the legatee could be planted firmly in the saddle of the estate.

Fiction apart, to come down to real life:

Not many years ago a queer old native of Finland devised all his property to the Devil, the State at once took possession of it, without attempting to establish its identity with the personage in the will. There is a tendency in England on the part of engaged men to draw up wills in favour of the ladies to whom they were engaged. By thus anticipating what they would probably do after marriage they not only take duty by the forelock

so to speak but reap a present reward in the increased ardour of the adored one.

A London theatrical man named W.D. Foster directed that no woman should be present at his funeral, and gave orders that if his wife survived him he should be cremated. In France, not long ago died an eccentric Frenchman whose will declared the French to be a "nation of dastards and fools." For that reason he devised his whole fortune to the poor of London, and directed that his body be thrown into the sea a mile from the English coast. Another Frenchman directed that a new cooking recipe should be pasted on his tomb every day; and still another Frenchman, a lawyer, left all his money to a local lunatic asylum, declaring that it was simply an act of restitution to the clients who were insane enough to employ his services.

Many testators now make some provision in their wills to ensure their not being buried alive. For instance, the late John Blount Price of Islington directed that four days after his death two skilful surgeons should be paid £6 each to perform such operations on his body as would kill him in case he were yet alive. The Viscount de Carros Lima directed that his body should be watched by his heirs until decomposition set in. A similar provision was made by an Irish gentleman who died recently. A Vienna millionaire seemed to have a horror of darkness, for he provided not only that the vault in which his body was to be, should be lighted by electricity but that the coffin also should be similarly illumined. Lord Newborough made provision for two separate interments.

Wills cutting off some prodigal son with a shilling are too familiar in English life to excite any special remark and in that country where a man's last will and testament is regarded as a very sacred thing the prodigal son generally has to take the shilling and say nothing. But in America there was a strong, though perhaps-latent, sentiment in favour of setting aside provisions in a will that were manifestly absurd or unjust.

Perhaps the most remarkable wills are those which aim to promote virtue and

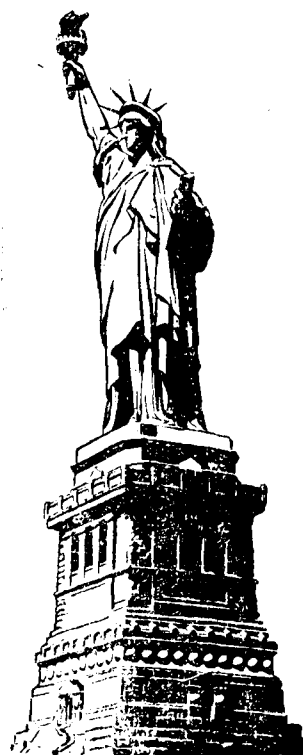
discourage vice. Not long ago a very wealthy gentleman of Long Island died, who provided that none of his heirs should inherit unless they could show that they led a life of almost angelic virtue. Among the conditions mentioned in the will were these; that they should not smoke or drink; that they should rise every morning and breakfast at a certain hour, and be in the house every evening at a certain hour; that they should be industrious and strictly moral in their lives; that they should never enter a bar-room and should not get married before the age of 25. The heirs were thunderstruck at these provisions as they practically disinherited all but one of them.

Recently a cynical old man in a Western town in America died who in his will devised all his property to that man in the town who could prove that he was a Christian; and then a definition of a Christian was given which would exclude every one who had lived on earth except the Saviour himself. In this case the Court promptly set aside the will and gave the property to the legal heir.

Merely to catalogue the eccentric wills that have been made in the United States would fill a volume. In one of the wildest gorges of the Blue Ridge in Western North Carolina there lived many years ago a man who was a most ferocious infidel. When he died it was discovered that in his will he directed that he should be buried on the summit of one of the loftiest peaks of the Blue Ridge, and that his epitaph should disclose that he died reviling Christianity. Instead of carrying out his wishes, however, his relatives buried him in a Christian cemetery, and on the spot where he desired to be buried placed a large white cross. There are probably few who will criticise them for their action in the matter. One finds it difficult not to think harshly of the man recently deceased in the States, who in his will left his property to "the woman who lives with me," meaning by that his true and lawful wife. Not long ago a Boston man died, whose will left his wife penniless unless she married again within five years, the reason given for this proviso

being that he wanted somebody else to find out how hard it was to live with her!

Years ago there died a wealthy English gentleman who directed that the five drawers in his desk be opened on the five consecutive anniversaries of his death. That was all; not a word about the disposition of his large fortune. When four drawers were opened there was found in them nothing but a sealed letter containing this message: "Have faith and hope, and you will attain unto the fruition of all your desires." When on the fifth anniversary the last drawer was opened a properly executed will was found, leaving the property to those who had expected it.



The Statue of Liberty, on Bedloe Island in New York Harbour, has been a symbol of freedom and hope to millions of persons arriving in the United States of America during the past 65 years.

COSMIC ENERGY FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

BY SRI A. R. SREENIVASA RAO

THE "Grow more food" campaign has so far been a cry in the wilderness. It has yielded no appreciable results. Rationing (of rice) has come to stay. Frequent warnings to be prepared for a further reduction have become quite common though for different reasons each time.

The many-sided frontal attacks in the battle for food have yet to produce impressive results. New irrigation projects likely to be completed in years to come, bringing new lands under the plough, import of costly tractors from abroad and the like are either of no immediate value or are of doubtful value in the existing conditions. The increase of fallows out of cultivated lands must be a pointer to the economic condition of the cultivating class who alone can deliver the goods. The plaintive plea of the Food Minister in foreign lands for monetary and technical help must therefore be of doubtful utility. The aim can never be achieved so long as the means adopted are unsuitable to existing conditions.

A cheaper, more fool-proof and more effective method, suited to the conditions in the country than the use of cosmic energy for crop production, is yet to be evolved. Cosmic energy is available everywhere in the Universe. It is not a commodity which is the prerogative of a particular nation or country. The problem is only that of harnessing this energy for a peaceful, productive and humanitarian purpose.

The influence of electric energy on plant growth has long been recognized. In the Russian experiments on crop production by the application of electricity, the machinery and methods used are staggering in cost as well as technique. But the simple method of India evolved after years of experiment is most suited to the most poverty-stricken peasantry in the world. The secret of success lies in the minuteness of the dose of energy. The lesser the energy the greater the effect. The response is slow but sure.

No elaborate equipment is required to catch the cosmic energy except an iron wire for use as an aerial as in the radio. The aerial is connected to the tree by a wire and brought down by winding it

round the trunk of the tree and finally buried in the earth to a depth of nine inches.

The cosmic energy absorbed by the aerial in small doses continuously night and day is transferred to the tree and causes marvellous changes in course of time. In stimulating growth, in withstanding drought in early bearing, in the abundance of yield and in the manifestation of the inherent characteristics of the variety, it beats hollow the control tree by the side, grown under the same conditions minus the treatment. Where a large number of trees have to be reared, an easier method called 'jacketing' is followed. The aerial is suitable to demonstrate the principle on individual trees. Where a whole garden has to be tackled, the method is as follows. Iron wire mesh generally used for housing poultry or in the tennis court is cut to a breadth of about a foot and sufficiently long to cover round the trunk of the trees. The earth is removed near the trunk to expose the lateral roots and the wire mesh is wound round the trunk touching the lateral roots and the lateral roots are then covered with earth so that a portion of the mesh will be underground and a portion above the ground. The result will be the same as indicated by the use of the aerial. This is called the jacketing method.

In the case of field crops like paddy, the seed itself is first treated. A mud-pot is placed on a wooden plank for insulation. Water is poured into it and sparked by the insertion of a wire from a magneto and turning the handle for a minute. Certain changes take place in the water by the passing of electricity and when seeds are soaked therein, there is better germination. After sowing the seed in the nursery the water in the field itself is sparked every time fresh water is let in from the four corners of the field. Strong, virile and healthy seedlings free from disease will be the result. In every respect the seedling will be better than the seedling raised in the ordinary method. After transplantation when the seedlings have established themselves, every time fresh water is let in into the field, it is sparked

from the four corners of the plot. Again the crop itself is sparked by holding an ordinary wire over the field by two men, one on each ridge with the wire attached to a pole. The wire itself is connected to an ordinary motor cycle magneto and the handle turned continuously. While the handle is turned, the two men will walk along the ridges dragging the iron wire over the crop. Each plant will get energised. This is done once a fortnight or at longer intervals according to necessity. The wire dragging operation may be stopped when the earheads make their appearance. Increased yield from 25 to 50 per cent. has been obtained by adopting this simple, inexpensive technique which any uneducated peasant may follow. When the Madras Agricultural Department checked the claim by posting an officer to verify the claim on my own land about ten years ago, the officer reported an increase of 35 per cent. extra yield.

A considerable section of the peasantry cannot afford to purchase even a magneto. The simple technique of using the ultra-violet ray emanations out of the onion roots will serve the purpose equally efficiently in such cases. Remarkable effects calculated to increase agricultural production can be obtained by the simple use of onion water. Onions half to one inch in diameter give the greatest emanations and not the bigger variety. The emanations from the roots of the onion plants continue 24 hours after removal from the earth. As soon as the onion plant is taken out from the soil, the bulbs only with the roots intact must be washed after removing the plant portion and placed in hundred times their volume of water in a glass or mud vessel without metallic contact. The ultra-violet ray is gradually transferred to the water and the transformation caused is responsible for all its beneficent effects. Crops irrigated with such water prove better in all respects than crops grown normally, especially in a vegetable garden.

Irrigation of crops on a field scale with onion water is equally easy. The irrigation channel coming out of a mote is made to enter the bed planted with onions at one end. The water entering the onion bed is made to pass along furrows

running parallel to each other, the tail end of each furrow forming the head of the next furrow. All along the ridges, onions are closely planted. The water made to pass along these furrows absorbs the emanations arising out of the bulbs and by the time the water comes out of the bed, it is fully charged with ultra-violet ray. Beds of 10 feet by 10 feet with onions thereon is sufficient for one acre of land and two such beds would facilitate their alternate use, thus giving time for the revival of energy for each bed on the day of rest. Such easy methods do not add to the cost of cultivation but easily increase the yield. Dr. Misra reports that onion water prepared in an insulated vessel has been found to be more effective than the standard treatment in respect of the following diseases: Renal colic, intestinal colic, constipation, conjunctivitis, sore throat, enlarged thyroid, bubonic plague, ulcers, burns etc.

When the Tulasi plant is fading in a Hindu household, it is considered an ill omen and in order to avert the plant drying up, some onions are planted all round and the plant comes round. Likewise there is the cosmic energy principle involved in the wearing of garlands by orthodox people with beads of various kinds. The wire running through the beads absorbs cosmic energy from the air, the beads forming the insulators. By wearing the garland a field of electric energy is laid over the thyroid glands, the heart and the lungs get energised and ensure better health for concentration.

Dr. S. S. Nehru, I. C. S. (Retired) discovered the principle regarding cosmic energy for crop production and has demonstrated it in different countries of the world. Prophets are not honoured in their own country. As the foremost exponent of this system in South India with an experience of over twelve years, I have no hesitation in stating that had the Government given this an honest trial, rationing need not have been introduced in this country. When crores of rupees are being thrown away in the name of 'Grow more food,' an Indian achievement costing nothing practically has not received the attention it deserves.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Democracy in Action

THE second anniversary of the Republic synchronizes with one of the greatest democratic experiments in history. If the enfranchisement of some 180 million adults is a daring and courageous conception in political thought its execution is, by all accounts, a marvel of administrative efficiency. Even the bitterest critics of the Government—and the Government has been accused of many sins of omission and commission—have nothing but praise for the way in which the free and fair elections have been conducted throughout the vast sub-continent. No wonder that foreign observers are impressed with the orderliness and discipline of the voters and the smooth and efficient working of the administration. It is thrilling, said Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador in India, at a reception in Washington,

It is thrilling to see how the Indian people have risen to the challenge of democracy. In just four years of freedom, they have launched a magnificent experiment in Parliamentary Government in which they have borrowed ideas and processes from the West and adapted them to their own traditions and culture. Nothing comparable to it has ever occurred before.

The full results of the General Elections are not available yet, and the shape of things to come is not, therefore, easy to assess with anything like confidence. We must be content here with noting the more striking trends revealed by this magnificent experiment. Even in the most confident and cock-sure minds there was a lurking fear if the vast majority of the electorate—mostly ignorant and unfamiliar to the two hundred-years-old tradition of western democratic elections—would be able to exercise their vote with adequate knowledge and discretion. If the voters merely played ducks and drakes with their right the result would be a chaotic conglomeration of unattached individuals making no sense and only leaving a heterogeneous collection of irresponsible men who owed their seats merely to the caprice or cupidity of the electors. But thank God, the electors have, on the

whole, proved their correct instinct. We say this not because they have chosen to support the Congress in a large majority of cases but because, in a general way, their instinct for order and stability and their faith in well-tryed leaders have not wavered.

Nor is it merely a matter of voting *en bloc* for the party in power. For well-known Congress leaders, who for some fault or other, have lost public approval of their policies or actions have been outvoted. There would, of course, be no fun in the elections if there were no surprises, but popular judgment, has on the whole been exercised with discretion. Apart from individual failures or successes, there is a sure substratum of correct appreciation of political trends. Local prejudices of voters or superior complacency on the part of candidates may have led to some shocking upsets in elections to the State Assemblies but the sure instinct of the people has helped them to give unstinted support to the tried leaders in the Centre. Anti-Congress feeling in Deccan and the South has not deterred the sensible voter from realising the need for a strong and stable centre. The general and unvarying support to Congress candidates for Parliament, barring a few regrettable exceptions, shows a distinct capacity for discrimination and political judgment which is perhaps the most heartening feature of the present elections. As a thoughtful contemporary put it:

If a voter tells himself that so far as the Centre is concerned, he should not allow his grouses against the local bosses or his partiality for any social creed to get the better of him and that he must pay due heed to the requirements of stability or continuity, he surely gives evidence of a robust political sense which few people suspected in him all these years. For this political sense is different alike from an attitude of unreasoned, implicit faith in the Congress and from an attitude of eagerness to dislodge the Congress from office or help its opponents, without any thought as to whether they can form a healthy Opposition.

Among the major surprises of the Elections are the rout of the Socialists in Bombay and the success of the Communists

in the South. The failure of the Socialists in what they thought their impregnable stronghold and the defeat of Dr. Ambedkar in his own constituency are not without lessons to other parties and groups. They show that not in the long run only but even as a short term expediency alliances of convenience are a snare. It is integrity, that tells in the end. Election alliances oblivious to principles and policies, are too thin a mask to deceive the public who always respect and respond, to convictions loyally held and faithfully followed. Leftist success in T & C and Hyderabad and Madras is bound to have its repercussions in the future set up of these States. The Congress can no more speak with full moral authority in these areas. Much will therefore, depend on the tact and resourcefulness of the State Congress leaders whose record in the past has not been altogether reassuring. For the Indian Union therefore "a powerful Communist belt has emerged into the open extending from Kazipet to Cape Comorin."

The moderate left-wingers in between the Congress and the Communists have not made any worth-while impression. It is clear from the voting results that the Communists have been able to acquire their present parliamentary strength in Deccan and South India, through superior organisation, greater unity within the party and more concentrated effort than other parties.

The one supreme lesson for the Congress is that it can no more rest on its oars, but should continue mass contact with the same zest and purposefulness with which it worked in the years before the achievement of freedom. One phase of its work is over but the next phase demands equal vigilance.

Mr. Churchill Nods

Mr. Churchill's first major act on assuming charge of Britain's Government was his visit to America. His contact with President Truman was expected to yield good dividend. In fact Tory circles counted on his personal prestige to make good any lapse in American appreciation of Labour policy in world affairs. While no one could dispute his pre-eminence as a statesman *par excellence* and a hero of world war II it would be too much to hope that even he would succeed in making America pull other peoples' chestnuts out of the fire. Britain is in trouble

in Egypt and Iran. But to ask America to risk another Korea in the Middle East is to ask for the impossible in the present temper of the United States. Yet that was exactly what he suggested in his address to the joint Session of the U. S. Congress. When he made the request that other Powers in the proposed Middle East Command should station token troops in the Suez Canal Zone he could not have been under any illusions as to its reaction in America as in Egypt. He confessed that Britain was not in a position to bear the whole burden of the defence of the Nile area. Evidently he calculated that the United States

could be induced to send a token force, along with France and Turkey, little by little, what was a solo British responsibility could be converted into a joint Anglo-American responsibility, as in any case, troops which might be sent by France or Turkey could not be more than token forces. An additional advantage from the British point of view, would have been the likelihood of any graver crisis emerging out of the existing state of affairs in Egypt being handled far more effectively than if Britain continued to deal with the situation single handed.

France has her hands full, what with her commitments in Indo-China and Tunisia. Turkey has a long stretch of her border to protect from possible alien incursions. Hence America will be left practically alone, to handle a situation bristling with international repercussions. And what is obviously a British liability will in due course become an international liability. This may suit Britain very well; but it is surely tactless to make so blatant a proposal to America, in the year of her Elections. Surely Mr. Churchill must have been over-optimistic to imagine that in an election year, any President would lay himself open to fire from the Opposition by doing something which could easily be represented as undertaking to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire.

Yet it stands to reason that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman should have made some reciprocal gesture of compliance and compromise in respect of their dealings with China on the one hand and Egypt on the other.

THE THINGS THEY SAY

The way to hold a husband is to keep him a little bit jealous.

The way to lose him is to keep him a little bit more jealous.

—H. L. Mencken.

The Crisis in Egypt

King Farouk has intervened in time to save his country from certain catastrophe. For ever since the unilateral abrogation of the treaty of 1936, Egypt and Britain have been driven from one extreme to another—one false step leading to another and graver. There is no doubt that Nubas Pasha's government, far from restraining the passions of the multitude, have gone on fomenting hatred and violence against the foreigner till it ended in riot and incendiarism in Cairo. The British army evidently welcomed this opportunity for a trial of strength. For it threw caution to the winds and plunged straightway into the fray.

The British used tanks to destroy the police headquarters and as a result of a six-hour battle, 42 Egyptians were killed and 58 wounded. The political consequence of these events was the dismissal of the Wafd Government led by Nubas Pasha which had an absolute majority in Parliament and the appointment of Ali Maher Pasha, a former political adviser of the King, as Premier.

Yet the changeover does not promise any radical alteration in Egypt's foreign policy. The new Premier Maher Pasha has expressed his intention to pursue the twin objectives of Egyptian nationalism, namely, the evacuation of British forces from the Canal Zone and the unity of the Nile Valley. Nor have recent events in Egypt done anything to diminish the determination of the British to stand fast in the Canal Zone until a new agreement with Egypt could be reached.

But there is hope in the new temper in British and Egyptian approach to an old and vexatious problem. Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary told Parliament the other day that his offer to start negotiations any time for a revision of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty still stood.

At the same time the Egyptian Premier Aly Maher Pasha, in an interview published in the *London News Chronicle* has said: that he accepted the idea of new negotiations with Britain provided they started quickly and Britain made some "friendly gesture to speed them."

Thus it is not difficult to create the proper atmosphere for negotiations.

Dr. Malan attacks India

Addressing the Union Parliament in Capetown Dr. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, directed his attack against the non-European members of the United Nations, particularly India, which, in his opinion is enemy No. 1. India does not aspire to that honour but it is common knowledge that since the passing away of Smuts, South Africa has chosen to stultify herself in the eyes of the civilised world by her persistence in the policy of *Apartheid*—a policy which is not far different from Nazi fanaticism and racial hatred which brought about the fall of Germany. Dr. Malan pointed to India as the arch enemy of the Union when he declared that "there was in the United Nations a bloc composed of non-European countries under the leadership of India."

"That bloc", Dr. Malan observed, "stands together. Their aim is to see that division between Europeans and non-Europeans is removed throughout the world. They have set themselves upon South Africa as a target. We are their prey. That is the dangerous position that has been created."

The principle of 'human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion', has been accepted by all members of the United Nations. Hence the abolition of racial distinctions is the object of not only India and other non-European nations, but of the entire body representing the power and wisdom of all the fifty and odd nations that make up this world organisation. If South Africa has become a 'target' for criticism, she is herself to blame for it, says the *Leader*. "Any other nation which violated the principles of the United Nations would have been similarly dealt with. What makes the position 'dangerous' is not the criticism of South Africa by India and other non-European nations but the violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter by South Africa."

"Jimmy, I wish you'd learn better table manners: you're a regular pig at the table."

Deep silence on Jimmy's part.

Father in order to impress him more:

"Jimmy, do you know what a pig is?"

"Yes, father," replied Jimmy meekly, it's a hog's little boy.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY: Vol II: General Editor—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, and Assistant Editor—Dr. A. D. Pusalkar. Published by The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Rs. 35:

The second of the ten volumes in the monumental History of India Series undertaken by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is appropriately entitled "The Age of Imperial Unity." Printed and published in India (unlike the first which appeared with the imprimatur of George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London), it fully maintains and fulfils the high expectations raised by the standard set by the VEDIC AGE. Here is a team of writers and scholars as distinguished as one could desire in a work of this magnitude. Dealing with the growth of the Magadhan Empire and the Persian and Macedonian invasions the volume offers a comprehensive and scholarly survey of the history and civilization of the period. The rise of Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor religious sects, the evolution of different philosophical systems, and the way the life and thoughts and civilization of the people expressed themselves in the enduring arts of literature and sculpture are all described with a wealth of detail and a grasp of essentials that must satisfy the appetite of the student of research and the historian of the future. South India and Ceylon are treated at length while the history of the period is rounded off with chapters on India and the Western World and Colonial and cultural expansion. What with the maps and charts and plates and a bibliography and index nothing that scholarship could do to make a national history truly worthy of its high office has been spared. Indeed no library could be complete without a set of this important publication. The Bhavan has rendered a national service of the greatest and most valuable kind in undertaking works of this character and completing its task with competency and a true sense of devotion.

UNTO HIM A WITNESS. By S. A. Ayer, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay.

Subhas played so striking a part in the freedom struggle and his end was so wrapped in mystery that already he is a legend. The fact that ultimately the freedom of India was won by methods different to those adopted by him or that he had himself little to do with the final shape of things when Britain quitted India, has by no means tended to deprive him of his exalted place in the gallery of the pioneers and patriots who wrought India's freedom.

The story of Subhas's fight for freedom and the exploits of the I. N. A. which he led has been told by many writers. But "Unto Him a Witness" is a remarkably frank and forthright "testimony to Nataji's miraculous achievements" by one who was himself a participant in the great uprising of 1942-1945 in East Asia. In assessing the part played by this man of destiny, Mr. Ayer describes him as "a striking combination of Akbar, Shivaji and Vivekananda." Here is a personal tribute to an undoubtedly great character—a tribute, touched no doubt by a deep sense of loyalty and devotion, but a tribute also instinct with truth and fidelity to the cause. The magnetic leadership of Bose drew millions of Indians in Burma and Thailand and Malaya and Indonesia and Indo-China to the cause and the I. N. A. became overnight the army of liberation. Mr. Ayer writes with such ease and intimate knowledge that his language, for all its simplicity, glows with a fresh lustre as he discants on the indomitable courage and steadfastness of his great master and leader. It is a story told with vigour and warmth and evident admiration bordering on worship for a leader of undoubted vision and valour.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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THE OPEN ROAD TO FREEDOM. By Lionel Curtis, MacMillan & Co., Ltd. 3/6 net.

Lionel Curtis is a name with which Indian readers are familiar. His work, as a member of what is known as the Round Table group was not exactly popular in India as his attempt in the direction of strengthening the British Commonwealth was suspect in this country when she was not free. Indian Nationalists naturally could not look with complacency on any attempt to strengthen the British hold on India.

But to-day the conditions are different. India is free, and can of her own accord, choose the way of co-operation with other countries, both in her own interest and in the interest of world peace. The main thing is how to avoid war and bring about international amity. Mr. Curtis and his group of research scholars offer a plan which merits consideration. Indeed some phases of the plan are already in operation. In this short book Mr. Curtis argues that an international State of free nations so strong that no aggressor would dare to attack could be established without great difficulty if statesmen realised that national governments need not be deprived of their present power to control currencies, tariffs and irrigation. He contends rightly that the fear of war is the key to all other problems and he chalks out a plan to remove this fear. That will free national governments to bestow more attention to social and economic problems that call for urgent solution.

Appended to this book is a short constitution for an international state drafted by Prof. Hanbury.

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM. By James Burnham, The National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay.

James Burnham is one of the most clear-headed and analytical of the writers of the day. In some well known books he has given his reading of the human situation at the present time. The present book is an edition prepared by Max Eastman for India from the Struggle for the World and the Coming Defeat of Communism.

It shows, first of all, the consequences, from a political point of view, of the use

of the atom bomb. Human civilization is in mortal peril. He discusses the different ways in which catastrophe may be avoided. But he thinks that the safest way is to have the atom bomb deposited in the custody of America. He argues that the history and general character of America will show that America will not take undue advantage of that. But considering human nature that is too much to expect. He argues that a world government is not possible. But though extremely difficult to realize there is no other alternative. That is the consummation all must strive for.

Everything he says about communism is true. There is definite danger for the world from the totalitarian attempts of the communists. Their professions and practices are entirely at variance. Many people who have had inside knowledge of Soviet Russia have shown that things behind the Iron Curtain are most unsatisfactory. There is also much truth in the argument that the purges and deportations to Siberia show that all are not slavishly content in Russia. Titoism is surely growing, and with skilful handling, it must be possible to split the colossus from within. That may be the best way of averting world disaster. If that can be done there will be no need for the use of the atom bomb. In any case it is necessary all must carefully study and understand the world situation: and this book will be of very great use in the gaining of such understanding.

FORTUNE TELLING. By Capt. J. L. Basak I.M.S., (Ex), I.A.M.C., Pp. 40 250/3 Upper circular road, Calcutta 6. Rs. 1-8.

This little pamphlet is a beginner's guide to elementary palmistry.

It contains a key to character reading from the shape, structure and the like of hands, nails, face etc., Following this feature are a few chapters dealing with the influence of birth signs, birth planets etc., There are in addition a Luck calendar for persons born on the various dates and an account dealing with charms, talismans, mascots, precious stones etc.

The book is concise while many others on similar subjects are invariably verbose.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Mayavati Edition. Vol. VIII, Advaita Ashrama, Almora, Himalayas.

The seven volumes of Swami Vivekananda's works so far published give a fairly full and complete account of his doings and achievements, and the publishers are entitled to great credit for the thoroughness and competence with which they have gathered and presented the vast volume of material at their disposal. The present volume, the last in the series, contains notes of class talks and lectures in America as well as many epistles secured through the help of devoted admirers of the Swami in Europe and America. It will be rash to conclude that there will be no fresh discoveries at all but it is safe to say that all that it is of material importance has been brought under one cover, and the VIII volume may, in a sense, give completeness, to a great and arduous task well worth the labours of the publishers. For there is a freshness and charm about all that Swamiji said or did that the present collection offers the same interesting and stimulating reading that distinguished the previous volumes. The publishers deserve the warmest congratulations of the reading public for the care and thoroughness with which they have carried out this great project of undoubted value to generations yet to come.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF RELIGION & RELIGIONS. By Royston Pike. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., P.p. 406.

This is a much needed handy volume. It is a very substantial substitute for the great series of volumes called Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

The contents of the volume are strikingly brief to the point and at the same time comprehensive. Unlike many a foreign publication, the author of the present volume is very fair in his treatment of Eastern religions terms. In particular, Hindu terms, which have often been distorted, mistaken and misrepresented have received adequate treatment. The volume will be of immense use to both Western students of Eastern Religions and Eastern students of Western Religions.

WHY HINDU CODE? By Sri T. K. Tope, M.A., LL.B. The "Dharma Nirnaya Mandal," Lonavla, Poona.

This is a welcome addition to the growing volume of literature on a subject that has evoked a great deal of controversy of which we have not heard the last. The author traces the evolution of Hindu Law from the early stages and logically sets out the various factors that make it absolutely necessary to codify Hindu Law. The book though intended to be propaganda for the Hindu Code, is really education and in a rapid survey the author sets out the principles of Hindu Law. The objections of the opponents of the bill are set out and met. The timely publication is commended for the perusal of those interested in the Code.

GUIDE, FRIEND AND PHILOSOPHER—Price Re. 1-2-0.

UNDER THE X-RAY. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

SIVANANDA, THE WAY, THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE. By V. T. Neelakantan, 9 Surammal Lane, Egmore, Madras, 8.

The last pamphlet, as the title indicates, is a study and appreciation of the sage of Ananda Kutir. The other two contain studies or appreciations of some well-known people and a few local celebrities not so well known. Neelakantan writes only of those whom he knows and of whom he could say something very pleasant and he is never niggardly in his praise. Sri Anantaramakrishnan the well-known business magnate of Madras gets a well deserved tribute as also Srimathi M. S. and a few medical practitioners who have done a good turn to the author in years past.

GLAMOUR AND OTHER STORIES: By A. V. Rao. Arrow Enterprises, Bombay. Rs. 2-4.

Here are ten interesting short stories, each one having some special point of attraction. The earlier ones have a dash of romance, the middle ones of mystery and the last five have the tang of satire. But the romance, the mystery and the satire are not of the same kind in all the stories of the group. Hence the book as a whole is fresh and varied, and delights the reader throughout.

BOOKS RECEIVED

PARADOX AND NIRVANA. By Robert Lawson Slater, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

THE GOSPEL OF THE MYSTIC CHRIST. By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon.) The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

OUR LANGUAGE. By Simeon Potter, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

KASHMIR AND THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST PEACE. By Rajbans Krishan, People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

RURAL ECONOMIC ENQUIRIES IN THE HYDERABAD STATE 1949-51. By S. Kesava Iyengar, Economic Adviser and Secretary, Hyderabad (Dn.)

i. PROJECTS FOR PLENTY ii. MOVE FROM MOTHER EARTH. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, Price 8 as Each.

SOCIALIST PARTY PAMPHLETS:

i. Socialism and Sarvodaya. By Jayaprakash Narayan.

ii. You and the Vote.

iii. Straws in the Wind. By Asoka Mehta.

iv. Controls: End or Mend?

v. How we Live.

vi. Food for All.

vii. We Build for Socialism. and

viii. Nationalisation.

Published by the Socialist Party, National House, Tulloch Road, Fort, Bombay.

INTRIGUES & ILLEGALITIES. Behind the Hindu Code Bill. The Sanmarg, English Weekly, Published by Anti Hindu Code Committee, Daryaganj Delhi.

CEYLON, A SECOND SOUTH AFRICA? By J. R. Bhatt, 5, Lajpat Rai Road, Allahabad.

PROFILE ART. By R. L. Megroz. The Art Trade Press Ltd., Salisbury Square, London.

AGGRESSION AND POPULATION. By F. James Dawson, Salisbury Square, London.

EDWARDIAN SCRAP BOOK. By John Gore, Evans Brothers Ltd., London.

THE LIFE STORY OF IDA S. SCUDDER OF VELLORE. By Mary Pauline Jeffery, M.A., M.D., Wesley Press Publishing House, Mysore City.

PLANNING FOR A SHORTAGE ECONOMY: The Indian Experiment. By C. N. Vakil and P. R. Brahmananda, Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

THE INWARDNESS OF BRITISH ANNEXATIONS IN INDIA. Sir Wm. Meyer, Endowment Lectures, 1948-49. By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., University of Madras.

TEMPLES AND RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS. By A Social Worker, Published by Barendra Nath Neogi, 16/2, Mohendra Bose Lane, Calcutta.

B. A. ECONOMICS MADE EASY. (Questions & Answers) By Prof. B. M. Bhatia, Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi.

H. M. KING GEORGE VI

As we go to press we learn with profound regret that H. M. King George VI died suddenly (on February 6, after a long and lingering illness from which it was thought he was recovering. He was 56 last December.



The King is succeeded by 26 year old Princess Elizabeth, his eldest daughter who was then in Kenya, East Africa, on the first stage of a Commonwealth tour. Princess Elizabeth became Queen immediately after her father's death. It was the first time in British history that a sovereign had succeeded to the Crown while in Africa. King George succeeded his elder brother under circumstances of exceptional difficulty. But he came through the trial with becoming dignity and honour. Soon after came World War II which imposed a more severe test of character and he acquitted himself with no little credit. But the greatest achievement of his reign was perhaps the liberation of India from her 200 year old tutelage of Britain—an act of courage and statesmanship which the first Labour Government in his time was able to accomplish, with the result that

India is to day more friendly with England and the Commonwealth than ever she was before. King George, by virtue of his position, was intimately associated with this momentous transaction in British Indian history.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- Jan. 1. British and Egyptian forces clash in Suez Zone.
- Jan. 2. U. N. Political Committee resumes debate on Indian issue in S. Africa.
—Death of Litvinoff, Soviet diplomat.
- Jan. 3. Shah's directive to Mossadeq not to jeopardise American friendship.
- Jan. 4. Israel proposes Secretary General's intervention to bring about resumption of talks between India, Pakistan and S. Africa.
- Jan. 5. Death of the Marquis of Linlithgow, former Viceroy of India.
—Nawab of Pataudi dead.
- Jan. 6. Tibet's army disbanded: Chinese raising new force.
- Jan. 7. Mr. Winston Churchill meets President Truman at Washington.
- Jan. 8. Commonwealth Universities' delegation in Madras.
- Jan. 9. British Borneo seeks South Indian settlers.
—Persian Premier Mossadeq says he is not safe inside the Majlis.
- Jan. 10. Truman—Churchill accord on Western defence announced.
- Jan. 11. Dr. Ambedkar unseated as also Mr. Raja, Chief Minister of Madras.
- Jan. 12. Mr. R. K. Nehru opens U.N. debate on three-man-commission in respect of S. A. Indian issue.
- Jan. 13. Iran demands closure of U.K. Consulates.
—U. N. adopts 11 Power "Shadow army" plan.
- Jan. 14. Soviet envoy says Russia is prepared to supply industrial equipment to India and accept payment in rupees.
—Mr. Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador in India speaking at Washington, urges immediate American aid to India.
- Jan. 15. U. K. Army clashes with Egyptian Commander.
- Jan. 16. In U. N. Council Dr. Graham suggests new approach to Kashmir issue.
—Thyagaraja festival inaugurated at Trivadi.
- Jan. 17. Mr. Morarji Desai, Bombay Home Member, defeated by Socialist rival by 19 votes.
- Jan. 18. Mr. Churchill addresses joint Session of U.S. Congress.
—Allies agree to bomb China if Korean truce is broken.
- Jan. 19. Tunisians appeal to Nehru for intervention.
—Egypt opposes joint plan of defence of Suez.
- Jan. 20. British troops occupy Ismailia.
- Jan. 21. Russia calls on U. N. to consider *en bloc* fourteen applications for admission.
- Jan. 22. Gen. Dever's tentative plan on Kashmir demilitarisation released.
- Jan. 23. Mr. Bowles classifies scope of U. S. aid to India.
- Jan. 24. World Film Festival inaugurated in Bombay by Sri Diwakar, Minister for Broadcasting and information.
- Jan. 25. State of Emergency declared in Nepal.
—Burma rejects U. S. economic aid.
- Jan. 26. Republic Day celebrations.
—Martial Law proclaimed in Egypt: Anti-British rioting in Cairo.
- Jan. 27. South African Indian leaders arrested in Johannesburg.
—King Farouk dismisses Nahas Pasha.
- Jan. 28. Egyptian Parliament votes confidence in the New Prime Minister, Aly Maher Pasha.
- Jan. 29. Britain to get \$300 million aid from U.S. for defence plans this half year.
—Burma protests in U.N. committee against U.S. aid to Chinese nationalists in Burma.
- Jan. 30. Mr. Eden tells Parliament that Britain and U.S. have agreed to differ on Japan's recognition of Formosa.
- Jan. 31. The term of Dr. Graham's Mission in Kashmir is extended by a resolution in U.N. Council.
—Sri Patanjali Sastri appointed permanent Chief Justice of India.



READERS' DIGEST



WORLD FILM FESTIVAL

The International Film Festival was inaugurated at the New Empire Theatre, Hornby Road, Bombay by Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, in the presence of a large and distinguished international gathering on Jan. 24.

More than 25 countries had sent their delegates to the festival.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, in a message to the Festival advised the Indian film industry to "introduce artistic and aesthetical values in life and encourage the appreciation of beauty in all its aspects."

Inaugurating the Film Festival, Mr. Diwakar said:

This great festival is the first of its kind in India and, I am told, is the first in Asia too. India happens to be the second largest producer of films in the world and the largest in the East. It is but appropriate that the first international film festival in the East should be held here. I am glad that this first attempt of my country has attracted a number of sister countries to take part in it even at such short notice. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that so many countries, besides India and the U.N. have been able to send 52 feature films and 115 other than features, and many countries have sent their delegations also.

The festival has been conceived in the true spirit of UNESCO, the spirit that stands for bringing the various countries of the world nearer and nearer through cultural contacts, cultural synthesis and cultural integration. This occasion offers a very good chance to the artistes, technicians and to the general public to know and study the best productions of so many other countries. The film has now become one of the cheapest and one of the most powerful media of mass communication. The number of talkie theatres in the world to-day is about 100,000 and the number of daily visitors is about 30 million. With the advent of the three-dimensional film, the full effect of a drama actually acted on the stage can be easily secured. If television progresses at its present pace and the three dimensional film is wedded to it, it may not be long before we shall have on the screen, along with our morning tea, world events happening before us as they might have occurred during the last 24 hours. The morning paper may be expected only to supply the details.

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The film to-day has a variety of functions to its credit, nor can any one say that the potential has been exhausted. It is a medium and, therefore, a means, and not an end. It is a powerful factor in communicating ideas and suggesting solutions for the various problems of life. The film as a general rule, portrays life and its different aspects. It can therefore be informational as well as educational. The graphic vividness of the screen naturally conveys with it an appeal to imitate or emulate. Hence the great responsibility of the film producer and his constant duty to bear that in mind. It is a healthy sign that the deeper purpose of the medium is being realised more and more. It is now for us to use it to the best advantage and for the all-sided advance of humanity.

Though an ancient nation known for its great culture, our country is but an infant as an independent democratic State. Even so, this country can justify pride itself on being the largest film producer in the East. At the same time, our country is conscious that it has only three per cent of the theatres of the world and that it has much ground to cover in the way of manufacture of raw film, photographic equipment and in the matter of advancing film technology. I have no doubt that my countrymen would try their best to attain the highest standards in film production and in making the best and the healthiest use of this great means of mass communication. I am sure that in our endeavour to achieve progress, this festival will play an important part and forge links of cultural co-operation with other countries.

THE PRABUDDHA BHARATA

The 57th annual number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* fully maintains its reputation for the study and interpretation of the things that matter. It opens with a fine portrait study of the Holy Mother followed by Swami Vivekananda's celebrated poem "Kali the Mother" reproduced in *facsimile*, "What Vedanta means to me" is the subject of an article in which Mr. Gerald Heard describes his approach to Vedanta. The momentous question "Who are the Peace makers?" is posed by Swami Jegadananda who sets out to answer it in a way that throws a flood of light on the international situation. Another writer narrates the many interesting experiences of his travel "From the old world to the new." There are many other articles of serious interest which make the *Annual* vastly entertaining to the student of religion and philosophy no less than to the lay reader.

PRINCES AND POLITICS

Many people thought that with the merger of princely States into larger viable units, the Indian princes had ceased to be a subject of controversy. Their personal positions and purses were safeguarded by the Constitution. The princes were therefore expected to lead a life of aloofness and dignity, devoting their time and resources to the propagation of the arts and culture. The present general elections, and to some extent the futile attempt by the former ruler of Baroda to organize a princes' political party, have upset that expectation, says *Thought*, the Delhi Weekly.

The behaviour of some of the princes has made it necessary to re-examine their position in the present political set-up of India.

Whether the princes can contest elections to the various legislatures in the country is the question that has focussed attention on this. Though the Constitution is somewhat vague on this point, commonsense and the spirit of the times are clearly against the princes. Equality of opportunity, including political opportunity, is the basis of democracy. But hereditary privilege and democracy are mutually contradictory in the sense of political power. How can a prince who receives a fat privy purse, albeit in token of his willingness to allow his people to shape their destiny democratically and in association with the peoples of other States, and an ordinary citizen be said to be equal? If the princes are convinced that they have something to contribute to political thought and the art of administration, a worthier course open to them is to accept voluntarily the status of commoners in the body politic of India.

In our view, says *Thought*, the princes should, in their own interest, keep aloof from the rough and tumble of active politics. The British monarchy should be their ideal.

If the British people continue to adore their monarch and admire his family and relations, the reason for this is not aversion to republicanism but the exemplary behaviour of their monarch. Governments come and go but the prestige of British monarchy remains undiminished. It may or may not be proper for Mr. Nehru to remind the princes of their duty and need in modern times but they should themselves think of their future soberly. No constitutional safeguard or place in the legislature can endear the princes to the Indian people; they must look for survival, dignity and honour within their own hearts. Most thinking Indians would be sorry if the lure of politics led the Indian princes to their ruin. Reference to the Constitution is academic when the very basis of society is under challenge from powerful forces.

TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East is becoming more and more the centre of American attention. With the recent invitation to Turkey to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, that attention has been spotlighted. Turkey is adjacent to Iran and her oil. Turkey may be said to bestride the Black Sea. For these and other reasons, Turkey is becoming more and more important.

American interest in Turkey is reflected in the space that the American press is allotting to the subject. In a recent issue, *Time*, the international news magazine, devotes two pages to an article on Turkey. Among other comments of *Time* correspondent Jim Bell, are the following:

The Turk is a nice guy to have on our side. He's a realist, he knows where he's going, he's got the guts and stamina to get there. He's a realist, certainly, in his dealings with the U. S. By coming to Turkey's aid in 1947, the Americans raised themselves to the position of second least hated foreign nation (least hated: the Germans). We have made a valuable gesture of recognition now by sponsoring Turkey for NATO membership. The Turks are properly appreciative. But it is a mistake to say that Turkey to-day is pro-U. S. We simply have something to offer the Turks. They trade us something we can use (position, courage, strength) for something we can give them (military and financial assistance).

Politically, one thing is sure. No matter which party controls the government, it will be anti-Communist. No Turkish political leader in sight would alter that course. Actually, Turkey (which keeps its Communist Party cells in Ankara, Istanbul and other cities neatly in hand) is more anti-Russian than anti-Communist. In Greece, the opposite is true, but the Turk, who has fought the Moscow 13 times in the past 400 years, would hate and fight him whether he were a Communist, monarchist or playing third base for the Brooklyn Dodgers. Here, of all countries in the world, is the one we need never worry about doublecrossing us to the enemy.

But if there's a brawl, you can be sure of one thing—Turkey won't stand off as it did in world War II. Turkey has a good strong fist that'll bloody any nose that comes poking out from behind the Iron Curtain.

Have you heard of the candidate for Parliament who during a speech declared: "If we are to put the country on her feet we must improve the status quo."

"What is the status quo?" demanded a heckler.

"The status quo, my friend," was the reply, "is Latin for the mess we are in at present."

NATIONAL INCOME IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

Asia, with more than half of the world's population, produces only one tenth of the world's national income. This is one of the findings of a recent United Nations publication called NATIONAL INCOME AND ITS DISTRIBUTION IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. (Published by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.)

The figures which have been compiled by the United Nations Statistical Office, are of particular interest to Asia. In 1949, the year to which all figures pertain, the national income in Asian countries totalled \$58,000m or about dollars 50 per head of the population.

This is the lowest per capital income of any of the world's continents. Figures for the other continents are: Africa 75, South America 170, Soviet Union 310, Europe 380, Oceania 560 and the at the top of the list North America with an average national income of dollars 1,100 per head of the population.

Of the Asian countries most are in the under-dollar 100 group, the exceptions being Japan, Syria and Turkey with a national income between dollars 100 and 200 and Israel with an income of between dollars 800 and 450.

In the \$100-\$200 group are: Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Greece, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Southern Rhodesia, Spain, Surinam, Syria, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

In the \$600 to \$900 group are Australia, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

Per capita incomes run from \$200 to \$800 in Austria, Cuba, Hungary, Italy, Puerto Rico, and the Union of South Africa; from \$800 to \$450 in Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany (western) Ireland, Israel, Poland, U.S.S.R. and Uruguay; and from \$450 to \$600 in Belgium, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Venezuela.

THE KING AS DR. MALAN'S GUEST

The decision of the king of Britain to stay as a guest of Dr. Malan, Premier of South Africa, during his South African tour, is widely criticised by some British papers. The *Observer* writes:

"The king's full recovery of health and strength is a matter of deep concern to all his subjects and whatever course of action his doctors may recommend would be heartily endorsed by the nation. But it cannot be on medical advice that he has decided while in South Africa to live as the guest of Dr. Malan rather than as that of a non-partisan figure, such as our High Commissioner or the Governor-General. By appearing in the Union as the guest and, therefore, friend of the Nationalist leader, His Majesty might inadvertently help that party to win more votes from the United Party, which is of course the more loyal friend both to the Crown and to democratic concepts.

"Even more serious is the effect that this event would have on the minds of Africans, both within and without the Union. To them the act of accepting hospitality has its full and literal meaning of showing friendliness. And it is time we accepted the regrettable fact that Africans regard Dr. Malan because of his policy of racial discrimination as Poles regarded Hitler. It seems politically most unwise that His Majesty should be advised to identify himself with one factor in a racial cold war that has aroused most unfavourable comment in the U.N. Assembly, especially from India and His Majesty's Asian Dominions. Parliament should at least know whether the Cabinet has given such advice after consideration of these disadvantages."

TIME FACTOR

A Communist official had been telling a village meeting about the benefits they enjoyed under Soviet rule. At the end of his talk, an old peasant complained that everyone was in rags.

"Many millions in the world have no clothes at all," said the official reprovingly. "Ah," said the peasant, "they must have been under the Soviet longer than we have."

ALL-OUT WAR IN FAR EAST ?

India has warned the Western Powers that Russia would go to the help of the People's Republic of China if the latter is attacked from the air, according to *Reynolds News*.

The diplomatic correspondent of this left wing paper says that fears that decisions taken in Washington and Tokyo might lead to all out-war in the Far East. Two events have sharpened the war danger, the correspondent claims. One is Mr. Churchill's pledge to the United States of British backing for an all-out blockade of China, coupled with bombing of Chinese industrial centres in the event of a Korean armistice being concluded and then broken by the Chinese. The other is the action of the Japanese Government in recognising the Chiang Kaishek's puppet Government in Formosa.

News has now reached London from Washington that the policy of the United States is to try to force an armistice in Korea on General Ridgway's terms by threatening to transfer the war to China's main-land.

"All the evidence shows that China will not be intimidated and that this policy must lead to an extension of the war", says the correspondent.

"Russia has an agreement to go to China's aid in the event of attack by Japan or any other power associated with Japan. I understand that the Indian Government which has an Ambassador in Peking, has warned the Western Powers that Russia will stand by this pledge if an air war is launched in China."

The British Labour Government consistently resisted United States pressure for an extension of the Korean war, the correspondent declares. There can be no doubt that Labour Members of Parliament will resist any Churchill plan which could lead Britain into an all-out war in Asia. A major showdown may come as soon as the House of Commons resumes.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Over 200 historians from all over India met at Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan, for the 14th annual session of the Indian History Congress on December 29. The 87 year old historian of Maharashtra, Dr. G. S. Sardesai, presided over the session which continued for three days.

The Congress is concerned with the laying down of lines of research and study of the history of India. It is engaged on the work of writing a comprehensive history of India from the earliest times to the present day.

Dr. Sardesai, in his Presidential address, said there had been a nation-wide awakening in India as to the value of history and the duty of contributing something solid and worthy of world acceptance in the task of unveiling India's life through the centuries.

That awakening had come up against a severe difficulty in respect of many important source books, particularly in Marathi, which had gone out of stock and could no longer be procured. The foremost need of the moment, he added, was to organise at once the editorial office of the National History Project into a sort of intellectual labour exchange or bureau of information and contact to which any student wishing to study a particular branch of Indian history might apply for guidance and which would ungrudgingly satisfy his curiosity.

Dr. Sardesai said that for the national history of India which was being eagerly looked forward to,

the first thing necessary was a diligent and intensive search for the original materials lying unknown and often uncared for both in and outside the country.

Emphasising the importance of such a search in the vast northern regions—Rajputana, Malwa, Bundelkhand, the Doab and the country beyond which were still untapped Dr. Sardesai said:

Those vast regions and their historic cities require a thorough hunt not only for old papers but also for coins, inscriptions and other relics of the past.

What historians thought and wrote hardly ever permeated the schools and colleges or the general public, said the President.

We must not, he declared, rest with planning and writing a national history. But we must see to it that this fresh knowledge is freely spread to the rising generation of our students.

He also warned that history ill-told and misapplied could be dangerous "as we realise to our cost in India to-day."

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Inaugurating the 17th annual meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences at New Delhi on Dec. 27, President Rajendraprasad urged on the scientists not to discard old things and methods in all branches of science without first assessing their merits, even though the theories underlying them might not be apparent.

The results of past achievements like the Taj or the South Indian temples which were marvels of engineering feats in all ages should not be lightly passed over, without enquiring into the technique and scientific knowledge employed by their builders. Dr. Prasad, however, emphasised that he did not mean to under-rate the efforts and researches of scientists to keep abreast of the progress made in scientific study in any part of the world. He was rather proud of the tremendous advances made by Indian scientists in the field of research.

But that should not blind them to the ultimate objective and practical aim of all sciences, namely,

the well-being and progress in all possible directions of the ordinary man. As an ordinary man, I am entitled to expect that all scientists will devote their time and energy, their intellect and knowledge to his welfare.

The President suggested two "distinct" approaches to modern scientific researches.

There is the question of research of a theoretical or fundamental character and there is the question of application of the results of such fundamental research to the solution of the problems of everyday life. From this follows the question of the spread of scientific knowledge of a practical nature in our everyday life in the field, in the factory, in the home in the public place, to every man and woman—young or old, rich or poor. The importance of theoretical or fundamental research cannot be exaggerated as the question of practical application of the theory can arise only after the theory is known.

But it is no derogation from its importance or value to say that the ordinary man is not much concerned with it, even if it be because he cannot understand it. He is more concerned with the practical application of scientific knowledge.

In agriculture Dr. Prasad said, the yield per acre in our country was at present very much less than what they could get in other countries. Efforts were being made to introduce the methods, manure and other things, which would bring up the yield and in experimental farms and in competitions the yield had come up to the best standard of other countries.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, the Minister for Works, Production and Supply, who was inaugurating the 26th session of the Indian Philosophical Congress at the Fergusson College, Poona on December 27, said that it was the duty of philosophers to help humanity in meeting the challenge thrown out by a number of problems of our times.

Owing to the very trying situation through which we are passing, a sense of frustration pervades our national life. A psychological change is necessary to get rid of this pessimism.

The world to-day has lost its sense of values and philosophers should restore the abiding values to their former sovereign status in life. Man should be made to realise his duty to society, the liberty of the mind must be preserved at any cost.

"We must evolve a common integrated outlook on life which will help us realise our ideal of a common culture," Mr. Gadgil said.

This integrated outlook implies a faith in democracy and in secularism. Democracy is not just a form of government, but a way of life and secularism aims positively at establishing a synthetic culture which will be the rallying point in our national life. We must re-assess the merit of our spiritual outlook. It is the historic role of philosophers to bring about a psychological revolution. Potent ideas turn the wheel of time and who if not the philosophers, will supply these ideas?

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona, welcoming the gathering, declared that

the time had arrived when students of Indian philosophy should present Indian truths as they existed, without equivocation or apology, as India's contribution to the thought of the world. India, the home of spiritual truths must in the present age, undertake the mission of building a new world.

Prof. A. C. Mukherji of the Allahabad University, in his Presidential address to the Conference, said it was the duty of Indian philosopher to preserve the great cultural heritage of India. He uttered a warning "against placing a too implicit faith in the experimental methods of modern science beyond their limited field."

To universities a method of limited application would be to promote ignorance and not knowledge.

"Always ask for money in advance when people have luggage that is over-emotional," said the hotel manager to his new receptionist.

"Over-emotion?" she queried.

"Yes," came the reply. "Too easily moved,"

ALL INDIA SCIENCE CONGRESS

Speaking at the inauguration of the 39th session of the All-India Science Congress at Calcutta on Jan. 2 Prime Minister Nehru asked scientists to consider whether the advancement of science would affect man's creative faculty, and bring about such an industrial and technological civilisation in which "mind" would become mechanical. He was afraid that it might take away the inventive genius of man.

The Prime Minister, who was specially invited to the Congress, promised scientific Government and popular backing for the popularisation of science in India.

Mr. Nehru added:

One of India's achievements during the past 4 years is the setting up of national laboratories all over the country. I think we can take legitimate pride in them, showing, as they do the development of science in India.

Mr. Nehru said in an "authoritarian regime" it was possible to make tremendous technological progress, but there the mind would lose its freedom to develop, and was liable to recede farther and farther from the creative field of adventure.

Dr. N. Mukherjee, Director, Central Building Research Institute, who presided, said that

the maintenance of proper standards of research and training was necessary for the progress of the country.

The proper remedy lay in improving standards of training, which were never very high and in the diversification of education, and correlating it with the needs of industry and agriculture.

Referring to the problem of the cultivation of the soil, Dr. Mukherjee said that the reason for low average yields was that a large proportion of farmers had not sufficient financial and other resources.

The average yields of tea, coffee and other industrial crops were going up, but those of paddy and wheat were stationary in spite of extension of irrigation and improved varieties. It was a mistake to think that the Indian farmer did not know much. The scientists and the farmer could both learn from each other. Without the enthusiasm and co-operation of the farmer, our targets of production could not be achieved. The farmer was the "producer technician". The scale of scientific effort should also be much greater than what it was if science was to solve quickly the country's problems.

SCIENTIFIC WORKERS IN CONFERENCE

Addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Association of Scientific Workers of India Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, the well-known British scientist and a member of the British Association of Scientific Workers, pleaded for solidarity among scientific workers throughout the world. Prof. Haldane explained how the conditions of employment of scientific workers in one country reflected on the conditions in other countries. The British Association, he said, could not of course, as yet persuade the Government to fashion their policy according to their views in regard to application of science, but the Association had been able to help scientific workers in various ways. Prof. Haldane said that he himself was under the threat of dismissal by a University, but the Association took up his case. The Association in India could also by similar non-violent means effectively promote the interest of its members, he added.

Prof. Haldane expressed satisfaction that the Association in India was trying to promote the cause of peace and rally opinion against a future war. In this connection he remarked that the policy of India in the UNO might not be ideal but deserved appreciation.

Dr. B. C. Guha, who presided, appealed to the scientific workers to strengthen public opinion against a future war and against the use of the Atom Bomb and other weapons of mass destruction.

The meeting endorsed the resolution of the World Federation of Scientific Workers asking national branches to urge upon the Governments of their respective countries to exercise fresh initiative for international control of atomic energy and the banning of all weapons of mass destruction.

In another resolution, it requested the Indian Science Congress to constitute a separate section on History of Science and Social Relations of Science.

Weep not for little Marjorie,
Abducted by a French marquis;
Though loss of honour was a wretch
Just think how it improved her French.

—Harry Graham.

INDIAN ELECTIONS

The elections in India have been conducted in most parts of the country in a mature, efficient and honest way which has won admiring comment from the people who have watched them, says the *Manchester Guardian*.

Commenting on the results so far announced, the paper observes that the elections began a new phase in Indian political history. Congress remains supreme, and in the number of seats it will occupy, it has had spectacular success. Before the general election there had been talk of a new orientation in Indian politics, with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, forming a coalition between the left-wing of the Congress and the Socialists. The collapse of the Socialists has put this out of the question. They failed through poor leadership.

Referring to Communist successes, the *Guardian* says: Though Congress can find reasons for consoling itself, it must feel uneasy. The Communist electoral appeal is now an established fact. Congress may have no immediate difficulty in forming an administration and carrying on the Government except in the one State of Travancore-Cochin, but from now on it is a serious possibility that at the next election, five years ahead, there may be a Communist majority in some States.

THE CAPITAL

This bumper number—Annual Review—(Price Rs. 5) carries over twenty five expert contributions on diverse, economic and industrial subjects. Among the contributors are: Dr. Sudhi Sen who writes on the difficulties under which Public Corporations like the Damodar Valley have to run their course, a special correspondent who writes on the results of the effects of the Royal Commission on Taxation on Profits and Incomes in England, Mr. S. A. Pakem who writes on Economic problems in Ceylon, Dr. N. Das on Mass unemployment in India, Dr. P. C. Jain on Government's Industrial policy, and several other well known writers on economic problems. The volume is a distinct contribution to the study of material welfare.

U. S. 1951 CROPS

Crop production levels in the United States this year are among the highest in history, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture reports.

In its annual summary of production of principal crops, the Agriculture Department reports that this year's production was exceeded only in 1918 and 1949.

Production of all crops is 127 per cent. of the 1923-32 average. The only higher figures were the 132 per cent. recorded in 1949 and the 137.5 per cent. of 1948.

High production was achieved, says the report despite adverse growing conditions, such as excessive rains, floods and droughts in various farming areas. Planting of large acreage was one factor contributing to the big crop, with increased use of agricultural technology another.

MUSIC ACADEMY

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri declared open the twenty-fifth Conference of the Madras Music Academy at the Sundareswarar Hall, Mylapore, on Dec. 21. A large and distinguished gathering of musicians and music-lovers was present.

Presiding over the session Vidwan Chemba Vaidyanatha Bhagavatar said that in these days of popular film tunes, it was the duty of bodies like the Music Academy to be reminding people of the essentials of Carnatic music. Otherwise, the spread of popular music through the gramophone, the radio and the cinema was likely to lower musical standards.

The Vidwan emphasised that the art of music was a *yoga* in itself, and it reached perfection only when *sangita* and *sahitya* combined harmoniously.

THE EASTERN ECONOMIST

In addition to providing the usual annual economic report with valuable maps, charts and statistical tables this year's annual number of the *Eastern Economist* (Rs. 5) not only analyses "India in 1951" but has provided a very choice selection of articles on the social history of India. This section deals with almost all known phases of social life in this country from "Temples and Towns" down to "Unchanging Agriculture".

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA AND U. N.

The U. N. General Assembly at Paris, called for the establishment of a 3-man Commission to help India, Pakistan, and S. Africa settle their differences over the treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union.

The resolution passed on from the Special (Ad. Hoc) Political Committee was finally approved by 44 votes to nil with 14 abstentions on January 12.

South Africa was absent.

Columbia was also absent. The 14 abstainers were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Britain, Turkey and Venezuela.

The new Commission would be composed of one member nominated by South Africa, one by India and Pakistan together, and the third by the other two nominees.

The 3 members would be appointed within 60 days, but in the event of default, the U.N. Secretary General would lend his assistance to the Governments "with a view to facilitating appropriate negotiations between them."

The resolution also allows the Secretary General to appoint an individual to give such aid. It further calls on the Union Government to suspend implementation of the Group Areas Act, providing for territorial divisions along racial lines, and states the item is to be placed on the agenda of the next Assembly session.

With the adoption at the plenary meeting of the U. N. General Assembly, of the five-member resolution on the South African question and completion by the Trusteeship Committee the day before of the item on South-West Africa, two of the most vexed questions before the present Assembly have been disposed of. The Union Government's representatives, according to Dr. Shelvankar in the *Hindu*, were doubtless hoping that these matters will remain out of the international lime-light for at least another year.

S. W. Africa

REV. SCOTT PROHIBITED IMMIGRANT

The Rev. Michael Scott, who defended the cause of South-West African Tribes in their approaches to the United Nations on the future of South-West Africa has been declared a prohibited immigrant by the South African Minister of Interior, Dr. Eden Donges.

Under the South African Union Act of 1913, a prohibited immigrant entering the Union would be liable to conviction to imprisonment of up to three months without the option of a fine and additionally would be liable to be removed from the Union of South Africa. Earlier the Rev. M. Scott circulated a letter among the United Nations delegates in Paris that he had been declared a prohibited immigrant and forbidden to re-enter South Africa.

Borneo

INDIAN EMIGRANTS INVITED

The Government of British North Borneo has requested the Government of India to permit emigration of 10,000 Indian settlers, preferably from South India, with their families for permanent residence in Borneo.

The Borneo Government is understood to have offered the settlers attractive terms which will give them complete equality of status with all other British citizens in the colony.

They will also be provided land for the cultivation of rice and other crops, and in addition other avenues of employment, such as, Government service will be open to them. The Borneo Government would pay all costs of their transport.

Although the emigration laws in India prohibit emigration of unskilled labour there is no statutory bar to Indians leaving the country with the object of permanently settling abroad. The Government of India, therefore, it is learnt, will be inclined to agree to the North Borneo Government's request provided the Indian settlers are given full proprietorship in land.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE DEVERS PLAN

The Government of India had no knowledge of the parts of the tentative plan of demilitarisation, published by Dr. Frank Graham, U.N. Representative for Kashmir, on January 21, prior to such publication and are surprised that something of which they were unaware should have been published without prior reference to them, states a Press note issued by the Ministry of External Affairs.

Following is the Press note: Publicity has been given to what is called the "Devers plan" for demilitarisation in Jammu and Kashmir State. This report was released as a Security Council document on January 21. The plan, as now published, was never communicated either to the Government of India or to Mr. B. N. Rau and his military advisers during the negotiations in Paris. The only "Devers plan" that was communicated to our military advisers by Gen. Devers in Paris on November 29 is the one reproduced in Annexe VI to Dr. Graham's second report to the Security Council which has already been published.

ORIGINAL PROPOSALS

The "Devers plan" as given to our military advisers and as reproduced in Annexe VI to Dr. Graham's second report is as follows:

(1) D-Day to be 30 days after the principal agreements have been signed.

"2. D to D plus 30. (A) The United Nations observer force be increased to approximately 800 officers and 600 men with necessary jeeps, helicopters and communication equipment to assure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in demobilisation of forces and give stability and backing to local Governments in maintaining order.

"(B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops.

"(C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

"(D) The Azad Kashmir armed forces to be reduced to four battalions.

"(E) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to one division and one line of communications area headquarters.

COMPOSITION OF POLICE FORCE

"(F) A police force of 4,000 civilians to be created in the Azad territory of Kashmir as follows: (A) 1,200 carefully selected armed civilians who were formerly members of the disbanded Azad force. (B) 1,200 carefully selected armed civilians who at no time have served as members of the disbanded Azad forces. None will be Pakistan nationals or former members of the Pakistan armed forces. (C) 800 carefully selected unarmed civilians who were formerly members of the disbanded Azad forces. (D) 800 carefully selected unarmed civilians who at no time have served as members of the disbanded Azad forces. None will be Pakistan nationals or former members of the Pakistan forces."

The difference between the plan as communicated to the Government of India in November last year and the one now published in Paris is said to be considerable (says PTI). The new plan differs on the number of troops to be stationed on both sides and certain new factors, such as the reference to the Gilgit Scouts, have been introduced.

On a rough estimate while the old plan envisaged the stationing of 7,600 troops on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line including regular Pakistan troops and civilian armed forces, and 28,000 troops on the Indian side, the new plan would appear to put the figure on the Pakistan side at about 10,000 and on the Indian side at about 14,000 troops.

GRAHAM MISSION'S TERM EXTENDED

The Graham mission for the settlement of the Kashmir question was extended for another two months by the Security Council at its meeting on January 31. The United Kingdom suggestion that Dr. Graham should continue his efforts and report to the Security Council by the end of March was agreed to.

MR. CHURCHILL'S APPEAL TO AMERICA

Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, told a joint session of the United States Congress on January 17 that it would help Britain if even token troops of other Powers in the proposed Middle East Pact were stationed in the Suez Canal Zone. The proposed pact originally envisaged a joint Middle East Command with Britain, France, the U. S., Turkey and Egypt as foundation members. It was rejected by Egypt. Mr. Churchill said the Suez had become an international rather than a national conception. Britain was not maintaining 50,000 troops in Egypt for self-glory. "We do not seek to be masters of Egypt but are there as servants and guardians of the commerce of the world" he said. Britain could not bear the whole burden of Suez Canal defence. It was an international responsibility.

On other world affairs, Mr. Churchill said:

The atom bomb: The most effective deterrent against a third world war is the valiant resolution of a well-armed international force, rather than the awful secret which has been wrested from nature. But he added: Be careful, above all things, not to let go the atomic weapon until you are sure, and more than sure, that other means of preserving peace are in your hands.

China: It was by no means sure China will remain for generations in the Communist group. Britain takes her stand at the side of the United States against Chinese Communist aggression.

Europe: What mattered most was not the form of fusion but the number of armoured divisions, the size of the air force and the quality of its weapons. He could not accept the slightest reproach from any quarter in regard to what Britain was doing in this respect, because the Commonwealth was not prepared to become a State or group of States in any continental system on either side of the Atlantic.

The Prime Minister said that under the threat of Communist aggression, the ties between the U.S., the Commonwealth and European nations were being brought forward several generations.

Mr. Churchill said that he had not come to the United States to ask for money to make life more comfortable or easier for the British people. "Our standards of life are our own business," he said.

Britain could only keep her respect and independence by looking after her living standards herself.

The American loan to Britain which she was repaying was spent not upon herself but in helping others, Mr. Churchill said.

Mr. Churchill said that after the war Britain unwisely and contrary to American advice accepted as normal debts almost 4,000 million pounds sterling of claims from countries which she had supported or protected from invasion. Britain had accepted this instead of making claims which would have reduced the burdens on her own shoulders. . . .

The British Prime Minister said he had come to the U. S. not to ask for gold but for steel, not for favours but for equipment. "And that is why many of our requests have been so well and generously met."

MR. ATTLEE ON INDO-BRITISH AMITY

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Lord Pethick Lawrence and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon addressed a big gathering at the Royal Albert Hall on the occasion of India's Republic Day celebrations in London on January 26. Besides a large number of Indian nationals in the United Kingdom, nationals of other countries were also present. The meeting was held under the auspices of the India League.

Mr. Attlee said that the British people had watched with intense interest the progress of self-government in India and her achievement of equality among the nations of the world.

The former Labour Prime Minister referred to the Indian general elections and said:

Great events are taking place in India where democracy is being applied on such an immense scale. I hope in these elections a strong, effective and progressive Government will emerge that will serve not only India, but serve the whole world.

Mr. Attlee, who had been closely associated with the transfer of power to India, said there were close bonds of friendship and understanding between India and Britain.

We have in the Commonwealth—that family of nations—India, that great nation, to play her part not only for millions of Indians or Asians but the whole world.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

A Bill to provide for the conduct of elections to the offices of President and Vice-President has been published in the *Gazette of India*. The Bill, which will be introduced by Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister of Law, is expected to be given priority in the business before Parliament when it meets on February 5.

The objects and reasons of the Bill are:

Article 54 of the Constitution provides that the President of India shall be elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of (a) the elected members of both Houses of Parliament and (b) the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States, and Article 55 prescribes the manner in which the election shall be held. Article 56 provides that the Vice-President shall be elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting. Article 71(1) lays down that doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice-President shall be inquired into and decided by the Supreme Court. Article 71(3) authorises Parliament to regulate by law, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, any matter relating to or connected with the election of a President or Vice-President.

The Bill seeks to provide for the conduct of elections to the offices of President and Vice-President, the decision of disputes arising out of or in connection with such elections, the corrupt practices and other offences at or in connection with such elections and other ancillary matters.

THE LATE LT.-COL. G. MADDOCK

Lt.-Col. Edward Cecil Gordon Maddock, the man who many years ago saved Mahatma Gandhi's life when he was in prison at Poona, died last month. He was 75.

Colonel Maddock who served in the Indian Medical Service was a prison doctor at Poona, when Mahatma Gandhi who was in jail developed appendicitis trouble. Realising that a few hours' delay would mean death, Colonel Maddock broke the prison regulations, called on Gandhiji in his car and drove him to the hospital. The operation was performed and Mahatma Gandhi's life was saved.

Col. Maddock lived at Eunningdale, Berkshire. He leaves a widow.

POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

It was the business of administration in a democratic state to carry into effect the will of the community, as determined, crystallised and declared through political processes, said Mr. B. B. Majumdar, Principal, H. D. Jain College, Arrah, presiding over the 14th Indian Political Science Conference, which had its three-day session in the Osmania University, Hyderabad in the closing week of December last.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to China, who inaugurated the Conference on December 27 said that one of the major difficulties facing democracy was how to utilise in the higher spheres of Government the services of experts so necessary in the handling of complicated problems, without at the same time weakening the essential principles of political leadership in government.

While he was glad that this fact was recognised, when the Central Government was formed soon after independence, by their leaders strengthening themselves by requisitioning the services of men, whose experience lay in other fields than politics, he said it was unfortunate that it was not extended to the States with results which everyone agreed had not been altogether satisfactory.

Mr. Majumdar said in the course of his address:

The study of political science was neglected in Indian universities up to the end of the first decade of the present century. This is not surprising in view of the fact that professorships in the subject were not instituted even in the Universities of Oxford, London and Cambridge before 1912, 1913 and 1927 respectively. At present, out of 28 Universities in India, only 14, namely, Aligarh, Allahabad, Baroda, Banaras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Madras, Mysore, Nagpur, Osmania, Patna, Poona, and Saugar have got separate Departments of Political Science. The funds allotted to the Political Science Department does not exceed 4 per cent. of the total budget in any University, but in the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Banaras, Mysore, Baroda, Poona, Saugar and Hyderabad they are less than one per cent. If the sovereign democratic Republic of India wants to avoid the danger of 'one blind man leading others similarly blind', the various State Governments and the wealthier sections of the community must generously endow the universities and colleges for providing specialised courses of instruction in political science to train up active citizens, intelligent legislators and efficient administrators.

EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS

Bombay's Chief Minister, Mr. B. G. Kher welcoming the Commonwealth Universities' Delegation at the Secretariat commended the growing movement of students and teachers from their own countries to others.

"Such migrations," he said, "must be encouraged, for they build up a fund of goodwill based on personal knowledge and understanding and sympathy that are born of first-hand experience." It was of vital importance that the educationists who were in charge of the administration of the affairs of the universities should themselves travel and get to know one another better. They might thereby organise the exchanges and visits of scholars and teachers.

Mr. Kher was sure that the visit of the Commonwealth Universities' Delegation to the Indian universities had been of great interest and profit to the educationists and scholars of the places they had visited and he hoped that it had been of interest to the members of the delegation as well. "Our institutes of higher learning," he said, "cannot boast of the opulent resources which their counterparts in England and the other countries of the Commonwealth can, for ours is a poor country. But so far as talent and ability are concerned, I think we are not much behind other countries. In the humanities, we are the rich inheritors of a precious tradition. I am confident that our universities will forge ahead rapidly and will take their place side by side with their sisters in the Commonwealth countries."

U. S. TRAVEL GRANTS TO INDIAN STUDENTS

Applications for travel grants from Indian students who have their own financial support and who have secured admission to institutions of higher learning in the United States are invited by the executive Secretary, U.S. Educational Foundation in India, 17, Curzon Road, New Delhi.

The applications must reach the foundation on or before April 15, 1952, accom-

panied by relevant documents. Candidates are restricted to those who (1) are nationals of India; (2) possess a good bachelor's degree or its equivalent; (3) are proficient in English; (4) possess an official letter of admission from a university or other approved institution of higher learning in the United States for the academic year commencing in September 1952; and (5) produce evidence of sufficient funds for maintenance in U. S. (about Rs. 8,000 for each year of study) either in the form of a bank statement or certificate from a first-class magistrate.

The travel grants provide round-trip transportation by rail and sea from the candidate's place of residence in India to a port of entry in the United States. Candidates who have been notified that their applications have been recommended to Washington for Smith-Mundt and Institute of International Education scholarships need not file separate applications for travel grants.

TRIVANDRUM CONVOCATION

Addressing the 16th Convocation of the Travancore-Cochin University, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, said that the pay, and conditions of service, of teachers should be improved.

"The pay given to them—I dignify it by the word pay instead of the word wages—is hardly calculated to keep them in reasonable comfort, or enable them to live in decent surroundings. The precariousness of their tenure of office in some cases adds to the discomfort of their situation. We should realise the disadvantages under which teachers are placed and create conditions, as a matter of first priority, which will enable them to follow their high purpose without over-concentration on the mundane duty of first looking after themselves.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, have been informed that the Academic Board of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London, is again holding an examination in this country on February 19, 1952 for students wishing to enter the School in October 1952 for first degrees.

RULING ON ELECTION PETITIONS

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court unanimously held that the High Courts in India had no jurisdiction to entertain petitions under Article 226 of the Constitution complaining of irregularity in election proceedings.

Mr. Justice Fazl Ali delivered the judgment of the Constitution Bench consisting of the Acting Chief Justice, Mr. Pantanjali Sastri, Mr. Fazl Ali, Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mr. B. K. Mukherjee, Mr. S. R. Das, and Mr. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, which had heard the appeal preferred by Mr. N. P. Ponnuswami, a candidate for election to the Madras Assembly from the Namakkal constituency whose nomination paper had been rejected by the Returning Officer on the ground that it had not been accompanied by a proper declaration appointing an election agent, against the judgment of the Madras High Court holding that it had no jurisdiction to entertain his petition questioning the legality of the decision of the Returning Officer.

U. P. LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

The seventh session of the U. P. Lawyers' Conference concluded at Lucknow with a plea for creating a unified and autonomous all-India bar. The conference gave its approval to the all-India Bar Council Bill and welcomed the Government of India's enquiry on the subject.

One suggestion of the conference was to tackle the ever-mounting arrears in the courts on an all-India basis. Legal education in India should be overhauled and be made uniform. It should conform to national and international standards.

The conference regretted the delay in the separation of judicial and executive functions in the state.

The conference, which was presided over by Mr. S. K. Dar, ex-judge, Allahabad High Court, approved the decision of the State Government for making it compulsory for candidates for U.P. Judicial Service competition to have at least three years' active practice at the bar. The conference recommended for the extension of this principle to the candidates selected by nominations.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE JUDICIARY

Declaring open the South Arcot District Lawyers' Conference at Cuddalore on Jan. 27, Mr. Justice K. Ramaswami Gownder said that in the matter of recruitment to the Bench and promotion to the High Court men of outstanding ability among the Provincial Bar and the Provincial Judicial Service should be given equal opportunities. He also pleaded for amending the laws and procedures so as to make them simple and lucid.

Mr. K. Rajah Aiyar, who presided over the Conference, advised lawyers to start a voluntary fund to which the members should contribute. He cited the example of trade unions which wielded immense power.

In the course of his address Mr. Ramaswami Gounder said:

There appears to be a feeling in some quarters that the recruitment to the highest tribunal in the State should be only from the City Bar, and not even from the provincial lawyers. A learned colleague of mine, in his address to the Madras State Lawyers' Conference recently held at Kozhikode, has expressed himself in favour of the Bench being entirely manned by the recruits from those in actual practice. Nobody can quarrel with that proposition. But, he holds the opinion that the District Munsif once recruited should not expect promotion, but should be paid amply for doing the work. Similarly, he has stated a District Judge or a Subordinate Judge directly recruited and well paid should remain as such and should not expect any kind of promotion. I submit that this proposition will only be sowing seeds of discontent and demoralisation amongst the ranks of the provincial judiciary.

Speaking on recruitment to the Bench, Mr. Ramaswami Gounder paid a tribute to some of the district judges of purely provincial service, such as Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyar, Sir K. Sundaram Chettiar, Sir C. V. Kumaraswamy Sastriar, Sri C. V. Viswanatha Sastriar and Sri V. Bashyam Iyengar and others who retired as most eminent judges of the High Court.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA

The President has been pleased to appoint the Hon. Mr. Justice Mandakulathur Patanjali Sastri to be the permanent Chief Justice of India.

COMMONWEALTH FINANCE
CONFERENCE

Eight Commonwealth countries and Southern Rhodesia announced their determination to take "progressive steps" to make sterling freely convertible on January 21. After a week-long conference to plan the defence of sterling and halt the critical drain on the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves, they declared their confidence that "the situation can be set right."

Steps were planned which will give to sterling the strength it must have to continue as a widely used international currency."

The Commonwealth Ministers and representatives recognised in a *communiqué* issued subsequently that "the sterling area is faced with a very serious crisis which if it not effectively dealt with will have far-reaching consequences."

Setting their rights on convertibility as a long-term aim, they agreed that every country in the sterling area must strenuously "endeavour to live within the means which are or can be available to it" if the recurrent drain on the central gold reserve is to be stopped.

INDIAN TARIFF COMMISSION

The Tariff Commission—a statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament to examine and review cases of protection to Indian industry—started functioning at Bombay on January 21.

The scope and functions of the Commission are much wider than those of the previous Tariff Boards. The Commission has been empowered to consider claims to protection not only from established industries as hitherto, but also from industries which have not yet started production but which are likely to do so if granted suitable protection.

Mr. G. L. Mehta, formerly a member of the Planning Commission, is the Chairman of the Commission. Its two other members are Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu and Mr. B. N. Adarkar. Dr. D. K. Malhotra is its Secretary.

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Dr. H. L. Dey, in the course of his presidential address at the 34th session of the Indian Economic Conference at the Patna University on Dec. 23 observed

that a uniform 30 per cent cut in all internal prices, coupled with an appreciation of the exchange value of the rupee by 16-2/3 per cent so as to make it equivalent to 21 pence sterling or 24.5 cents in terms of the U.S. dollar as well as the freezing of wages, dividends and rent for a period of two years, is the minimum requirement for removing the intolerable burden of injustice and correcting the grave distortions in the structure of economy caused by inflation.

Dr. Dey said that until the problem of inflation was solved by bringing down prices to the pre-decontrol index of 800 of November, 1947, there could be no economic and social stability in the country.

In the early part of his address, Dr. Dey gave an analysis of price movements in India and in certain other important countries, which showed that

although the absolute pressure of inflation was by far the greatest in India both in the war and the post-war periods, the relative increase in the pressure of inflation in the post-war period was smaller in India than in most other countries, thanks to the fiscal and monetary measures of disinflation taken by Government during the last three years.

Even so, the outstanding factor dominating the entire economic situation in this country was that the price level was more than four times as high as it had been in 1939 and that it was much higher than in most other important countries.

In this country, in particular, Dr. Dey stated, while the business classes, workers and owner-cultivators except the smallest ones, have received unduly larger shares of the national income, the earnings of the middle class people have lagged far behind the rise in the price level and in the cost of living.

He therefore, pleaded that to ensure the survival with honour of this class who constituted one of the most stabilising and progressive elements of society as well as to bring about a measure of equilibrium between internal and international prices it was necessary that the prices of essential commodities should be brought down without delay. That meant "a definite, clear-cut, consistent and comprehensive programme of integrated controls" over prices and distribution of all essential commodities.

SOCIAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

Mrs. Achamma John Matthai, presiding over the fifth annual session of the Indian Conference of Social Work, at Calcutta on December 28, said that in any national plan of social service, the training of social workers should hold an important place.

The plan should include a proper scheme of scientific training for social work suited to Indian conditions, and for this purpose, the assistance, of foreign experts should be enlisted.

The social problems in India were vast and intricate, some of which had become chronic owing to long neglect and had become almost identified with the country.

There were the problems of balancing the population with the country's resources, of destitution, beggary and unemployment. These had to be tackled through planned economic development designed to raise the standard of living and also to secure a more equitable distribution of the national income. There were again vast rural areas which had so far received less attention than they deserved as the basic element in the country's economy.

She referred to the draft report of the Planning Commission and said:

The Social Service Division of the Planning Commission has done well to call attention to the importance of social work in a plan of economic development. The planners have endeavoured to fix priorities in terms of services for neglected areas, under-developed groups and handicapped sections of the community. It is essential, however, that the Commission should give a clearer lead in enunciating policy and chalking out a long-term programme with definite targets. The Commission has called upon voluntary social service to take up all welfare work except elementary education and health services which alone, according to it, the State is in a position to undertake.

Mrs. Matthai suggested that the Commission might consider the appointment of a committee consisting of experienced social workers and welfare administrators to go into the question of demarcating the respective fields of State and voluntary social services with due regard to the resources that each could command.

Inaugurating the Conference, the West Bengal Governor, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, said that a distinct trend that was discernible in the development of modern social science was that the ship of the State was steered by the Pole Star of social welfare.

In keeping with this, they in this country had already accepted the concept of the welfare State

and towards this end they had in their Constitution, included what were known as Directive Principles designed to promote social welfare on the basis of social and economic justice. They had also made suitable provisions in the first Five-Year-Plan for the development of social services.

Mr. Justice B. K. Guha of the Calcutta High Court, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said that they were often apt to forget that patriotism was not enough and that a spirit of humility and a sense of sustained endeavour in the cause of their motherland too was wanted. Mr. Guha deplored the recent growth of a number of mushroom organisations with questionable motives.

About 500 delegates from different parts of India attended the Conference.

The Conference, before concluding the session, recommended to the Government the creation of a Ministry of Social Affairs at the Centre and in the States and departments of public welfare at the municipal and local levels to co-ordinate social welfare activities all over the country.

It decided to observe February 20 as Social Welfare Day throughout India.

By other resolutions, the conference suggested that Government should review the wages fixed in different States and take steps to see that the Minimum Wages Act was implemented with a view to achieving its social objective. It also suggested the establishment of a compulsory provident fund for industrial workers.

MISS DORAI RAJ

Miss Myrtle Dorai Raj, a student of Stella Mary's College, Madras has been named one of the two Indian delegates to attend the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum in the next month. The other is Rajendra Nath Bara, a student from Assam. They were selected on the basis of a 1,500 word essay contest on "The World We Want." Each student attending the Forum will stay for two weeks in six different American homes before attending the Conference. These visits will form the basis for the frank criticisms and observations expected of the delegates when they take part in the Forum.

MR. BOWLES' TRIBUTE TO INDIA

The following is the text of a statement made by United States Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, on the Indian Republic Day :

To-day, the people of the United States and I am sure free men everywhere, are proud to salute the people of India. For, this beginning of a fifth year of Indian Independence is a day of very special promise. It celebrates not only India's great progress in its four short years as a Republic, but, I believe, a renewed conviction among the Indian people that in choosing independence and democratic form of Government, they have chosen the right path.

To India as to America, Democracy to-day does not mean merely the freedom to vote and run one's own Government important as these freedoms are, India sees in democracy its deeper spiritual concept—the concept of freedom for the mind and souls of men, and respect for the dignity and worth of every human being. The people of India, I believe, want democracy precisely because they understand this concept, for it is one that has long been close to the hearts and culture of India.

I feel that the Indian people on this significant anniversary are rededicating themselves to this deeper concept of democracy. For India builds not only on a base of political freedom, but on the four great democratic freedoms of which President Roosevelt spoke and to which all free men now subscribe—freedom of speech and of worship, freedom from fear, and freedom from want.

India understands that where there is fear, where there is no freedom to speak or worship, the mind and soul of man cannot be free. India knows that where there are want and hunger, there can be little human dignity. Surely one of the most promising things about this year ahead is that India will devote a major effort to securing freedom from want for all her people.

It is hoped that the enlarged programme of technical assistance made possible by the new agreement between the Indian and American Governments will help greatly towards securing this freedom from want. The fulfilment of the programme will not be easy. But I am certain it can succeed. Everywhere I feel the strong desire of the Indian people to raise their living standards: and again I have been impressed with their ability and their spirit of dedication in this task.

The free world knows that the Indian people to-day seek the same ends as all other democratic peoples. They want peace. They want to see not only their own nation, but all nations free from poverty, disease and illiteracy. They want to see all men, of all races and religions, bound in true brotherhood. They want a free world in which the people of every nation can choose their own form of Government, make their own laws, and in which no one nation can

control the right of any other to decide its own destiny.

The people of India have come a long way down the right path they have chosen. They have set an enviable record in a very short time. And meanwhile, each step of the way, they have followed the teaching of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, that unless the means are honourable the end can never be justified. If India continues to follow that precept, and continues its dedication to the highest concepts of democracy, I believe that nothing can stop her people from reaching the high goals they have set for themselves as free men in a free world.

BRAILLE CODE FOR INDIA

The Government of India have evolved a common Braille code for Indian languages, known as "Braille Bharati".

The code, based on the recommendations of three international conferences convened by the UNESCO to investigate the possibility of evolving a single Braille code for the world, will soon be put into use at the Government of India's training centre for the adult blind at Dehra Dun.

BIOGRAPHY OF MR. JINNAH

The British author, Hector Bolitho, has arrived at Karachi to write a biography of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He has been commissioned by the Pakistan Government to write an official story of Pakistan's founder.

INCREASE IN U.S. CAR PRICES

General Motors—America's biggest motor corporation—was on January 25, authorised to raise the basic prices of 1952 cars by between 50 and 220 dollars.

John Constable, the famous British landscape painter had a dry and penetrating wit which he did not hesitate to use. His great friend was one Archdeacon Fisher who, on enquiring of the artist whether he had enjoyed one of his sermons, may have been surprised to receive the reply: "Very much indeed, Fisher: I always did like that sermon." It was Constable also who admonished his milkman with the words, "In future we shall feel obliged if you will send us the milk and the water in separate cans."

—Ditcher in "Capital."

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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-Shiromani" 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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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. André 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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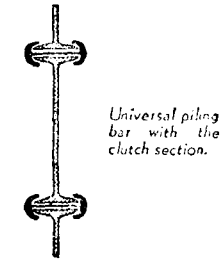
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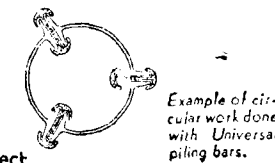
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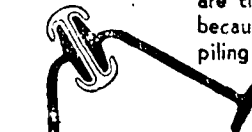
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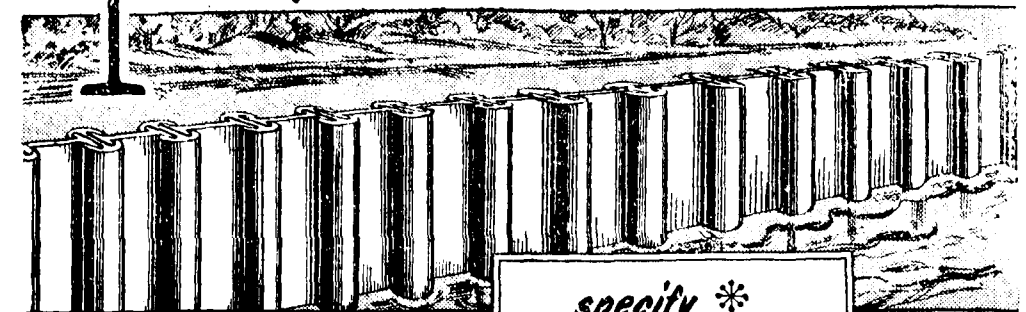
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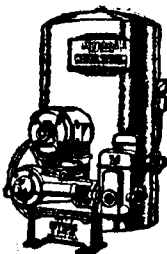


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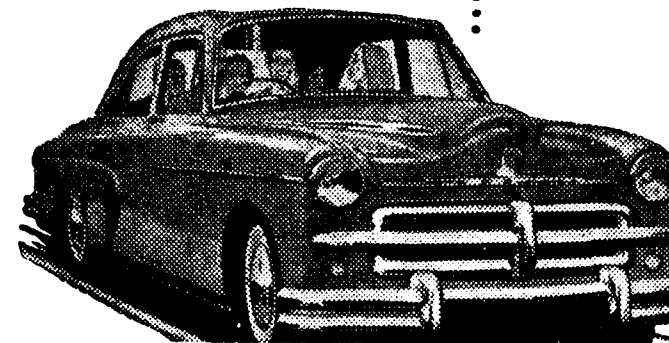
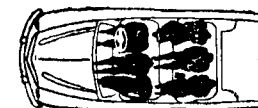
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THE NUCLEUS OF THE GITA

BY SRI M. V. BHIDE, I.C.S., (Retired)

SRIMADBHAGVAD-GITA is, as is well-known, a philosophical poem embodying the philosophy of life as taught by Sri Krishna to Arjuna. At the commencement of the great Mahabharata War, Arjuna suddenly fell into a mood of dejection at the impending slaughter of his kinsmen, many of whom were near and dear to him and several of whom were persons like, Bhishma, Drona etc., whom he held in high respect. He shuddered, moreover at the thought of the disastrous consequences resulting from the destruction of the families and felt that it was a great sin to engage in such a terrible war and that it would be better even to lead a beggar's life, rather than enter upon such a war. He, therefore, laid down his great Gandiva bow and declined to fight. Sri Krishna first rebuked him sharply for this display of imbecility at the critical hour, but Arjuna was persistent and said that he was in a state of bewilderment and did not know what to do. He, therefore, prayed Sri Krishna to look upon him as his disciple and tell him what was the best course for him to adopt in the circumstances. He concluded by saying that he feared that nothing could dispel the tormenting grief that would overwhelm him on the death of his kinsfolk—not even sole sovereignty of the earth or suzerainty of heaven! Thereupon, Sri Krishna, realising his deep sincerity and the difficulties of his position, proceeded to give him the advice he needed.

The advice is given in a long discourse consisting of 700 verses, divided into 18 chapters. Judging from a common sense point of view, it seems scarcely likely that all that is found in these

18 chapters was actually said by Sri Krishna on the battle-field. The probability is that the Gita, as we have it now, is an amplification on a large scale of the advice given by Sri Krishna and most of the scholars who have examined the Gita critically have expressed this view. But a further difficulty arises owing to the fact that the Gita is not a systematic, easily intelligible exposition of any particular philosophy, but deals with a variety of topics, characteristic of Hindu religion and philosophy. As a result, commentators like Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya and others have interpreted Gita differently from their sectarian points of view. The late Lokamanya Tilak has in his 'Gita-Rahasya' (published in 1915) expressed the view that 'Nishkama Karmayoga' (action, without attachment to the fruits thereof) is the essential teaching of the Gita and has alternatively given the title of 'Karmayoga Shastra' to his book. There are, however, other commentators, who held the view that the Gita does not really teach one particular philosophy but different philosophies or paths to 'Moksha' (final beatitude) like Gnana, Karma, Bhakti and have sought to reconcile them in a harmonious setting.

The different interpretations placed upon the Gita as stated above are largely due to the variety of topics dealt with therein. These topics are, moreover, often loosely connected or abruptly introduced. There are many repetitions and even contradictions, which could not ordinarily be expected in the work of one and the same author. The question has, therefore, been mooted by some scholars as to whether the Gita, as we

have it, is in its original form or the original has been expanded by different authors from time to time. According to Garbe, the Bhagvad Gita was originally a 'Sankhya Yoga' treatise with which, Vedantic and Mimamsa views were subsequently intermixed. Hopkins considers it to be a 'Krishnaite version' of an older Vishnavite poem. Keith believes it to have been originally an 'Upanishad' of the Shwetashwatar type, but later mixed up with Krishna worship. Some critics have expressed the view that the Gita originally consisted of two Adhyayas only, others that it ended with the Vishvarupa Darshan in the 11th Adhyaya, while some others think that it ended with the 14th Adhyaya as the subsequent Adhyayas are not to be found in the Javanese recension of the Gita.

The question as to what was the original form of the Gita must largely be a matter for inference, as the Gita consisting of about 700 verses with some (variations in readings) has been found to have existed in its present form for several centuries and no direct evidence is available as to its earlier form. But judging from internal evidence, there seems considerable justification for the suggestion made by Dr. E. J. Thomas in his introduction to his translation of the Gita, that the first chapter of the Gita and the second chapter upto the 38th verse was probably the whole original episode in the Mahabharata and that it was subsequently developed into a discourse,—The Lord's Song—giving a complete system of ethics and religion.

The first chapter of the Gita is introductory and describes how Arjuna suddenly felt remorse at the prospect of the terrible havoc likely to result from the fratricidal war and refused to fight. On being reprimanded by Sri Krishna, he explained further his apprehensions and begged for advice as to the right course for him. The first portion of Chapter II, from verse 11 to verse 38 purports to reproduce the initial advice as given by Sri Krishna, from the 'Sankhya' point of view, while the rest of the chapter is devoted to what is described as 'Buddhi Yoga' or 'Karma Yoga'. In the first portion upto the 38th verse, Sri Krishna

pointed out the distinction between 'body' and 'soul'—the transitory character of the former and the immortality of the latter. The soul never dies, he said, and it was, therefore, unwise to grieve over the destruction of the body—which was inevitable sooner or later. He further drew the attention of Arjuna to his duty as a Kshatriya. "There was nothing more glorious for a Kshatriya", he said, "than to fight in a righteous war". Arjuna stood to gain thereby, the sovereignty of the earth if he won and bliss in heaven, if he were killed. On the other hand, if he shirked his duty he would be faced with eternal disgrace—which was worse than death! He, therefore, asked Arjuna to fight and do his duty regardless of consequences and assured him that the action involved no sin.*

The above advice, though brief, is complete in itself and Sri Krishna may well have considered it sufficient for the immediate object in view. Arjuna had asked for advice as a layman, perplexed as he was, at that critical hour, when the opposing armies were actually drawn up in battle-array. In such circumstances, Sri Krishna could hardly be expected to enter upon any lengthy philosophical discourse and probably considered it sufficient to draw the attention of Arjuna to the teaching of the Upanishads, according to which the soul never dies and also to the unmistakable duty of a Kshatriya—which was to fight. It does not appear that Arjuna was not satisfied with this advice; for he asked no further

* The original verse is:

*sukha dhukhe samam kritwa labhalabhow
jayajayow l*

*Tato yuddhaya yujyaswa nainam papam
avapsyasi ll*

This verse has presented some difficulty to commentators, as it is more in keeping with the Buddhi—Yoga propounded in the verses commencing with verse 39, C/F e.g., Verse 48,

*siddhyasiddhyow samo bhootwa samatwam
yoga uchyate l*

But verse 38 appears to be merely a general statement advising Arjuna to give up his doubts and hesitation and to fight and assuring him that he would not incur any sin thereby.

questions. But in the 39th verse, Sri Krishna himself proceeds to state that the advice he had given upto that stage was in accordance with the 'Sankhya', and that he proposed to advise him next according to 'Buddhi Yoga' which would enable him to obtain release from the bondage of Karma.

The above facts suggest that the advice given in verses 11 to 38 of Chapter II was probably the original nucleus of the Gita. If it were the intention of Sri Krishna to justify the course of action he proposed to recommend first according to 'Sankhya' and thereafter according to Buddhi Yoga, he might have been expected to state this at the outset rather than at the end of verse 38. Moreover, the duty of Kshatriya as explained in verses 31 to 38 was no part of the 'Sankhya' doctrine. Verse 31 is as follows:—

*Swadharma-mapi chavaksha na vikampitum
arhasi l*

*Dharmyaddhi yuddhacchreyo anyattu
kshatriyasya na vidyate ll*

The word 'api' in *Swadharma-mapi* is significant and shows that the duty of a Kshatriya was being pointed out independently of the preceding verses in which the impropriety of grief for the

loss of the 'body' when the 'soul' was immortal had been pointed out. Verse 39 runs as follows:—

*Yesha te abhikita sankhye bhuddhir yoge
tu imam srunu l*

*Buddhyayukto yaya Partha Karmabandham
prahasyasi ll*

The word *Esha* (this) at the beginning of this verse suggests that the verses immediately preceding it were a part of the 'Sankhya' doctrine, but this statement does not seem to fit in. The statement would have been appropriate after verse 30, with which the discussion about the immortality of the soul ends—even if it was to be made after the exposition of the doctrine, instead of at the outset.

The word 'Sankhya' in verse 39 appears to be used in a generic sense to refer merely to the Upanishadic doctrine of the immortality of the soul *Atmavidya* as explained in verses 11 to 30. The question of the immortality of the soul figures prominently in Kathopanishad and some of the verses in this group (11-30) are found to be a reproduction of verses in the Kathopanishad with some modifications e.g. verses 18 and 19 in Chapter II of the Kathopanishad, which are given below correspond to verses 19 and 20 of Chapter II of the Gita.

GITA

*Ya yenam vetti hantaram yaschainam
manyate hatam l*

*Ubhow tow na vijaneetho nayam hanti na
hunyate ll*

*na jayate mriyate va kadachit l
nayam bhootwa bhavita vanna bhuyah ll*

*Ajo nityah sasvato ayam purano l
na hanyate hanyamane sarire ll*

KATHOPANISHAD

*Hanta chenmanyante hantum hataschem
manyate hatam l*

*ubhow tow na vijaneethah nayam hanti na
hanyate ll*

*na jayate myriyate va vipaschitu l
nayam kutaschinna bhabhuwa kaschit ll*

*Ajo nityah sasvato ayam purano na
hanyate hanyamane sareeray ll*

There is no reference in these verses to the leading doctrines of Prakriti, Purusha and Guna's characteristic of the 'Sankhya' Philosophy, as we know it, though there are such references in the later chapters of the Gita. Probably 'Sankhya' Philosophy in its present form had not then been crystallized and the word 'Sankhya' was used as a generic term for the Atmavidya (Philosophy of the soul) as taught in the Upanishads.* There is no attempt in these verses to justify the course of action recommended to Arjuna (*vis*: fighting) on the basis of this Atmavidya. The concluding verse of this part *vis*:

*Dehew nityam Avadhyo Ayam Dehe sarvasya
Bharata I*

*Tasmat sarvani bhutani na twam sochitum
arhasi II*

is significant and means 'the embodied soul can never be slain. Therefore you should not grieve for any creature.' It will thus appear from this that the discussion of the immortality of the soul in verses 11-30 was introduced merely to show to Arjuna the impropriety of sorrow for the death of his relations, by the prospect of which he was much perturbed and not for any other purpose. The advice as regards the necessity of fighting is based in the verses following, only on the duty of a Kshatriya, as pointed out above.

It would appear from the above that the proper philosophic justification for the course of action advised by Sri Krishna really begins with verse 39. The advice given in verses 11 to 38 being complete in itself and there being no reference therein to any philosophy as such in support of fighting, there seems to be justification for the view that the latter portion of Chapter II commencing from verse 39 was a later addition, introduced by someone, who wished to invest the advice given by Sri Krishna with a

* The word 'Sankhya' has been explained by one commentator as

"*Samyak khyayate iti pratipadyate Anaya
Atmatatvamiti Samkya*"—Upanishad

and this interpretation seems to suit the context. Sankaracharya also takes it in the sense.

"*Paramartha vasthu viveka vishaya*"

proper philosophic setting and the advice given in the preceding verses was conveniently described as 'Sankhya' view, to make the later portion appear as a continuation of the advice given in verses 11 to 38. The author of the latter part of Chapter II probably considered the advice given in verses 11 to 38 to be inadequate from a philosophic point of view; for even, the soul was immortal, that by itself would be no justification for Arjuna to kill his kinsfolk. The justification for that course was to be found only, in the duty of a Kshatriya. But the performance of this duty was commended merely on the ground that Arjuna stood to gain thereby either the kingdom of the earth or happiness in heaven. From a philosophic point of view the author of the latter part of Chapter II evidently considered these rewards to be of little value and he therefore started by pointing out the inferiority of such rewards offered by Vedas, as compared with the release from the bondage of Karma, which according to the Buddhi Yoga, as expounded in the latter part of Chapter II was the proper goal to be attained. The doctrine of 'Karma' was then dominant in India and Indian Philosophy centered round ascertainment of ways and means to obtain release from the effects of 'Karma'. The advice given in verses 11 to 38 offered no such release, but merely reward on the earth or in heaven and hence it was probably considered necessary to supplement it from a philosophic point of view and teach Arjuna, the way to 'Moksha' i.e. freedom from the bondage of 'Karma'. There may have been another reason also for the introduction of 'Buddhi Yoga' ('Karma Yoga') philosophy in the Gita. The prevailing tendency of the teaching of the Upanishads in general was towards renunciation of action. The Upanishads advocated knowledge of the 'Atma' as the way to Moksha, but a person who obtained such knowledge had no need for 'Karma' as stated in the following verses in the Gita:

*Yastwatmaratireva syadatmatraptascha
manava I*

*Atmanyeta cha santushta tasya karyam
na vidyate II*

*naiva tasya kritenaro na kriteneha kas-
chana I*

*na chasya sarvabhuteshu kaschidartham
vyapasrayah II*

(Gita III: 17 & 18.)

[For a man who delights in the self alone and is content with the self, there exists no work that need be done. He has nothing to gain—whether by action or inaction; nor need he rely on any being for any interest of his own.]

The teaching of the Upanishads in general was thus in favour of renunciation of Karma. 'Karma Yoga,' however, requires that even a person who has gained knowledge of Atman should continue performance of his duties for 'Loka-Sangraha' i. e. for the guidance of mankind. It appears from the opening portion of Chapter IV of the Gita that this philosophy of 'Karma Yoga,' though ancient, had fallen into oblivion in course of time. The main object of the Gita being to induce Arjuna to his duty, the author of the latter part of Chapter II, probably thought it appropriate to revive this ancient doctrine of 'Karma Yoga' by making it a part of the advice given by Sri Krishna and investing it with his authority.

If the author of the Gita in its original form had in his mind the teaching of 'Karma Yoga,' as propounded in the latter part of Chapter II, it seems unlikely that he would have given priority to 'Sankhya,' which he did not prefer and which did not really support the course of action that he wanted to recommend to Arjuna. The introduction of 'Sankhya' in the first part of Chapter II, served only to cause confusion. For, after hearing the Sankhya and the Yoga doctrines as stated in Chapter II, Arjuna said at the commencement of Chapter III that he did not understand why he was advised to take to the terrible business of war, if 'Buddhi' was superior to 'Karma' and asked for a clear rule for his guidance. Sri Krishna then explained that although he had referred to the two paths *vis*., that of 'Gnana' of

* The original verse is:

*Loke asmin duvidha nishta pura prokta
maya anagha I*

the 'Sankhyas' and that of 'Karma' of 'Yogis', 'Karma' (action) was to be preferred to 'A-Karma' (inaction) for reasons given in that chapter and that the proper course for man was performance of duty without attachment to fruit throughout his life.

The character of the attitude required by Karma-Yoga (= Buddhi-Yoga) as explained in Chapter II also leads to the same conclusion. After pointing out the inferiority of the fruits of action as offered by the Vedas, Sri Krishna begins his exposition of Karma-Yoga, with the following verse:

*Traigunyavishaya vedah nisthraigunyo
bhavarjuna I*

*Nirdwandwo nityasatvasto niryoga-
kshema atman II*

which means,

The three Gunas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) are the subject-matter of the Vedas. You should rise above them. Be free from dualities (i.e., pairs of opposites like pleasure and pain etc.) Be fixed in Sattva (purity); do not care for acquisition or preservation (of wealth) and be possessed of Self.

It is obvious that any such attitude of mind could not be attained without a long course of preparation. This advice was, therefore, hardly suited to the immediate object in view,—which was to induce Arjuna to fight in the impending War, for which the armies had already been drawn in battle-array. This remark, will, also apply to the philosophic teaching with respect to Gnana (Knowledge) and Bhakti (Devotion) to be found in

*Gnanayogena Sankhyanam karma yogena
yoginam II*

The word 'Pura' presents some difficulty. Ordinarily it means 'in former times'; but this does not seem to suit the context. Sri Krishna is replying to Arjuna's question in which he referred to the confusion caused by what appeared to him to be conflicting views of Sri Krishna. The word has, therefore been taken by Lokamanya Tilak, Sri Arabin Ghosh and some others in the sense of 'before'—and to refer the exposition of Sankhya and Yoga by Sri Krishna in Chapter II. Sri Krishna has stated at the beginning of Chapter IV that he was the original propounder of Buddhi-Yoga, but there is no such statement about 'Sankhya,' the origin of which is traditionally attributed to other Sages.

the later chapters of the Gita. The attitude of Bhakti is comparatively simpler; but even that could not be attained without long practice as will appear from the directions given in Chapter XII.

In the end, it may be pointed out that the Second chapter is named in the Colophon at its end as 'Sankhya-Yoga.' As the Chapter stands at present, only 20 verses (11 to 30) in it are devoted to the teaching of 'Sankhya-Yoga' proper, while the greater part of the Chapter (Verses 39 to 72) is devoted to the exposition of 'Buddhi-Yoga.' If the latter had been a part to Chapter II from the outset, it seems unlikely that the Chapter would have been given the title of 'Sankhya-Yoga' in the Colophon.

It is also worth noting that in the first part of Chapter II, Arjuna, seems to approach Sri Krishna for advice simply as his (guide, philosopher) friend and not as a Divine Teacher and Sri Krishna also does not pose as a Divine Teacher. The first indication of the role of Sri Krishna as 'Divine Teacher' is to be found in the exposition of Buddhi-Yoga, in verse 61, in the expression 'Yukta Aseeta Matparah' i.e., 'the Yogi should sit intent on me.'

If the Buddhi Yoga (Karma Yoga) as explained in the latter part of Chapter II was a later addition, it would follow that all the subsequent chapters were also of the same type—as they are devoted to philosophic doctrines ancillary to it. The ultimate object of the teaching of the Gita being to induce Arjuna to perform his duty as a Kshatriya, it would be appropriate to consider the various topics of Gnana, Bhakti, Dhyana etc., which have been discussed in the subsequent chapters as subsidiary to the main philosophy of 'Karma Yoga', as pointed out by Lokamanya Tilak in his Gita-Rahasya. It is difficult to say whether all this elaborate philosophic teaching in the subsequent chapters was introduced by one and the same author or by different authors at different times. There are reasons to think that parts of the subsequent chapters also may have been the work of different authors;

but it is unnecessary to go into this question for the present purpose. If the philosophy of Buddhi Yoga or Karma Yoga which is the most prominent feature of the Gita and is discussed in Chapter II and all matter subsidiary to it which is to be found in the later chapters, was a subsequent addition there seems adequate justification for the view that the advice of Sri Krishna as contained in verses 11 to 38 of Chapter II was the nucleus of the Gita.

The question as to what was the nucleus of the Gita is purely of historical interest and does not, of course, affect the great intrinsic merit of its philosophic teaching. The fact that the 'Karma Yoga' which is propounded in the latter part of Chapter II was an ancient doctrine and was merely being revived is clear from the opening verses of Chapter IV, to which reference has been made above. The Mahabharata, of which the Gita forms an episode, has undergone several redactions and the fact that the epic in its present form contains a large amount of matter which has been added to the original from time to time is clear from ample internal evidence in the epic itself and this view is now generally accepted. It would not, therefore, be surprising if the Gita in its original form was also similarly amplified by the addition of the prevalent doctrines of Hindu religion and philosophy so as to make it a synthesis of all that was considered to be best.

GOOD GOING

A Racehorse owner was much given to boasting. But he excelled himself with this one:

"Yes, sir," he said, "I remember one race of twelve horses in which my mare ran. All the best animals for miles around were present. Well, sir, my mare Honeysuckle was leading the field, which, of course, I expected, when suddenly I noticed her hesitate. And there and then she had a foal."

"Tough way to lose a race," remarked a listener, sympathetically.

"Who said anything about losing?" the boaster concluded. "Honeysuckle never lost. She had her foal. Then she won the race by three lengths. And," he added, "the foal came in second."

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER

BY SRI A. G. VENKATACHARI

A GREAT EXPERIMENT

INDIA has just been through one of the greatest experiments in history. The first general election in free India is nearly over and a clear picture of the future is fast emerging. It was a leap



SRI A. G. VENKATACHARI

in the dark when the Government of India ordered the elections on the basis of adult suffrage. With 85 per cent. of the people illiterate and the bulk of them deeply dissatisfied with the present state of affairs it was feared the worst might happen. There were many who openly questioned the wisdom of adult franchise at this stage and even party bosses were expecting only a poor turn-out, perhaps 25 to 30 per cent. Quite a few predicted election riots and widespread disorders. But the people belied the fond hopes of all the false prophets and exercised their franchise in large numbers and with a political maturity which gave a pleasant shock to the whole world which was carefully watching the outcome of 180 million adults on the march to elect their rulers for the next five years. The number of voters is roughly the population of the U.S.A. and the enfranchised women alone outnumber the total electorate in the States. And they had to choose by direct vote not only their State Legislature but the Union Parliament as well. The response was tremendous. Even the lame,

the blind and the sick, with a few hundred centenarians in their ranks, voted for the first time in their lives! The village folk, unlike their sophisticated kinsmen of the towns, showed unheard of enthusiasm. The large number of candidates, the intensive propaganda of the rivals and a general sense of duty contributed to the large turn-out everywhere. Sixty per cent of the electorate has voted in 2,25,000 booths in great orderliness, the women outnumbering men nearly everywhere. That there was some little trouble in six places only and that a re-pole was necessary only in 348 centres are indicative of the peaceful atmosphere in which votes were recorded. That the conduct of the elections on the whole has been extremely fair is amply proved by the striking success of the Communists and their allies in the south. The Government went out of their way in their anxiety to conform to all democratic proprieties and released detenus to contest the elections. They were anxious to prove by all known standards that no party need lose faith in the democratic way of getting into power and I think the party in power was wise in taking this big risk, though in quite a few States, reverses for the Congress came in its trail.

CONGRESS, THE LARGEST SINGLE PARTY

It is natural that the Congress which brought the country freedom should be rewarded with a big vote of confidence, but even the optimists did not quite expect on election eve that the Congress will have more than a two-third majority in the House of the People and would be able to run at least 17 of the 22 States comprising the Union with comfortable majorities. Ajmere, Assam, Bhopal, Bihar, Bombay, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Punjab, Sourashtra, the U. P., Vindhya Pradesh and West Bengal are the States which have voted the Congress again into power. Except Hyderabad, the Congress majority in other States is pretty big. In Orissa and Rajasthan the Congress Party has secured a bare majority and may hope to form Government with the

help of a few Congress-minded independents. But Madras, Travancore-Cochin in the extreme south and PEPSU (Patiala and East Bengal States Union) at the farthest northern end have failed the Congress though even in these the Congress is the largest single party. Whether eventually by the adhesion of other groups and individuals the Congress may not be able to form workable Government even here it is a little too early to say; but the chances of effective non-Congress Government are pretty small.

CONGRESS REVERSES IN THE SOUTH

The south had always been the stronghold of the Congress. "The solid south" had never failed the organisation before in any election since 1926. Therefore the present reverses down here coupled with the emergence of the Communists as the main opposition in Madras, T. & C. and Hyderabad have undoubtedly come as a great shock to the Congress Command; but not to the people of the south. Congressmen were certainly prepared for set-backs in the Andhra districts of Madras and in parts of Travancore and Cochin; but a minority position for the Congress was never even dreamt of by the high-ups. They are naturally chagrined at the turn of events. There is a touch of injured innocence in their general appraisal of the debacle: but by implication at least one of them admitted to me that the people had enough reason to be angry with the Congress. His only disappointment was that they had misjudged not only the situation but the purpose of the vote as well.

"They were asked to choose a Government and not pass a verdict," said an M.P., friend of mine in bitter disappointment. As a Congressman, I could understand his strong feeling; but I am afraid he, like many others, took a narrow view of the election duty. They were, I believe, perfectly within their democratic rights in using the vote as a "two-in-one" weapon. They had done so all over the country. Only the verdict has been somewhat different in the south.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN CONGRESS

The widespread success of the Congress leads us naturally to the inescapable conclusion that the people as a whole have given a general vote of confidence in the organisation. It is not merely a reward for past effort but a renewed expression of faith for the future,—faith in its intention and ability to lead the people on to the good life. And this renewal of confidence was won not from an unthinking and sentimental electorate but after a strenuous electoral contest.

The Congress entered the fray with grave handicaps. As the party in power it had been forced on the defensive. It had been weakened by defections and riven by conflicting ideologies. Nehru had to assume leadership on election eve not only to ensure success at the polls but to arrest the disintegration and decay which had already overtaken the organisation. With his matchless zeal and dynamic effort he has succeeded in both. The great Victory of the Congress nearly everywhere is in a large measure his personal triumph. Where failures have been registered things would probably have been much worse without his captaincy. Two other factors no doubt aided the Congress. There was no other middle-of-the-road party with roots in the masses, and the entire merchant class and others with "Stakes" in the country had (whether mistakenly or not) come to the conclusion that their interests were safe, under the circumstances, only in Congress hands. The five-year plan is a modest programme and has naturally enthused forces of the Right. The Congress had already proved its ability to deal firmly with extreme radical elements in the interests of national well-being. So the Right was satisfied and enthusiastic. The Left was, as usual, divided politically and on the trade union front and therefore the leftist blandishments except in the south, had not captured the imagination of the masses. The Socialists went out of the Congress in the fond negative hope that what the national organisation lost electorally would be their gain. They had studiously gone about counting the

chickens even before they were hatched. They were certain of gaining power in at least three of the States—Bihar, T. & C., and Himachal Pradesh. But ultimately they have been the worst sufferers everywhere. Their rout in this election was nearly complete. Leftist-minded voters who were turned away from the Congress preferred the Communists to the Socialists! The working-class, disorganised under three different and competing leaderships, not to speak of the local opportunists, could not influence the elections except in a very few centres.

DEFEAT OF COMMUNALISM

Some notable features of the election were the complete defeat of communal and caste-parties in northern India and Bengal in spite of the terrific psychological build-up against the Congress since the dark days of the Partition riots. That the displaced persons should have stood out so resolutely against communalists masquerading as their protectors is no mean triumph for Mr. Nehru's policy of dynamic secularism. But in a few States—more notably in PEPSU, Rajasthan and Orissa—remnants of the feudal aristocracy have no doubt been able to make an impressive show against the Congress. That perhaps was inevitable, against the background of total lack of political consciousness till recently in many of the former State territories.

The Congress has generally been able to secure between 40 and 60 per cent of the votes in the "successful" States and even where it failed to secure majorities, its showing has been pretty good. In W. Bengal, for instance, where gloomy prophets foretold a total defeat for the national organisation it has come off in flying colours though on a minority vote of 39 per cent. Seven ministers had been unseated rather inexplicably. Some of them have been known for their integrity and ability. Probably there has been more than has met the eye.

WEST BENGAL AND NORTH INDIA

The Socialists contested sixty seats in Bengal and lost them all and the Communists with 11 per cent of the votes polled have come out as the main oppo-

sition. The poor showing of the K.M.P., in spite of the great leadership of Dr. P. C. Ghosh is significant while the Jan Sangh and the K. M. P. scored in the south-eastern border area—the sore spot in Bengal—the Communists and the leftists got good support in Calcutta and the roundabouts. It is noteworthy that the Muslim majority district of Murshidabad returned 14 out of 16 Congress nominees and in Nadia where they are numerous 9 out of 10.

In the Punjab—where great reverses were prophesied, the Congress had done pretty well. The result is a triumphant vindication again of the basic principles of the Congress. The Hindu Sabha, the Jan Sangh and the Socialist Party were most active here but all of them lost heavily and the only leftists to succeed somewhat were the Communists. Congress success in this problem State is attributed to the dramatic removal last year of a corrupt Congress Government and the Centre taking over the administration temporarily in its hands. It has perhaps created the impression that the people could absolutely rely on the Congress High Command should a State Government ever misbehave. If this were the main factor, the Congress should have equally succeeded in PEPSU where too the Centre took over. But the relative failure there is explained by knowledgeable people to its having come a little too late to make itself felt. In fact the change over came on election eve and perhaps there is some substance in the argument. The Socialists here, as elsewhere, lost their deposits in most of the constituencies. It was a miracle for the Congress to have secured a majority in Rajasthan the traditional hot-bed of intrigues and where political conservatism was perhaps most marked. The defeat of Rajasthan's Chief Minister Mr. Vyas in all three places he contested from, is a blow to the Congress organisation: but perhaps the damage is not irreparable.

HYDERABAD AND TELENGANA

The success that has attended Congress efforts in Hyderabad in spite of the huge victories of the Communists in Telengana is heartening. That the

Communists succeeded so well and with thumping majorities here surprised everybody except the Reds who had always insisted that their hold on Telengana was unshakeable despite what they call the "terrible repression" visited on the people in the wake of the "struggle." To attribute the Congress debacle to the terroristic methods employed by the Reds is to indulge in an oversimplification unwarranted by the electoral facts. The Reds in Telengana are still armed and unreconciled; It is also a fact that the distribution of land effected by them was not wholly non-violent; but that it has stuck and is powerfully supported by the people is borne out by their great majorities. If eventually the arms are surrendered and the party functions in the normal political way, their success may yet prove to be a solid gain to the democratic way of life.

RED SUCCESS IN TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

In Travancore-Cochin the Red success in spite of the tremendous groundwork by the Socialists was surprising in the extreme. It is a result of several complex causes and a strange combination of circumstances. It is well-known that their influence has always been deep and widespread in large tracts of Travancore, and they were able effectively to exploit the extensive discontent. The Congress cannot form the Government without the support of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (which has 9 seats and wants the merger of the Tamil speaking areas with the contiguous Tamil country) and a few of the Independents. The Socialists who hold the key position are still sitting on the wall but have given the assurance that they will never help put the Communists into office. The United Front of Leftists of which the Communists form the largest bloc, is subjected to a severe organisational strain at the moment which perhaps may render it eventually too weak to make a successful bid for power. It is also not easy for the Travancore State Congress to concede the demands of the Tamil dissidents, as the southern taluks which they claim should be separated, comprise the main rice-growing areas of the State and contain besides the

fissionable Thorium sands. An easy way-out of the impasse is not foreseen. Perhaps an early dissolution of the State legislature and a re-election may not be totally ruled out.

MADRAS, THE PROBLEM STATE

Madras has become a problem State. The elections have been indecisive. The Congress has emerged as the largest single party in the Assembly but it has won only 152 of the 375 seats, 36 short of majority! The non-Congress Parties are ten in number with the Communists and their fellow-travellers totalling 75. The following table gives an analysis of the results:

Party	Seats Contested	Seats won.
Congress	..	370
Communists	..	129
K. M. P.	..	145
Socialists	..	160
Krishikar Lok Party	..	54
Independents	..	353
Jan Sangh	..	1
Hindu Mahasabha	..	8
Justice Party	..	7
Forward Bloc	..	8
Commonweal Party	..	14
S. C. F.	..	30
Tamil Nad Toilers Party	..	31
Muslim League	..	11
Republican Party	..	5
Ramrajya Parishad	..	2

Out of an electorate of 26.9 millions the total votes polled aggregated to about 20 millions. Though in several constituencies voting was definitely on the basis of caste and community, generally speaking the bulk of the electorate voted for political parties and where independents were preferred, in most cases they were better qualified than party nominees. Top leaders of all the political parties including six ministers were defeated. Mr. K. Santhanam the State Minister for Railways suffered a close reverse at the hands of a Communist.

That the Congress would suffer a setback in Madras was generally anticipated; but a defeat was expected by nobody. Frequent changes in Parliamentary leadership, organisational weakness and a total lack of contact with the people since

assuming office were the major contributory factors. Since the local Congress bosses decided in 1946 to go against the advice of the Congress High Command in regard to leadership, there has been a continuous struggle for power and for the division of spoils between contending groups shifting loyalties became the order of the day and in the bargain the principles for which the Congress has always stood have been jettisoned and on election eve attempt to set things right naturally proved ineffective. Andhra Congressmen had divided themselves into three different parties making it easy for the Communists to have their pickings. An electoral alliance between the Gandhite K. M. P. leader Sri Kallappan and the Communists yielded dividends in Kerala and eliminated the Congress in toto. In the Tamil country the Communists had as their principal backers the black shirts who placed at the disposal of all opponents of the Congress their own organisation and workers. The Socialists who put up the candidates fared worst and generally succeeded only in taking votes away from the Congress. The Muslim League won five seats in the predominantly Muslim area of Malabar. That only two Muslims won on the Congress ticket is attributed to the general reaction to the separatist role which the League continues to advocate in the politics of the state.

Among the purely State parties, the Tamil Nad Toilers' Party represents organised casteism in and around the District of South Arcot where the Vanniya community is most numerous and has been economically and educationally at a low level. The Communists have sympathisers in their ranks.

PROSPECTS OF NON-CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

The prospects of a non-Congress government in Madras (despite the formation of a so-called united democratic front) have considerably receded. The K. M. P. is a house divided against itself on the issue of land reforms and other independents are still having second thoughts on co-operation with the well-knit Communists in a Government bloc. The K. L. P. party of Prof. Ranga and the

Socialists have announced their decision not to join the non-Congress bloc. With the independents drawn into three groups, the Congress is playing a deft game.

While officially, Congress leadership does not appear too eager to enlist their support, unofficial contacts are maintained. The hope seems to be that the independents in any event must gravitate towards the Congress as the alternative would be their own speedy extinction as a result of an early dissolution which the Congress party may ask and which the Governor is normally bound to grant. Perhaps fear of this contingency might swell the ranks of Congress supporters and enable it to become strong enough to form a Government. But whether such dilution of its ranks in the present circumstances would not diminish its ability to serve the people effectively is a matter of opinion. There is a section of Congressmen who feel that instead of drifting into such tepid efforts, the Congress should now keep out of power, build up its strength in the country and await the next elections which in any event cannot be put off beyond 1952. But there are others who doubt the wisdom of this course. If in any event, they contend, the opposing parties succeed in forming a ministry, they might go to any length for consolidating it and with the dominating position of the Communists, it is a risk that cannot lightly be taken.

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Meanwhile the fact that the Communists have become pretty strong in the four major rice-growing districts of Madras has set people furiously thinking. There is a feeling that law and order must be ensured at all costs enabling the main harvest to be gathered before much damage can be done. Perhaps this is born out of an exaggerated fear. But it is undoubtedly true that the Communist successes in the south have been as unexpected by the other parties as by the Reds themselves. It is indeed remarkable that they should have polled 2,500,000 votes in Madras and have become the main opposition in Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, in spite of the fact that the bulk of its leadership

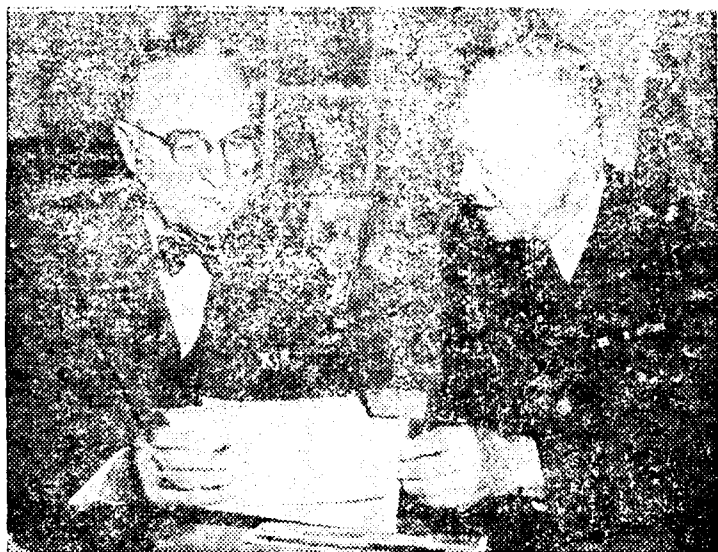
functioned underground and the ideological spirit in the party leadership had created considered—confusion in the rank and file.

The large turn-out in favour of the Reds does not represent support to their ideology; but largely an expression of protest against the harsh treatment meted out to the people in the rice-growing areas of Madras, in Telengana and in the T.-C. State while dealing with violent crimes allegedly instigated by the Communists. The Harijans were among the worst sufferers and reacted against the Congress not only in the areas of police action but elsewhere as well. It is also interesting to note that it is in these three States and W. Bengal that the Communist Party has been under a ban (it was recently removed in Madras and Bengal as a result of Supreme Court decisions) thus giving party-men contesting the elections the halo of martyrdom. The students also seem to have slipped again in the direction of communism. Agrarian, discontent, procurement of rice at uneconomic prices, and Congress in-

competence and corruption in office and the imposition of unfamiliar food at prices which the masses could not afford, were some of the other aspects of discontent which the Communists made effective use of in their propaganda.

The question uppermost in the minds of many is whether the return of the Communists to constitutionalism will become permanent. They have now seen that they can become a fairly strong force even through the elections. Whether this realism will affect their future policies it is too early to say. But it can safely be assumed that they will not commit political suicide by lapsing back into adventurism. Whether they will become a mighty force depends on how resolutely the problems of poverty, employment and commodity prices are tackled this year by the various Congress Governments. Mr. Nehru has a pretty difficult task ahead in putting the Congress house in order and in getting the best out of the governmental machinery.

—16th February 1952.



Harry S. Truman (left), President of the United States, and U. S. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe.

Multiple Directorship in Indian Industry

BY DR. M. M. MEHTA, M.Com., D.Phil. (Com.) (ALLD.)

University of Allahabad.

A very interesting feature of India's industrial evolution is the concentration of ownership and control not only in fewer Trusts but also in fewer hands. The system of "multiple directorship" has evolved a type of industrial organization dominated and controlled by a handful of industrial magnates. This can be attributed partly to the great dearth of industrial leadership in the country, and partly to the special circumstances in which the Indian industries developed, more particularly during the initial stages. Indeed, it was difficult to find a large number of able, energetic, and resourceful persons with vast industrial and commercial experience to serve on the Board of Directors of the newly floated concerns. The companies under European management experienced even greater difficulty in finding from among themselves a sufficiently large number of competent directors who would remain in the country long enough to ensure efficient and uninterrupted supervision of the company's affairs. Moreover, the Managing Agents have always endeavoured to keep on the Board of Directors their most trusted friends and colleagues, who would continue to give their unstinted support and co-operation in all matters affecting the interests of the management. The Board of Directors, today, is a "close preserve". Sons and relations—community people at the farthest, alone, have access to the citadel of industrial leadership.

It was, therefore, natural that the evolution of the Managing Agency system should have led to the concentration of ownership and control not only in fewer Trusts but also in fewer hands. "The Managing Agents practically nominate the Directors of all their companies, and they nominate one another". It is interesting to observe that most of the Managing Agencies comprise a few members of the family and one or two outsiders. It is also very common that some of the members of the family are in the Managing Agency, and the others on the

Board of Directors. Thus for all practical purposes, a few leading families in India control and guide the industrial destinies of the country. Fresh and young blood seldom find an opportunity to enter the closely-preserved and well-organized industrial oligarchy.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF DIRECTORSHIP

Let us examine the nature and extent of "multiple directorship" in Indian industries. A factual survey undertaken by the author reveals that nine leading families of India are holding nearly 600 directorships in Indian Industries. The House of Dalmia-Jains and Singhanias together hold more than 200 directorships or partnerships in industrial concerns. The others, *viz.* Birlas, Ruias, Goenkas, Poddars, Bangurs, Jantias and Thapars hold among themselves nearly 400 directorships. Birlas and Goenkas are directors in almost every variety of industrial undertakings from tiny jute and cotton pressing factories to the biggest of automobile and engineering concerns. Bangurs and Jantias have extensive interests in the Jute Industry, for they, together hold about one-fifth of the total number of directorships in the Jute Industry of India. Similarly, Birlas and Ruias have extensive interests in the Cotton Industry, Dalmias in the Cement and Sugar Industry, Thapars in the Coal and Sugar Industry, and Bangurs and Goenkas in the investment companies.

A more detailed and searching survey will throw fresh light on the nature, character and distribution of multiple directorships in Indian industries. Indeed, about 100 persons hold as many as 1700 directorships of important concerns. Of these, 30 persons hold as many as 860 directorships. On the top, however, are ten eminent industrialists who together hold about 400 directorships. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and H. C. Waters—each of them is on the Board of Directors of 50 concerns. No doubt, in comparison to more industrially advanced countries, the extent of multiple

directorship in Indian industries may look almost trivial and insignificant, yet considering in relation to India's industrial development, the extent of "multiple directorship" seems quite significant.

The survey also reveals some other interesting features. Firstly, very few Indians hold directorships in concerns, owned and managed by foreign enterprise. Although in recent years, there has been some fusion of Indo-British and Indo-American interests, most of the foreign concerns still continue to have a majority of non-Indian Directors. For example, in Martins and McLeods, out of 5 directors, only one is Indian; in Jardine Henderson and Macneils only two, and Balmer Lawrie and Company and Heilgers have no Indian directors at all. With the exception of a few Indians like Jantias, Bangurs, Kanorias, Goenkas and Mukerjees, foreigners still dominate the Board of Directors of foreign owned and managed concerns. Secondly, non-Indian directors are mostly to be found on the Board of Directors of Jute, Tea, Coal and Engineering concerns. They have mostly confined themselves to a few selected industries. Indeed very few foreigners have any interest in the management of Banking, Insurance and Miscellaneous concerns. Indian directors, on the other hand, have wider interests. They are on the Board of Directors of a wide range of Industrial concerns. And lastly, the nature, character and distribution of multiple directorship reveal the existence of two distinct spheres of industrial activity—one in which the foreigners still dominate and the other in which the Indians have established themselves firmly. In recent years, however, a distinct tendency is in operation for the fusion of the two interests.

IN JUTE INDUSTRY

It is interesting to study the nature and extent of "multiple directorship" in individual industries. In the Jute Mill Industry of India, 20 persons hold more than 150 directorships. Of these, 10 persons hold as many as 109 directorships. On the top are, however, Jantias, Waters, Bangurs and Kanorias who together hold 75 directorships in Jute Companies. In fact out of 75 Jute Companies working in India, H. C. Waters

and Jantias are directors in as many as 23 Jute Companies each. Jantias are on the Board of Directors of almost all the Jute companies managed by Messrs. Andrew Yule and Company, Kanorias on the Board of Directors of nearly all the Jute companies managed by McLeods and Bangurs and A.S. Officer are on the Board of Directors of most of the Jute Companies managed by Jardine Henderson and Birds respectively. H. C. Waters is on the Board of Directors of most of the Jute Companies managed by Messrs. Heilgers, Birds, Gillanders, McLeods, Macneils, Jardine Henderson, and Kettlewells. In no other industry of India, is the tendency towards 'multiple directorship' so pronounced and persistent as in the Jute Mill Industry,

IN COTTON-MILL INDUSTRY

Similar, but not so pronounced a tendency is also observable in the Cotton-Mill Industry of India. Here also, 25 eminent industrialists hold as many as 150 directorships. Of these, 10 industrialists hold about 82 directorships. On the top, however, are Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sri Ambalal Sarabhai who together hold about two dozen directorships in the Cotton Industry. The other magnates of the Cotton Industry are D. M. Khatau, Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Ruia brothers, K. M. D. Thackersey, Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, Navinchandra Mafatlal, A. D. Shroff and Sir Joseph Kay, most of whom have distinguished themselves as industrial leaders of great ability and resourcefulness.

IN SUGAR INDUSTRY

In the Sugar Industry, however, the tendency towards multiple directorship is not so pronounced as it is in the Jute or Cotton Industry. Several plausible reasons could be advanced for this. First, the excessive concentration of the Sugar industry in the United Provinces and Bihar, did not attract many of the industrialists more particularly those with a provincial outlook to invest their capital in a distant region. That is why very few industrialists from Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras or Calcutta are to be found on the Board of Directors of the Sugar

Mills. Indeed, the regional character of the Sugar industry discouraged a large number of industrialists from other Provinces to participate actively in the promotion and management of Sugar mills. Secondly, most of the Sugar mills were floated at a time when industries were passing through a severe and unprecedented depression. Obviously it was difficult for industrialists having wide and varied interests and vast financial commitments to risk themselves again in the floatation of new enterprises. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, some tendency towards multiple directorship is clearly observable in the Sugar Industry.

IN COAL INDUSTRY

Multiple directorship is also very common in the Coal industry. Indeed, 18 persons hold as many as 110 directorships, of which 48 are held by just 5 individuals. A. D. Vickers and C. A. Innes together hold as many as 23 directorships in coal companies. The other magnates of coal industry are W. R. Elliot, H. C. Waters, W. H. S. Michelmores, C. I. Jatia and H. C. Bannerman who together hold about 40 directorships in Coal companies. The most striking feature of multiple directorship in coal industry is, however, the dominance of European interests. Indeed, the first 'Big Five' in Coal Industry are all Europeans. Only in recent years a few enterprising Indians like Jantias, Goenkas, Thapars and Poddars have begun to acquire some holdings in Coal companies.

IN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES

A strong tendency towards multiple directorship is also observable in case of Iron and Steel, Paper and Cement Industry. The tendency is, however, not so apparent because of the existence of few firms in each industry. In the Iron and Steel Industry, only 4 units are working, of which one is state-owned and managed. Of the remaining three, one is managed by Messrs. Tata Industries Ltd. and the other two (ISCO & SCOB) by Messrs. Martin Burn & Company. In both these cases the representatives of the management are

on the Board of Directors. Indeed four individuals, *viz.*, T. L. Martin, Sir Biren Mukerjee, Sir Padamji Ginwala and Dr. N. N. Law are on the Board of Directors of both the Indian Iron and Steel Company (ISCO) and the Steel Corporation of Bengal (SCOB). This interlocking directorship has undoubtedly enabled these companies to arrive at a working agreement according to which the Indian Iron and Steel Company would supply to the Steel Corporation of Bengal the whole of its requirements of hot iron suitable for steel making purposes, at a price equal to costs of manufacture, plus 5 per cent. In return, this company receives one-fifth of the net profits of the Corporation, such profits to be arrived at after taking into account Debenture interest, sinking fund and depreciation, but before allowing for taxation and reserves. Indeed, such a working agreement could never have been possible but for the 'identity' of interests, both of the Directors and of the Managing Agents.

IN PAPER INDUSTRY

A few cases of 'multiple directorship' are also to be found in the Paper and Pulp Industry of India. Bangur brothers are on the Board of Directors of both the Bengal Paper Mills Company and the India Paper and Pulp Company, the former managed by M/s. Balmer Lawrie and Company, and the latter by M/s. Andrew Yule and Company. They are also represented on the Board of Directors of the newly floated Central India Paper Mills, Ltd. Similarly, Birla brothers are on the Board of Directors of both the Orient Paper Mill Ltd. and the Central India Paper Mills Ltd.; Poddars are on the Board of Directors of Shree Gopal Paper Mills Ltd. and Orient Paper Mills Ltd. and Bajorias are on the Board of Directors of both the Star Paper Mill Ltd. and the Titagarh Paper Mill Ltd. Jalans and Dhandhanias have substantial interests in the Orient and Star and Shree Gopal and Central India Paper Mill respectively. It is interesting to observe that in the Deccan Paper Mills and the Canara Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. four of the directors are in common, three who have substantial interests in the Managing

Agency firm also. Thus unmistakable tendency for multiple directorship is clearly observable in the Paper and Pulp Industry of India.

IN CEMENT INDUSTRY

In the Cement Industry, the A. C. C. Group having a single Board of Directors, exercise financial, managerial and administrative control over 15 cement factories. Indeed such a giant amalgamation could not have been feasible without the active co-operation and unstinted support of a large number of industrialists, whose common interests, both as Directors and Managing Agents, prompted them to adopt some co-operative measures to end the intensive and internecine competition. There is hardly any doubt that the existence of 'multiple directorship' facilitated the formation of this Giant Combine. Similarly, multiple directorship is common in all the group of factories controlled and managed by Messrs. Dalmia Jain and Company. Indeed even in the case of newly floated cement companies, the tendency towards 'multiple directorship' is clearly observable. The Birlas and Ruia are on the Board of Directors of both the newly floated cement concerns, *viz.* the New Hindustan Cements, Ltd. and the India Cement and Asbestos Corporation Ltd.; Bangurs are on the Board of Directors of Shree Digvijai Cement Company and the Sone Valley Portland Cement Company and Sir James Doak, head of the Firm of Messrs. A. & F. Harvey Ltd., is on the Board of Directors of both—the India Cements, Ltd., and the Travancore Cements, Ltd. both of which are managed by Messrs. Essen, Ltd.

INTERLOCUTORY DIRECTORSHIP

A similar development of still greater dimensions and importance is the growth of interlocutory directorship in Indian industries. A large number of independent and autonomous trusts are interlinked by a group of common directors. The device of inter-locutory directorship thus not only leads to concentration of ownership and control in still fewer hands, but also tend to secure greater collaboration and co-operation between the integrated units. No, doubt, the integrated units continue to enjoy unfettered

legal and functional independence, the existence of common interests prompts them to adopt a more unified and concerted policy in all matters affecting their common interests. There have also been cases, where as a result of the great influence exercised by the common directors, two independent firms have agreed to combine and form themselves into a mighty trust. There is hardly any doubt that in the amalgamation of Messrs. Jardine Henderson Limited, Messrs. Macneil and Barry Limited and Martin-Burn Limited, some prominent common directors played a very vital and significant role, for it is they who were really instrumental in bringing about such amalgamations.

A critical and analytical survey of inter-locutory directorship in Indian industries will show how widespread is the device of interlocutory directorship, and how it seeks to interlink a large number of financially independent and autonomous units. To cite an interesting example, a leading British industrialist, Mr. H. C. Waters holds directorship in large number of concerns managed by leading British Managing Agency Houses like Messrs. Andrew Yule, McLeods, Martins, Bird, Gillanders, Heilgers, Jardine Henderson, Shaw Wallace, Macneils, Duncan, Kilburn and Kettlewell. Similarly, Mr. W. R. Elliot, another leading British industrialist, is on the Board of Directors of many important concerns, managed by Messrs. McLeods, Martins, Birds, Heilgers and Jardine Henderson. Among Indian industrialists, Bangur brothers hold extensive interests in large number of concerns managed by leading British Managing Agents, *viz.* Messrs. Andrew Yule, McLeods, Martins, Birds, Gillanders, Shaw Wallace, Macneils, Kilburns, Boare Miller, Balmers, Duncans, Kettlewells and Jardines. This factual information undoubtedly reflects that a handful of leading industrialists hold dominating position in most of the important Trusts. They seek to integrate India's industrial economy still further, by placing the control of industries not only in few Trusts but virtually in few hands.

ANIMAL NUTRITION

BY

THE HON'BLE DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

[Any agricultural policy to be sound and beneficial should also concentrate on the supply of foods, which directly originate in animals. The problem of improving and maintaining the nutritional status of animals is thus of prime importance to man; for, the care taken of the animals will ultimately be reflected in the increased supply of the protective foods required by man. In a country like ours, which is predominantly agricultural, this integration of the needs of both the human and animal population, attains particular importance. This was made clear by the Hon'ble Dr. Jivraj Mehta in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the Animal Nutrition Section at the Institute of Agriculture, Anand. ED. I. R.]

MOST of the fundamental researches in human nutrition have largely been the direct results of animal experimentation. For example, avian beri beri has given us a clue in the aetiology of human beri beri. The effects of polished rice on the birds and the curative effect of vitamin B1 have been amply demonstrated by the pioneer workers in this field. Similarly, most of you are familiar with the classical experiments of McCarrison on white rats to demonstrate the nutritive value of the diets consumed in the different parts of the country. Similarly, the production of eye lesions in experimental animals fed on diets deficient in vitamin A or carotene, provided experimental evidence in assigning similar changes in the human beings, to vitamin A deficiency.

While the animals, especially in the laboratory, have been the silent sufferers in the progress of nutrition research, let us now examine what we have done to animal nutrition itself, in general. Time does not permit me to go into the details of all the species of the animals. I shall confine my remarks only to cattle and poultry, which are intimately connected in the production of foods of animal origin.

In the present set up of Indian Agriculture, animal labour is the sole motive power and animal manure is perhaps the main source to sustain it by maintaining the fertility of the land. The feeding of livestock in this country has been decided by the nature of crop production practised. In the present period of food shortage, the hitherto

unknown competition between human beings and animals for certain foods edible for both, appears to be steadily growing. The result has been the deprivation of the animals of their share of the foodstuffs. For example, barley, maize, bran, and gram are consumed to a greater extent by man. Besides, oil cakes—like groundnut cake, and leaves of certain roots and tubers have now been consumed by man *also*, diminishing their supply to the animals, particularly cattle. Unfortunately, recent tendency appears to be to consider the needs of the human population *only* without bestowing much attention on the nutritional requirements of the animals. The cattle population have a justifiable demand on a part of our arable acreage. Any plan, therefore, intended for the final solution of the food problem in our country should take into consideration the needs of both the human and animal population, in relation to the capacity of agricultural production. The opening of Animal Nutrition section in an Agricultural Institute such as the present one is, therefore, very opportune and a move in the right direction.

It is also in the fitness of things that this Institute, which has already successfully tackled certain problems concerning animal nutrition, such as the proper place of cottonseed feeding of animals on the yield of milk and fat content of milk, and the substitution thereof by a mixture of cereals and guvans, the importance of lucerne and other green fodder in the proper nutrition of milch cattle, the analysis of articles of food

commonly consumed in this part of the country and their digestibility, the loss of vitamin C in the preparation of pickles, jams and jellies of fruit which in its fresh state is abundant in its supply,—to mention some only—should be selected as one of the three or four centres in India for undertaking applied work on animal nutrition. It is absolutely essential that such nutrition centres should be located in different parts of India, when we realise how conditions differ from region to region. The main obstacles in the way of developing our vast potential resources in cattle are shortage of food. Our country is notoriously deficient in cattle feed. It is estimated that the available feeds cannot maintain even half of the existing cattle population. The role of the science of nutrition lies in finding out the best food for producing the desired result, the most economic utilisation of the available feeds, the discovery of new feeds or new sources of foods and the scientific processing of poor foods to improve their feeding quality.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

What then are the steps which we should take in this direction to improve the present state of animal nutrition?

In all progressive countries, adequate attention has been paid to the feeding of livestock, such as the cow, the pig and the poultry from the economic point of view, so that the best use of the animals can be made concurrent with high standard of health in them.

The Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research has recommended a balanced diet for the Indian population, taking into consideration the current dietary practices. The recommended diet has aimed at maintaining the optimum health of the population and thus it has provided targets for agricultural production in this country. The question was further examined by a Committee of experts of the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. Based on the proper understanding of the problems of human nutrition and animal nutrition, attempts should now be

made to integrate our efforts towards meeting the nutrition of both.

Taking cattle for example, we have to provide feeding-stuffs for work producers, milk producers and meat producers.

About 56 million working animals have to be fed from food residues and other foods that will have to be specially grown. This is our first concern, as animal labour will perhaps for many years to come, continue to be the main motive power for agricultural operation. The lactational yield of our milch cattle is very poor compared to the yield of milch cattle in other countries. It is of utmost importance to us to increase the productive capacity of our milch cattle, in order to provide, at least the minimum requirements of milk for the Indian population. A good quality roughage like pasture grass or properly selected cultivated fodder is essential for an economical increase in milk production. The choice of the green fodder will have to be decided by the regional character of the land and the climatic environment. This is an aspect which the new animal nutrition section could usefully develop in the immediate future.

The importance of oil cake, as a major item among the concentrate feeds, for practically all classes of stock, needs no emphasis. Unfortunately, a good portion of these oil cakes is used as manure in the cultivation of cash crops, thus adversely affecting the maximum potentiality for animal production. There is a big gap between the supply and demand of oil cakes from non-edible seeds and it should be fully exploited.

A word about poultry. Based on a modest estimate, the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research had recommended one egg, per head, per day. In the Indian Union there are hardly about 50 million egg-laying birds and to attain the above target, their number requires to be increased 20 times. Apart from this, the nutritional requirements of the egg-laying birds need also improvement to improve their egg-laying capacity.

THE EDWARDIAN AGE

BY "BOOKMAN"

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SANDWICHED between the spacious days of Queen Victoria and the hectic days of King George, the Edwardian age was all too brief a period, but is vitally significant as the end of an epoch. The First World War has brought about a complete revolution in Society. Society with a capital crumbled overnight and its last days are chronicled in John Gore's "Edwardian Scrap Book.*" It is a record of the doings of the 'smart set' of that age. The author, himself a member of that set, has dwelt only on the vanished glories of that stratum of society. For people of a certain way of thinking, that alone was society and the rest of mankind hardly counted except as appendages. But in fairness to the author, it must be mentioned that he does not profess to deal with all aspects of that age. As he himself puts it "My scrap book is not concerned with the present or the future. It is concerned with a few aspects of a half forgotten and brief reign and those aspects for the most part trivial".

Trivial though the aspects dealt with, they are interesting and worth recording of a state of society which can never return. The prevalent conception of that Era as one of "Myopia, of selfishness in which a small class of privileged persons enjoyed its last high kick" is no way upset by a perusal of this book. We are afraid it is rather strengthened than otherwise, in spite of the frequent reference to the services rendered to the state, society and country by the landed aristocracy. What they actually did to raise "social converse and friendly life to a higher level of companionable life and intelligence, to let in light and colour, sanity and joy, to enlarge the store of human knowledge, to stimulate thought" we are at a loss to assess from its pages. Even the new rich were rigidly excluded from the ranks of "Smart society". Its snobbery was undoubted, and

its influence permeated an infinitesimally small and select class. The impression does persist, that a rich and leisured class was leading an idle life unconscious of its fate and quite oblivious of its surroundings. When incometax was six pence in the pound and death duties were still in the offing life was one round of dinners and dances for the privileged few.

Naturally, the author is grieved at the passing away of the great houses of England. Some of them no doubt were for centuries cradles of culture. But in the nature of things, they were bound to go when their owners could not afford the "gracious living for which they were designed". The industrial revolution and the advent of the internal combustion engine hastened their disappearance and the first world war and socialistic legislation completed the rout. More than all, the complete disintegration, overnight, of the system of domestic service inevitably led to the closing down of the mansion and manor houses.

Something like it is happening now in our country. The sense of security is giving place to anxiety for the future. The relationship of master and servant is rapidly deteriorating. Instead of a sense of unity there is more or less veiled antagonism. The propertied and privileged classes have come to realise, that in a classless society, their position is far from secure. The book is of considerable interest at this juncture.

There is very little reference to the literary, scientific, and other cultural activities, of the period and considering that the period was so short, it is hardly possible to work out a distinct trend in these matters. The reference to "Saki" and his works, all his admirers will appreciate, though they may not readily subscribe to the claim that he was the "literary prototype of the Age".

On the whole it is a pleasant and readable book for an idle afternoon.

* EDWARDIAN SCRAP BOOK by John Gore. Even Brothers Limited, London.

MEMORIES OF GANDHIJI

BY SRI MANILAL GANDHI

[On the occasion of the death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi his son, Manilal, who is completing the mission of his father, in eradicating racial discrimination in South Africa, gave some of his reminiscences.—ED. I. R.]

DURING my life-time I was able to spend very few years actually with my father. Unlike my other brothers, I had to live away from him in exile, in South Africa. I have been in South Africa for the last thirty years and more almost at a stretch. From August 1914, till the beginning of 1917, I went on a month's visit, to India. I went again at the end of 1924, on a month's visit. In 1926 I was there. I got married in March 1927 and returned almost immediately to South Africa and paid a visit to India once in about three years.

The longest period I was able to spend in India and most of it with father was the whole of 1945 and half of 1946. Those were the precious months I spent with father and had the rare opportunity to be with him during the long tour of Bengal and Madras. Those who nursed him and looked after his personal requirements were able to have the best time with him. Though I seemed to be encroaching upon the preserves of others, father lovingly gave me as much opportunity as was possible in the circumstances, to be with him. We had many free and frank discussions on various matters including his own surroundings and on his own attitude which had so vastly changed since the time we were under him in childhood.

It seemed to me as though he had spoilt those near him by his extreme love and affection. They had become as his spoilt children as it were and much more so after my mother had been called away from his life. She acted as a check on my father and filled the gaps left by him especially on the social side of life. After my mother had gone, father had to act both as father and mother to those close to him but none in return were able to fill the gap left by mother and by Mahadev

Desai, who next to mother was the nearest and dearest to him. They were both his right and left hand.

EXTREMELY SOFT

One of the things that struck me was the extreme softness in father's attitude compared with what it was when we, four brothers, were under him. He was, of course always forgiving though he was a very severe task master. But he had grown extremely tolerant which he was not in our time. That was partly due to his bitter experiences of the world in latter years and partly to the development of the spirit of non-violence in him. When I saw this, many a time I chafed and said to father: "Bapu, you have vastly changed from the time we were under you. You never pampered us. You were very severe with us. I remember how you made us to do laundry work and chop wood; how you made us to take the pick and shovel in the bitter cold mornings and dig in the garden, to cook and to walk miles. And I am surprised to see how you pamper these people around you".

Bapu would listen and burst out with his usual hearty laughter: "Well, children," he would say "are you listening to what Manilal is saying?" And yet he would love and caress them. No wonder India sobs at the very thought that that loving soul in whom both father and mother were personified, was no longer with them.

Though father was ever with us, never was there a time when we felt his severity. The reason was that he did not tell us to do what he himself did not actually do and surpass every one in doing. There were times at Phoenix when he would go out hoeing in the field. The strongest among us would get tired but he would go on plodding steadily and unceasingly till the stipulated time. That was his great energy and will-power.

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When I think of that past, I bless it. For that indeed, has sustained me to this day and saved me from becoming a physical wreck.

I have passed through many a vicissitude in my life and have had love lavished upon me by father as also punishment from him. But I do not remember having felt bitter over his punishment at any time. No father could have nursed his child with more loving care as my father did when typhoid fever had gripped me at about nine years of age. A vivid description of it is given in father's "Experiments with Truth", every word of which is true.

SEVEN DAYS' FAST

I must confess to my utter shame that I was the cause of father having had to undergo a fast for seven days in 1912. I had tried to deceive him. Father was at that time in Johannesburg and I was in Phoenix. There was an exchange of letters between us. He was pained at certain reports he had received about me. He wanted an admission from me but I persisted in denying until at last I received a letter from him which was signed "Blessings from your father in Agony." I could no longer bear it. I wanted to confess but I had not the courage to approach him direct. I, therefore, enclosed the letter in a letter to Mr. Kallenbach, who was to us like a member of our family. I asked father to forgive me in the letter. I received a telegram from him: "I forgive you. Ask God to forgive you." He came immediately to Phoenix and he and I together underwent a fast for seven days and Mr. Kallenbach also joined us. I can truthfully say that there was not a trace of bitterness in me then or after over the painful incident. Father was at that time conducting a school at Phoenix and had children who were boarding and lodging there. As a result of this incident, he wrote to all the parents who had entrusted their children to him informing them of this episode and asked them to withdraw their children if they so wished. None however did so.

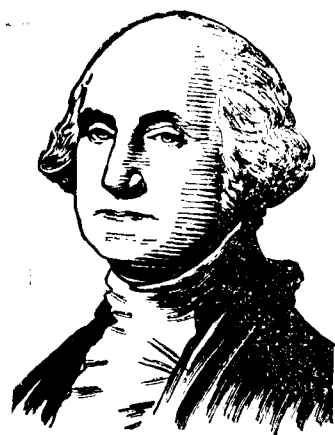
Another incident took place in India in the beginning of 1916 when an untruth slipped from my mouth. It seemed a trifling thing to all around us. But to father, it was a Himalayan mistake. He disclosed the fact to the inmates of the Ashram and I was to be banished from the Ashram the next day. I was to go wherever I chose to but father made some suggestions. He said I could go to Madras to a certain place where hand-spinning and hand-weaving was carried on and ask to be apprenticed there. I was, however, not to make use of father's name. In addition to this, father was also contemplating a fast but I sat all night entreating him not to do so and in the end my prayer was heeded. I left my dear mother and my brother Devdas sobbing. Father did not throw me out completely emptyhanded. He gave me just sufficient money for my trainfare and a little extra. I wrote a letter to father from the train with tears in my eyes regretting the pain I had caused him.

I had the experience of my life during the two months I thus spent which would make another story. After that father sent me a letter of introduction to one of our close friends and I spent the rest of my seven months in Madras in happiness and none the worse for what I had undergone.

I bless those days with loving memory of my dear father whose gentleness had no bounds and yet could he be as hard as steel. I thank him for what he has given me and millions of my fellow countrymen in India and in my adopted country, South Africa, which has become the centre of worldwide attention, as a result of her suicidal racial policy. At this crucial hour of South African Indians' struggle for human rights and turmoil and strife threatening to engulf humanity with another fearful and deadly world war, may his spirit guide us all in the right path, and may the world enjoy a long spell of peace.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE Washington, whose 220th birthday anniversary was observed throughout the United States on February 22, is fondly remembered by Americans as the "father of the nation." It was Washington who played perhaps the most important role in liberating the American colonies from British rule as well as in



This is a new line drawing from a portrait of George Washington, first President of the United States. The portrait was painted by Gilbert Stuart, United States artist.

guiding the fledgeling nation through its early years as a democratic republic.

Born on February 22, 1732, George spent his youth on his father's large tobacco farm in what was then the British colony of Virginia. At the age of 16 he became a surveyor, and made maps of the wild frontier between the colony and French territory in the interior.

When war broke out between the British and French in 1753, 21-year-old Washington was made commander of the Virginia Militia guarding the colony. Because of his knowledge of the frontier, he was asked to assist an expedition of British troops deep into the wilderness.

The British army was ambushed and its general killed. Young Washington took command and saved the troops.

His military fame spread through the colonies. When the French were defeated, he retired to his Virginia farm.

But unrest over British rule grew steadily. In protest against import taxes, colonists disguised as American Indians dumped a cargo of British tea into Boston harbour. Soon fighting broke out between colonial farmers and British troops. Thus in 1775 began the war for American Independence.

Washington was called from his farm to command the colonial forces. It seemed a hopeless task to fight trained and well-equipped British regulars with poorly-armed volunteers, but Washington accepted. In a surprise night attack, General Washington captured a British force by moving his army across an icy river.

But his small, badly-supplied army met many defeats. Washington shared its hardships, and kept his men alive one bitter winter by begging food from farmers.

Finally, with French aid, Washington was able to defeat the main British force in 1781. The colonies were free and Washington could return to his beloved farm.

He was, however, soon called to head the new U. S. Government. In 1789 he was elected to the first of two terms as America's President. As the first President of the United States, he guided the new government in its infancy. He inspired confidence in the untried government and gave it dignity. An able administrator by any standard, he was superior in judgment to his brilliant assistants, among whom were Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury.

The first President personally directed his administration in a way which no modern successor could hope to do. Besides Hamilton and Jefferson he had only one other department head, the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox. There were no Cabinet meetings at first,

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QUEEN ELIZABETH: A PEN-PORTRAIT

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and the three secretaries were supposed to be assistants to the President.

Jefferson has left an interesting description of the way in which official correspondence was handled by the first President and his three assistants. Every day each Secretary made up a package of letters received, with the drafts of his replies, and submitted it to Washington. The President kept his eye on everything, but he was not dictatorial. Generally he returned the letters without comment, thus signifying his approval; sometimes he attached comments and suggestions in little notes. Sometimes he held up matters until he could confer with a Secretary.

As an administrator, Washington was prompt, judicious but decisive, exceedingly exacting of his subordinates, and probably too exacting of himself.

He was scrupulously fair in his distribution of social favours and very conscientious in the performance of what he regarded as his social duties. Although he found such official occasions as senatorial dinners and formal receptions extremely boring, he thought them necessary and insisted that strict formality should be observed.

George Washington's capacity for wrath was well-known. But ordinarily he vented his anger only in private and against men whom he considered disrespectful, unpatriotic or dishonest.

"On the whole his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great."

Queen Elizabeth: A Pen-Portrait

BY MR. DERMOT MORRAH

Late Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford

PRINCESS ELIZABETH, who has ascended to the throne as Queen Elizabeth II, has trained herself conscientiously for the elaborate part she has been called upon to act in the pageant play of royalty. She plays it with conviction because she knows the play is a great drama: human nature needs these emblematic figures to embody and reflect its ideals and its patriotic aspirations. Yet in herself she is very modest and simple.

The 26-year-old Queen has, as the *London Times* observed "inherited from her father his directness and sincerity; his courage and devotion to duty; from her mother her easy manners, breadth of sympathy and warmth of heart, and her gaiety which is tempered by a serene dignity native to the queen herself."

SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

The Queen has a strong sense of fun very much like that which everybody recognises in Princess Margaret; but in

the elder sister it often seems overlaid, even consciously checked, by the overwhelming sense of responsibility.

She has always been known as cool and never flustered; in her quiet way she rises to every situation, as she showed, for instance, when the speech she had intended for a gathering of perhaps two dozen people in a private room had to be delivered to a cheering crowd of 70,000 in Toronto during her recent tour of Canada.

It is required of royalty to present to the world an inspiring symbolic figure and yet be so completely a natural human being that the two characters are wholly fused together. Nature and training have combined in the new Queen to pass this vital test triumphantly. She never flaunts her charms, and she never gushes, in the manner thought appropriate for those less exalted public figures who have to be surrounded with a legend of glamour.

But while on the ceremonial side she carries herself with serene stateliness,

The moment formal requirements have been met she can be on terms of unassuming friendliness with duke or dustman. Among people of high rank there is scarcely anyone easier for a stranger to talk to. Queen Elizabeth's courteous and friendly manners proceed from an inner warmth of heart, which even a hint of diffidence, surviving from her rather shy childhood, cannot conceal.

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

She has an instinctive understanding of men and women, and shows evident pleasure in making contact with their minds, even if they cross her path for but a moment. She quickly understands their hopes, their ambitions, their family interests; she can join unaffectedly in their amusements, the simpler the better. Her sympathy is just as quick for their sorrows, but she does not generally find it easy to express. As so often with the young who are also tender-hearted,

the contemplation of real suffering does not move her to emotional utterance, but rather to distressed silence. But her sympathy once roused seeks insistently for some mode of giving practical help.

The Queen is naturally changed in several ways from the eager young girl who dedicated herself to the service of the whole Commonwealth in her 21st birthday broadcast from Cape Town and claimed her birthright as the representative of her generation. The Queen of to-day is a young wife and mother; though her thoughts are constantly with her children, her knowledge of men and affairs has been rapidly and enormously extended. In all human relationships she has a sureness of judgment which is remarkable in one of her years. Her character has been touched by care and grief, but her sense of dedication to lifelong service has become even keener with the years.



This photograph, taken in the garden of Clarence House, London, shows H. M. Queen Elizabeth II and H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh with their two children, H. R. H. Prince Charles, Heir Apparent to the Throne, and Princess Anne, second in the line of succession.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Late King George VI

ALL that could be said of the late King has been said in the press with a wealth of detail and completeness reflecting the deep and widespread feeling of sorrow at the passing of a great and good man. King George's greatness primarily lay in his goodness. He was above all a good man and the fact of his association in the role of King with some of the most momentous events of the time can hardly be missed by the historian. Nor was it only in a formal way that he fulfilled his mission. There was something very personal, very human in his actions that made Gentle George a very lovable figure. Shy, modest and altogether unambitious he filled the role with dignity and naturalness, because he felt the call came to him suddenly for a dedicated life. He resolutely lived up to the height of his mission. Mr. Churchill who always rises to the stature of a big occasion spoke with moving aptness on George VI's career as King and man. For some months past the King "had walked with death" and yet never once did he fail or falter in his kingly duties. Our own Prime Minister rightly touched on the miracle of a people's devotion to the Throne even in these Republican times. "It is significant in this world of republics," said Nehru, "how the British Royal House stood firm, not merely in law, but in the affections of the people." The twentieth century has been a difficult period for kings everywhere. Crowns toppled down on quick succession in the two world wars. It is a tribute to the British people's genius for compromise and the British Crown's capacity to adjust itself to new circumstances, "that all through these years of change from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, from Kingship to Emperorship and on to Headship of a Commonwealth of independent nations, it has continued to widen the scope of its usefulness in proportion to the diminution in its powers."

It has been truly said that we in India have special reason to cherish King George's memory with gratitude. For he was not merely the last King of England who functioned as Emperor of India. It was during his reign that British hegemony over this country ended and India became free and independent. But though he ceased to be the King-Emperor after India became a Republic, "her voluntary acceptance of the King of England as the Head of the Commonwealth of which she continued to be a member was the best recompense Britain could have received for her statesmanly action. As the King was the symbol of this free association his death cannot but cause deep sorrow to the people of this country."

The New Governor of Madras

The selection of Mr. Sri Prakasa, Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research, to succeed the Maharajah of Bhavanagar, as Governor of Madras, will be widely welcomed in this State as a well-merited appointment. As early as December last His Highness had expressed his desire, for personal reasons, to be relieved of an office which he has held with great distinction and popularity. It will be remembered the appointment of a ruling prince of an integrated-state was at one time thought a daring experiment. But never was Sardar Patel's prescience and judgment more amply vindicated than in his choice of the Maharajah of Bhavanagar for the governorship of a senior State like Madras.

It was certainly difficult to find a suitable successor and the Government of India should be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. Sri Prakasa who by character and ability as well as by service and devotion to the cause of the country is eminently fitted for the high office. When informed about his appointment he is reported to have said modestly: "As the President and the

Prime Minister would not take a "No" I have accepted the high honour it has pleased them to confer on me, in a spirit of deep humility."

Son of Dr. Bhagavandas, the well-known philosopher, Mr. Sri Prakasa belongs to the Sah family of Benares, famous as bankers and men of culture for generations.

Mr. Sri Prakasa began his political career as an ardent worker in the cause of the Home Rule movement of the late Dr. Besant. He was a member of the All-India Congress Committee from 1917 to 1945. He was imprisoned five times during the national movement and was a prominent member of the Central Assembly from 1935 to 1946. With the achievement of independence by India he became the first Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan and later the Governor of Assam. In May, 1950 he joined the Central Cabinet.

In offering our felicitations to him on the appointment we wish him a successful term in a State which at the moment needs wisdom and statesmanship of a high order to guide it safely through the muddy waters of a Constitutional dilemma. Mr. Sri Prakasa will have all the support he needs in this great task, and we bid him God-speed.

World Film Festival

It was a happy thought of the Government of India to have organised a Film Festival in this country—the first of its kind in Asia. Delegations from leading countries all over the world had been invited; and Bombay and Madras vied with one another in entertaining the distinguished visitors—artistes, technicians and Directors. The reception at Delhi over which the Prime Minister presided was one worthy of the occasion in warmth no less than in splendour. The Festival for the first time brought together film stars, producers and technicians of international repute. It provided an excellent opportunity for movie men and women of all categories to meet the visitors for formal and informal occasions and exchange of ideas. The visit of so many important persons connected with the film world is bound to have far-reaching results in due course both in the technique of production and the equally important role of business. There were representatives of film industry from America and France and Italy and Russia and Czechoslovakia and Egypt and Indonesia. To have

brought together leading representatives of the film world from far and near round a common table, to have enabled them to see India in all its phases, through gorgeous scenes of splendour and royalty and through the simple life of the peasant and the country folk, to be able to discuss the differing outlooks and values and aims in an atmosphere of cheery friendliness,—these are no small gains. And then the visitors have seen our own pictures and 47 of the world's best feature films have been shown during the festival. Nine of these are from France, eight from the U.S.S.R., six from Italy, five from the U.S.A., four from the U.K., two each from China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Hungary and Japan, and one each from Argentina and Rumania. Three are Indian films entered for the festival.

With such opportunities for comparing notes there is infinite scope for improvement in production. After seeing some of our pictures one of the visiting Directors is reported to have said:

India occupies now the second place in the world as a film-maker. There is no reason why it should not take the first. We in our countries have to search hard for story material, while in this land of yours, you have inexhaustible resources; you have been handed down story traditions of thousands of years, and you have so much material lying around that you have only to look about and pick. We envy you.

With such material in abundance and with the new knowledge and technique of production from advanced countries of the West, what splendid opportunities for improvement lie before us! Will India make pictures for showing abroad as we have British and American pictures showing in Indian theatres?

The National Olympics

The 15th Indian Olympic Games were inaugurated at the Corporation Stadium by H. E. the Maharaja of Bhavanagar, Governor of Madras. A record crowd packed the Stadium and watched the ceremonial march-past of the athletes, the fanfare of trumpets, the release of the pigeons and the torch-bearer running into the arena and lighting the Olympic flame. No festival of sport could have had a more colourful inauguration. Press correspondents have vied

with one another in presenting impressive and colourful accounts of the opening ceremony, a ceremony reminiscent of the ancient pageantry at Olympia which inspired so many of the poets of classical Greece.

The State teams marched past into the arena to the accompaniment of the five Services bands and the City Police band in their attractive uniforms. The contingents marched in the following order: Services, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Chandernagore, Delhi, Gujerat, Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Orissa, PEPSU, East Punjab, Rajputana, Travancore-Cochin, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra and Madras.

From every point of view the 15th Olympic Games in Madras proved a memorable occasion. The arrangements and programmes could hardly be bettered. The pageantry of the opening and closing sessions caught the imagination of the people who entered into the spirit of the occasion with befitting enthusiasm.

The public participated in them in unprecedentedly large numbers, the Stadium and the Marina swimming pool being both crowded whenever events were in progress. The Marathon race, considered the grandest race in any Olympic meet (26 miles 385 yards) seen for the first time in the history of Madras was won by Surat Singh of Delhi. He did it in 2 hours 54 minutes 29 seconds. The large crowds that lined the roads during the progress of this historic race, and other long-distance events, reflected fully the extraordinary popular interest aroused by the occasion. The enthusiasm of the people was matched by that of our athletes who set up new Indian records in events like the steeplechase, discus throw, 4 x 400 metres relay for men and the 200 metres for women.

With such records the selected Indian Athletes have undoubtedly as good a chance as any in the world contest at Helsinki. By her record in the Madras Olympics India has earned her right to be represented at the Helsinki Games in hockey, football, athletics, wrestling, swimming, water polo, weight lifting, rifle shooting, fencing and gymnastics.

K. S. Venkataramani

We deeply regret the death of K. S. Venkataramani, the well-known South Indian author, at the age of 61, after months of painful illness borne with habitual resignation. Venkataramani was deeply religious and very sensitive to the things of the spirit. A fine product of English education he was Indian to the very core—may be because of this same education—and he wrote things in English and Tamil which made a difference in our outlook. Respect for tradition and love of ancient culture made him what he called himself—a Sanathanist Hindu. He was a patriot to the finger tips, always alert and responsive to every phase of the national upsurge. Venkataramani had his visions and dreams of a better world and was always planning for the "Good Life" of the community. And what if the plans remained mostly paper plans? He never ceased in his endeavours and he continued to live in the superb exhilaration of his own faith. One by one such fine spirits are dropping but the pageant of life goes on, all the better and brighter for its contact with such spirits.

For all his love of the recluse and the life contemplative Venkataramani was a genial friend and many who have known him will miss this wise and gentle scholar.

India's Victory in the Final Test

The final test match between India and the M.C.C. opened at Chepauk, Madras in an atmosphere of great excitement and enthusiasm, being the last in this series. Profiting by previous experiences the management had made every arrangement to accommodate the vast concourse of spectators and cricket fans to their satisfaction and everything was so planned as to facilitate a proper view of the field's activities in comparative comfort and convenience. With better amenities provided in all the stands, the vast throng of spectators who turned up to witness the match, was treated to exhilarating cricket. India losing the toss, allowed the M.C.C. to bat and dismissed them for 266 runs. India then entered and from the beginning

had a firm grip on the game. With Roy and Umrigar scoring centuries, and young Gopinath scoring his 35 runs in delightful fours, the side piled up 457 runs for nine wickets. When England started their second innings, they had a deficit of 191 runs to wipe off. But our bowlers Mankad and Ghulam Ahmed went about their job relentlessly and skittled the whole team for 183 runs.

This innings victory was a very well deserved one for India, since a victory was long overdue. This match was particularly interesting, as our men, profiting by their previous mistakes, played on with grim determination and courage, and won the match to make it all level with the M.C.C. Hazare, who captained the team, commanded excellent team work amongst the players, and we are sure, he will not fail to make a mark both for himself and his team in the ensuing visit to England, for which he has been rightly elected to captain.

The Central Budget

The Finance Minister Mr. Deshmukh did not make the usual detailed speech while presenting the Budget estimates for the coming year as these estimates will be presented once again, with such changes as the new Government may make, in the new Parliament.

A White Paper [giving an account of the economic conditions in the country during 1951, against the back-ground of which the Budget has been framed, and the broad features of the Budget has been released.

The Budget discloses a revenue surplus of Rs. 92.6 crores as against the budgeted surplus of Rs. 26.1 crores for 1951-52 and an anticipated surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores for 1952-53.

The surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores estimated for next year may go up by another 15 crores as a result of cut in food subsidy to States.

At the existing level of taxation, said Mr. Deshmukh, the revenue next year was estimated at Rs. 424.08 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 406.25 crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores.

The Finance Minister announced no changes in the existing tax structure. The Finance Bill simply provided for the continuance of the existing tax structure.

The levy of income-tax and super-tax and the additional duties of customs and excise is to be continued at the same rates as under the Finance Act of 1951 and salt is to continue to be duty free for another year from April. 1 1952.

Defence expenditure has been increased to Rs. 197.95 crores as against Rs. 181.24 crores during the current year which is nearly "49 per cent. of the total revenue and shows a rise of four per cent. over the revised estimates for the current year."

Substantial provision has been made for capital and development expenditure broadly following the plan suggested by the Planning Commission.

The highlights of the review were a steady decline in the level of prices, the fight against inflation assisted by large revenue receipts and the wheat loan from U.S.A. and an improvement in industrial production. The food situation still remained a matter of great anxiety.

The current year's budget provision for an overall deficit of Rs. 52 crores has been revised to Rs. 4 crores while for 1952-53 the overall deficit is placed at Rs. 41 crores which would be well within the balance of payments deficit for that year. The cash balance at the end of 1952-53 was estimated at Rs. 116 crores.

The Finance Minister in presenting the budget thought there was justification for sober satisfaction at the results achieved and the prospects for the future.

THE LAST WORD

An old couple had lived a cat-and-dog life and had not spoken to each other for years. In course of time the husband fell ill and lay dying. His wife, anxious for a reconciliation before it was too late, decided to make the first advance. She went upstairs to the old man's bedside and, breaking the long, long silence, said: "Aaron, where does thee want to be buried?" The answer came back without hesitation and in a voice full of malice: "Atop of thee."



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SCIENCE: ITS METHOD AND ITS PHILOSOPHY. By G. Burniston Brown. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

This is an age of Science but that is not to say that the scientific spirit of enquiry or the scientific method of approach to any problem is very widespread even among the educated classes. There is a notion that scientists are merely clever technicians and specialists in some particular branch of nature study. The author, by his inclusion of Aristotle and Bacon in his study, gives a wider scope to Science and points out that clear thinking and the use of precise words are part of the scientific approach to knowledge. Much muddled thinking could be avoided by the careful definition of terms and the habit of clear thinking without falling into the common error of failing to distinguish between a fact and a hypothesis. The chief aim of the book, as the author says, is to try to answer clearly three questions, firstly: What is scientific method; secondly: How has it arisen; and thirdly: What is a scientific outlook on the universe in general to-day? In a simple and easy way he describes for the general reader the rise of the scientific method in an evolutionary form beginning with a description of learning processes in animals.

The inclusion of biographical studies of three outstanding men of history—Aristotle, Bacon and Newton invests the book with abiding and stimulating interest to the general reader.

RELIGION AND DHARMA. By Sister Nivedita. With a preface by S.K. Ratcliffe, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora.

It was given to Sister Nivedita to live and work with us at a time in our history when, as a result of the impact of Western thought on Eastern religion, India was pulsating with a new life. A new civilization was emerging and Sister Nivedita had her full share, along with the men; and movements of resurgent

India, in advancing this process and guiding it through channels of fruitful activity. In fact so completely did she identify herself with India and its spirit that she was quite justified in her constant use of "We" and "Ours" in speaking of things Indian. The contents of this book bear witness to her strength and fidelity as the true exponent of our ancient tradition and modern thought. She had earned the right to criticise as well as to exhort and she did it all with such strength of conviction and grace of style that these fugitive pieces, written half a century ago, are yet fresh and green. The chapters that comprise this book are mainly culled from the Editorial columns of *Prabuddha Bharata*, the well-known organ of the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Math, to which she was contributing a series of notes and articles suggested by the ethical and religious aspects of the advancing national movement. That they should still charm us with their enduring freshness is a tribute to her excellence as a writer; and the Advaita Ashrama deserves our grateful thanks for presenting this first Indian Edition of a volume that deserves to be rescued, and preserved for the benefit of our generation.

MADRAS IN MAPS AND PICTURES. Published by the Director of, Information and Publicity, Government of Madras. Rs. 2.

This is just the kind of book that the Department of Information should publish from time to time. What with statistics, maps, illustrations and charts the book is crammed with well digested facts and figures presented in a very attractive and interesting manner. We wish the Government issue such booklets more often on topics of general interest to the public. The printing and get up of the book are all that could be desired in a book of such popular appeal. Tourists who would greatly value such literature would perhaps prefer a more pocketable size.

LIVES OF SAINTS. By Swami Sivananda. Published by The S. P. League, Ben-tinck St., Calcutta. Re. 1-12-0.

This is a collection of what we may call short studies on great subjects. There are 46 studies in all, mostly of Indian saints, but as there can be no geographical limits to the influence of the world's great ones, the lives of Sufi Saints and of Jesus and Milarepa, the Tibetan Saint, are appropriately included. Swami Sivananda whose efforts in popularising the great heritage of our spiritual culture are so well-known, has here attempted to bring under one volume the lives and teachings of some of the profoundest seers of all time. The Acharyas who founded their own schools of thought in India are studied in the first chapter which deals with the lives and teachings of seven saints including Sankara and Ramanuja. The South Indian saints of whom there are 19 include some well-known names from Maharashtra. The North Indian saints beginning with Buddha and ending with Sri Ramakrishna include the Sikh saints. And then there are women saints and some others not so well-known. These brief sketches have naturally to be perfunctory but they are just enough to whet the appetite of the reader for more elaborate studies. But if Jesus and Buddha find their place in the scheme the author could have included Mahomed and Zoroaster whose influence on mankind has been no less profound.

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN. By H. R. Bhatia, M.A.—New Hindustan Publications, Delhi.

This book aims at helping parents, teachers and social reformers to understand the right way of bringing up, teaching and treating children. It explains the new approach to child psychology, the value and formation of habits, the methods of enforcing discipline, the control of emotions, the training of the senses and of powers of observation etc. Likewise imagination and concomitant sympathy as directing forces of life are described, as also the conditions which affect moral development and serve as its basis. The importance of right methods of bringing up our children cannot be over-estimated.

STANDARD ESSAYS. By N. M. Kulkarni, M.A., Students' Friends, Allahabad.

The model Essays presented in this volume are fairly typical of the kind of topics generally set for essay-writing in our University Examinations. They cover a wide variety of subjects economic, scientific, social, historical, biographical and current topics—all dealt with in a way that only a teaching Professor of the University, conversant with University courses and the average student of science or literature, can be expected to treat. Students are not expected to mug up the Essays for Examination purposes but only to familiarise themselves with the methods of handling with competence a wide variety of themes. Following the models one could make any topic interesting and engaging. The fact that the volume has run through many editions during these six years since it was first published is proof of its usefulness and popularity among those for whom it is intended.

EXPERIMENTS WITH HOROSCOPES. By Horaratna R. G. Sapre, B.Sc., B.Psy., Rahuri, District Ahmednagar.

Vol. I	Pp. 54	...	Rs. 5/-
Vol. II	Pp. 88	...	Rs. 5/-
Vol. III	Pp. 96	...	Rs. 5/-

These are the first three of a series of Twenty-four volumes promised by the author. The author appears to be conversant with both the eastern and western systems of Astrology especially of the School of Allan Leo for whom the author appears to have great regard.

The author has started with a brief account of the principles of astrology and followed up by analysis of several typical horoscopes. Here and there are chapters on numerology, power of names and allied subjects. The value of the material in the books is considerably reduced by a great deal of repetitions which can be profitably avoided.

INDIA TO-DAY. By R. Palme Dutt. (2nd revised Indian edition). People's Publishing House, Bombay.

The present edition has been revised to cover events upto 1948 within the frame work of the previous general descriptive and historical treatment. According to the author, imperialistic exploitation and domination in India did not end with the Mountbatten settlement of 1947 which would probably be seen in the sequel as the last attempt at constitutional adaptation and compromise rather than the beginning of Indian freedom which is bound to be won in the near future. The thesis is maintained that the social and cultural backwardness of the people of India is the expression and consequence of the low economic level and political subjection and the situation is not the other way about which is held to be the Procrustean bed of our modern flunkey economists. The exploiting imperialism of the East India Company's rule turned India into the "agricultural farm of England" while Lord Curzon himself expressed the fruit of the Crown's direct rule over India in these words:—"Administration and exploitation go hand in hand" (1905). Then began to operate the new basis of the finance-capitalist exploitation of India, succeeding the industrial capitalist and trading exploitation so characteristic of 19th century Britain. British finance—capital has had a strangle-hold on independent Indian economic development; and the alliance of British and Indian monopolies has not improved the situation. The acute agrarian crisis is the surest index of the bankruptcy of imperial economy; and its forces are driving towards an open agrarian revolution.

The development of Indian nationalism is next studied; and the argument is put forward that the Indian awakening has been only developing in unison with world currents from the earliest stages. The rise of the Socialistic movement has been studied in detail; and the successive stages of constitutional reforms and awards have been interpreted as but stages in the long battle of imperialism.

THE WIDE, WIDE WORLD: By Elizabeth Wetherell, University of London Press. Pp. 288 Price 7.6.

There are certain books which have such excellent quality that though they may get old they will still retain enough of attraction to live for all time. One such book is *THE WIDE, WIDE WORLD*. Like all classics it has an essential simplicity that only makes its appeal universal. But like all such books, as time goes on some revisions and redactions will be helpful, and that is what Joyce Brisley has done in this new edition. The book has been abridged, and some delightful illustrations have been added.

This book is of special value now when the outlook on life has undergone such a change that what are known as the old world virtues are at a discount.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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WORLD WARS—WHY AND WHITHER. By P. M. Verma, M.A., LL.B. Address delivered at a meeting of Freedom-Culture Club, Allahabad, held on Friday September 28, 1951. Vishal Bharat series, Published by The Indian National Renaissance Society, Swastika Bhavan, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.

THE NEHRU FIVE YEAR PLAN. By S. G. Sardesai. People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay.

THE TRUE RELIGION OF CHRIST. INDIAN PARALLELS. By Cav. A. Galletti, Late of the Indian Civil Service. As. 12. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

HOW SMOKE GETS INTO THE AIR. By Terence Heywood. The Fortune Press, 21, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.

WHITE BOOK on aggressive activities by the Governments of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania towards Yugoslavia. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Beograd.

PERSONAL SAVINGS IN URBAN INCOME GROUPS. By C. K. Puri, M.A., LL.B., Khuba J. Ray, Simla.

SAINT VEMANA. His Philosophy. By Dr. Ishwara Topa, Hyderabad Telugu Academy, Hyderabad Dn.

INDIA'S EMERGING FOREIGN POLICIES. By Shantilal Kothari. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay 2.

THE NEW YEAR BOOK 1951. Ed. by P. C. Sarkar, B.A., LL.B. S. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., Calcutta.

PRIVATE PROPERTY. The History of an Idea. By Richard Schlatter, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum St., London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- Feb. 1. Contract signed for 160,000 tons of Siam rice.
- Feb. 2. First post-election Congress Working Committee meets at Delhi.
- Feb. 3. Congress Working Committee meeting in Delhi makes important decisions re defeated men and new State Governments.
- Feb. 4. U. N. Disarmament Commission holds first meeting in Paris.
- Feb. 5. President opens Fifth and last Session of the present Parliament.
- Feb. 6. King George VI is dead.
—Princess Elizabeth proclaimed Queen.
—Fifth and final Test between England and India begins at the M. C. C. grounds, Madras.
- Feb. 7. Governors of 9 Part A States tender resignations.
- Feb. 8. Defeated Madras Ministers resign: Care-taker government formed by Chief Minister pending instruction from Centre.
—Accession of Queen Elizabeth proclaimed.
- Feb. 9. Italy renounces its obligations under Russo-Italian pact in protest against Soviet veto on Italy's admission to U. N.
- Feb. 10. Travancore—Cochin Ministry resigns: Mr. Kesavan to form care-taker Government.
- Feb. 11. Parliament opens with debate on President's address.
- Feb. 12. Non-Congress legislators in Convention at Madras evolve a common programme of action.
—Prime Minister rejects suggestion for withdrawing Kashmir case from U. N. Council.
- Feb. 13. U.K.—Egyptian talks resumed in London.
—Queen Elizabeth II holds the first audience of her reign at Buckingham Palace receiving a Commons delegation headed by Winston Churchill, the P. M.
- Feb. 14. Mr. K. Santanam and Major Gen. Himmatsinghi appointed Lt. Governors of Vindhya Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh respectively.
- Feb. 15. Fatemil Persian, Deputy Minister, shot at.
—Indian Congress decides to collaborate with African and coloured people of the Union against apartheid lands.
- Feb. 16. Swami Sitaram confers with the Prime Minister at Delhi.
- Feb. 17. Vijay Hazare elected to Captain team to England.
- Feb. 18. Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and U. S. meet in London.
—Mr. L.A. Scott of *Manchester Guardian* in Madras.
- Feb. 19. Air accident in Nagpur involving loss of three lives.
—Congress forms Ministry in Orissa.
- Feb. 20. Delhi Conference recommends cutting ration in the North to afford more rice for South India.
- Feb. 21. Opening of the XV Indian Olympic games festival at Madras.
- Feb. 22. Mr. Sri Prakasa appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Maharaja of Bhavanagar.
—Railway Budget presented in Parliament by Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyengar.
- Feb. 23. Parliament passes Employees' Provident Fund Bill.
—Nehru inaugurates National Art Treasures Fund at New Delhi.
- Feb. 24. Nehru inaugurates Employees' State Insurance Scheme at Kanpur.
- Feb. 25. Astronomers of ten nations observe total eclipse in Sudan for three seconds.
—East Bengal M.L.A.'s arrested as a sequel to language agitation.
- Feb. 26. Mr. Churchill reveals that Britain has made atom bombs and has plants installed for regular production.
- Feb. 27. Mrs. Roosevelt arrives in New Delhi on a four week study tour of India at Prime Minister's invitation.
—Turkish Press delegation in Madras.
- Feb. 28. Mr. Vincent Massey installed at Ottawa as first Canadian born Governor-General.
- Feb. 29. Finance Member Mr. Deshmukh presents surplus budget in Parliament.



READERS' DIGEST



THE NEW QUEEN

Princess Elizabeth, elder daughter of King George VI, ascends to the Throne in the absence of a male heir. She is Britain's first woman ruler since Queen Victoria died in 1901 and the fifth in English history since Mary in 1553.

Since the day when her father unexpectedly came to the Throne and it was evident that one day she would be Queen, she has been drilled and schooled in the traditions of monarchy.

Elizabeth, now 26, is acutely conscious of her Royal heritage, even to the extent of a touch of imperiousness in her character. Since her children, Prince Charles and Princess Anne, were born, however, she has shown more and more how human she is behind the facade of Royalty. Only her official duties have prevented her from spending more time with them when the vast obligations of Royalty have compelled her to leave them in the care of nurses.

Princess Elizabeth was ten when she was told that her uncle King Edward VIII had abdicated and that her parents had become King and Queen of England. The Princess did not go to school, for many of the things a Queen must know are no part of a school curriculum. Instead she and her sister Margaret were taught by Miss Marion Crawford, a Scotswoman.

Elizabeth first entered public life when she was 12. Then she became president of a children's league in London's East End. At 16, she performed her first independent public duty—a full inspection of the famous Grenadier Guards Regiment of which she was Colonel-in-Chief.

In 1944 she sat between the late Field Marshal Smuts and Mr. Mackenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada, at a dinner party at Buckingham Palace attended by Dominion Premiers. This was her first official debut at a State banquet. When she was 18, she acted on the Council of State during the King's absence with the forces in North Africa.

Like many other young women of her age, Elizabeth joined the Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service during the War. She became an efficient driver and mechanic and met an interesting sample of her future subjects on nearly equal terms.

She made history too on the king's birthday in June 1947. Deputising for the King, who was ill, she was said to be the first woman heir to the Throne to ride horseback at the annual trooping of the colours parade.

The new Queen spent her 21st birthday at Capetown on the ten-week tour of South Africa by the King and Queen and the two Princesses.

A great day in her life as Princess was when she married Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, at Westminster Abbey in November 1947. The wedding was attended by thousands including six Kings and seven Queens. Next year great crowds in Paris acclaimed the Princess and her husband.

Her first child, Prince Charles, was born on November 14, 1948. Her second, Princess Anne, was born on August 15, 1950.

She does not smoke and seldom drinks alcohol except for an occasional sip of champagne. She can converse fluently in French and German, likes the theatre, and is fond of playing the piano for her own amusement. She is a good public speaker with a clear musical voice.

The Duke of Edinburgh, now the Prince Consort is a great grandson of Queen Victoria. He gave up his title of Prince Philip of Greece to become a commoner when he assumed British nationality in 1947.

The only son of the late Prince Andrew of Greece and Princess (Victorial) Alice, daughter of the First Marquess of Milford Haven, he was sixth in line to the Greek Throne. He was born on Corfu on June 10, 1921, but was brought up as an English boy. He went to schools in Surrey and Scotland and spent most of his holidays with his uncle and aunt, Earl and Countess Mountbatten.

CHURCHILL—THE LEADER OF BRITONS

It was once said of Lord Cecil that he lived with one leg in the Middle Ages and the other in the League of Nations. Churchill, says M. Salvador de Madariaga in *Thought*, the well-known Delhi Weekly, lives with half of his heart in twentieth century world history and the other half in eighteenth century Tory nationalism. A free, human, idealistic, modern, man, he is also an eighteenth century, sceptical, almost cynical English aristocrat.

This mixture explains that even in his world-wide flights of statesmanship, he remains an authoritarian, and a profound believer in the power of the British Fleet as against that of foreign public opinion. It explains also the cold, imperious attitude that he took as a war-leader in such cases as the rape of Poland (to use the telling phrase of his victim, Mr. Mikolajczik); his opposition to Mr. Attlee's wise decision to withdraw from India; and, now, his full acceptance of his own people's opposition to enter a European Union.

As an illustration of all this may be quoted Winston Churchill's affection for the word *Empire* and his merely resigned acceptance of the word *Commonwealth*, which he does not like.

This detail of his vocabulary was a prominent feature of his recent Ottawa speech. In what concerns the balancing arguments which are now swaying every Englishman—for the Commonwealth, therefore against entering a European Union—Winston Churchill has proved unable to lead his people on to the new era. For the Commonwealth arguments are not sound. As sentiment, they overlook the Dominions—non-British by blood, as well as the wear and tear caused by time and by alien immigration on the British-by-blood Dominions. As economics, they are obsolete; for, as has been recently shown in a masterly letter to the *Manchester Guardian* by Mr. Mackay, "no amount of working longer hours, even with reduction of prices, is going to make the Australians or the New Zealanders buy manufactured goods from Britain which they prefer to make themselves." And he concludes that the only way left for Britain to provide for a continuous increase of the national living standard is to integrate her economy with that of Europe.

Such are the facts of our day which according to this Spanish author, "the eighteenth century sceptical, aristocratic Winston Churchill prevents the great world statesman Winston Churchill from realizing. His vision is therefore limited to the area of his island, or at any rate determined by this limited area; and the man called to lead men and the world remains a leader of Britons and of Britain."

SERVICE

The Republic Number of this excellent quarterly is packed with articles of serious interest to students of public affairs. There are articles on politics, economics, history and art by competent writers. "Some thoughts on current affairs" by Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri is a forthright contribution to the leading problems of the day, in which the learned writer offers his observations untrammelled by party affiliations. His views on the Government and the opposition are refreshingly sound though they may not carry conviction to biased minds. On the Pakistan issue he offers some home-truths which are timely. Pakistan is among the irreversible things, he says:

The question is not who agreed to it. It was agreed to and we are now in the U. N. O. as separate nations. To discuss it now is like the Kazhagam saying that they took no part in framing the Constitution and are therefore not bound by it. It binds whatever you may say; you live under it.

I am not saying that if reunion came it ought not to be accepted. The example of Eire is not applicable to India. Eire and North Ireland are not both in the U. N. O. for one thing. The Americans with hyphenated Irish are behind Ireland's agitation for reunion. No outside nation is favouring the re-creation of United India. The talk of reunion only irritates Pakistan. If there is any chance of reunion—frankly I see none—a little reticence on our part may be useful. If Pakistanis feel that the division was a mistake allow them to develop that idea. When it has reached a stage of manifestation it may be time for us to assist in it. It must now be remembered that without the consent of Pakistan, reunion cannot take place and public opinion of Pakistan is an important factor. What we think good they will suspect to be evil. It is better therefore not to express our appreciation of reunion too strongly. It is well to remember that we have been steadily pushed eastwards from Afghanistan which was once ours.

When we learn to think that our interests are safe whether Hindu or Muslim represents us in the legislature there will be no complaint that communities are over-represented or under-represented. Such trust is not yet. Each section small or large, deems itself different and needing special protection.

It looks as if the solution of our problem is a solution of the problem of World unification.

Weep not for little Marjorie,
Abducted by a French marquis;
Though loss of honour was a wrench
Just think how it improved her French.

—Harry Graham.

THE MIDDLE CLASS IN INDIA

Principal P. C. Malhotra, writing in the January number of the *Modern Review*, observes that in India the middle class has often been treated as synonymous with the educated middle class; persons who are not well-to-do enough to dispense with earning their own livelihood, are included in this classification.

A middle class family in India is supposed to be one with an income varying within a range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 400 according to *The Report on the Diet and Health Survey of Middle Class Families in Bombay City* conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute. Another enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Commerce in the form of *The Report of Enquiry into the Family Budgets of the Middle Class Employees of the Central Government* found the average monthly income per middle class family varying from Rs. 159.6 in the province of Madras to Rs. 268.1 in Delhi. The report discovered a disequilibrium between income and expenditure everywhere. The deficit varied from Rs. 15.7 per family or Rs. 3.8 per consumption unit in the case of Delhi to Rs. 51.5 per family or Rs. 10.7 per consumption unit in the Punjab block and Rs. 10.2 per consumption unit in Bombay city. Deficits were met in many instances from previous savings made during the good times before the War or from temporary loans from relatives and friends.

Income, however, is not a correct index of social and economic position. The question is not what a man's income is but what he derives from it. As a consequence of the high prices prevailing, a large section of what now constitutes the so-called middle class may in reality form a part of the proletariat as the merest daily labourer.

In fact, economically the position of the labourer may be much better than persons of equal income belonging to the middle class as the latter has to conform to a certain external standard of life which has made his position pitiable. The business community has been able to pass on the incidence of higher cost of production to the consumers, persons with variable incomes are able to shift the weight of higher prices on to the persons with fixed incomes. The middle class in India has consequently been squeezed between the double pressure of the manufacturing-Cum-trading community and the wage-earning class.

The question is how long can the middle class stand this double pressure. The middle class from the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal have been crushed as a consequence of partition. Thus the forces tending towards the liquidation of the middle class in India have been gathering force rather quickly.

The epitaph of the middle class is being written. The question is what attitude may be expected of this class in the crisis. It cannot afford to remain in a state of oscillation between surrender and resistance to the forces working against it indefinitely. More nominal opposition to these forces may not be different from outright support.

The logic of the situation demands a positive attitude and determined action. The Government of the country will also have to follow a positive policy towards this class. Does the ship of the state need the stabilising ballast of the middle class? Can the cultural and social renaissance in the country be accomplished by permitting this class to be attritioned if not liquidated? Can the high tide of the growing power of labour forces be permitted to have their full sway? The attitude of the middle class and that of the State towards the above mentioned questions is going to be the major determinants of the social and economic patterns of the future in the country.

ISRAEL'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Praise for Israel's achievements, especially with regard to the ingathering of exiles and their absorption, was paid by U. S. Congressmen Joseph W. Martin and Leonard W. Hall at the conclusion of a visit to the Jewish State.

"We were amazed and gratified to witness vindication of our hopes as firm supporters of the ideals of a Jewish homeland", they stated, adding: "Israel is to be congratulated for possessing human resources able and willing to contribute to national progress and security. But vast problems still remain to be solved. The days ahead may be fraught with hardship, and even despair, but people with a profound faith will find means to endure and prosper and to make dreams and ideals a reality."

'CROWN OF INDIA'

Queen Elizabeth will not use the "Imperial Crown of India," which was made at a cost of 70,000 pounds sterling for her grandfather, King George V's Coronation in Delhi in 1911. It will lie unused in the ancient Tower of London.

The famous "Kohinoor" diamond, presented to Queen Victoria in 1850 by the East India Company, is not in any of the crowns of the monarch, but it is in the silver and diamond crown usually worn by the King's wife.

INDIAN ART MOTIFS

Writers have associated Indian art motifs with different cults and religions such as Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Saiva, Sakta, Vaishnava etc. Such classification is more superficial than correct, says Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, in the course of an article on the meaning of Indian art motifs in the February Number of *Prabuddha Bharata*.

It is true that a particular cult or religion laid special stress on some art motif, but the fact remains that there was no hard and fast or rigid differentiation thereof in terms of religious belief. Many of the popular motifs were common to all cults.

The *Yaksha* is to be found in Hindu and Buddhist shrines equally. Motifs like *Kucera* (guardian of the north), *Sri* (goddess of prosperity), *Virupaksha* (guardian of the west), or *Sudarsana* (guardian of still waters) were actually Brahminical in origin; yet they found a place in Buddhist art as well. Similarly, many of the iconographic motifs were common to the Buddhists and the Jains. Again, some of the motifs were associated with different cults in Hinduism. At Amaravati, the older Brahminical symbols exist alongside of the Buddha archetype. Even the familiar *Bodhisattva* type reminds the observer of the worship of *Vishnu* who was both God and man as *Vasudeva* or in any one of His various Avatars. At Ajanta, where Buddhist influence is predominant, the older Hindu motifs such as the *Makara* (water-beast), the *Yaksha* etc. are common. The *Nandi* pavilion or the *Makara* arch is a familiar feature in shrines of all cults. The *Naga* likewise is seen most frequently. The *Matrka* types, which were essentially Saiva and which represent mental attributes, are to be met with everywhere. Saiva and Vaishnava motifs coexist at Ellora. Flying figures on the walls or *Narapalas* on door-ways are among the commonest decorative motifs in Indian architecture.

The Western critic likes every motif to be listed and labelled. There lies the wrong approach to Indian art, for, it is not possible, correctly speaking, to classify or label Indian art motifs. Their variety is as wide as their application is widespread and universal.

From the time of Harappa and Mohenjodaro onwards there is to be seen a steady growth of art traditions and art symbols. But behind the medley of forms there is one common note which characterized them all. That common note is the refusal to look upon Spirit and flesh as either contradictory or antithetical. In Western art, there is a dualism between Spirit and flesh, or

mind and body. In Indian art, however there is no such antithesis. The Indian artist did not only refuse to divorce Spirit from flesh but juxtaposed and blended both in one indivisible whole which might surprise or shock the Western critic. Erotic sculptures in temples look jarring to the latter, for they seem bizarre and out of place; yet these only reflect the artist's attempt to combine sensation and understanding, the beautiful and the edifying, the sublime and the secular, the physical and the moral, the transient and the immutable, the finite and the infinite. The Indian art motifs are in fact as varied and as rich as life itself, and their very complexity or exuberance is indicative of an attitude which is hastily dismissed as an obsession by those who do not care to understand the natural idiom of Indian art or Indian philosophy.

The study of Indian art motifs is possible only through the various Sastras and Puranas which deal with iconographical matter. The relevant *dhyana-sloka*s give us the clue to an understanding of the meaning of many of the images which baffle the modern rational mind. According to Dr. Chatterji the entire symbology of Indian art serves to portray life as a composite whole, and not in watertight compartments. The profusion of art motifs serves to indicate the mystical or transcendental attitudes wherein both devotional meditation and enjoyment of the senses were so characteristically and harmoniously blended.

HISTORY OF MANKIND

Scholars from every continent will contribute to a 3,000,000-word History of Mankind, to be sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

The project, so comprehensive that "no individual or nation could possibly do the job" will trace the development of all peoples from pre-historic man to the present.

Dr. K. Zachariah, Director of the Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India will contribute the sixth volume covering the first to the Sixth decades of the 20th century.

The History will be published in the English, French and Spanish languages and probably later in Arabic, Hindi and other languages.

THE INDIAN ELECTIONS

"*The Economist* says that "by holding the elections in a spirit of tolerance and genuine freedom of individual choice, Indians have shown that adult suffrage in Asia as in Europe encourages the sense of self-respect and the consciousness of civic rights and duties which are the foundations of political liberty."

Commenting on India's General Elections, the weekly adds:

When polling finishes on February 15 the Congress may expect to control, perhaps, three-quarters of the seats in the Central Parliament and to form the Governments in all but about two of the States. On the surface, these figures represent a great victory. Indeed, there can be no question of any other party pushing Congress from power during the next five years.

Referring to the success of Communist candidates, *The Economist* says:

In general, Communist success has been batchy, and though in many places has been quite definite, it is unlikely to be widely spread across the country. India is not yet going Communist.

The weekly goes on to say that

the outstanding feature of the elections has been the failure both of the extreme reactionary Hindus and of the Socialists. In spite of the high hopes it held a year ago, no one has come to expect much of the Kripalani group, but the Socialists have done even worse than might have been expected.

The Economist concludes:

The Indians have long shown a genuine flair for the parliamentary system of Government. They have modelled their procedure in Parliament on that of Westminster. The crucial task now is to prove that this democratic system can produce the result that India most needs an improvement in the standard of living. This was the biggest issue behind the election.

"COMMONWEALTH" AND "EMPIRE"

To judge from comments both in India and abroad, there seems to be considerable confusion about the words "Commonwealth", "British Commonwealth" and "Empire" and concerning the best style and title, writes Mr. Arthur Moore:

As regards the "Commonwealth", may I suggest that the adjective "British" should be finally dropped? Use of the word "British" implies either that the majority of the people throughout the Commonwealth descend from forebears born in the British Isles, which is obviously untrue, or that they are British citizens, which again is obviously untrue.

Ours is the largest Commonwealth in the world and needs no adjective, but I suggest that, in order to distinguish it from the Australian Commonwealth, the latter can be referred to with the adjective "Australian." I hope that the Governments of the various countries of the Commonwealth will agree upon a Commonwealth passport which will be available to members.

The problem of "Empire" comes next. There is a British Empire, for the British Parliament still rules over large parts of Africa and some parts of Asia.

Whatever people may say in their speeches or writings, everybody at heart knows quite well that backward tribes and races have to be educated for self-government and that in their early stages they neither want it nor understand it. No doubt there will always be men on the spot, either in government or business, who while agreeing with the British people and Parliament that self-government is the only true goal, will always say that the time is not yet and blinded by self-interest, will really think so. That does not prevent the British Empire from fulfilling its functions. Similarly, the French Republic has still an empire, though the term is not used because of its modified form and representation in a common legislature in Paris. Australia and New Zealand may also be said to have empires, for Australia rules over the Papuan part of New Guinea and adjacent islands, and these are not in the Commonwealth: New Zealand also has independencies. Thus it is proper for people in the United Kingdom to speak of "The Commonwealth and The British Empire".

Queen Elizabeth reigns as Queen over the United Kingdom and the British Empire, and most of the realms of the Commonwealth of their own free will have chosen to have her as their Queen.

India, being a Republic, does not have a Queen, but recognises Queen Elizabeth as the "Head of the Commonwealth". As the word "Head" is rather vague and uninspiring, I suggest that she should definitely be given some other title. There can be no objection to calling her "The President of the Commonwealth". Why should not the Commonwealth have a President just as India has a President?

A doctor related the following story against himself.

"One of my patients was a very old friend, and I wrote him a note asking him to come to dinner. As I received no reply I rang him up and asked him if he had received the message."

"Oh yes, thank you very much," he replied. "As soon as I got it I took it to the chemist's and had the mixture made up; I now feel much better, thank you."

FOREIGN POLICY OF NEHRU GOVT.

In an editorial analysis of the election trends in India, the *Christian Science Monitor* says that the position of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, demands the most sympathetic understanding from the West.

In the fourth of a series of editorials on Communism in Asia, the *Monitor*, which has sometimes been critical of Mr. Nehru's foreign policies observes that the Communists were working hard to control the revolutionary potential India.

Some of their chief (though unwitting) allies, the paper says, were the reactionaries in the Congress Party who are resisting desperately needed changes—as the Kuomintang reactionaries did in China. "Here is a familiar Asian pattern to-day: A tendency towards the polarisation of power at the extreme of right and left."

India is fortunate in having one supremely popular statesman, Prime Minister Nehru, holding a middle position, but the balance is, at least, precarious; it demands the most sympathetic understanding from the West instead of the sharp censure Mr. Nehru's neutralist and socialist convictions have received from some right-wing Americans and the harsh condemnation his conservative caution has received from some left-wing Americans. The West had better make up its minds once and for all that Indian solutions are likely to be vastly different from its own. The West can help, but it cannot dictate—and the help is urgently needed.

One wonders what sort of logic is governing American policy when 54,000,000 dollars is granted to India for technical assistance and 150,000,000 dollars proposed as economic aid for General Franco. Are the dubious military advantages of a shaky dictatorship really considered, to be three times as important as India's mountains climb toward social stability?

COMING AGE OF PLENTY

It is easy to have high hopes for the year 2000. Then there will begin not only a new century but a new millennium. And it is not far off, says Dr. Gerald Wendt as reported in *Sunday Times*. For according to him many of our present children will live to see it. More and more during the next 50 years, they will hope that the millennium will bring a new era of peace and happy living.

Atomic energy is ready to do its part to justify that hope. It could furnish plenty of energy to do the world's work. When it does, industry and prosperity will not be confined to those few nations that have coal and oil underground. Nations will then use atomic fuels, which can easily and cheaply be brought anywhere on earth. One kilogram of this fuel is no bigger than a small lemon, but it can generate as much power as 3,300 tons of coal.

From this single fact comes the prospect of steel mills in South America, of cotton mills in Egypt, chemical industries in India and Indonesia, fertilizer manufacture throughout Asia and therefore better crops and more food. Atomic fuels can provide warmth in cold climates and air-cooling in the tropics, and above all, electricity for cities and homes of all the world. They can bring good highways and electric railroads, vast irrigation projects in areas now arid, new mines and forest development, more productive farms and better living.

All these, for most of the world, depend on a new supply of energy. It will come from the uranium atom.

It is energy that does work and produces goods. A small tractor now does the work of 100 horses but needs no food except gasoline.

A steam engine on a railroad train, or in a factory, has the power of a thousand horses and gets its energy from cheap coal. Present industrial civilization is based on these fuels. But where coal is not cheap, industry can use atomic fuels and engines that have the power of 10,000 or more horses. Working day and night without tiring, atomic power can produce materials, the clothes, and the comfort that men need in every land from Alaska and Siberia to the Antarctic and around the globe.

LEOCILLIN

A new Penicillin ester, discovered by a Danish scientist and perfected recently, claims to be 5 times more effective than ordinary Penicillin in the treatment of pulmonary infections like Pneumonia and lung abscess.

The drug, Leocillin, will be made available in India very soon in large quantities according to a Danish manufacturers' representative in Bombay.

The Danish scientist, Dr. K. A. Jensen's discovery, Leocillin after clinical tests, had been proved of great value in the treatment of Pneumonia and lung abscess which according to doctors, had proved refractory to treatment with ordinary Penicillin and other antibiotics.

1951 DISCOVERIES

During the past year, hundreds of scientific expeditions gained new knowledge from known and unknown corners of the earth. Here are a few of the discoveries made in 1951, as reported by the National Geographic Society:

In northeastern Iran, the bones of three Stone Age people were unearthed where the roof had fallen in on them perhaps 75,000 years ago. They may be the earliest human beings yet discovered, scientists say.

Explorers in Iraq uncovered a 7,000-year-old town site known as Jarmo, reported to be the oldest settled village ever found. Its age was established by radioactive carbon measurement, a new technique that archaeologists are finding extremely valuable in determining the age of plant and animal matter.

In the Arctic and Pacific oceans, scientists discovered undersea mountains 11,000 feet high. And in samples taken from 34,440-foot Cape Johnson Deep off the Philippines, the world's deepest known ocean hole, a Danish round-the-world expedition found life existing six miles beneath the surface of the sea.

A team of French explorers broke all world records for vertical descents underground when they climbed 1,520 feet down into a newly discovered cave in the Pyrenees Mountains near the Spanish border. At the bottom they found a huge hall, which they described as large enough to hold to cathedrals the size of Notre Dame in Paris.

Egypt's discovery of the Avenue of the Sphinxes, near Luxor on the east bank of the Nile River, gave archaeologists renewed hope of finding the tomb of Cleopatra, Egyptian queen who died in 30 B.C.

The American Museum of Natural History reported the discovery of a lost city in the Seistan Basin on the Iran-Afghanistan border. It is a 30-square-mile settlement, seemingly unoccupied for 5,000 years. Pottery found nearby in Pakistan bore markings that may be some form of early alphabet. If so, they will represent the earliest intelligible signs ever found on the Indian sub-continent.

"TALKING BOOKS"

"Talking Books" are special long-playing phonograph records which make both classical and contemporary literature enjoyable to people afflicted with blindness.

A melodious voice, never hoarse, never out of breath, the Talking Book rarely mispronounces a word or syllable. It affords sightless readers an opportunity to select reading matter from a master list of 1,500 titles, including fiction, drama, poetry, biography, travel, art, science, humour, adventure and the most popular book of all—the Bible.

By flicking a handy switch the blind can "read" recorded books produced exclusively for listening—and the range is wide, from ancient Greek and Shakespearean dramas to modern mystery and science fiction. Made possible by an annual appropriation from the United States Congress Talking Books are lent to persons whose vision is so impaired that they cannot read a printed page. Talking Book titles are selected by librarians in the Library of Congress, in co-operation with a committee of Talking Book readers.

In operation, Talking Books work as follows: An applicant borrows a sound reproducing machine from the proper agency in his State (only a small minority own their machines). Then he selects his reading from a catalogue and sends the titles to one of the 28 branch libraries. Later the postman delivers one or more containers, each holding from 10 to 20 double-faced recordings. The average-length book consists of 18 records, or 36 sides, with a reading time of approximately nine hours. However, Tolstoy's *War and Peace* required 238 sides, or 60 hours of reading time. When the original recording of the Bible were out from too frequent "reading" the American Foundation for the Blind re-recorded all 66 books. It took four years to complete this task.

Sergeant (to Irish recruit) "Hurry up there, Pat or you'll be late for parade."

Pat: "I be looking for me belt."

Sergeant: "You're wearing it."

Pat: "Begorra, so I am! If you hadn't told me I would have gone on parade without it."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

The African National Congress has told the South African Premier, Dr. Malan, that the Africans would go ahead with their passive resistance campaign against certain unjust racial laws, on April 6.

They said in a letter to Dr. Malan, made public on February 18, that they had tried all other channels to have the laws repealed and would begin the campaign, as they had planned, on Van Riebeeck Day—the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Cape Province, to be celebrated on April 6.

The letter, signed by Dr. J. S. Moroka, President-General and Mr. W. N. Sisulu, Secretary-General, was in reply to one received from the Prime Minister in which he had warned the Africans that the machinery of the law would be used if the Banto population was incited in a campaign of defiance and disobedience against the Government.

PLIGHT OF INDIANS

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, says that the plight of Indians in South Africa is more serious to-day than at any time since they arrived in the Union.

The operation of the Group Areas Act would mean life without hope and purpose for Indians, he said in his inaugural address to the 20th session of the Congress at Johannesburg and called on the Congress to guide the Indian people in South Africa so that "we may save ourselves from impending debacle."

Dr. S. M. Molema, President of the African National Congress, a leading organisation of Africans in South Africa, opened the session. He mentioned a plan, adopted by the South African Congress, aimed at defying unjust laws in South Africa. "I call on all non-European—Indians, Africans and coloureds to unite against the spate of vicious, repressive, differential legislation which successive Parliaments seem to vie with each other in dishing out."

East Africa

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

East Africa is the most westerly outpost of the Indian diaspora. Indian "Zionism" (which is a matter for the Hindu rather than the Moslem) "looks toward the motherland as the country" where the oppressive Englishman was driven out, and the place to find both political strength and spiritual succour, says Barnet Litvinoff, British journalist, now Press Officer with the Jewish Agency in London in his *Cocktail Party in East Africa*. "The Indian of East Africa is economically successful and therefore generally unpopular. Also, he is educated, organized, and has considerable capacity for leadership. He gets on well enough socially with the African—who has no particular sense of racial inferiority towards Indians—and acts as a kind of intermediary between white and black. In these circumstances the Indian is all one would expect him to be: sensitive, proud, fascinated by Communism, resentful of the Englishman's social domination."

The Indians have aligned themselves with the native Africans and are the articulate organs of native nationalism. They campaign against discrimination and have taken all steps open to them to lift their own political status. They oppose limitation of Indian immigration and refuse to recognize any difference between the policy of the British Government and the conduct of the British settlers. Yet, ironically enough, should there be a program in East Africa it will be directed not against the whites but against the Indians."

The scene was a railway carriage, and a friendly argument was in progress. One of the chief speakers, however, noticing a meek little man in the corner who had not, so far, said anything, asked:

"Well, sir, and do you believe in the survival of the fittest?"

"Certainly not," said the little man, without a smile. "I don't believe in the survival of anybody. I'm an undertaker."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

NEHRU'S CIRCULAR TO CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The Congress President, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, in a circular letter issued on Feb. 14 has stressed the need for the Congress functioning in future as a compact political party with a well defined economic programme and without any factions or sectional groups.

In a 3,000-word circular which he has described as a personal letter and a personal appeal, Mr. Nehru has said:

On no account should factions and sectional groups in the Congress be tolerated in future. We have to function as a disciplined army now, with definite objectives and with continuous work to attain them. Whether directly in the Congress or in associated bodies, we should welcome every person who wants an opportunity to do national work and we should give him or her an opportunity to do so. Thus we will build up our work and our organisation from the roots upwards. We have had too much of functioning on the top only.

On the future policy of the Congress Mr. Nehru has said:

We have to function in future as a compact political party with a well-defined economic programme. We can no longer carry on in a loose and inchoate way, accepting anybody and everybody as a Congress member or a candidate.

After reviewing the defects in the organisation revealed during the elections, Mr. Nehru has said:

It is perfectly clear to me that the Congress as it is organised to-day, is a feeble instrument for carrying out national work more especially among the people.

These elections, he says, have fully justified adult suffrage and the faith we put in our people. I do not mean to say that I have liked all the results of the elections. I am rather taking an overall view, apart from the results of the manner in which our people functioned.

During his tour he found that the Congress organisation was not properly functioning.

While the A.I.C.C. functioned more or less effectively, and some not all of the P.C.Cs. did fairly well, very few of the District Committees functioned properly.

FOOD ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Government of India have decided to set up a Committee of Enquiry to examine the working of the Grow More Food campaign. It will consist of Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, Member, Planning Commission as Chairman and the following members:

Mr. M. P. Patil, Minister for Agriculture, Bombay Government, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics, Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, M.P., Mr. T. N. Singh, M.P., Mr. R. K. Patil, Mr. Dip Narain Sinha, M.L.A., Bihar, Sardar Datar Singh, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, Mr. S. T. Raja, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, will be the Secretary and Mr. M. P. Bhargava, Chief of Agriculture Division, Planning Commissioner, the Joint Secretary.

The Committee will: (1) Examine the categories of G. M. F. schemes for which funds have been sanctioned and the extent to which the utilisation of the funds has been in conformity with the intended purposes;

(2) Assess the relative efficiency of the different categories of schemes for increasing food production in the context of the available means and the prevalent agricultural practices, particularly with respect to the use of fertilisers, compost and improved seeds and taking into account the lag between the grant of money and actual production of the crop;

(3) Enquire whether the follow-up arrangements for demonstrating and teaching the cultivators have been properly organised in the areas in which G.M.F. funds have been spent;

(4) Examine whether the results achieved by the G. M. F. campaign since April 1, 1949 in terms of units of work, acreage benefited, and increased food production over a specified base figure have been commensurate with the scale of expenditure involved;

(5) Suggest measures for ensuring the optimum utilisation of the available production requisites by the cultivators and for checking up on the actual expenditure of money and the results achieved; and

(6) Examine and report on any other matter germane or incidental to the above.

The Committee will have access to such official records as may be required for the purpose of the enquiry, and is authorised to call and examine such witnesses and to undertake such tours as may be necessary for the purpose. The Committee should submit its report as early as possible and in any case within six months.

CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE TO KING GEORGE VI

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in a nation-wide broadcast on February 7, paid tribute to King George VI, who "walked with death as if death were a companion, an acquaintance whom he recognised and did not fear."

Mr. Churchill added:

In the end, death came as a friend and, after a happy day of sunshine and sport, after 'goodnight' to those who loved him best, he fell asleep as every man or woman who strives to fear God, and nothing else may hope to do.

Mr. Churchill, speaking with obvious feeling, sketched the King's life and concluded with a moving reference to the new Queen.

Famous have been the reigns of our Queens. Some of the greatest periods in our history have unfolded under their sceptre.

Now that we have the second Queen Elizabeth, also ascending the throne in her 26th year, our thoughts are carried back nearly 400 years to the magnificent figure who presided over and in many ways, embodied the grandeur and vitality of the Elizabethan Age.

Mr. Churchill's closing words were:

I, whose youth was passed in the august and tranquil glories of the Victorian Era, may well feel a thrill in invoking once more the prayer and anthem, God save the Queen.

Extending compassion and sympathy to King George's consort and widow, Queen Mother Elizabeth, Mr. Churchill said "It was a love match with no idea of pomp or splendour."

May I say speaking with all freedom—that our hearts go out to that valiant woman with the famous blood of Scotland in her veins, who sustained King George through all his toils and problems and brought up with their charm and beauty the two daughters who mourn their father to-day.

The Prime Minister expressed condolence to Queen Mary, widow of King George V, the mother of the late King.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH ON KASHMIR ISSUE

Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, in a broadcast to the people of the State on Feb. 20 said:

Our basic approach and the approach of India to the Kashmir issue is that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide the future of Kashmir and only the people of Kashmir and India and the United Nations are competent to explore the chances of a settlement of this dispute. Pakistan cannot claim to be a party to this issue for its position in Kashmir is that of an aggressor and, consequently, before she can have any say in the matter, she should vacate those areas of the State which are under her military occupation.

Referring to his recent visit to the United Nations he said:

A solution of our problem does not lie with the United Nations but its solution is in the hands of the people of the State. The people whom I met in Paris and London included representatives of the Press, representatives of the different countries in the United Nations and members of the British Parliament. Whatever they had come to know or read through newspapers about Kashmir's progress had greatly impressed them. They were now convinced that India's stand on Kashmir rested on the firm support of a party which had the entire people behind it, a party which had produced a leadership that was bound to lead the State to prosperity and progress."

Speaking about the recent happenings in Jammu, Sheikh Abdullah said:

You must have realised how much capital our external foes have made of this misguided action of a few friends in Jammu during my absence from the State. If you have heard what the enemy has said about the recent unfortunate happenings in Jammu, it must have become clear to you how the actions of a few misguided friends will provide material to the enemy to defame the State and India. Those actions helped neither them nor the State nor India. If at all it did good to any one it is the enemy who has left no stone unturned to enslave us during the last four years.

Concluding Sheikh Abdullah said:

We are determined to emancipate the country from the evils of centuries of economic and political slavery which is responsible for the poverty and the hunger of the people and for the total eclipse of its own proud culture and civilisation. Every one living in the State is an architect of the future of the State and it is upto us to build a glorious future for our land.

THE MADRAS CABINET

The Madras Ministry resigned on Feb. 8.

His Excellency the Governor accepted the resignations of five of the six Ministers defeated in the elections and asked the Chief Minister and five other Ministers to continue to function for the present.

His Excellency has referred the whole matter of the resignations to the President and the arrangement for "Care-taker Ministry" is made, it is announced, pending developments and further consideration of the situation.

The Ministry that is to function is composed of Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja and Messrs. H. Sitarama Reddi, C. Perumalswami Reddi, J. L. P. Roche-Victoria, A. B. Shetty and B. Parameswaran.

The Ministers whose resignations were accepted are: Messrs. B. Gopal Reddi, M. Bhaktavatsalam, Kala Venkata Rao, K. Madhava Menon and K. Chandramouli.

NEHRU'S MAJORITY

Prime Minister and Congress President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been returned to the House of the People by a thumping majority.

The Prime Minister has polled 2,88,571 votes which is believed to be the largest figure secured by any candidate in the country. His 14,899 votes were declared invalid.

Pandi Nehru secured 1,05,462 votes more than the combined total of his four opponents—one Jan Sangh supported independent, one Hindu Mahasabhaite, one Revolutionary Socialist and another independent from Bengal.

SWAMI SITARAM'S STATEMENT

Swami Sitaram and his four colleagues in a joint statement issued on their talks with the Prime Minister and the President said that the Government of India did not appear to be inclined to relax some of the conditions suggested by them previously in regard to the formation of Andhra state.

MR. KHER'S SUCCESSOR IN BOMBAY

Mr. B. G. Kher, retiring Chief Minister of Bombay, has been leader of the Congress legislature Party in that State for 15 years since 1937. The Chief Minister and the Congress Party had made up their minds as to who should succeed Mr. Kher. They had pitched upon the Home Member Mr. Morarji Desai, as the strong man of the Cabinet, to lead the Congress team in the new Government. But the electorate thought differently and their verdict was a bit of a shock. Mr. Desai failed to be elected in his home-constituency in Surat Dt.

The Congress Legislature Party of Bombay meeting on January 28, amended its constitution to enable a non-member to be elected as the Party leader.

The amendment in effect paved the way for Mr. Morarji Desai, the present Home Minister, to become the Chief Minister of the State, according to a Party spokesman tonight.

The amendment, which was passed unanimously, empowered the Party to elect a person who was not member of either House of the Legislature. But it required that such a person should get elected to either House within 6 months.

The leader of the new Congress Legislature Party will be elected when the Party meets some time in the 3rd week of March.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS

The President has been pleased to appoint Major-General Himmatsinhji to be the Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh and Mr. Kasturiranga Santanam to be the Lieutenant Governor of Vindya Pradesh.

It is learnt that Lieutenant Governors will hold office for a period of three years. Their salary has been fixed at Rs. 8,500 plus an allowance of Rs. 500 a month.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

Sri S. R. Sastri, M.A., B.O.L. of the Hindi Prachar Sabha writes:—"One is surprised to read in the local dailies recently about a student seeking the interference by the Courts of Law in a dispute regarding promotion in College. Matters relating to admission of students in College, disciplinary action taken by the principal against the students and the like, have been of late very often brought to the Courts, but nowhere also has been the sacred freedom of educational institutions so seriously challenged. Education nowadays has become a matter of litigation, and even the domain of Alma Mater does not seem to be free from the dominating influence of Law.

The system of education evolved by the University of Madras combines both the Western type of University education and the Gurukula system of our land. Here all students, excepting those who live with their parents, are expected to reside in the hostel where they lead a community life. In many colleges, especially in Missionary colleges, the teachers and the students live together, and by the exemplary personal life they lead the teachers help the students not only in their studies, but also in building up good character. The progress of the students is keenly watched by the teachers, and they are promoted after their performances in the quarterly, half yearly and yearly examinations are carefully judged. Even to the Public Examinations students are sent up only when their day to day progress and the performances in the class examinations are found to be satisfactory. The Principal, with the assistance of the members of his staff, judges the progress of the pupil, and he has unquestionable authority to finally decide the matter regarding promotion. No outside body, including the University, interferes in the decision of the Principal. It is quite probable that all students are not sent up always. If all the students are to be sent up for the examination, irrespective of their attainments in the subjects of study, logic demands, all students appearing for the examinations should also be similarly declared to have

passed without any valuation of their answer papers. To question this power of the principal in a Court of Law, or to challenge the validity of such a decision by him, is undoubtedly trying to exercise outside pressure in the affairs of an educational institution where complete freedom is desired.

It is hoped, all educationists and public men, interested in the real progress of students, will uphold the freedom and liberty of the educational institutions in disposing of such an internal affair as promotion of students without the outside pressure of Courts or political platforms."

OPPORTUNITIES IN U. S. COLLEGES

A recent survey shows that with the aid of scholarships, student loans, and part-time employment in college communities one person in every 61 in the nation is now attending institutions of higher learning.

About one in every 20 U.S. college students has opportunity to have a scholarship or fellowship ranging in value from small sums to the complete cost of a college education. The value of these assistances total \$27 million for under graduate work and \$9,250,000 for more advanced studies. Of the more than 125,000 scholarships for undergraduates, 18,000 are in specified fields. The largest number of scholarships, 8,183, are for music. Engineering follows, with 2,861 scholarships; agriculture, 2,688; education, 2,082; home economics, 740; theology, 646; medicine, 575; religious education and bible 478, fine arts, 460; and law, 411.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Oxford University has decided to break its examination tradition to remove a distinction between men and women students. The Hebdomadal Council which virtually manages the University's affairs decided to admit students to oral examinations in strict alphabetical order instead of in separate groups. This had been the rule ever since women were first admitted to examinations in the last quarter of the 19th century.

REPEAL OF CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, Minister of State for Home Affairs, introduced in Parliament on Feb. 18 a Bill seeking to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act (1924) and certain other laws corresponding to it.

The Bill has been so drafted as to give some time to the Governments of States where the Act is in active operation to enact an alternative measure.

The committee set up by the Government of India towards the end of 1949 to enquire into the working of the Act had recommended its repeal as well as any corresponding Acts in force in any Part B or C State.

It also recommended that before taking such action, legislation should be undertaken for the adequate surveillance and control of all habitual offenders without any distinction based on caste, creed or birth.

The views of the State Governments, it is stated, have so far been generally in favour of the recommendation of the committee. In fact, the Criminal Tribes Act (1924), is already, in practice a dead letter in some States.

In the opinion of the Government, it is sufficient at present to take power to get the Criminal Tribes Act repealed by Parliament leaving the enactment of a Habitual Offenders Act to the State Governments concerned since the enactment of such a measure would have to take into account, local conditions and circumstances.

"THE TIMES" WINS TEST CASE

The Times has won a court action described as a test case involving the freedom of the Press.

A High Court Judge decreed that *The Times* was not guilty of charges brought by the Crown that the newspaper had broken the law in publishing a pro-Conservative advertisement during last October's election.

Under Britain's strict election laws, no expense may be incurred in favour of a political candidate unless the exact

expenditure is declared within limits laid down by the total number of votes in each polling district. The Crown said that *The Times* defaulted by printing the advertisement which was left out of election expenses.

The Times was sued by the Crown jointly with Tronoh Mine Limited who inserted the advertisement and the Mining Company's Secretary, Mr. H. Barrenger.

The Crown said specifically that the defendants unlawfully incurred election expenses in an attempt to secure the election of a Conservative in the twin constituency of the cities of London and Westminster. The constituency was chosen as a test example out of Britain's 625 election districts.

All three defendants pleaded "not guilty", and were discharged.

DECREES PASSED IN PAKISTAN

Parliament on February 14 passed the Law Minister's Bill to render ineffective certain decrees and orders passed by courts in Pakistan against a government in India and to provide an alternative remedy to persons who have secured such decrees or orders. The legislation is called the Indian Independence Pakistan Courts (Pending proceedings) Bill.

Pandit Kunzru and others urged several amendments. Replying to the debate the Law Minister, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, said that Governments in India would not adopt the attitude of ordinary litigants and all cases of hardship would be properly examined. He would not accept the suggestion that the operation of the Bill should be extended to private decrees and private litigants.

The House then adopted the motion for consideration and passed on to clause-by-clause consideration.

The only amendment accepted by the Law Minister and the House was that of Prof. K. T. Shah which sought to make a verbal change in a provision. The Bill was then passed.

U. N. TECHNICAL AID FOR INDIA

The Government of India and the United Nations signed an agreement at Delhi on Feb. 14 authorising the appointment of a U. N. resident technical assistance representative in India.

The representative, who will be initially appointed for one year, will represent the United Nations and its special agencies such as the ILO, the UNESCO, the ICAO and the WHO. He will maintain the closest liaison between the Government of India and the Technical Assistance Board.

His duties will be mainly to assist and advise the Government of India on their requests for assistance with due deference to the relative urgency of the specific projects within the general economic development programme and the resources of technical assistance available with the participating organisations to advise the Technical Assistance Board and to negotiate with the Government of India technical assistance agreements on behalf of the U.N. and its specialised agencies and to assist in ensuring the effective rendering of such assistance.

The U. N. and its specialised agencies will be responsible for the payment of salary and other expenses of the representative.

The Indian Government will provide the representative with an appropriate office and technical and clerical help.

Mr. David Owen, Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N. signed the agreement on behalf of the U. N. and Mr. K. G. Ambagaonkar, Secretary, Finance Ministry, on behalf of India.

BRITISH FIRM'S GESTURE

A British firm has given £40,000 back to its customers because it believes it has made too much money, it was announced.

The company, Cardboard Box Makers, had paid its chief customers two shillings back for every one pound spent during the last six months. Reason is that the company fixed high prices in anticipation of high raw materials costs, then found it could buy its goods more cheaply.

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

The Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh laid before Parliament on Feb. 18 letters formally exchanged between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom extending the agreement on the release of India's sterling balances for a further period of six years, ending June 30, 1957.

The letters incorporate the two agreements entered into earlier.

The first agreement was announced in December, 1950 under which the Government of the United Kingdom agreed to release annually upto 35 million sterling from the balances for a period of six years beginning July 1, 1951.

The second agreement was announced in October 1951 under which an amount of 310 million sterling was to be transferred from No. 2 to No. 1 account. This amount, it was further agreed, was to be used as a currency reserve, to be drawn upon only in an emergency.

INDO-CEYLON TRADE

The Government of India have announced the signing of a trade agreement with Ceylon for 1952.

A Press note issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry says that discussions were held at Colombo in December last between the trade delegations of India and Ceylon with a view to concluding a trade agreement for the exchange of commodities between the two countries and resolving certain outstanding problems affecting Indo-Ceylon trade. Agreement was reached on most of the matters discussed and an exchange of letters has now taken place embodying this agreement with the concurrence of both Governments.

In regard to the exchange of commodities, it has been agreed that subject to the respective import and export regulations, both Governments shall render all reasonable assistance to each other in facilitating the export and import of supplies and commodities covered by the schedules appended to the agreement, as well as to such other goods and commodities as fall within the framework of their current regulations.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The following profile of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, will be read with interest in view of her visit to India at the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru.

When Roosevelt took office as the 32nd President of the United States on March 3, 1933, Mrs. Roosevelt went with him as an untiring helpmate and counsellor and the nation got a First Lady whose achievements in world affairs climbed to even greater heights after her husband's death.

After the death of her husband on April 12, 1945, Mrs. Roosevelt intensified her interest in international, social and political affairs. On December 19, 1945, she was appointed by President Truman to the U. S. delegation to the U. N. General Assembly and is the only U. S. delegate to be appointed to every subsequent session. On April 29, 1946, she was elected chairman of the preliminary Commission on Human Rights, which, upon its establishment in January, 1947, again elected Mrs. Roosevelt as its

chairman. Here Mrs. Roosevelt played a leading role in formulating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the U. N. General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

Mrs. Roosevelt is a versatile column-writer and author. In addition to writing "My Day"—a daily syndicated column—since 1941, she has been conducting a *Ladies' Home Journal* question-and-answer page, "If You Ask Me," in which she has discussed women in politics and public life, advocated child welfare and higher wages and greater prestige for teachers. She has written three books for children: *When You Grow Up To Vote*, *A Trip to Washington With Bobby and Betty* and *Christmas, A Story*. Her other works include her autobiography, *This Is My Story*, *The Moral Basis of Democracy*, and *It's Up To The Women*.

In a poll taken by the Institute of Public Opinion in 1948, Mrs. Roosevelt topped a list of 10 as the "most admired woman living today in any part of the world."



A young Indian lawyer, Miss Ika Paul Pont (left), invites Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to visit the International Children's Center, a United Nations agency in Paris.

GENERAL

QUEEN MOTHER'S MESSAGE

In a moving message from Buckingham Palace on February 17, Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother said:

I want to send this message of thanks to the multitude of people—you who from all parts of the world have been giving me your sympathy and affection throughout these dark days.

I want you to know how your concern for me upheld me in my sorrow, and how proud you made me by your wonderful tributes to my dear husband, great and noble King. No man had a deeper sense of duty and of service and no man was more full of compassion for his fellow men.

He loved you all, every one of you, most truly. That you know was what he always tried to tell you in his yearly messages at Christmas, that was the pledge he took at the sacred moment of his Coronation 10 years ago.

Now I am left alone to do what I can to honour that pledge without him. Throughout our married life we have tried, the King and I to fulfil with all our hearts and all our strength, the great task of service laid upon us. My only wish now is that I may be allowed to continue the work we sought to do together.

I commend to you our dear daughter, give her your loyalty and devotion. In the great and lonely station to which she has been called she will need your protection and your love. God bless you all and may He, in his wisdom, guide us safely to our true destiny of peace and goodwill.

WORLD FILM FESTIVAL

Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated the International Film Festival in Delhi on Feb. 21.

Addressing delegates of 23 countries in the vast National Physical Laboratory auditorium, Mr. Nehru said, "We must try to use the powerful medium of film for good purposes as far as we can". Among those good purposes he mentioned mutual understanding and development of friendly contacts between nations.

Somehow or other in this world of ours to-day, said Mr. Nehru, while on the one hand everybody recognised the need for friendliness and everybody desired it, yet by some strange compulsion of events "we act contrary to that urge of ours".

For, too many of our activities are intended, consciously or unconsciously, to run down others. Occasionally, of course, others might not be worthy of admiration, but I am quite sure in my mind that the person who runs down the

other is not worthy of admiration and he does not help in the slightest in solving any problem or in converting the other. May I suggest to you in all humility that you refrain from running down people. That in itself would be a tremendous gain, for you have great power in your hands and you can make a difference in what people think and what people do.

Emphasising the significant part which the film industry played in the development of ideas, good and bad, Mr. Nehru said he would like to see this business develop on the right lines, namely of taking the people out of their drab and dreary surroundings, and of teaching them the artistic and aesthetic values of things around.

INDIAN ATHLETES FOR HELSINKI

The Selection Committee of the Amateur Athletic Federation of India have provisionally selected the following athletes in the order of merit for representing India in the forthcoming Helsinki Olympic Games. The events for which they have been chosen are mentioned against the respective names.

Men:—

Lavy Pinto of Bombay and Gabriel of the Services for 100 metres and 200 metres sprint.

Surat Singh of Delhi for the marathon race.

Mehnga Singh of PEPSU for high jump.

Sohan Singh of the Services for 800 metres race.

Gulzara Singh of PEPSU for 3000 metres steeplechase.

Balwant Singh of the Services for 100 metres run.

Women:—

Mary d'Souza of Bombay for 100 metres and 200 metres run.

Nilima Ghose of Bengal for 100 metres and 80 metres hurdles.

It is stated these athletes may be sent subject to funds being available. They will be trained in a camp and the result of that training will be taken into consideration before final announcement of the athletic team.

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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 Kavarajas, 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-Shiromani" 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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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 Saheba 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. Ruehpaul, 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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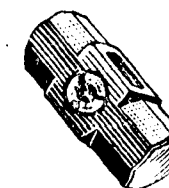
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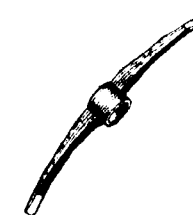
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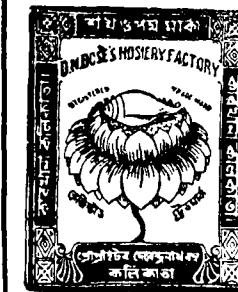
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