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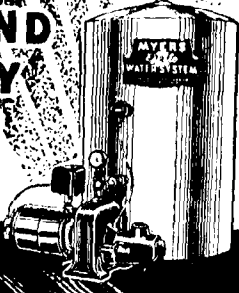
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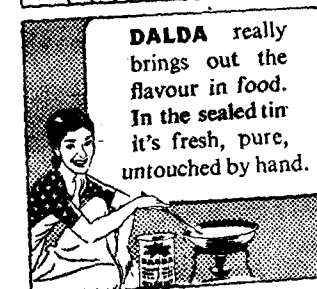
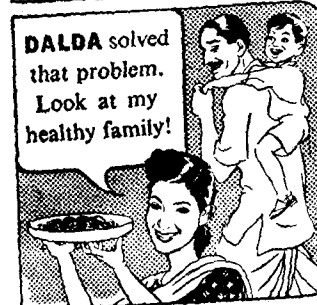
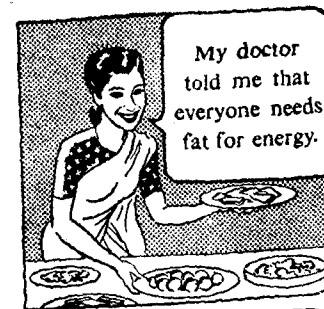
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MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

BY MR. JOHN CAULFEILD

FOR the last three months Dr. Frank Buchman has been in India with an international group of nearly two hundred—many of whom have made their mark in different walks of life. This number also includes the casts of four stage plays which they have presented in Bombay, New Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Madras. It is well known that this formidable undertaking (the transportation problem of these travellers of all ages with their ten tons of stage equipment would suffice to daunt any but a man of courage) was launched at the invitation of eighteen eminent Indian citizens in Government, industry and labour. It is also known that Moral Re-Armament has developed in little more than thirty years to be a world force which has influenced the thinking and living of millions of people in five continents as well as of many eminent personalities of East and West. But there are certain questions which even a well-informed person may be unable to answer accurately. In the answers to some of these questions reside both the fascination and the effectiveness of MRA. Here are some of them.

(1) When, how and why did Moral Re-Armament begin?

Moral Re-Armament came into being in the first quarter of the present century as the answer to a deep need in the life of our times. It came as the answer to division, to the conflicts of plans, parties and personalities, to the failure in moral standards which undercuts our best efforts to improve the lot of mankind. It began when one man, sick of preaching reform to others without result, decided to begin in earnest the reform of his own life by the

acceptance of an absolute standard of conduct. His name was Frank Buchman. Thirteen years later, after much travel



MR. FRANK BUCHMAN

in different parts of the world (including India and China) and much experience in dealing with men's deepest needs, he began in Oxford to train the men who were to constitute his first travelling team.

When, in 1938, in a speech delivered in the working-class East End of London, he launched his first appeal for the Moral Re-Armament of the nations, Frank Buchman was already a world figure with a growing reputation and, at

his back, an experienced force of men and women at work in many countries.

We can, we must and we will (he said) generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world.

Thousands responded to his call, and from that time the training of the world force of Moral Re-Armament has gone steadily forward.

(2) *What is it exactly? A movement? a political party? a philosophy of life?*

"It's not an institution,

"It's not a point of view;

"It starts a revolution

"By starting one in you."

MRA has no membership, no president or general secretary, no subscription dues. It is a world force with a world answer. In the words of its founder, "Moral Re-Armament is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite." It is an idea that grips and transforms the lives of men and gives them the promise of a new and better world. The promise of MRA is realistic: it goes to the root of the problem and begins world-change with a change in human nature.

"MRA means personal and national moral rearmament," says Frank Buchman.

It stands for a prejudice-free level of thinking. It stands for a common denominator of immediate constructive action for everyone, above party, race, class, creed, point of view or personal advantage. It means honesty, purity, unselfishness and love absolutely, personally, nationally... MRA means power to change people—our enemies as well as our friends—the other fellow and the other nation. It is good for everyone, but necessary for us.

(3) *What does it aim to do?*

Frank Buchman's aim has never changed. In 1934 he described it as a new social order under the dictatorship of the spirit of God, making for better human relationships, for unselfish co-operation, for cleaner business, cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonisms.

In 1949 he said:

Moral Re-Armament has the tremendous uniting power that comes from change in both East and West. It gives the full dimension of change: economic change, social change, national change, international change—all based on personal change. It creates the personal opinion that can change the fate of nations. It presents a force adequate to remake the world. It shows how to unite nation and nation, and creates inspired democracy in families, industries, cabinets and nations. It is the inspired living that makes nations think and live.

India's Minister of Planning, Gulzarilal Nanda, adds:

MRA will not have done its job until the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in every part of the world.

And speaking of the next five years in India he says,

We shall be defeated unless we can unite internally to tackle unemployment, poverty and want.

MRA, he says, provides

a visual education in a way that will unite our people.

(4) *What has it already done?*

The reader is referred to Peter Howard's "The World Rebuilt" for a comprehensive picture. Meanwhile here are a few points:—

It has brought healing to the age-old bitterness between France and Germany. Both these countries have decorated Frank Buchman in recognition of this fact. In December 1952 in New Delhi he was invested by the German *Charge d'affaires* with the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit.

It has brought peace and understanding to the strike-ridden British docks. In October 1951 the London Shipping Trade Journal *Fairplay* stated:

It was reported that several former active members of the self-styled 'London Port Workers' Committee—the body which instigated and 'directed' the dock strike in 1949 which cost Britain losses estimated at well over £200,000,000—had since enlisted in MRA and had been instrumental, in that capacity, in averting a similar strike this year.

It is bringing an answer to racial bitterness and injustice in Africa. Last year, for the first time in African history, an interracial conference was held under the auspices of MRA. B. O. N. Eluwa, Under-Secretary of the Ibo States Union (four million members) in Nigeria, a man who has made every possible sacrifice in the struggle for national freedom, proclaims:

When I met MRA my whole conception of the world was flooded with new light. It is the highest form of patriotism. It is a new civilisation in the making.

Manilal Gandhi publicly stated that he had seen MRA "beginning to unite people and bring peace, unite men above race, class and points of view" and he adds: "It has given us new hope and strength in our dark days."

It has answered many of the problems of industry and between management and labour in the coalfields, steel plants, airlines, textiles and other industries. Where MRA is applied, grievances vanish, conditions improve, and a new atmosphere is created which quickly affects production and wages. A labour leader, on seeing the effect of Moral Re-Armament on the conduct of management in industry, exclaimed:

This goes far beyond what I had hoped to see happen long after the success of the Socialist revolution.

One of the founders of the communist party in Norway says:

MRA ends class-war by removing its causes. It is the next great advance in the historic progress of the workers of the world.

(5) *How is it financed?*

Anyone who wants to can contribute to the cost of carrying the work of Moral Re-Armament forward. For those who have reason to be grateful for it, it is natural to contribute materially. For the growing number throughout the world who regard MRA as the best security against atomic war and bloodshed, it is the soundest of all investments. For everyone it is a chance to have a part, great or small according to his possibilities, in securing a better world for future generations of every class and every race. As a matter of historical fact, Moral Re-Armament has always been sustained by sacrifice and self-giving. The full-time workers of MRA receive no pay of any kind; most of them have poured into it every material resource they possessed. Thousands of others make regular gifts to keep them at work.

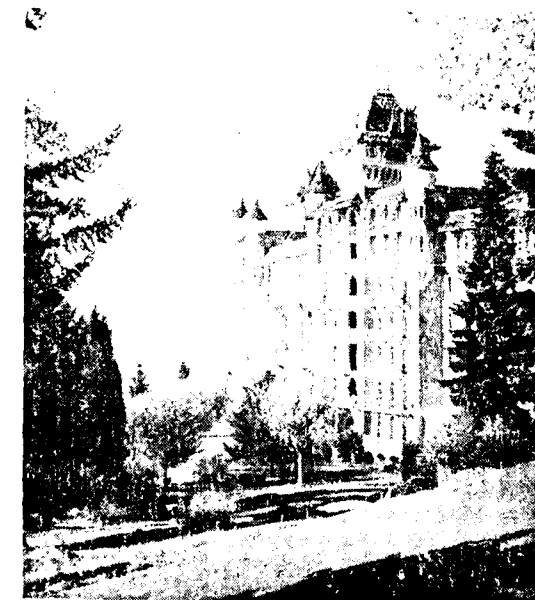
(6) *What does it demand of the individual?*

The basis of MRA in individual life is obedience to God. A time of quiet—half an hour or an hour—every morning before the day begins, and the discipline of writing down the thoughts which come during that time so as to keep a record of the correction and direction received—such are the means by which the men and women of MRA keep their lives as far as they can in tune with the will of God. This implies an unconditional decision on the part of each one to do all that may be asked of him. Nothing is too great or too

small. MRA does not ask you to give time or money. It does ask you to put all your time and all your money at God's disposal to be used the way He wants it used.

(7) *What is the place of MRA in contemporary history?*

The world is passing through a period of revolutionary change. New nations are coming to birth or growing to maturity; new forces are at work to mould the future of mankind. Technical discoveries and improvements in communications have transformed the character of society. The sliding scale of moral values to which we have accustomed ourselves betrays us at every turn. Division and confusion weaken and blind us.



HEADQUARTERS OF MRA, CAUX

MRA means matching the way we live to our highest ideals. It is based on the simple truths that all men accept, and brings with it the climate of freedom and discipline which all men long for. It is for everyone everywhere. No man and no group have proprietary rights in MRA: it belongs to God.

May it not be that this simple but dynamic way of life is destined to provide the missing key to unity for our tormented human race?

THE BRITISH LEGACY IN INDIA

BY MR. AUSTIN A. D'SOUZA, M.A., B.T.

THE sun is beginning to set on the British Empire. After over 200 years of unchallenged and uninterrupted supremacy, perhaps the greatest Empire of all time has entered upon its period of decline and fall. True to her tradition of never knowing when she is beaten, Great Britain, though dead as an Imperial power, refuses to lie down, and her statesmen have begun to talk in terms of an Empire of Influence to replace the Empire of Power which she has indubitably lost for ever. What are Britain's chances of establishing this Empire of Influence? Only a study of her past achievements in this direction in the areas which she dominated can suggest the answer.

Of these, India, 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown,' is the best exemplar, revealing as it does the mixed blessings of the British rule, at its best and at its worst. Great Britain swayed the destinies of the 400 million people of this vast sub-continent for over two centuries, before she was forced to vacate and make way for the rightful owners. Since Indians gained control of their own house, there has been in some quarters a reaction against everything British as being "symbols of foreign imperialism" and a nostalgic desire to return to the Pre-British period of Indian history, taking up the threads of the nation's growth from there and building up a more Hindu culture and civilization to replace the hybrid culture and civilization prevalent in the India of today. The views of these die-hards and traditionalists are however unpopular with the majority of the progressive thinkers of the country who realize that one cannot turn the clock back. They realize that a shortsighted attempt to "purify" modern Indian culture of all western elements would be an operation that would in all probability prove fatal, for these elements are in many cases not mere accretions but have become a vital and integral part of Indian life and thought. The real task before the country is to separate the wheat from the chaff, to keep all that is worth

preserving in British culture, and to rid the country of all that is meretricious and harmful. Three questions therefore naturally arise. What is the exact nature and extent of the British legacy to India? How much of it is worth preserving? And, how much of it is likely to endure 100 years hence?

Though Britain ruled India for over two centuries, Whitehall never really took much interest in the political problems of the country, unless they were forced upon her notice, and it was said that the politicians who ruled England and the Empire in the 18th and 19th Centuries would rather lose India than a division in the House of Commons. The "nation of shopkeepers" the workshop of the world, was interested primarily in India as a commercial proposition, as a cheap source of raw materials for her factories and a market for her finished goods. The Flag followed trade in India, and commercial interests continued to dominate the political field till the early 20th Century when the rise of the nationalist movement in India, led by Mahatma Gandhi, forced the British to take stock of the political future of the country. Trade being their main concern in India, the British very rapidly developed all those externals of western civilization essential for the promotion of trade and commerce. The Pax Britannica, the maintenance of internal law and order, the excellent Administrative Service "the steel frame of India", the network of roads, railways and communications, the ports and dock-yards, and the investment of British capital in fostering on a limited scale, native industries—these and others were the first fruits of the British raj in India. They were brought into being primarily that the wheels of British trade and commerce with India might run as smoothly, efficiently and cheaply as possible. This urban, industrial civilization has been left behind by the British. In the past it has been of great benefit to India in giving her peace and ordered government, in providing work for millions of her subjects, and in

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increasing to some extent national wealth and prosperity. Since the sudden "death" of the British rule in India, this part of her legacy has also been of great immediate value in helping India to tide over a difficult transition period. The machine has not worked as smoothly since the British left for a great many reasons, still it has been a great boon to the country in her struggle to set her house in order.

Britain's cultural legacy to India is more difficult to estimate, because it is more intangible. Perhaps her greatest and most enduring gift to India has been the English language. India's debt to the "tongue that Shakespeare spoke" is incalculable—it unified the country and gave birth to both national consciousness and the urge to freedom, it caused a renaissance of vernacular literatures, it provided a key to the treasures of western education, literature and Science and furnished India's main window on the outside world. When Lord Macaulay decided in 1832 that Higher Education in India should be in the medium of English, he foresaw that a study of the literature and Science of the West would, sooner or later, lead to a desire for western political and economic institutions. It did—and the concept of Secular Democracy and the Welfare State, which are enshrined in India's New Constitution are, after the English language and literature, Britain's most precious legacy to India. British industrial economy has also left its impact on the predominantly rural character of India, and people like Jawaharlal Nehru see in rapid industrialization and in the rapid mechanization of India's agriculture on the British pattern, India's only hope to achieve a stable economy, and to provide work and a decent standard of living for her starving millions. And again India's Judicial System is predominantly British in character and inspiration. And her Civil and Criminal Laws are based on those of Great Britain.

In other elements of culture, too, the British have influenced India, to a greater or less degree. Indian higher education is modelled on the British

system; in matters of dress, manners and mode of living British influence is clearly visible, especially in the towns; and Indian literature, music, painting, architecture and sculpture, while remaining characteristically Indian, have all felt the influence of the theory and practice of the fine arts in England.

Christianity is another great British—or rather European—legacy to India. The British made a great mistake when they made the Church of England the Established Church in India. This step identified Christianity with the West as a 'foreign imperialist importation' which obscured its universal character, and was an obstacle to its universal appeal. With official backing the Established Church made some headway, but, with the departure of the British and its disestablishment, it has been very hard hit. The other Protestant sects have made better progress; the Roman Catholic Church, especially, grows daily in power and influence, for it has always identified itself intimately with the people, particularly the poorer and more exploited sections. Christian missionaries of all sects have done much for India. They have been pioneers in the vitally important (and comparatively neglected by the Government!) fields of Education, Health, rural uplift and social welfare work in towns and villages. The actual number of converts to Christianity is small—about 6 million—but the influence of its religious and moral ideas over the educated most of whom have been educated in Christian schools and colleges, and the selfless lives of the Christian missionaries among the poor and the forgotten, have made a deep impression on the essentially spiritual mind of India. Mahatma Gandhi was tremendously influenced by Christian ideas and ideals and was a model Christian in his life; the same is true of many of India's people among the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant.

The British legacy to India at its best has been invaluable. But there is also another, and not so pleasant, side to the picture. British education and learning though benefitting a few, widened the gap between the elite and the masses,

the rulers and ruled. The impact of Western 'progressive' thought destroyed the traditional faith and moral standards and customs of many an educated Indian, creating a dangerous vacuum and turning him into an agnostic or a cynic. The lure and market value of western manners and customs during the time of the British led many Indians to ape superficial and often harmful British modes of living and to acquire their vices rather than their virtues. The industrialization of the country increased the nation's wealth, it also created the sprawling slums and the sub-human conditions of living in the large industrial towns. The unwholesome aspects of the British legacy to India are, fortunately, confined to the towns—unfortunately the benefits of British culture and civilization are also very largely confined to the towns. The villages of India which house 85 per cent. of her population, for the most part shared very little in the British

legacy. This has been their loss, as well as, in some respects, their gain.

How much of Britain's legacy to India is likely to endure, and to provide material and spiritual succour for succeeding generations of Indians. Some aspects, we feel certain, have come to stay—British Science, technology and industrialisation; The British system of Law; the English language and literature; the British pattern of democratic government, and Christianity—Indians may abuse their former masters at times, but they are also grateful for the benefits that the British conferred on their country. In fact the association between India and Britain, now that it is an association of equals and not of master and slave, seems to be growing closer and more intimate than it ever was in the past. The British have quit India; they will never be forgotten and the best elements of their legacy to India will endure for all time.

THE MUSIC ACADEMY, MADRAS

SILVER JUBILEE CONFERENCE AND FESTIVAL

BY DR. V. RAGHAVAN,

Secretary, Music Academy, Madras.

THE Music Academy, Madras, founded as the outcome of the music festival held as an adjunct of the 1927 Congress Session is one of the important cultural institutions, not only in the city but in the whole of the area of Carnatic music. The age of the stalwarts of the field of Carnatic music had passed; the numerous traditional aristocratic courts where this art was fostered had given place to the popular *Subhas* which had grown as the mainstay of this art. A slow lapse in standards, and decay of power and devotion to tradition and practice were evident; theoretical knowledge and critical exposition (*lakshana*) were also in a disorganised state, and valuable forms (*lakshyas*) were getting out of vogue; nothing was more necessary at this juncture than to found a Music Academy, and such a body came into

being and has, in the last quarter of a century, contributed to the safeguarding of that art more than any other body. In fact, it is the pre-eminent and pioneering body in this line, for whatever the association started or conference held later in the South, the archetype has been the Music Academy.

First and foremost among the achievements of the Academy stands its annual Conferences in which musicians and musicologists met together and discussed questions pertaining to the science and art of music; the most fruitful of these discussions is the codification of the Ragalakshanas, and time and again, Hindusthani visitors have borne testimony to the fact that the like of this was not to be had in any other part of the country. The annotated programmes of the concerts arranged by the Academy

contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about the composers and *Ragas*; the selected programmes brought into vogue many rare *kritis*; the present increased prominence gained by Dikshitar's compositions is due to the Academy; during the Sri Tyagaraja Centenary Conference in 1946 the Academy's restriction of the concerts to the Saint's compositions proved to be a useful stock-taking of the extent of the Tyagaraja-repertoire of our musicians. It was the Academy which took the initiative for according a due place to Tamil Songs in the concert—programmes; and its detailed explanatory programmes and the work of those connected with the Academy were mainly responsible for the renaissance in *Boarata Natya* which these last two decades have witnessed. The limitation of the Tala-accompaniments, and the request to musicians to devote adequate attention to *Alapa*, *Mandra-samhara* and such other essential features, have promoted the refinement of taste and concentration on higher aspects of the art. By monthly and annual free concerts a large body of rising musicians have been encouraged. The Academy has been responsible for the rise in the status and honour of the votaries of the art. It was asked in one of the Papers whether the Academy could boast of having brought up any outstanding musician; while the Academy has no *Asthana-Vidvan* of its own, and one of its greatest features is its non-partisan character, it can well point out that its period of activity has been marked with the rise into glory of a genius like Palghat Mani and of front-rank vocalists like Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer and G. N. Balasubrahmanyam B.A (Hons.), all of whom are intimately connected with the Academy.

It was again during this period of the Academy's work that music was introduced, through the initiative of those connected with the Academy as a subject of general and special study in the Madras University. The Academy itself organised and is conducting a Government-recognised Teachers' College of Music. On the side of publication, the Academy brought to light the three

basic Sanskrit texts forming the foundation of the Carnatic system, and is maintaining the only high class research Journal of all India in the field of Indian music. Competitions, encouragement to new compositions, financial assistance to literary work, affiliation and co-ordination of musical institutions, supply of music-information,—in fact no line of activity has escaped the Academy's attention in its zeal for advancing the cause of the art. One thing it has set above all, compared to other bodies, is fastidiousness of standards; this has cost it some popularity, involved it in some controversy and estrangement of a few artistes, but the objective approach of the Academy and the justice of its stand are today more than vindicated by the come-round of all those that drifted apart and their unequivocal appreciation today of the service that the disinterested workers of the Academy have been discharging in the sole interest of the art.

The completion of twentyfive years of sustained work of such varied nature is no small achievement and the Silver Jubilee Session that came off in the December of 1952 was a celebration commensurate with the history and



KARAIKUDI SAMBASIVA IYER

record of work of the Academy. The first speciality of this Conference was that the doyen of our *Vainikas*, Sri Karaikudi Sambasiva Iyer, accepted the Presidentship of the Silver Jubilee

Session; what importance he lent to the Jubilee can only be deduced by imagining how much less signal it would have all been if on such a momentous occasion, a Mahavidvan like him, ripe in age and art, had not been the President. His Presidential address, as was only proper, laid stress on tradition and training. The Governor of Madras declared open on the 19th December 1952 the Jubilee celebrations which went on till 1st January 1953. Fifty-two concerts were held, providing for categories of musicians who could not be previously included. Thanks to the Railway Concessions extended by Government to artistes and experts, there was a great gathering, and among North Indian musicians and Scholars were Pt. Ravi Sankar, Delhi, Prof. Robindralol Roy Srimati Malavika Roy of Patna, Sumati Mutatkar of Nagpur, Mr. Alain Danielou of Benares, and Sri Kapilesvari of Bombay. No department of music or no part of the country was ignored, and, as if at the inspiration of the President, the Vina concerts this session were unusually large in number. The musicians showed their full-hearted co-operation by singing free and as a token of their tribute to the Academy presented to the Institution a large-size oil portrait of its Executive President, Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, which Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer unveiled. In the Conference-part, special arrangements were made to present recitals and expositions of those phases of music which form the landmarks of its history: The President himself played a *Saman*-chant; *Tevaram* and *Divyaprabandham* were recited; *Gita Govinda* was sung by young Panigrahi from Jayadeva's own province, Orissa; the *Kirtanas* of *Purandaradas* and the *Talappakkam* Compositions, and the *Padas* of *Kshetragna* were expounded; and there were special demonstrations in the department of *Tala* and *Pallavi*, the chief of which was the *Simhanandana Pallavi* of *Maha Vaidyanatha Iyer* done by Mudikondan Venkatarama Iyer.

At the conclusion of the Conference, the Academy's *Sadas* was held at which, Sri Kasturi Srinivasa presiding, honour was shown to the President of the year,

and four others, Nallur Narayanaswami Iyer, traditional repository of *Bharata Natya* lore, Papanasam Sivan, leading and pioneer Tamil Composer, Jalatarangam Ramanayya Chetti and Srimati Jayammal, the repository of the *Dhnam* School and heritage of music.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee, the Academy brought out, besides the Journal, a consolidated *Summary of the Ragakshanas* discussed at its twenty-five Conferences, and a special *Souvenir*, containing a record of the Academy's history articles, the whole programmes of the Season, and a big pictorial supplement in which, with great labour, besides tricoloured portraits of the five leading Composers, a large number of pictures of old musicians has been collected and published.

The Silver Jubilee of the Music Academy is not yet over; unaided by any official help and sustaining itself only with the help of its own members and patrons, the Academy built up its reserves and is now the possessor of a site on which it proposes to raise its own Silver Jubilee Hall, of which, shortly, the President of the Union, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, will be laying the foundation stone.

POEM FOR A NEW YEAR

BY MR. F. R. STANLEY

Now the bells toll for the year that has flown;
past year of 'gay and sad, of hopes and fears;
faint, muffled chimes for yesterdays; our own
past yesterdays of loveliness and tears;
and you, who weep with me because the dreams
you dreamed have vanished with the stars,
look up, look up! for the blue night streams
into bright day and sunlight's jewelled bars.

One crystal chime now harks for you and me;
one guiding star of faith, and hope and love;
and as the night, star-sandalled treads the sea,
one whisper to our hearts from heaven above:
Saying "O lovely world of night and day
be lovelier; another year has come to stay."

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

ITS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

BY DR. V. S. KRISHNA

[The Andhra University having completed twenty-five years of her progressive existence celebrated her Silver Jubilee on January 5. In the following article in the *Hindu*, Dr. V. S. Krishna, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, takes stock of what has been well done and what has yet to be done.—ED. I. R.]

THE Andhra University came into existence in 1926 after discussions lasting over a decade. Owing to disputes over the location of its headquarters and the determination of the centre or centres for the concentration of higher learning and research, no appreciable progress was made during the first five years. With the opening of the first of the University Colleges in 1931, the first step was taken for the realisation of the main objectives of the University. Since then it had to face many trials and tribulations which with men of average ability at the helm, would have produced a stunted growth, but the University had the unusual good fortune of having two outstanding Vice-Chancellors in succession *viz.*, Dr. C. R. Reddy and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, whose great vision was combined with practical wisdom of the highest order. Even during the darkest days they did not allow the University to swerve from the path of progress; marked improvements were made both in the Great Depression and during the period of wartime exile. Nevertheless, even in the brightest years all were conscious of the inadequacy of the available resources.

The statutory grants provided for the University in 1930 (*viz.*, a capital grant of Rs. 27 lakhs, a non-recurring building grant of Rs. 7½ lakhs and an annual grant of Rs. 1½ lakhs) would have maintained a University of the affiliating type. The University was, however, started with the intention of becoming a teaching residential institution with specialised courses in various branches of technology. Institution of some of these courses was made possible by the princely benefaction of the late Raja-saheb of Jeypore who made an annual contribution of Rs. 1 lakh towards the cost of maintaining the College of Science and Technology, and by the

generous help of local bodies in the Andhra area which have been paying for the maintenance of three teaching posts and several studentships, scholarships and fellowships. The Advisory Government introduced a welcome change in the attitude towards the University.

GOVERNMENT AID

The need for providing Governmental assistance for further developments was recognised, and since that time grants have been given for specific purposes. The Union Government has also been rendering financial assistance to the Universities and this University is one of the first to get assistance for the development of the Technology Department. These earmarked grants have enabled the University to organise instruction and research in some important branches of science, but the absence of block grants for general purposes has produced a marked disparity in the rate of progress between the older and newer branches of learning. It has also been responsible for the indefinite postponement of the question of the provision of amenities common to the staff and students of all departments.

At the time of the Silver Jubilee we should consider not only what has so far been done but also what remains to be done. The first is comparatively easy, but the second is not so. We have to consider for the latter purpose not only the original objectives which have either not been realised at all or only been partially fulfilled but also the new problems that arise spontaneously out of the work that is being done in the laboratories and also those that are presented by the changing social environment. Many of the factors are dynamic and their exact requirements are revealed only gradually. Hence it is not possible to make calculations in advance.

The two reports on which the Andhra University Act was based *viz.*, Govindaraghaya Iyer's and Statham's stressed four points with regard to the development of the new University. As the Andhra students found it inconvenient to go to Madras for higher studies, facilities should be provided in the Andhra area for taking up honours and post-graduate courses in all branches of learning. The new University should also provide courses which had livelihood value like technology, engineering and agriculture. Further, so far as honours and post-graduate courses were concerned, there should be concentration, and provision should be made for the students and teachers to reside in the campus. Lastly Telugu language should be developed not only to develop the Andhra culture but also to make it a fit medium through which modern science could be studied and the modern technological ideas could be passed on to the masses.

With regard to the provision of older branches of study, the University has made significant progress. There are yet some subjects which do not find a place in the higher studies organised in the University area. There is urgent need for the organisation of a department of Sanskrit, which should ultimately include all indological subjects, and a department of domestic science. Attempts are being made for enlisting the support of temples in the Andhra area for starting a Sanskrit department. For instituting an honours course in domestic science, it is necessary to find at least Rs. 3 lakhs for building and equipment and about half a lakh per annum to meet recurring expenditure.

Of the technical courses recommended by the two Committees the responsibility for organising courses in engineering and agriculture has been assumed by the State Government. The University has a department of technology and a department of pharmacy, which have been well equipped with a generous grant from the Union Government. It is, however, considered necessary to add at least two more special subjects, and experts have suggested that we should organise courses in fuel technology and

paints and plastics. For this purpose a non-recurring expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 30,000 have to be incurred.

No appreciable progress has been made in the matter of provision of residential accommodation. We have four permanent structures for students which were originally designed to accommodate 140 students, but now about 300 students are living there. Another structure to accommodate 100 students is nearing completion. Provision of accommodation for at least 500 more students is an urgent necessity. For this purpose a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is required. Further, we have no permanent residences for teachers. We have to construct 150 buildings which would cost about Rs. 25 lakhs.

The work so far done to develop technical literature in Telugu is not imposing. The University has published about four books of this kind which have received attention, but they are the products of individual efforts, not of concerted endeavours of technical men. To standardise the terms for the country as a whole, it might take a few years to commence systematic work in the field. No estimate could now be given of the cost of getting standard works written and published in all subjects.

ADVANCED STUDY OF SCIENCE

A dynamic institution like a university cannot be confined to the realisation of objectives laid down 25 years back. The advanced work done in the three original science departments has produced several off-shoots which have become an organic part of the whole structure. For instance, on the physics side alone we had to constitute three new departments, *viz.*, Applied Physics, Mathematical Physics, and Geophysics. The work that is being done in these branches would produce more off-shoots which have to be nurtured.

Similar problems are presented by the rapid advance of science. New problems are being presented whose study is of interest to more than one basic science. Unless provision is made for the study of these problems there would be stagnation in the older departments. . .

NATIONALIST REVOLT IN KENYA

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

ACCORDING to *The Times* special correspondent in Kenya nationalism in Kenya appears to contain many features in common with nationalism in the Gold Coast, though the intelligentsia there are less numerous and the mass of the people are more backward than Gold Coast Africans. In view of the fact the parallel between Kenya and Gold Coast in some cases is so close that the political commentators are sometimes led to believe that there is conscious imitation.

The Kenya African Union, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, and the Mau Mau are said to be the main sources from which unrest has stemmed in Kenya. Besides Indians and Europeans, both in Kenya and beyond its borders have given some help to the nationalist movement in the form of advice. *The Times* correspondent in Kenya states: "There is no evidence whatsoever of Moscow intervention by the smuggling of arms and money across the Abyssinian border."

According to the British authorities the interregnum which took place between the departure of the ex-Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell at the end of June 1952 and the arrival of Sir Evelyn Baring at the end of September accentuated mal-administration in Kenya. They state that there was lack of co-ordination between districts, departments and the centre, and the government was slow to act after the alarm signals were hoisted.

It is reported that about ninety per cent of the Kikuyu must at present be accounted members of Mau Mau. There are endless ramifications of this organisation through the shops, the Press and the transport system. In Nairobi on the outskirts of the Kikuyu reserves an insecure urban proletariat seems to retain a footing on the land as security against unemployment and old age. But it has little control over the spread of anarchism. According to the British political circles the land question and the faulty system of local native authorities have accelerated subversion in the rural areas. The British administration is reported to have tried to introduce in the Kikuyu

area indirect rule by local chiefs. But this experiment in most cases has ended in a failure because of the fact that the chiefs selected by the British administration tend to be regarded as agents of Government rather than leaders of the people. Besides among the Kikuyu a sense of grievance over land is highly developed. All these factors appear to induce a frame of mind receptive to political agitation. A well-known journalist observes: "Among the few educated Africans the failure of the Europeans to establish a *modus vivendi* with them in social matters has played an equivalent part."

Mau Mau of which something like 90 per cent of the Kikuyu must now be accounted members established itself in a highly secretive tribe "whose traditional method of organization before the European came," a historian points out "was on the grapevine system, with no established hierarchical chain of command." But the fundamental question which we shall have to answer is whether the leaders of the Kenya African Union actively promoted this organisation.

It is reported that even before the arrest of its leaders on October 21 the Kenya African Union was showing signs of fission. Jomo Kenyatta was leading the extremist wing of the Union. He was by far the most influential African leader in Kenya. The moderate wing of the Union, on the other hand, is led by Elind Mathu. But he was neither an office-holder of the Union nor had a personal following. A Journalist writes: "He is a Balliol man who has given good service to Kenya in the past, and achieved the distinction of becoming the first African member of the Governor's Executive Council. He has failed to play any significant part in the present crisis and stands now discredited by Europeans and Africans alike."

It is learnt that in the past a growing discontent at the exclusive domination of the Kikuyu accentuated fissions in the Kenya African Union. Hence there is

significance in the fact that the present principal provisional officers of the Union all belong to different tribes. A report from Kenya states that Mau Mau supports KAU. It is learnt that KAU leaders have gladly accepted this support and have actively promoted the Mau Mau.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association is the largest group of the independent schools which like the Ghana Schools in the Gold Coast carry the gospel of nationalism far and wide into the villages, and particularly to the younger generation. It seems to us that

the Kenya African Union might well have remained a townmen's body with little following in the countryside but for the use made of the independent schools. In the schools the teachers, it is learnt, supply the students with literature condemning European land-ownership in the High lands. Not only that. They also preach anti-Christian doctrines. All these factors are mainly responsible for the troubles in the Kikuyu areas of Kenya, which may be regarded as a phase in the struggle of African nationalism to assert itself.

GENERAL CARIAPPA

BY SRI SHYAMA CHARAN KALA

AS the first Indian C-in-C, General Cariappa maintained the traditions of efficiency, hard work, iron discipline and *esprit de corps* established by a long line of distinguished British soldiers. If the unity of the Indian Army did not give way under the stress and strain of post-partition disturbances, provincialism, communalism and casteism, which have raised their ugly head in recent years, the credit goes to General Cariappa. He put his heart and soul and body into converting the army into a national force rooted in the affections of the people. He has laboured hard to change the outlook of the men who guard India's frontiers. Times without number he has impressed on officers and jawans that they must function as servants of the nation. No wonder the barriers between the army and the people have crumbled. Believing that example is better than precept, General Cariappa loves to translate talk about co-operation between the army and the people into action. While on his way to Panagarh, a military base about 100 miles from Calcutta, he came across unharvested paddy fields. He took no time to order the Army Commander to offer the assistance of troops free of cost to the farmers of the locality. Another story illustrates his solicitude for the welfare of civilians. On a visit to Pathankot, he was shocked to find insanitary conditions in the town. A detachment of

jawans, armed with brooms and buckets, was soon on the scene, cleaning up the mess. Once when he learnt that there was no school in a village he was passing by, he issued an Army Order calling upon officers and men to undertake the education of the children of the village.

Under his inspiration, the Army has identified itself with the interests of the people by actively participating in the Grow More Food and the Vana Mahotsava drives, by rendering social service to the people in distress, particularly to the famine-stricken in Rayalaseema.

The General, however, has made it clear that if the Army cannot be drafted for reconstruction tasks, no uncharitable comparison with the Chinese Red Army is warranted, for while the latter, with ten times the strength of our forces, has man-power to spare for such tasks the Indian Army's primary job is defence of the country.

General Cariappa has had a distinguished career in the Army. He has a record number of firsts to his credit. He was in the first batch of Indian students to be commissioned from Daly College, Indore. He was the first Indian to be selected for the Staff College, Quetta; the first Indian to hold a Grade II appointment; the first Indian to rise to the rank of Brigadier. He was also the first Indian officer to become an Army Commander and the first to be C-in-C.

He has made significant contributions to the development of the Army. The Territorial Army, the second line of the country's defence, and the National Cadet Corps, owe their existence largely to his drive and energy. He has drawn the attention of the national leaders to the fact that if India is to have a mechanised mobile army, defence industries should be developed so that the country could be independent of imports from foreign countries. Discarding the theory of martial and non-martial races, he threw open the doors of the Army to all, irrespective of caste and creed.

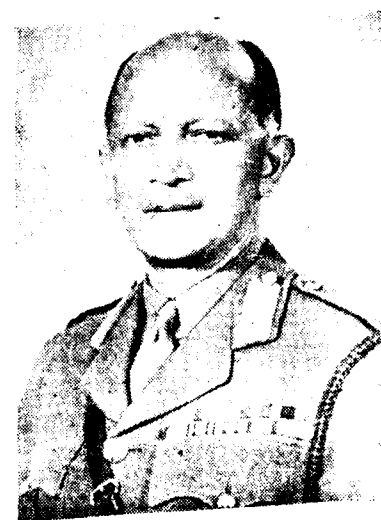
General Cariappa is tremendously popular with the Army, the students and the press. His delightful informality wins him friends and admirers wherever he goes.

He took delight in driving his jeep recklessly fast, encouraging soldiers and distributing sweets to the poor. He has a stern sense of duty; he drives himself and others hard; he is not very fond of written reports and prefers to work by personal discussion. He has a talent for winning the affection as well as the admiration of those around him and especially for welding officers of different States into a smoothly working team. Whether talking to a Major-General or

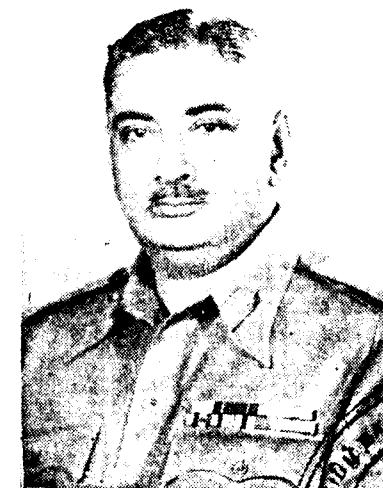
a jawan, he has the same warm open approach entirely free from pretence. He often tells his officers, "I believe in being free and frank with the men. I take them into my confidence impressing upon them the ideology of citizens in a free country. The men appreciate it and they will not let me down."

It is a pity he did not get along as well with the bureaucrats in the Secretariat as with the national leaders. Jealous of his rights and privileges, he naturally resented encroachments on his territory. Reports suggest that much of his time was spent in fighting rearguard battles in the Secretariat.

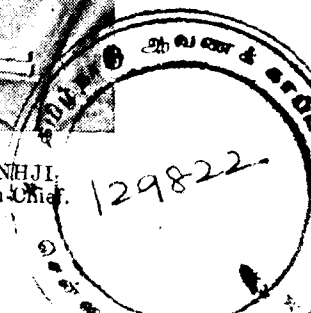
General Cariappa is never happier than when he is doing something for servicemen whose cause he espouses with a missionary zeal which cannot but extort admiration. He loves to distribute cash prizes sometimes out of his own pocket—to ex-servicemen and their dependents. The several ex-servicemen's colonies and farms that have sprung up in the country owe not a little to his drive, planning and imagination. When he says that after his retirement, he would look after the welfare of ex-servicemen he does not indulge in a flourish. Their cause he has made his own.



GEN. K. M. CARIAPPA
The first Indian Commander-in-Chief.



GEN. RAJENDRA SINGHJI
The New Commander-in-Chief.



FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

OF LIFE AND DEATH AND GLORY

No poet of recent times has sung of life and death and glory more exultingly than Rupert Brooke. Brooke, like Keats, died young when he was barely 28. The War of 1914 which stirred his imagination and gave utterance to his thoughts is forgotten in the tumult of a fiercer onset which finished *Thrushina* in a trice. But his voice, serene and sure, is still audible and rings true. So long as we cherish wisdom and beauty and courage we shall hearken to this voice. Was ever love of country more fitly embalmed than in those moving words of *The Soldier*?

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there is some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.

And he died in *Seyros* on 23rd April 1915. In him we have the authentic accent of the patriot poet. But Brooke sang exultingly and made death itself lovely—Brooke the great lover who loved all things and enjoyed the glory of life and dawn and sunset, the thrill of friendship the throb of wonder and the ecstasy of touching flowers and furs and soft cheeks. He sang of the glory of the dead who in dying have made us richer gifts than gold. They gave up the sweetness of youth and hope and the joy of work and serene age and left us an immortal memory.

Those laid the world away; poured out
[the red
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years
[to be

Of work and joy, and that unhopèd serene
That men call age: and those who would
[have been,
Their sons, they gave, their immortality.

With what tender affection he recalls
the simple things that sweetened their lives.

Dawn was theirs

And sunset and the colours of the earth.
Those had seen movement and heard
[music; known

Slumber and walking; loved; gone
[proudly friended,

Felt the quick stir of wonder; sat alone,
Touched flowers and furs and cheeks.

How wonderfully the pain of death and separation is lost in the recollection of the glory of life and its splendour. Yet the poet faces life squarely and death as well. All the elemental joys and sorrows are depicted, no glossing over, no suppression of the ugly and the painful; yet there is withal a wistful melancholy in the contrast between the dead and the quick. There is greatness in the glad acceptance of it all and in the triumph of spiritual values—a noble heritage

They brought us, for our dearth,

Holiness, lacked so long, and Love and
[Pain.

Honour has come back as a king to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And nobleness walks in our ways again;
And we have come into our heritage.

Thus are the dead crowned in our memory and made immortal, and the fragrance of their deeds floats down the ages. If life is vital and vivacious there is a kind of dignity and majesty in death as well. The poet is compact of passion and imagination. He reconciles us to "Death for the sake of Life and Life for the sake of Death."

THE CHARITIES

The Charities that soothe, and heat,
and bless
Lie scattered at the feet of men
like flowers.

—Wordsworth.

THE NOISE OF ARMS

The noise of arms deafens the voice
of the laws.

—Montaigne.

THE MOTHER OF ARTS

The mother of useful arts is necessity,
that of fine arts is luxury.

—Schopenhauer.

ANNIVERSARY

And now the rising day renews the year,
A day for ever sad, for ever dear.

FEBRUARY 1953]

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

63

THE POINT OF VIEW

A. C. Benson finds the bright jewels by the wayside. If only we would tread the path of simplicity, and cleave to the homely virtues that mean so much in a world made dreary by conventionality and hardness of heart—the most venal of all sins!

I know well the thoughts and hopes that I should desire to speak; but they are evasive subtle things, and too often, like shy birds, will hardly let you approach them. But I would add that life has not been for me a dreamy thing, lived in soft fantastic reveries; indeed it has been far the reverse. I have practised activity I have mixed much with my fellows; I have taught, worked, organised directed I have watched men and boys. I have found infinite good for mirth for interest and even for grief. But I have grown to feel that the ambitions which we preach and the successes for which we prepare are very often nothing but a missing of the simple road, a troubled wandering among the by-paths and dark mountains. I have grown to believe that the one thing worth aiming at is simplicity of heart and life; that one's relations with another should be direct and not diplomatic; that power leaves a bitter taste in the mouth; that meanness and hardness, and coldness are the unforgivable sins; that conventionality is the mother of dreariness; that pleasure exists not in virtue of material conditions, but in the joyful heart; that the world is a very interesting and beautiful place; that congenial labour is the secret of happiness; and many other things which seem, as I write them down, to be dull and trite commonplaces but are for me the bright jewels which I have found beside the way.

—From *A College Window*.

THE APPOINTED & THE UNAPPOINTED DAY

On two days it steads not to run from thy grave.

The appointed and the unappointed day.
On the first, neither balm nor physician can

save,

Nor thee, on the second, the Universe
slay.

THIS WORLD

Not unoften is the man of God, with his faith rooted in the benevolence of Providence and the righteousness of His Kingdom, oppressed by a sense of the enormous unhappiness and misery and wickedness in the world around him. Sometimes he sees no way out of the vicious circle of vice triumphing over virtue and the good thwarted by evil. And then he thinks we have, with our laws and conventions, built a better world than the one red with tooth and claw we have inherited. We feel at such times with Matthew Arnold that there is no hope in this world and all we can do is to be true to one another. That anchor holds:

For the world which seems
To lie before us, like a land of dreams.
So various so beautiful so new,
Hath really neither joy nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle
[and flight,

Where ignorant armies clash by night.

DEATH OF MEN

There is nothing about which I am so desirous of gathering information, as the death of men, their words, their looks, their behaviour, nor any passages in history that I remark so attentively. It may be seen in the cramming of my book with examples that I have a particular fancy for this subject. If I were a maker of books I should compile a register, with comments, of different deaths. He who should teach men to die would teach them to live.

—Montaigne.

THE SPIRIT OF ENGLISHMEN

Oliver Cromwell died on the anniversary of the Battles of Dunbar and Worcester 1658.

"I would have been willing to stay a little longer to be useful to God's people. But God's will be done!"

"We thought, being denied just things, we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise. And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen."

O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave,
where is thy victory?

"WHAT IF A MAN THINK SCORN
OF ME..."

Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher king, even like Jesus, was teaching a code of personal conduct strikingly Gandhian in tone and temper. And Aurelius was a pagan. A singular uniformity runs like a golden thread through all the ethical thought of the wise men of all ages, pagan or Christian. How strange, while moralists and philosophers have gone on emphasising the virtues of non-violence, corporate states and those in authority have gone on doing just the contrary! Are States then bereft of wise men and fallen into wrong hands? Or is it just that wise men sometimes think wrong?

What if a man think scorn of me? That will be his affair. But it will be mine not to be found doing or saying anything worthy of scorn. What if he hate me? That will be his affair. But I will be kindly and good-natured to everyone and ready to shew even my enemy where he has seen amiss not by way of rebuke nor with a parade of forbearance, but genuinely and chivalrously. For such should be the inner springs of a man's heart that the Gods see him not wrathfully disposed at anything or counting it a hardship. Why, what evil can happen to thee if thou thyself now doest what is congenial to thy nature, and welcomest what the Universal Nature now deems well-timed, thou who art a man intensely eager that what is for the common interest should by one means or another be brought about?

TRUTH

It is not error which opposes the progress of truth: it is indolence, obstinacy, the spirit of routine, everything that favours inaction.

—Turgot.

ADVICE

Nothing is given so ungrudgingly as advice.

—La Rochefoucauld.

OLD AGE

Old age is but a second childhood.

—Aristophanes.

"THE LOVER TELLS OF THE ROSE IN
HIS HEART"

Friends of Yeats who have heard the poet recite the lines recall with nostalgic pleasure the beauty of tone and voice that doubled their enjoyment. O, the "purple" way, they say in which Yeats used to roll the "R" of that "rose" in his heart!

All things uncomely and broken, all things worn out and old,
The cry of a child by the roadway, the creak of a lumbering cart,
The heavy steps of the ploughman, splashing the wintry mould,
Are wronging your image that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart.

The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told
I hunger to build them anew and sit on a green knoll apart,
With the earth and the sky and the water remade like a casket of gold,
For my dreams of your image that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart."

PEACE

All men desire peace, but few men desire those things which make for peace.
—Thomas à Kempis.

LOVE OF MANKIND

If you would love mankind you should not expect too much from them.
—Helvetius.

PRAYER

Lord, make me an instrument of Thy Peace!
Where there is hatred... let me sow love

Where there is injury... pardon
Where there is doubt... faith
Where there is sadness... joy!
O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek

To be consoled... as to console
To be understood... as to understand
To be loved... as to love, for
It is in giving... that we receive
It is in dying... that we are born
to eternal life.

—St. Francis of Assisi.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

[Besides the usual Congresses and Conferences like the National Congress, the Science Congress, the Maha Sabha, the Theosophical Convention and other cultural, educational and economic gatherings, there were in addition the Gandhian Seminar at Delhi and the Asian Socialist Conference at Rangoon which attracted considerable public attention during the Christmas season and after. An attempt is made in the following pages to give a bird's eye view of these gatherings, together with a precis of the speeches and resolutions therein, culled mainly from reports of news agencies and of special correspondents to some newspapers. It is hoped that this brief resume of the proceedings will be of some use to those who have not cared to wade through columns of press reports.—ED. I. R.]

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

3600 delegates and a vast concourse of visitors attended the 58th Session of the Indian National Congress which met in the open ground in the vicinity of the historic Golconda Fort near Hyderabad on January 17. The president Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, who had the unique honour of being elected for the sixth time, was welcomed by Swami Ram Tirth, Chairman of the Reception Committee who had played an important part in the making of the new Hyderabad State.

The Congress President who spoke in Hindi, appealed to the people "to march with good heart and faith in the destiny of our country "in building up the new Republic in a more conscious, deliberate and planned way." Reviewing the achievements since Independence and the problems before the country Mr. Nehru laid great stress on the implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

Stressing the need for "stern measures" against the evils in the Congress organization that had come to light during the delegates' elections, Mr. Nehru said:

These are evils of success and we have to be very careful, lest we should allow these evils to corrupt and enfeeble the Congress.

Other points made by Mr. Nehru as listed by the special correspondent of the *Hindu* were:

Linguistic States: I would earnestly suggest that while establishing the Andhra State, we should wait to see the consequences that flow from it and then take into consideration any like problems elsewhere.

Foreign Policy: Our foreign policy is based on friendly relations with all countries and no interference with any. Our relations with other countries are good. The only country which unfortunately is somewhat of an exception to this is our neighbour, Pakistan.

India's record: In these brief five years, India has built up for herself a position which commands respect and which brings additional responsibilities. I think I am justified in saying that our record in the economic front has been a creditable one which can bear comparison with any elsewhere.

Racialism: There will be no peace in the world if one race tries to dominate over another or one country over another.

Land Policy: The abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and like systems should be completed as rapidly as possible. A ceiling should be put on land and co-operative farming should be encouraged.

Relations with Pakistan: Though India has always tried to establish friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan, the response from the other side has been disappointing and there is frequent talk even of war against us. We cannot surrender to threats, nor any vital principles. In any event we shall protect our territory and our basic interests if they are attacked.

Kashmir: Though the issue has been before the United Nations for five years, the Security Council has ignored the basic facts and has tried to bypass fundamental issues and has thus gone wrong. The latest resolution is even contrary to some of the decisions of the U. N. Commission itself. It has distressed us very much that two great countries should have sponsored such a resolution which appears to us to be grossly unfair.

Korea: The non-acceptance by the Soviet Union and China of the Indian resolution on Korea is deeply regretted. Our resolution was meant as a proposal to show a way out of this deadlock. It was no mandate and it was based entirely on the Geneva Convention about which so much has been said.

The Subjects Committee which had been meeting since the 15th thrashed out a number of important resolutions in which leaders of the Congress, official and non official, took a decisive part. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and Sheikh Abdullah who was specially invited to put the Kashmir case before the Committee, were among those who took an

active part in the deliberations of the Committee particularly in regard to Foreign Policy and Communalism.

Pakistan's reported decision to join the Middle East Defence Pact sponsored by the Western Powers, is a matter of grave concern to India, declared Congress President.

We are giving close attention to this matter and every step will be taken to adapt ourselves to changing conditions and circumstances.

Overruling an amendment, Sri Nehru said:

Such academic exercises cannot be indulged in by the Congress which is a responsible and serious minded organisation. However unpleasant and painful it is, we cannot tell a friendly nation what it should and should not do.

He, however, assured the delegates that the Government of India had not treated the matter with indifference since any alteration in Pakistan's defence system was bound to disturb the equilibrium of all the Asian countries.

Meanwhile, Shri Nehru's remark about taking steps "to adapt ourselves to changing conditions and circumstances" set some political observers thinking. But the general assumption is that no change in foreign policy is implied, though new factors may suggest a re-examination of India's approach in course of time.

The Committee passed four resolutions recommended by the Working Committee, including the one on foreign policy.

Of the other resolutions, one was about South Africa, another supported the "Bhoodan Yagna" of Acharya Vinoba Bhave and the third was on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Discussion then centred on the resolution moved by Sri G. L. Nanda on the Five-Year Plan.

Sri C. Rajagopalachari made a forceful, but extremely brief speech, taking the cue from the President on this occasion.

The resolution supporting the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination was moved by Bombay's Chief Minister, Sri Morarji Desai, seconded by Rajasthan's Sri Jai-narayan Vyas and supported by Sri P. S. Joshi, representative of the

South African Indian Congress attending the present session. He acquainted the delegates with situation prevailing in that country.

Speaking on the resolution on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Sri Nehru said that it was sad

that one who had worked for the freedom of the country and whom any nation would have delighted to honour should become a victim of the very independence which his labours had helped to bring about.

Sheikh Abdullah, Chief Minister of Kashmir told the Congress Subjects Committee that his Government would soon implement all the remaining articles of the July agreement with the Government of India, provided the Jammu Praja Parishad called off its violent agitation. He made it clear that he would not surrender to Hindu communalism even as he had not bowed his head before Muslim communalism in the past.

The Subjects Committee passed the official resolution on Linguistic States after a spirited three-hour discussion. Only one member voted against.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari advised the Congress to reconsider its policy in the matter of linguistic provinces, stating that it was wrong to imagine that the resolutions adopted by the Congress under certain circumstances in the past, were more or less final.

The plenary session of the Congress adopted the resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee. It accepted a resolution disapproving of communal activities; it endorsed the 5 year plan of the Government; it reiterated its admiration and appreciation of Satyagraha in South Africa and expressed its opinion that the Ceylon Government's action against Indians is not in conformity with justice; it ratified the changes made in the Congress constitution; and wholeheartedly endorsed the Government's home and foreign policy. The text of the more important resolutions will be found elsewhere.

The Session concluded on the 18th after pledging its support to the Government's internal and foreign policies and the Five-Year Plan.

HINDU MAHASABHA

A 20 point organisational and political programme in the context of the present political situation was suggested by Sri N. C. Chatterjee presiding over the annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bhopal on Dec. 28.

The "greatest task" before the Mahasabha, he said, was the militarisation of the country. It was essential, he added, because "our frontiers are in danger. The foreign menace has invaded Nepal and Tibet. Pakistan is daily attacking our borders."

He demanded withdrawal of the Kashmir Issue from the U. N. O. and "complete accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India and the acceptance of the Indian Constitution."

Sri Chatterjee said:

We have all along maintained that the reference of the Kashmir issue to the UNO has been a great mistake. I said in Parliament that the biggest bungling was to make an offer of plebiscite in the context of what has taken place and the persistent refusal of Pakistan to withdraw the aggressors from Kashmir, the offer of plebiscite should be withdrawn. Mr. Zaffrullah Khan is making a strategic gesture to mislead the world opinion. We strongly urge Pandit Nehru to withdraw the Kashmir issue from the UNO.

The Mahasabha leader urged for an "honourable solution of the deadlock" created by the agitation of the Jammu Praja Parishad. He said:

We are convinced that the Praja Parishad agitation is legal and constitutional and they are perfectly justified in demanding full accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India.

Sri Chatterjee categorically denied the charge of communalism levelled against the Mahasabha and in this context explained their demand for Hindu Rashtra. He said:

When we talk of Hindu policy or Hindu Rashtra, we emphasise that political or social structure which would typify the spirit of political and cultural unity, which helped in assimilating nations and tribes and classes and communities of varying degrees of cohesion and civilisation into one organic whole.

He added:

Hinduism is fundamentally opposed to communalism or to any narrow dogma which denies spiritual freedom of the individual.

Pleading for a United India he said:

Hindu Mahasabha had never accepted partition of India as final and irrevocable. We believe that the vivisection of India was a great betrayal.

They had believed and would always believe in Akhand Bharat. "The unity and integrity of India," he said,

is the cardinal principle of our politics. We still maintain that the natural ties of a common language and common culture, common tradition and common economic life would bring the two together.

The session which concluded its three-day deliberations on 30th Dec. passed a resolution stating that

the Five-Year Plan is speculative in its targets, fantastic in the estimates of financial resources, calculated to keep in the grip of one party the nation under the mask of economic development, and intended to ensure a party majority, at the next elections by the promise of a Welfare State.

The resolution asked the people "not to place any high hopes in the outcome of the Plan", and said:

The estimated receipts from additional taxation, loans, American aid, and deficit financing, are speculative, and if seriously attempted may have grave consequences, and fail to rouse the necessary enthusiasm for the Plan.

The resolution also urged members "not to co-operate with the Bharat Sevak Samaj" as it feared that the Samaj "will be run as a party machine in order to strengthen the dominant party in power."

By another resolution, the Mahasabha expressed disagreement with the foreign policy of the Government of India, and demanded a

policy of reciprocity in its dealings with Pakistan, and effective measures for merging all the foreign pockets in the country with India.

It deplored recent steady inroads of Communism into Tibet and Nepal had not brought about any changes in India's foreign policy which continued to be "sterile".

The policy of so-called dynamic neutrality followed by the present Government has proved most harmful to the interests of India.

The Mahasabha referred to the "tremendous amount of goodwill existing through the ages between India and the eastern countries like Japan, China, Ceylon, Siam, Java, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Bali, and said these countries looked to India as their "cultural and spiritual homeland."

WORLD SEMINAR ON GANDHIAN THOUGHT

Representatives from ten countries including Japan, the United States, France and Germany attended the World Seminar on the contribution of the Gandhian outlook and techniques to the solution of tensions between and within nations. The inaugural session of which was held in the Central Hall of Parliament House, Delhi on January 5. A large and distinguished gathering of diplomats, Ministers and visitors were present. Among those attending the Seminar, organised by the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO, were Lord Boyd Orr, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Prof. G. T. Tucci and Mr. Yasuko Tsurumi, the Japanese Pacifist leader.

Inaugurating the Seminar, Prime Minister Nehru said if the Seminar could influence thinkers all over the world to think of some way of eliminating wars and bitterness, it would have served a useful purpose. He described the Gandhian Technique as the carrying on of a continuous struggle, without hatred or bitterness to the opponent, to right a wrong but always keeping the door open for reconciliation.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research and President of the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco said that Mahatma Gandhi's ideas were before the world for many years, and were already a part of the intellectual heritage of modern man.

The Minister said it was hardly necessary to have a seminar merely to draw attention to Gandhiji's thought.

In view however, of the crisis which threatens the world today and the danger of war which is always in the background of our minds, it seems specially appropriate to consider Gandhiji's methods so far as they provide an alternative to war and promise a solution to international problems.

The seminar would give an opportunity to the thinkers of East and West to discuss Gandhiji's method in all their implications, the Minister added.

One of the most interesting speeches at the Seminar was made by Prof. Massignou of France who suggested the establishment of centres of Sanctuary. Every country, he said, should have

zones of security where minorities could retain their cultural freedom.

After a 12 day session the application of Gandhiji's principles of non-violence and truth was recommended to the world as a solution for lessening national and international tensions.

Lord Boyd-Orr, Chairman of the Seminar, gave the conclusions reached by the Seminar on the various problems confronting the world. Delegates from various countries who also spoke at the concluding session pledged their faith in Gandhiji's teachings and announced their intention to propagate them in their respective countries.

Giving the broad and unanimous conclusions of the Seminar, Lord Boyd-Orr said that they were of the view

that in regard to education, everyone must be given an education that would bring out the best in an individual and give him full mastery of his soul free from hatred and free from fear.

In the national field, for the solution of internal tensions, the Seminar felt that economic, racial

and religious, and other tensions should be removed as rapidly as possible but that could only be done provided the people who have power "get rid of the lust for power and the desire to dominate over other men."

In the international field, Lord Boyd-Orr continued, the Seminar came to the conclusion that the United Nations was the best hope for the people of the world but a number of changes should be made in its functioning.

The United Nations should be thrown open for membership to all nations who desired admission. The help to under-developed countries for raising standards of living and removing hunger, should be canalised through the various U.N. organisations so as to remove suspicions of economic domination.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who addressed the session, said that he considered the application of non-violence by a country for a solution of international problems to be "a practical proposition which can be implemented if only we have the courage to do it." He said that unless some nation to-day took courage in its own hands and came out with a clearcut programme of "no war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, and no army of any kind," the battle for non-violence would continue and would not end in its victory.

THE ASIAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

The Asian Socialist Conference, the first of its kind in Asia, met in the City Hall, Rangoon, on January 6, which was decorated with the flags of countries participating in the conference. India has sent the biggest delegation while Japan came second. Other countries represented were Burma, Indonesia, Israel, Nepal, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Lebanon, Malaya and Pakistan.

U Kyaw Nyein, Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings with a welcome speech and U Hla Aung Ten presented a report of the preparatory committee. Proposed by Israel and seconded by India, Japan, Indonesia and Malaya, U Ba Swe was elected Chairman of the conference. Mr. Prem Bhasin was elected Secretary.

The Chairman urged the Conference to set up machinery for consultation among themselves but not to establish a rival organisation to the socialist International. He told the delegates that they should make closer contact among the Asian socialist parties.

After the Chairman's address leaders of the delegations spoke. Indonesia's chief delegate, Dr. Sutan Sharir, hoped the Conference would increase mutual understanding and seek means and ways for establishing a firm basis for co-operation among Asian socialists.

Asian socialists had come together for the first time because the majority of them belonged to underdeveloped countries and some were still living in colonies. Some Asian socialists felt they were "underdogs even among Socialists in the world."

India's chief delegate, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, hoped the conference would emit new life which might provide peace to the warweary world. It was not enough, he said,

if they talked of world peace alone. They should be equally anxious for national peace. Asia was torn with civil war, he said. Some socialist parties valiantly fought, others were still fighting. The sooner Socialists developed keenness for national peace "the better it will be for international peace and for the world." He hoped that the Gandhian principles of peace and love would guide Socialists in Asia and elsewhere.

A rally of 50,000 people on January 11 heard Asian, African and European

Socialist leaders declare that only East-West Socialist solidarity could raise the standard of life all over the world and ensure peace.

Mr. Clement Attlee, British Labour Party leader, called by the newspapers here "the best loved man in Burma" told the rally that prosperity like peace 'is indivisible.' Mr. Attlee told the rally:

There are millions of people in Asia living at a low standard of life,

There is the fear of unemployment among workers in the West although the things which they can make are needed by the people of the less developed countries. The West has the skill which can unlock the door to the wealth of the East.

If both can work together with the same aim of raising the standard of life all the world over great things can be done.

Peace, it has been said, is indivisible, prosperity also is indivisible.

The Conference ended its ten day session on January 15, with a declaration of its total rejection of Communism.

The 200 delegates, expressed their determination to continue the struggle to supersede capitalism and feudalism by democratic Socialism.

A policy statement, unanimously approved at the plenary session, said

democratic Socialism avoided totalitarian forms of Government and mass coercion. But Communism as practised by Russia and its satellites had degenerated "into a regime of complete subordination of individual and group to a centralised power of the leadership of the ruling party."

In a 14-point statement of the objectives of Asian Socialism, the delegates declared their faith in the unity of mankind and expressed their belief in "international collaboration and in the reign of peace."

The statement pointed out that Asia was predominantly agricultural and said it was a fundamental principle of Socialism that land should be distributed among those who work on it.

The Conference condemned all colonialism, whether of the old form or the new totalitarian type. It also approved a scheme to set up an Asian Economic Council to improve production in Asia.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Meeting for the third time in Lucknow during the 40 years of its history, the last Session of the Indian Science Congress was attended by eminent foreign and Indian scientists, who were introduced to the Congress by its Treasurer, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis. Over 1,600 delegates were present.

Among the foreign scientists attending the Congress were Miss Isabell Cooks (Australia), Dr. Stanley White (U.S.A.), Prof. C. R. M. Cuthbert (U.K.), Prof. S. Tsuru (Japan), Dr. Hitha Hla (Burma).

Mr. Nehru inaugurating the session, called upon the scientists to help in developing a scientific temper in the country which was essential for progress and even for survival. He exhorted the Indian scientists to help in solving the manifold problems of India.

In India, he said, one of the most important problems of today was of raising the standard of the common people and there was no use talking to them of cultural and spiritual aspects of life when they had nothing to eat and wear.

Speaking on behalf of the Government of India, he said:

I assure you that to the best of our ability, we shall encourage the development of science in this country and ask the scientists here to help us in the solution of our problem.

Mr. D. M. Bose, in his presidential address, called upon the scientists of India to "understand the nature of the work of reconstruction of India and do their best for forwarding it to successful conclusion."

Dr. Bose referred to the Five-Year Plan and said the Centre and the States had been allocated their responsibilities under it. It was the duty of all to help in the execution of the plan, he said.

"Our Prime Minister" he said "is a firm believer in the utility of the application of science and technology for solving the problems facing us. This attitude towards nature represents a decisive breakaway from that prevailing during our early middle ages."

Dr. Bose said that the use of a foreign language for such purposes was not a new innovation. The Greco-Roman culture which flourished in the Mediterranean Basin in the first three centuries of the Christian era was bilingual. In the

post-renaissance Europe, Latin became a common medium for interchange of ideas amongst the multilingual peoples of the West.

Scientists in this country, he said, view with some apprehension all premature attempts to replace English as a medium for teaching of advanced sciences and for communication of results of scientific investigations, by one of the Indian languages. There was much scope for popularisation of science and the writing of science text-books suited for schools.

In the course of the scientific portion of his address, entitled "The living and the non-living" Dr. Bose pointed out that

the aim of science is to interpret in a logical way the data given by our sense perceptions, using the minimum number of assumptions. One of the problems is to find out how far the behaviour of living organisms can be accounted for in terms of laws of physics and chemistry and also to find out where additional assumptions, if any, are necessary and to specify their nature.

PANDIT PANT'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Pandit G. B. Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, welcoming the delegates and visitors, said that the entire social fabric to-day stood on two pillars, namely, science and technology. He asked Indian scientists to pay adequate attention to the country's problems and help to raise the standard of living of the masses which was very low at present.

GOVERNOR MUNSHI'S ADDRESS

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Governor, Uttar Pradesh, speaking at the session said that, in view of the problems facing free India, scientific research had assumed great importance both for industrial and agricultural development. The impelling factor at the present moment, Mr. Munshi stated, was to further production and fight erosion as both were the aspects of the problem of their survival.

NEW PRESIDENT OF SCIENCE CONGRESS

At the meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association on January 6, Dr. S. L. Hora was elected as the General President for the 41st session of the Congress to be held at Hyderabad next year.

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The Rajpramukh of Travancore-Cochin, inaugurating the 18th Session of the Indian Academy of Sciences at Trivandrum on December 27, said that though in the matter of modern scientific progress India started much later than many western countries, it ought not to be difficult for India to give a lead to the world even in scientific research.

It appears to me that, if the succeeding generations did not keep alight the torch of learning of the great ancient rishis, it is not because we have lost that capacity, but because for various reasons we have allowed it to lie dormant.

Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and Dr. S. Bhavanathan, Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, were among the 50 eminent Indian scientists attending the session.

Dr. C. V. Raman, President of the Academy, presided.

The Rajpramukh congratulated the Academy on its interest not only on abstract scientific problems, but in problems connected with food, vitamins, plant and animal breeding etc., and of the work-a-day world.

Stressing the utility of applying scientific research to promote human welfare, he said:

Though the achievements of the scientists should not be judged by their practical application, still the happy combination of pure science and useful research is, if I may say so, the proper attitude to adopt, as it is only to the extent that a scientific discovery is applied to subserve human needs that real contribution is made towards the promotion of human welfare.

Scientists, all the world over, were now trying to apply the results of their research for useful purposes, and Indian scientists should also pursue research with a view to enhancing human happiness and peace, the Rajpramukh added.

Dr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Travancore University, in his welcome address read out by Mr. Parameswara Panikar, Pro-Vice-Chancellor in his absence, said that the Academy commanded a very high place among scientific academies of the world.

THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

Opening the 77th International Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar on December 25 in the presence of a large gathering, including the Governor of Madras, Mr. Sri Prakasa, the President, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, directed the attention of the members to the urgent need of the world for a new direction, and explained the role of the Society in meeting that need in the years ahead.

He said that although the policy of the Society was not to take up any political work

theosophical work from the beginning had been intimately related to all problems of the world, including political reconstruction. The Society had been a league of peoples, and because there existed Theosophists committed to the ideal of universal brotherhood, the League of Nations materialised. That League had now reincarnated as the United Nations, which was the only hope for any kind of lasting peace.

The U.N. with its Charter of Human Rights, was not enough. Every man and woman had other needs than the four freedoms.

The U. N. should have a spiritual concept as its frame-work. That concept, based on universal brotherhood, was their common divine nature, which united all men. The members of the Society worked for a charter beyond that of human rights, namely the charter of divine right for every individual.

The President pointed out that in the coming years, the Society would have a vital contribution to make in proclaiming to men the fundamental teaching of the divinity hidden in all mankind.

Addressing the convention on "Mrs. Besant and India of Tomorrow" the Governor reviewed the present trend of affairs in the world and said that the times through which we are passing to-day confront us with problems in a very aggravated form that just overwhelm us.

At the same time, the leaders of men at the moment, with the knowledge and experience garnered through centuries of human evolution, could and should find a solution so that the dangers that threatened them now might be averted.

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Professor C. N. Vakil, Director of School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay, presiding over the 13th Session of the Economic Conference at Trivandrum on December 27 emphasised the need for "independent economic analysis" for the building up of new India and appealed to Government to give all possible encouragement and due recognition to academic workers in economics in general and agricultural economics in particular.

He deplored what he called neglect of agricultural economics in India and said,

In a country like ours which is predominantly agricultural and in which we are faced with the problem of providing the elementary needs of growing population, one would have expected that systematic attention would be paid to the collection of correct data on all agricultural problems, to their analysis and interpretation on scientific lines and to a continuous examination of the inter-relationship of different agricultural problems inter se as well as with the other sectors of economy. It was a tragedy, he said, that a country which was spending crores of rupees for

the development of scientific and technological studies and research neglects the basic facts of our life in the field of agricultural economics and allows such problems to be the playthings of the politician.

It was true, Prof. Vakil added that that the true economic progress in the modern world depended considerably on technological studies and research but it had to be remembered that unless there was a parallel progress in the field of economic information, economic interpretation and economic research we shall have a lop-sided development resulting shocks and failures.

Prof. Vakil referred to "the tendency to ignore economic facts and said with the advent of independence and partition of the country a new economic situation was created which had to be helped with great care and foresight.

It is believed that by passing quick legislation for this or that report affecting land and agriculture the millennium would follow. In his anxiety to achieve rapid results the politician is impatient to the extent of ignoring facts or even of making efforts at obtaining facts. As a result of the effects of the various legislations are neither foreseen nor examined.



PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD

In a nationwide broadcast on the eve of the fourth Republic Day, President Rajendra Prasad told the nation that the post-partition era had ended and they were on the threshold of a new era of national reconstruction and regeneration. The symbol of this future was the Five Year Plan, which had been finalised by the Planning Commission and approved by Parliament. Characterising it as a bold attempt to make the "most economic use of our natural and manpower resources to overcome the economic lag in our life which the recent past has bequeathed us," Dr. Prasad appealed to every one to sink their differences, ideological and regional, and to devote themselves, whole-heartedly and enthusiastically, to this supreme task.



PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Truman and Eisenhower

ON the 20th of January last President Truman laid down his high office as Chief Executive of the American Republic. When he became President on the sudden death of Roosevelt there were doubts if he could prove equal to the great responsibilities which his illustrious predecessor shouldered with such ability and distinction. The world knew little of him. He was himself not very conscious of his latent powers. But he rose to the full height of his opportunity. Indeed the American method of election—whatever one might think of it in other matters—has, judged by results, seldom failed to pick up the right man for the right place. The democrats held the office for 20 consecutive years and now that the Republicans have come to power they have chosen a leader who as the 34th President of the United States bids fair to prove that President Eisenhower will be second to none in the illustrious roll of America's Chief Executives. For the success of the Republicans is mainly the triumph of Eisenhower, the man who won the war and the one who is expected to win the peace.

For Truman inherited the policies and programmes initiated by Roosevelt and carried them out to their logical conclusion. During the seven and a half years he was at the head of the American democracy it fell to Truman to take great decisions which he did with forthright courage and conviction. And he never wavered in his judgment. The world will continue to debate whether his use of the Atom bomb to bring the Japanese war to a close, his prompt action in rushing troops to Korea, and his spectacular dismissal of so powerful 'a General' as Mac Arthur were all right decisions. But there is no doubt he held fast to certain principles in vindication of the U.N-Charter and he never shrank from executing them. He showed courage and initiative which never failed him. And then the steps he took to put Europe on

its feet by timely assistance in food and money and technicians have brought America nearer to the bosoms and business of the suffering world. Finally by extending similar assistance to the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, though in an attenuated form, he has once for all done with the old isolationist policy and put America definitely on the map as the leader of the world.

But Truman's task is yet half done and incomplete and it devolves upon the new President to continue the good work and fulfil his global programme. It is a good augury that the Republican President also feels that one half of the world cannot live in peace and plenty while the other half lives on the bare margin of subsistence. The proper time to judge the new President is when he lays down his office but it is heartening to listen to his inaugural address.

We are called, as a people, to give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the free," to the masses of Asia who have struck off the shackles of the past," among others. "The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world—we are linked to all free peoples by—the basic law of interdependence, so manifest in the commerce of Peace."

The nine fixed principles he enunciated in his dedicatory address afford ample assurance of goodwill towards other nations, and willingness to assist all to retain, or regain their freedom. Principle 8 manifests this.

Conceiving the defence of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and people in equal regard and honour. We reject any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable.

It is thus a global outlook emphasising the fact that all domestic affairs are vitally affected by the cold war and an assurance that he is as keenly alive to the needs of Asia as of Europe. It is a clear call for a dynamic effort to combat communism and "a rededication of our efforts and our policies to the cause of human freedom." Commenting on the address the *New York Herald Tribune* said:

It was in every way that of a world leader addressing a world audience, a picture of responsibilities that cannot be undertaken in any spirit save that of national dedication.

The new President has promptly followed up his major policy statement by removing the 7th American Fleet which since June 1950 acted as a buffer between Formosa and the mainland of China. Truman's action in neutralising Formosa has so far succeeded in restraining Red China from overrunning the island. The President put it in a curious way. "There is no longer any logic or sense," he said "in a condition that required the U. S. Navy to assume defensive responsibilities on behalf of Chinese Communists." We do not know if the erstwhile Supreme Commander was conscious of the humour of a situation which envisages the cat being chased by the rat. Any way it is clear that though Truman was so far able to check the offensive on either side the cold war has continued unabated—a situation which is sapping the wealth and health of nations. The General-President must be credited with a thorough understanding of the consequences of his strategy. Evidently he feels that it is time to call the bluff and that any way, an open war—if war is inevitable—is better than this suspense and perpetual fear of war. Friends and allies of America do not seem to share this view. Naturally India and the whole East, not to speak of Britain, are anxiously awaiting the outcome of the new strategy. The President is convinced that Soviet Russia is in possession of atomic weapons. And he tells the free world that it "cannot indefinitely remain in a posture of paralysed tension, leaving for ever to the aggressor choice of time and place and means to cause the greatest hurt. . . . at the least cost to himself." It is a bold decision. While it undoubtedly shows his initiative and courage at the very outset of his regime its efficacy can only be judged by results. What will be its reaction on the Reds? Will it make them think twice and hesitate to provoke war or will it goad them into a frenzy of desperate action? Time alone can show.

The Gandhian Way to Peace

If the Gandhian Seminar at Delhi had done nothing more than brought together a number of leading thinkers from different parts of the world to discuss and clarify their views as to the best method of evolving peace in a war-racked world it would have done a mighty good piece of work which is bound to prove fruitful in the long run. For the discussions have been both timely and helpful. Now that the world is perilously near the brink of another war and statesmen in the name of candour are urging their countries to be prepared for war for the sake of ensuring peace, it is time that thoughtful men who have no axe to grind should get together and ponder over the situation. They cannot stand still as the so-called "cold war" between the power blocs is breeding more and more hatred, urging them to pile up armaments in dread of each other and getting ready for a struggle on a global scale. That, they realise, will be the end of life and civilization on earth.

Lord Boyd-Orr therefore voiced this simple truth when he said that such a war could only lead to the destruction of the world and complete extermination of the human race. What Gandhiji would have said or done under the circumstances of the present day no one can say with certainty. But as Dr. Rajendra Prasad pointed out in his address, Gandhiji had made his position perfectly clear during the last war. He had foreseen the catastrophe to which the cult of violence was leading the world and had warned the world that if humanity was to survive and progress, it should choose the non-violent way for solving its problems and difficulties.

When the war began Gandhiji saw Lord Linlithgow and he broke down in the course of the interview when he thought of the ruin and devastation the war would bring to London. Yet Gandhiji had not the least hesitation in declaring that India should not and could not participate in the war or help the war effort. There was a seeming contradiction in the position although in fact there was no such contradiction. He had sympathy for England as he would have sympathy for any one in such a struggle. At the same time he had a firm conviction that war would

not solve problems and that war would not really lead the world anywhere. He was, therefore, not prepared to yield on the fundamental principle although he was in full sympathy with the British.

Gandhiji was in a position in 1940 to say to the British that India did not need their protection and asked them to leave India to her own lot. Having reached that stage he was in a position to say: "No more help of any kind in this war."

The Congress however decided otherwise and we are not in a position to assess the practical value of Gandhiji's advice in a world conflict. Gandhiji is still too close to us in India to permit an objective evaluation of his political thought and practice. The Seminar on Gandhian techniques could at best explore possibilities of "the application of those techniques to the solution of tensions within and between countries." But one thing is clear. Gandhiji always tested his principles first in his own person and then in his own country.

It was this aspect of the Indian freedom struggle, to which Dr. Prasad wanted to draw the attention of the delegates for the purpose of drawing some lessons. The Congress failed at that moment. It adopted a course which was really a course of expediency and not of principle, not of truth, not of non-violence. Thereafter, said Dr. Prasad,

we have not been able to catch up with Gandhiji's ideals and programme. Having slipped there we have not been able to feel that we can do with non-violence and need no sort of violence under any circumstances.

It was at this stage, said Dr. Prasad, Gandhiji wrote his letter to Hitler, appealed to the Czechs to resist non-violently and addressed the Britons not to indulge in war but to achieve what they wanted non-violently.

Unfortunately, to our indelible shame, Gandhiji was taken away when he would have been in a position to make this bigger experiment.

Individuals, Dr. Prasad said, had experimented with non-violence in their own life and thought,

but Gandhiji had brought the experiment into play on a larger scale to settle differences between groups and between nations.

But then it must be admitted that Gandhiji found suitable ground in this

country "and he found also noble adversaries who were capable of yielding to the appeals of non-violence."

The British set a limit to their own actions below which they could not and did not go. We must admit and confess that Gandhiji's success was due very largely not only to non-violence but also to the British. I do not know, it would be mere speculation, what would have happened if he had adversaries of another kind who will not put any limit to their own atrocities against those whom the adversaries consider as dangerous. Whether we would have been able to stand the strain or whether even such adversaries could be won over or conquered by non-violence is a matter of speculation.

That experiment remains incomplete, and it is for the thinkers of the world to-day to extend that experiment and find out how far they can succeed in the present age and in the present conditions.

Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United Nations who attended the session characterised his experience of the Gandhian Seminar at Delhi as "unique and intensely rich and fruitful." As one working in the U. N. endeavouring to do all that it could to preserve peace through the employment of peaceful means said he "came all the way to India to find himself in daily association with men and women who were truly great leaders of our times, to have an exchange of views and to explore as fully as they could the broader significance of Gandhian philosophy and techniques beyond India." What impressed him most, he said, was the speech delivered by the President of the Indian Republic at the concluding session of the Seminar.

I have had the good fortune to sit before great teachers and listen to them, but I think I have never heard a more impressive out-pouring, utterly sincere and appealing, than the speech given by the President.

How subtle and pervasive is a good idea even in a naughty world? Already the power and efficiency of Gandhian thought is reflected in the principles and activities of the M.R.A. The West has caught the spirit of Gandhism and will doubtless evolve its own technique on a scale and magnitude which America has made us familiar with

A Great Public Servant

India has lost a great public servant in the death of Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar who for eight and forty years served the State in various capacities. Joining the Madras Civil Service in 1905, he served the administration with ability and distinction and rose to the position of member of the Board of Revenue from which he retired in 1937. His outstanding ability as an administrator marked him out for more responsible and important positions in the service of the nation. It is held by some discerning students of public affairs that for all his varied career and services in different spheres, his outstanding contribution to the country was undoubtedly the part he played in the advancement of local panchayat administration in Madras.

Then came the second phase of his public career when he was appointed Dewan of Kashmir in which position he had a difficult task faced as he was with a troublous internal situation culminating in an uprising which took a communal turn. He proved his grit and administrative talents in steering his course through the chaotic conditions created by conflicts between the Maharaja and the nationalist forces and finally through the tribal and Pakistani inroads. His intimate personal experience of Kashmir conditions enabled him to take a notable part in the delicate diplomatic efforts in the U.N. to solve the Kashmir problem, which alas still remains unsolved.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was taken into the Central Cabinet in 1947 soon after the achievement of independence as member without portfolio in which capacity his energies were devoted to the restoration of normal conditions in Punjab, then ravaged by communal riots, and towards the rehabilitation of the victims.

A year later he assumed the office of Minister for Railways in succession to Dr. John Matthai. It was during his tenure that the zonal integration of the

railways was conceived and satisfactorily executed. The link with Kashmir was also constructed.

Following the death of Sardar Patel, he temporarily held the portfolio of States. The last post he held was that of Minister of Defence, which he took over in May 1952.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar may be said to have died in harness. Quiet and efficient in his duties he was a man of few words and was not given to courtng public favours. He had the reserve and dignity of the high officials of an earlier generation who were more interested in their work than in any kind of publicity or popular appeal. Yet he was a true democrat with a large and wholesome faith in the ultimate commonsense and rectitude of the people. In his death, Mr. Nehru and the Cabinet have lost a colleague of rich experience and mature judgment and the country one of its most distinguished administrators of recent times.

Electro Chemical Research

The latest link in the chain of India's Research Laboratories is the Central Electro-Chemical Research Institution opened by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice President, at Kariakudi the foundation stone of which was laid some years ago by the Prime Minister. This is the third of the great projects designed to foster research and facilitate promotion of important industries in South India. The first of these was the Rare Earth's Factory at Alwaye which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister the other day and the other is the Leather Research Institute at Madras opened by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industries. Thanks to the munificence of Dr. Alagappa who has donated both land and money for the enterprise experimental work in the use of electricity for both chemical and metallurgical process can now proceed with rapid strides. Electro Chemical and other process industries have made rapid progress in Europe and America and we may now look forward to the day when our requirements in these lines are home-made.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

ESSAYS IN SOCIAL THEORY. By G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan. 15 s.

The essays gathered into this volume have, Mr. Cole says, been all written during the last nine years, most of them during the last three years or so. Nearly all of them had been published separately before but they have been revised for this book. The lectures republished in this volume include his Inaugural Lecture as Chictale Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford and his broadcast talk on "Western Civilization and the Rights of Man." The last essay in the book, "What I take for granted" is a statement of Mr. Cole's credo taken from the almost universally popular "Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post War World" which Prof. Cole brought out for Messrs. Gollancz. The topics covered include Social and Political theory, Social Morality, Essentials of Democracy, Rousseau, Comte, The Communist Manifesto, Civil Service Reform and the Doctrine of Nationality, and Educational aims.

It will be seen from what has been said above that there is varied fare afforded in the book under review. It is perfectly needless to say that there is in addition to this stimulating variety, rich food for thought in all these essays, Mr. Cole enjoys a deservedly high reputation not merely as a great humanitarian and scholar but as a great educator of the public. His is a truly prolific pen but the plenty that we get is rich in quality as well and is inspired by a deep and sincere concern for truth as well as human welfare in general. It is this quality of his, (this humanitarianism and the passion for a socialistic ordering of human society) that supplies unity to the varied content of the book.

Needless to say, Mr. Cole's socialist faith is unmistakably evident on every page of the book. Mr. Cole is however no doctrinaire socialist. On the contrary, he is aware of the increasing threat to individual human freedom and to the ideals of socialism itself implicit in the

developments of the last two decades, though one feels that here and there, his natural kindliness and optimism make him draw conclusions now and again almost extravagantly out of relation to the current political and economic realities of the world to-day.

In the group of essays in political theory centering round Rousseau, Prof. Cole seeks to repair some of the damage done to Rousseau's reputation by the totalitarian prevention of his doctrine by pointing out that what Rousseau exalted in emphasizing state sovereignty was not the enormous modern authorised Leviathan but the state of the small, close-knit civic community of equal citizens. But as Mr. Cole points out, many political thinkers and others have had the most perverse political children born out of the workers out of their ideas in an imperfect world. When a thinker like Bertrand Russell who was once a Shelleyan anarchist himself, sees in Plato an authentic ancestor of Fascism and Nazism, one is not surprised at the perverse interpretation put upon a thinker like Rousseau whose thinking had a looser and less close knit quality than Plato's. Indeed all statements of doctrine suffer this kind of perversion. In the essay on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Prof. Cole points out how while it sought to reconcile the rights of men as *men* and their rights as *citizens*, it became the basis of the totalitarianism of the Revolution in its later phases and of the Napoleonic war regime and in its world influence, the basis of the doctrine of sovereign nationalism on the one hand and of the totalitarian conception of democracy now embodied in the Soviet satellite states on the other.

What is most refreshing in these discussions is that Prof. Cole still remains fundamentally loyal to the central ideal of human liberty conceived as the freedom of the individual man to shape his personal life in accord with his own self-wrought intellectual and moral faith,

THE PURANA INDEX VOL. II.

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,
University of Madras.

The Puranas form an important branch of ancient Hindu literature treating of creation and the genealogies of gods and semi-divine personages who figure in the history of ancient dynasties. In a way most of these gods and demi-gods are familiar enough to the general Hindu public, who are brought up in a tradition of oral religious teachings at home by way of stories inculcated from childhood and also by means of Kalakshepams and general religious discourses in temples. Even to-day the custom of a priest or pandit reading and expounding the thrilling episodes of the Puranas with religious piety is common enough in the remotest villages. Thus a knowledge of the stories and the characters that figure in them is widespread in Hindu households. Yet the exact relationship of different gods and goddesses that figure in the Puranas is seldom within the knowledge of laymen. Foreign scholars interested in Indian lore generally lose themselves in the multiplicity of names and there is no work of reference from which they could glean the precise relationship and position of the Purana characters.

Prof Ramachandra Dikshitar has done a valuable piece of work in compiling a Dictionary of such names, with appropriate annotations and interpretations of ancient beliefs together with summaries of Puranic stories. He has dealt with five of the eighteen Puranas dating from fifth century B.C. to fifth century A.D. As a book of reference it is invaluable to scholars and the two ponderous tomes which have been published under the auspices of the Madras University give us a measure of the enormous amount of labour and research involved in a work of this kind. He has done for the Puranas what Keith and MacDonnell have done for Vedic literature and that is no small praise. Though the index is in English—it was a happy thought as otherwise it would not be very intelligible to foreign savants—it is compiled in the order of Sanskrit alphabet.

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

By Richard D. Hoffner,
(A Mentor Book.) The New American
Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York 22.

In this book we have the text of the 35 major documents which have shaped American history since the Declaration of Independence. Along with the Documents are notes and passages explaining the significance of each document together with an objective interpretation of its place in the sequence of American history. Students of public affairs and legislators and politicians will find in it an authentic record of historic transactions. As a source book of history it is invaluable. The record includes Roosevelt's speech on the Four Freedoms, the text of the Atlantic Charter and the Secretary of State George C. Marshall's great speech which meant so much for the rehabilitation of Europe.

THOSE DEVILS IN BAGGY PANTS. By
Ross S. Carter (A Signet Book) The
New American Library, 501 Madison
Ave. New York 22.

This is a war book of thrilling exploits and hairbreath escapes. The title of the book, a phrase culled from the Diary of a German Officer, is apt enough and fully expressive of the daring and death defying adventures of a suicide squad in the African deserts. Carter was one of the three men who survived the suicide, stands of his platoon of paratroopers. Bound together by deep comradeship and extraordinary daring the unit set incredible records of heroism in this bloody combat. Yet the men were ordinary enough—drawn from all ranks with their normal likes and dislikes, loves and hates, women and wine. They achieved an epic grandeur in their deeds. Carter himself who survived the fire and thunder of the Battle of the Bulge died of cancer in his 28th year! It is a story of tough life and noble gallantry.

THE FINANCIAL EXPERT. By R. K.
Narayan Methuen & Co., Ltd.,
36, Essex St., Strand, London.

This is the prosaic and unpretentious title of Mr. Narayan's latest novel which throbs with human interest Margayya of Malgudi, the financial expert, passes through vicissitudes of fortune from poverty to opulence and ultimately to insolvency and complete ruin brought on by his own greed and cupidity. Mr. Narayan has already familiarised us with the typical features and characters of the locality with an uncanny power of delineation, and in Margayya he has created an engaging character which grips us from start to finish. There is a charming simplicity in his treatment

of a complex character in the setting of a Hindu household—a treatment which gives ample scope for unaffected humour. The story moves with the ease and smoothness of a running stream. Mr. Narayan has incidentally, more than one dig at the ineptitude and corruption so rampant in certain quarters. And he touches them all with the sure and unerring instinct of an acute observer of human foibles, yet with a kindly humour made all the more attractive by his homely and simple diction. He has indeed reached a high level of competency in handling themes of this kind with the sureness and mastery of one who knows how to tell a story well and keep the reader's attention in excellent humour.



HARRY S. TRUMAN AND DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER confer at the White House in Washington. "We have worked out a framework of liaison and exchange of information between the present administration and the incoming administration."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 1 Maldives made a Republic.
 Jan. 2 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates 40th Session of Indian Science Congress at Lucknow.
 Jan. 3 Mr. Attlee arrives in New Delhi.
 Jan. 4 Mr. Justice Wanchoo defines scope of enquiry re Andhra State.
 Jan. 5 Andhra University celebrates Silver Jubilee.
 —Mr. Churchill welcomed by Eisenhower in New York.
 Jan. 6 Asian Socialists' Conference meets at Rangoon.
 Jan. 7 Justice Wanchoo arrives in Madras.
 Jan. 8 Madras Govt. withdraws recognition of city constabulary association.
 Jan. 9 Rangoon conference decides to set up a separate Asian Socialistic organisation to establish liaison with Socialist International.
 Jan. 10 Maulana Azad opens new buildings housing Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in Delhi.
 Jan. 11 Nyasaland chief opposes Central African Federation.
 Jan. 12 The Pope creates 24 new Cardinals including Archbishop of Bombay.
 Jan. 13 Dr. Graham meets Indian and Pakistan representatives in Geneva.
 Jan. 14 Commander in Chief, General Cariappa lays down his office.
 Jan. 15 Gen. Maharaj Rajendrasinghji takes over charge as Commander in Chief of India.
 Jan. 16 All India Khadi Board constituted with centre at Bombay.
 Jan. 17 The 53th plenary Session of the Congress meets at Nanal Nagar, Hyderabad, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru presiding.
 Jan. 18 Premier Naguib of Egypt abolishes all political parties.
 Jan. 19 Gandhian Seminar concludes: Delegates honoured by Delhi University.
 Jan. 20 Eisenhower takes over charge of U. S. Presidentship from Truman.
 Jan. 21 French and Spanish Generals confer on Morocco.
 Jan. 22 Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer accepts Vice-Chancellorship of Annamalai University.
 Jan. 23 Delimitation Commission appointed with Sri N. Chandrasekara Iyer as Chairman.
 Jan. 24 Death of Col. Kailas Haksar, former Dewan of Bikaner, aged 74.
 Jan. 25 N. R. Sarkar, former member of Viceroy's Council, dead, aged 70.
 Jan. 26 Republic day celebrations.
 Jan. 27 Mr. C. P. N. Singh appointed to succeed Mr. Trivedi as Governor of Punjab.
 Jan. 28 Central Academy of Dance, Drama & Music inaugurated by President in Delhi.
 Jan. 29 Pakistan rejects Nehru's proposal for 'No war' declaration.
 Jan. 30 Seven artistes created first Fellows of the Music Academy.
 Jan. 31 Madras Cabinet decides to have separate figures for Andhra in new Budget.
 —Recall of U. S. fleet from Formosa reported.



LATE MR. N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR



READERS' DIGEST



EMERGENCE OF NEW INDIA

We offer our cordial greetings and goodwishes to the *Prabuddha Bharata* on its entering the 58th year of its career. It is a journal with a high tradition which it has maintained untarnished for half a century. In the issue before us we have excellent articles on a variety of subjects of deep interest to lovers of wisdom.

India to-day is once more awake, vital, and free, and is seeking to regain her rightful place in the van of civilization, says the Editor in his Notes and Comments. The springs of her national life-current have remained as powerful and sound as ever principally due to the fundamental spiritual unity of her culture. The call of the Vedic sages, addressed to her sons and daughters in the following unequivocal terms, is still ringing in their ears: 'Subdue the senses, give alms, and be compassionate. Practice these three virtues—control of the senses, charity, and compassion' (*Brahadaranyaka Upanisad*, V. ii 3). The tremendous energy and creative vigour which we are witnessing to-day in the life of our nation are not an expression of her political revival alone. They spring from a deeper level, from the indomitable urge of the Indian spiritual genius for perfection and progress, expressing itself in and through every individual citizen. The impact of India with the West appropriately served to stimulate her life, enabling her to accomplish a fresh spiritual and social readjustment and to revitalize the course of her cultural life.

COST OF EXPEDITION

The Swiss Alpine Institute has disclosed that the total cost of the second Swiss Everest expedition after failing to conquer the mountain, was 312,000 francs (£26,000).

The expedition used more than 250 porters three of whom lost their lives, the Institute added.

MIDDLE EAST DEFENCE

Senior British and American officials have drawn up a detailed new plan for the defence of the Middle East, vital oil and communications area in Western strategy—an authoritative source said.

The plan will be the basis of the approach which Britain is making to Egypt in an effort to break the deadlock over the British garrison in the Suez Canal zone.

The plan has been drafted in the secret talks between Mr. Henry Byroade, head of the Near East Section of the United States' State Department and senior British Foreign Office officials.

The plan has four main interdependent points.

1. A new invitation to Egypt to join the projected Allied Middle East Command as a founder member.

2. Evacuation of more than 50,000 British troops from the Canal base provided Egypt agrees to some form of maintenance of the base installations.

3. Military aid to strengthen Egypt's own armed forces.

4. Economic aid to help Egypt to overcome her present financial and trading difficulties.

Formal invitations will also be sent to the other Arab States to join M.E.D.O. (Middle East Defence Organisation) as the command will be called. The plan's seven sponsors are Britain, France, America, Turkey, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

NUT—SHELL MAG

This is a new monthly of 64 pages modelled on the *Readers' Digest* interspersed with some original articles. The selections are varied and interesting. The Editor Mr. Bhavani Prasad writes a serial "This unkind world"—an autobiographical piece. Besides comments on current affairs there are some attractive features such as movie land, women's world, travel talks, film personalities and short stories. The journal is published from Jaffar Sarang St., Madras and is priced 8 as.

DANGER TO INDIA'S SAFETY

There was a time when the Himalayas were regarded as an impenetrable barrier but with the development of the aeroplane and the Chinese control of Tibet, the Himalayas no longer afford any protection to India against invasion.

This is the view expressed by Dr. Raghunath Singh, M. P., writing on Indian defence in *Hindustan Times*.

If the World War III comes off, one does not yet know definitely how the various Powers will finally align themselves and one must reckon with the possibility of China aligning itself with Powers which may not be very well disposed towards India in spite of her continued neutrality. Under such circumstances the newly acquired strategic importance of Tibet will prove to be a serious disadvantage for India.

It is quite obvious that the possibilities of China sending down her military hordes through Tibet to attack and conquer the Eastern Provinces of India are most remote. But a move for a slow infiltration by Communists into India through Tibet and the possibility of active Chinese support to them is not unthinkable. The need for constant vigilance on these frontiers on this score and for maintaining a rigid check and control on this side over persons coming to India even during peace time seems most imperative.

There is, however, one other eventuality which cannot be completely ignored.

During World War II, the Allies were carrying all supplies for the American bomber force in China and the Chinese armies by air from India over the southern spurs of the Himalayas, usually referred to as the Hump. Only some time back an air-strip has been built up in the Himalayan range in India at a place about 14,000 feet above sea level, and is being successfully used.

These days long-range non-stop flights covering more than 1,000 miles by big planes with sufficient number of passengers and additional load of baggage is only an event of every day occurrence. The Constellations used on the overseas routes can fly non-stop for much longer distances at an altitude of 25,000 feet.

The average height of the Tibetan plateau is about 16,000 feet above sea level, while the average elevation of the main ranges of the Himalayas, that intervene between the Tibetan plateau and India, is 20,000 ft. though it has quite good many high peaks rising above even 24,000 ft. The snow line on the plateau reaches 20,000 ft., while the mean summer temperature there is about 60 degrees F.

Now the question is whether long-range aircrafts can conveniently take off from air bases on a plateau more than 16,000 feet above sea level, and whether they will be able to directly cross the

Himalayan range and its mighty peaks without any difficulty.

It seems more or less certain that such a thing will definitely not remain impossible for very long. Again, it is not difficult to find out suitable spots on the Tibetan plateau for building air bases, and then the southern portion of the plateau will easily become the jumping ground for possible air attacks on India.

The entire Gangetic plain with its prosperous crowded cities right from Delhi to Calcutta will then be within easy bombing range from such air bases in Tibet.

If, therefore, unfortunately India and China do finally become aligned on opposite sides the possibilities of such air attacks on India from the air bases in Tibet cannot be ruled out and hence requisite steps for countering such an eventuality must be thought of in advance and duly provided for. Any unpreparedness of India in this respect will most adversely affect its morale and independence of action.

BRITAIN AND EGYPT

Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour Member of Parliament, writing in a recent issue of *New Statesman and Nation*, says that Egypt has called Britain's "military bluff." There is every reason why Britain should evacuate the Suez Canal Zone as soon as the Sudan issue is settled, asserts Mr. Crossman.

Recounting his impressions of a visit to the Canal Zone, Mr. Crossman says that although it has "long ceased to be a strong point on the lifeline of the Empire," soldiers in the Zone are trying to force politicians in London to make up their minds whither to move.

He says evacuation of the Zone would mean a financial loss to Britain, "far greater than that of Abadan," but the issue now is whether "we go with good or bad grace." He qualifies his impressions by saying: "If the information I received in Cairo and Fayid is correct", and "if this is a fair picture of the situation", but his conclusion on all counts was that "actual withdrawal must commence."

Mr. Crossman reviews events in Egypt over the past year and says up till January, 1952, it was the British Embassy in Cairo that had argued for evacuation of the Canal Zone. "Twelve months ago" he says: we talked loudly about calling the bluff of the Wafdist politicians. In fact, it is our vast military bluff which has been called.

THE ASPIRATIONS OF ASIA

Mr. Oscar Ewing, the United States Federal Security Administrator who is retiring as head of the U.S. Government's social services reporting to President Truman on his recent trip to India and the Far East said there were four aspirations dominating the mood of the free nations of Asia. These were the preservation of their freedoms, world peace, economic progress, and continued friendship with the United States.

Mr. Ewing said that in every country he visited he was asked if the U. S. would supply more technicians, medical authorities and experts in social security.

"I am convinced this is the real road along which Asia will walk away from the orbit of Moscow," he said in a statement.

Mr. Ewing said the leaders of all the countries he visited were alert to the menace of Communism. He said:

They have rejected it because they treasure their hard-won independence. After centuries of colonialism, they have no intention of becoming satellites of any other nation.

Yet the invidious and creeping propaganda of the Kremlin is not to be ignored. The continent is in a ferment, living conditions for teeming millions are sub-standard, and many of the educated classes lack outlets for their abilities and dreams. These conditions provide fertile soil for the Red agitators.

The answer to the Communists is an improved standard of living for the Asians. They are making great strides in that direction. Our country must help them to achieve this goal.

In India I had the opportunity of addressing many university students, educators and welfare workers.

In other countries, my contacts were largely with welfare workers, educators and health authorities. These gave me an opportunity to explain what we do in America to bring health, education and economic security to the greatest possible number of our people.

Mr. Ewing said the Communist has tried to build up a portrait of the average American as interested only in making "money" sex films, Wild West shows and the like.

He declared the U.S. could counter-act that propaganda "with the simple facts" of what the U.S. was doing for its individuals and their families through welfare programmes.

"TRAILER HOMES"

Describing in the *Sunday Times* the glamour of cars in U.S.A., Mr. K. Subramaniam who visited America as a member of the Indian Films delegation, writes of the 'Trailer Homes' which have become very popular in the United States.

The "Trailer Home" is just like owning a house itself. A trailer is built on wheels and it is priced from \$4000 to \$10,000. Within the last two years I was told more than eleven lakhs of trailers have been sold. Even rich people instead of buying houses prefer to buy trailers and live in them. They are perfectly equipped little homes with all the conveniences of drawing room, bed room and everything provided within. Every city has got exclusively maintained areas called the trailer parks. Every park, can contain ten to fifteen thousand trailers and when once you go round into these trailer parks you feel as if you are visiting a colony or a street with several pre-fabricated houses on wheels. The parks are permanent commercial institutions specially catering to the trailer owners. In Los Angeles I found that people had been living in trailers for the past three and more years. They live with their families inside the trailer. They use them just as we use our home. They go out to their office, to their work and come back to the trailer. In the park there are common swimming pools, restaurants, library and such other amenities. If a workman feels like taking a holiday after 9 or 10 months' work in the office and if he decides to go about a 1000 miles off to another city he has simply to telephone to the authorities of the trailer park of the city he is visiting and that park authorities will immediately make arrangements to transport the trailer from the place to theirs and so the man goes on his holiday with his own home. Trailer homes are becoming more and more popular and trailer manufacturing companies are finding it very difficult to cope up with the demand. This is another example of the informality of American life.

UNESCO REGIONAL CONFERENCE

The Unesco Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education for South Asia and the Pacific, which concluded its 11 day Session at Bombay on December 22, has recommended short-term and long term plans to enforce free and compulsory education in this region.

The long-term plans, formulated by the Conference, require the mobilisation of the resources of the State, and assistance of international organisations. They also call for a partnership between the Union Government, the State Governments, and the local authorities.

Pending the implementation of these plans, the Conference felt that a beginning could be made by enforcing free, and compulsory education in those areas where school attendance was favourable, and by making provision for part-time education.

For achieving co-ordination, the Conference suggested the holding of periodical consultations between Ministries and executive officers of the countries concerned, and the establishment of inter-departmental committees.

Well-trained Attendance Officers should be appointed to take a census of boys and girls of school going age, and to maintain a liaison between the school, and the home.

The Conference suggested that the minimum period of compulsory education should not be less than seven years, with prospects of prolongation.

Member-States have been requested to consider the expenditure on compulsory education as the first charge on the Budget. Methods for raising extra-revenue so as to enable the States to implement the educational programme have also been suggested. These are: The creation of a national capital development fund, and an educational capital development loan fund, and the diversion of special funds.

Each State accepting full responsibility for the implementation of free, and compulsory education is called upon to adopt a plan of teacher-training as an integral part of the general plan.

MARSHAL STALIN'S GESTURE

Marshal Stalin still believes that war between the United States and Russia "cannot be regarded as inevitable." He also holds a "favourable view" of the proposal that a Stalin-Eisenhower meeting is arranged to ease the international tension.

These sentiments were contained in a Moscow Radio broadcast on December 25.

QUESTION: "Wherein lie, in your opinion, the sources of the present-day international tension?"

ANSWER: "Everywhere, and in everything where aggressive activities of the policy of the 'cold war' conducted against the Soviet Union manifest themselves."

QUESTION: "Would you welcome diplomatic talks with the representatives of the new Administration of Eisenhower for the purpose of examining the possibility of a meeting between you and Gen. Eisenhower on the question of easing the international situation?"

ANSWER: "I hold a favourable view of such a proposal."

QUESTION: "Will you co-operate in any new diplomatic measure, designed to put an end to the war in Korea?"

ANSWER: "I am agreeable to co-operate because the USSR is interested in the liquidation of the war in Korea."

Tass reported the questions and answers in Russian.

It is in the form of answers given by Marshal Stalin to questions put to him by Mr. James Reston, diplomatic correspondent of the *New York Times*.

QUESTION: "With the advent of the New Year and the change of administration in the United States, do you still adhere to your conviction that the USSR and the United States can continue to live in peace with each other in the coming years?"

ANSWER: "I still believe that war between the United States and the USSR cannot be regarded as inevitable and that our two countries can, in future, live at peace with each other."

THE MULLAHS HAVE WON

Criticising the recent report of the Pakistan Basic Principles Committee the Left-wing weekly review, *"The New Statesman and Nation"*, said "It looks as if the Mullahs have won." In a special article the journal adds Pakistan has been an independent State for nearly five years but she has not had a constitution.

The proposals of the Basic principles Committee leave no doubt as to the kind of mould the draftsmen envisaged. It is in fact, a Mulla-crazy.

The proposal has been made that the Head of the State must be a Muslim and that he should have advisers well-versed in Islamic law to examine new legislation on their advice. He would refer back to the Legislature any laws which they consider repugnant to the Quran and the Sunnah.

In effect this would give the Mullahs the power to veto, for the final decision would require the majority support of the Muslim members on the grounds that an interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah is involved.

These proposals are quite incompatible with other directives that the State should protect all the legitimate rights and interests of the non-Muslim Communities of Pakistan.

It adds: Many of the directive principles are suggestive of a welfare State.

But, on the vitally important point of the machinery needed to achieve these desirable objectives, the report offers no illumination.

APOSTLE THOMAS'S WORK IN INDIA

Presiding over a meeting in Trichur to celebrate the 19th centenary of the arrival of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in India, His Grace Mar Thomas, Metropolitan of the Chaldean Syrian Church of Malabar, said that it was through the selfless sacrifice, and bold enterprise of St. Thomas, the Apostle, that India received the light of the Gospel of Christ. He commenced his ministry in India at Cranganore, and his first converts were in Chinna Malai Thomas later travelled to Chinna Malai (Little Mount), where he met with great

opposition to Christianity, and finally his martyrdom.

His Grace said that the present celebrations were but a humble token of the love, respect, and deep gratitude of the Christians in South India towards one who had brought light to India. St. Thomas left his kith and kin, and travelled to far off India to spread Christianity. He had succeeded to a large extent, and it was now the duty of the present generation to carry on the mission started by St. Thomas.

His Grace said that Christians should set an example, and be a model for non-Christians for their daily life, and conduct. The responsibility of spreading Christ's teachings rested with the present generation of Christians. Many of the present day Christians lacked the faith, love and sincerity of the early Christians.

His Grace appealed to Christians to cultivate the virtues of love, purity, faith and obedience, which St Thomas, and the early Christians possessed.

SANSKRIT NOT A DEAD LANGUAGE

Professor L. Alsdorf of the Department of Sanskrit at the University of Hamburg, told *Nafan* that he did not consider Sanskrit a dead language. It could be studied at large even at this late hour and be made a living language.

Professor Alsdorf, who has been in India on a four-month study tour, knew several Sanskrit pandits who talked in that language so fluently that, according to him, one could hardly believe that it was a dead language.

He stated that many German students showed keen interest in the study of the language. Some of the post-graduate students were engaged in doing research work which helped them to know many age-old traditions of the Indian sages and people and get to understand the root cause of India's prosperity thousands of years ago.

Professor Alsdorf has just completed the German version of the original Sanskrit work, *Panchatantra*, which will soon be ready for publication.

MORAL REARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Moral Rearmament Conference, attended by delegates from 30 countries, including 11 Asian countries, concluded its ten-day session at Delhi on January 1.

Mr. Gutzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, told the conference that the Moral Rearmament movement provided a nucleus of common thought, and way of life that would eventually envelope the world. "The movement is the need of the day—the need of all of us," he added.

Other speakers at the concluding session of the conference included Mr. Krishna Prasada, Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Kesava Ayyangar, Member of Parliament from Mysore and Mr. James Haworth, Labour Member of Parliament from Britain.

Mr. Krishna Prasada said the Five Year Plan was "the biggest thing attempted since our fight for independence, but more important will be the men who work the Plan. If we remake the citizen, India is remade."

Mr. Kesava Ayyangar suggested that Jaipur House, where the Moral Rearmament team stayed, be made a permanent Asian centre for Moral Rearmament, which could be used as a training centre like Caux in Switzerland.

Mr. Haworth, said even in a Socialist State, nationalised industries, like privately-owned industries, were still run by men and women—and the need of the hour was to change these men and women; and this was the job of Moral Rearmament.

RELICS OF ASOKA'S SON

In response to the desire expressed by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru, and Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, President of the Mahabodhi Society, Ceylon will hand over to India a portion of the relics of Prince Mahinda and Sanghamitta son and daughter of Asoka the Great within 18 months' time, said Mr. T. D. Jayasuriya, Deputy Director of Education in the Ceylon Government.

Six months' solemn preparations will precede the ceremony of handing over the relics, Mr. Jayasuriya said.

CIVIL BENEFITS OF ATOMIC ENERGY

The bulletin of atomic scientists, *American Scientific Magazine*, complained that civil benefits of atomic energy had fallen "far short of popular expectation".

The supply of radioisotopes, the main boon of atomic energy to science and industry, had been abundant, it said but it had yet to produce "a single really great discovery in biology, physics or chemistry or a single revolutionary cure in medicine."

The magazine, whose board of advisers includes atom scientists, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer and Professor Albert Einstein, contrasted this with the increase in the military terror of atomic weapons which had multiplied tenfold since atomic energy was first used. The magazine said the first power plants might be ready in two or three years. But they would either be devoted entirely to military use, as with the atomic submarine, or owe their existence to military products such as the sale of plutonium to the Government.

SWISS EXPEDITION TO EVEREST

Dr. Gabriel Chovalley, leader of the Swiss Everest expedition, indicated at a Press Conference in Geneva that the highest mountain in the world might have been conquered but for the accident which killed one sherpa guide and delayed the assault by 10 days. He admitted that the delay cost them the most favourable post monsoon time—the first week of November to make the final climb to the top.

Other members of the team said that after a combination of bad luck, their morale was so low that they were ready to turn back "but we had come too far to do that." The bad luck began on September 14, when two of the 250 porters died of exposure during the long approach. Then on October 31, a sherpa was killed by falling ice. The next day a runner who was to bring mail arrived empty-handed announcing that the mail pouch was stolen on the train between Patna and Farnagar.

ILLUSION OF AVERAGES

The averages in all countries are themselves illusions, says Shri M.P.T. Acharya in *Harijan*. For as in Russia, the managers and technicians as well as directors get far higher salaries than the averages, in Russia, the managers and Stakhanovites get also bonuses and high earnings for competitive production so that most workers get far less than the average.

If we add earnings of all investors, we will get a higher average "national" income—the average earning between one million and zero will naturally be $\frac{1}{2}$ million—the average between a millionaire and a pauper. That is how national incomes and averages are calculated.

PROLONGING SPAN OF HUMAN LIFE

Ukrainian scientists are at work in an effort to prolong the span of human life. The Institute of Experimental Biology and Pathology in Ukraine has set up a commission to study the physiological foundations of oldness and methods of combating premature aging.

The Chairman of the Commission, Prof. Spasokhinmotsky told a "Tass" Correspondent that they were successfully searching for medicines that help to reduce the blood pressure, restore the memory, increase the muscular strength and raise the resistance of the organism of old people. It is claimed that through these measures human life can be prolonged to 150 years.



This is a very recent photograph of President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mrs. Eisenhower. In his victorious campaign for the Office of President of the United States, he received approximately 33,000,000 votes.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following is the text of the resolution on South Africa adopted by the Congress:

The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gaudhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence Africans, Europeans peoples of mixed racial descent and Indians have made common cause thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial co-operation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations organisation which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilized world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations.

The Congress congratulates the satyagrahis in the Union and those who co-operate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and co-operation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

The Congress trusts that South Africans, of Indian origin, will continue to give their whole-hearted support to the satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be open to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilised nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

Ceylon

CEYLON INDIANS' DISABILITIES

The Congress passed a resolution expressing the opinion that the administrative measures and economic sanctions taken against the people of Indian origin by the Ceylon Government were not in conformity with "justice or international practice." It appealed to the Ceylon Government to give further consideration to this question.

Mr. K. Raghuramiah, moving the resolution, recalled the contribution made by Indians towards the economic development of Ceylon for decades in the past. He said that it would be an act of great injustice if Ceylon were now to turn against those very people who had helped to build the prosperity of the island. He urged those in power in Ceylon to remember the unity, linguistic, cultural and otherwise, that existed between the two countries for centuries and said that India's attitude whatever the provocation, would continue to be one of brotherly co-operation and friendship towards Ceylon. He deplored the oppressive restrictions imposed on the people of Indian origin, making it impossible for them even ordinary existence.

The text of the resolution runs as follows:

The Congress views with grave concern the latest developments in Ceylon in regard to the people of Indian origin, who have long been resident there and who have not been or who are no longer citizens of India. The administrative measures and economic sanctions taken against these people have not only caused them considerable hardship but intend to make them Stateless and thus create a grave situation. The Congress is of the opinion that these measures of the Ceylon Government are not in conformity with justice or international practice and appeals to the Government of Ceylon to give further consideration to this question which is not only important because, it affects large numbers of people, but comes in the way of the friendly and co-operative relations which should exist between such near neighbours as India and Ceylon which have had so much in common from immemorial times.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONGRESS APPEAL TO BIG POWERS

The following is the text of the resolution on foreign policy and the world situation adopted by the Hyderabad Session of the Congress:—

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the evergrowing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival power blocs, engaged "in a cold war," and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, and threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and Governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust, and the acceptance by the great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has rendered the desires of the common people for peace not only ineffective but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and Governments to one another, and as between groups of them in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained, and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the cold war and by other conflicts, should be encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disarmament, and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand dead-locked in world affairs.

The broadening of the United Nations organisation by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularised by the real

Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency.

While recognising the advance made in the colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplores that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed. Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and mutual conflict, exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause of war and human misery, and should be ended.

The Congress records its appreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unshaken by set-backs, inducements and provocations the policy of peace and international co-operation, and non-alignment with power blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contributions towards international understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on International Law.

"The people of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred, and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others. By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world."

CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

The Congress ratified the following resolution of the A.I.C.C. on the Constitution of the Congress:—

In view of certain irregularities and malpractices that have been reported from some parts of the country in connection with the election of delegates for the Congress and in the enrolment of members, the Congress directs the Working Committee to review the entire question of enrolment of members, and elections and other matters connected therewith, with a view to suggesting such changes in the Constitution that may be found necessary to maintain integrity and efficiency in the working of the organisation. The Working Committee may appoint a special committee for this purpose. The Working Committee will forward its recommendations to the All-India Congress Committee which is authorised to take necessary steps under Article XXX for the amendment of the Constitution.

MR. ATTLEE'S BROADCAST IN DELHI

Mr. C. R. Attlee said in a broadcast in Delhi on January 5 that India had a very leading part to play as the greatest power in Asia in the struggle that was going on throughout the world between free institutions and totalitarianism. He said:

I am visiting India again after an interval of 23 years and I am finding the experience most interesting. In the years 1927 to 1929 I paid two visits to India. I travelled the length and breadth of the land and I made many enduring



MR. ATTLEE

friendships. Since then, I have kept up my interest in India and my friendships and I have had the privilege, when I was Prime Minister, of welcoming your Prime Minister as one of the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

And now I come back. It is interesting to see what has been happening. I am struck by the great energy that is being displayed throughout India. Of course, I have not been able to see very much yet. I have only flown across and come to Delhi, but I find Delhi an enormously great place now and I see something of the work that is being done for the refugees, a most difficult problem.

This afternoon, I have been round the Department of Industrial Research and there I think are the foundations being laid of the things which will be of utmost importance to India, that is, the development of the wealth of the country in the interest of all the people. I have been struck in those years when I held responsibility as the Prime Minister of Great Britain of the vital importance of there being a full understanding between the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia and in this matter, it seems to me that India holds a key position because India has its ancient civilisations but at the same time has had such close contacts with the West that Indians are fitted to be the interpreters between East

and West. Further than that India exhibits the most remarkable example of democracy in action in Asia.

I was enormously impressed by the way in which the elections were carried through. In the struggle that is going on throughout the world between free institutions and totalitarianism, it seems to me that India has a very leading part to play as the greatest power in Asia. She, I think, will set the example to other Asian countries that are following along the same course. Above all, I think it is necessary that we should cultivate the closest possible personal relations.

There are very many personalities that bind together the peoples of our countries and nowadays we all meet completely as equals and I find wherever I go a great pleasure in meeting our Indian friends, talking of our common problems because the world to-day is so closely bound up that while Indians must and should take the greatest possible interest in their own problems, they have their part all the time to play in the greater world problems. I have been struck by the statesmanship displayed in the United Nations by the Indian representatives, particularly recently in the attempt to get a settlement of the Korean question.

Therefore I would like to say to all of you who are listening to me here in India that there is an immense fund of friendship for India, sympathy in any difficulties she may face in the belief that holding as we may do so many common ideals we can help the world in moving towards the better days. Days of peace and days of better conditions for the ordinary man and woman. May I close by just saying, God-speed to you all.

LORD BOYD ORR ON THE WAY TO PEACE

Opening the discussions at the Gandhian Seminar at Delhi on January 6 Lord Boyd Orr said:

The first is that the advance of science has created conditions which can eliminate hunger and disease, but which if not properly used can also annihilate mankind. The second is the concentration of power in the hands of a small minority, whether it be in the field of economics or politics. This has led to the third factor which is the political transformation of the world, so that instead of a large number of States of more or less equal strength, there are to-day only two nations which can deploy overwhelming military power. The fourth which, in his opinion, is a hopeful factor in the present situation is the great development in the ethical consciousness of the general masses, mainly as a result of the progress of education. "These four factors together" "have created in the minds of men a great desire for peace but people all over the world are groping for a way by which to achieve this aim."

REORGANISATION OF STATES

The following resolution was adopted on the reorganisation of the States by the Congress after a discussion which lasted over three hours. The resolution says:

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State. These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress.

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganisation of the present States in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial considerations and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each State. The successful implementation of the Five-year Plan must always be kept in view. Any further steps in the direction of reorganisation of States on the basis of language or any other basis, will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State.

The second resolution says: The Congress reiterates its faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international.

In view of the repeated attempts on the part of certain groups in the country to rouse communal bitterness by the reiteration of slogans on the basis of religion which tend to turn the thoughts of men to violence and conflict, this Congress expresses its disapproval and condemnation of these activities, which retard the growth of good feeling and mutual tolerance amongst people professing different religions, to which the Congress is irrevocably pledged. The activities of Congress in regard to the minorities in East Pakistan, who suffer so much from the policy of the Pakistan Government, do not promote in any way the interests of these minorities but make the settlement of the problem more difficult, and further hinder the regulated and progressive rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Congress notes with deep regret the interference of some communal organisations in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir State, which is fraught with grave evil, and hopes that the people of the State will not allow themselves to be misled by such propaganda which can only lead to the disintegration of the State and most unfortunate consequences.

HAKSAR AND SARKER

We regret to record the death at Calcutta on January 24 of Sir K. N. Haksar at the age of 74. Sir Kailas Nath was formerly a Prime Minister of Kashmir and later of Gwalior. He is survived by his only son Mr. H. N. Haksar, and three daughters.

A veteran politician and administrator, Col. Haksar was one of the most prominent figures in Princely circles for well over 30 years—particularly during the long-drawn constitutional negotiations over the Government of India Act. He played a great part in founding the Chamber of Princes and giving it a powerful political status. He was also a well-known scholar and writer.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, industrialist and economist, and former Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council for Education, Health and Land and later on for Commerce, Industry and food and Finance Minister of undivided Bengal, died of heart attack at his residence in Lower Circular Road, Calcutta on January 25. He was 70.

"It is an irony of fate that on the very day when in unveiling his statue his friends and admirers prayed for his long life that Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker should have bidden final good-bye to us and have gone to rest. Throughout his life, said Dr. B. C. Roy,

he has been a strenuous fighter. He fought and won on every count but in his fight against death and disease he lost and yet he won the much needed rest from the trials and difficulties of this world.

DELIMITATION COMMISSION

The Central Government has constituted the Delimitation Commission consisting of Sri Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, Judge of the Supreme Court, Sri Parduman Kishan Kaul, former Chief Justice of the High Court of Madhya Bharat and the Chief Election Commissioner (ex-officio).

Sri Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar has been nominated to be the Chairman of the Commission.

It will be the duty of the Commission to readjust the territorial constituencies in the House of the People and the various State Legislative Assemblies on the basis of the 1951 census figures.

The Commission will be assisted in each State by associate members varying from two to seven in respect of individual States.

ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Diwan Chand Sharma, M. U. P., and Professor of East Punjab University, presiding over the 27th All-India Educational Conference, at Nagpur on Dec. 30, called for the speedy implementation of the University Commission report which, he said, was "the most authoritative document on University education."

He hoped the Secondary Education Commission, appointed by the Government of India, would point the way to "the diversification of our secondary school curricula, so that this bookish education, which has been the bane of our country, is replaced by other forms of education which are productive as well as humane."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, who inaugurated the conference, said basic education had "already become familiar to the nation with its pre-basic preparation, post-basic preparation, and post-basic finish."

Stating that secondary education demanded "thoughtful attention" he said that questions such as its place in the edifice they were planning, the nature of its courses, aims, and syllabi and whether it was a preparation for university courses or self-contained, had to be determined.

Referring to university education he said:

Our endeavour should be to create "a 'rural-urban' or, more compendiously, 'rururban' atmosphere, civilisation, and culture, so that our towns shall be more rural in their outlook, and our villages more urban, and also the education, industry, commerce and the administration of justice, which are today the main attractions of the towns, may be obtained in the villages."

The process may take a long time, but the vision should be there, initiating changes, now and here, which will draw near the day of fulfilment.

In order to make the country literate, and prepare the nation for a single language and literature, Dr. Pattabhi reiterated his plea

that every matriculate should produce a certificate of having turned 50 illiterates into literates, every Intermediate 100 before becoming eligible for admission to the higher class, and every Graduate 250 before taking his degree. This would produce results in 10-years.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Presiding over the Secondary Education Section meeting in the XXVII All-India Educational Conference, Dr. Amarnath Jha said that he had two main observations to make. First, he said, the teachers must be above want. As the teachers were those who imparted education, it was in the interest of the system itself to see that their needs were properly met. Secondly, while mass production was possible in industry, it should not be attempted in education.

Mr. Kuppuswami Aiyengar presented the views of the Federation on aims and objects of Secondary Education. Speaking next on Teachers' training, Miss S. Panendekar said that there was no proper co-relation between the training courses and the school curriculum, particularly in respect of the technical subjects such as handicrafts and home science. It was therefore necessary to reorientate the training courses to make them truly purposeful.

Mrs. Hirlekar presented the views of the Federation on Women's Education and Shriman Narayan Agarwal spoke on the co-ordination of Secondary Education with the University Education. Mr. T. P. Srinivasa Varadhan conveyed the Federation's views on Curriculum. Mr. D. H. Sahasrabudhe and Mr. G. D. Ruge spoke on the average secondary school teacher's life and conditions of service, respectively, and they referred to the host of difficulties the teachers in the secondary schools had to face.

On behalf of the Secondary Education Commission Mr. A. N. Basu thanked the Federation and the speakers and assured that their views would be given all consideration by the Commission.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

Besides the Secondary Education Section, the meetings of the Adult Education Section, Rural and Primary Education Section, Teachers' Training Section, Military Studies, Health and Physical Education Section, Examination Section, University Education Section and Moral and Religious Section were also held.

LAWYERS' CONFERENCE
RESOLUTIONS

The Madras State Lawyers' Conference concluded its Session at Salem after adopting 16 resolutions. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar presided.

Earlier, Mr. K. Rajah Ayyar, appealed for support for the move to form an All-India Bar Federation.

The Conference recommended the formation of Committees in the Districts and Madras City to render free legal aid to the poor, on the basis of the South Arcot Committee. A Benevolent Fund Scheme to help indigent lawyers was also recommended.

The immediate need for the formation of partnerships among junior practitioners to secure greater efficiency was urged.

The Conference said Rule 28-A of the Bar Council Rules requiring Advocates of over 15 years' standing to engage Juniors where the value of a suit exceeded Rs. 5,000 and in other important suits, should be enforced by the Bar Council and High Courts.

The conference urged the formation of Lawyers' Study Circles in each district, and a Central Study Circle in Madras. To avoid delays in printing judgments in second Appeals it was suggested that such printing should be done in the High Court itself.

Railway concessions for lawyers attending conferences, and representation for the Bar on Railway Advisory Committees were requested.

The Government of India was requested to appoint a Committee, including members of the Bar, to consolidate and amend the Civil Procedure Code.

All posts in the Judiciary, including posts of Judicial District Magistrates, should be filled only from lawyers, and it was not desirable to post, I.A.S. Officers as Judicial District Magistrates.

It was urged that all District Munsiffs and Small Cause Judges in Madras City should be exclusively Rent Control Officers in the matter of house rent control.

It was recommended that the judicial powers of Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners of H.K.E. Board be transferred to the Sub-Judges and District Courts of the locality in which the institutions concerned existed or a cause of action arose.

JOURNALS' RIGHT TO CRITICISE
COURTS

The Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that a newspaper has the right to criticise courts.

Justice W. H. Duckworth, in defending the right to criticise, said:....."In this country, we do not have a belief that the king can do no wrong."

He was presiding at a court session hearing arguments on the appeal of two *Atlanta Constitution* editors from contempt of court citations. The prosecutor had contended that court laws were needed to protect the courts against attacks on their integrity.

In reply however, Justice Duckworth said:

Can any court ever strengthen itself by silencing criticism of itself?

The defendants—the editor, Mr. Ralph McGill (who was in India last year on a study tour, and the Managing Editor, Mr. William Field of the *Atlanta Constitution*—had been accused of publishing a "misleading and dishonest" story on traffic violations.

RAZVI'S PETITION DISMISSED

The Supreme Court rejected the petitions of Kasim Razvi and two others under Article 32 of the Constitution against their trial and conviction by the Hyderabad Special Tribunal in the Bibinagar dacoity case.

The Court held that there was no infringement of the fundamental rights of the petitioners.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

COMMERCE CONFERENCE

Presiding over the All India Commerce Conference at Delhi on Dec. 30, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, of the Delhi School of Economics, referred to the final draft of the Five-Year Plan, and the question of capital formation in the long period, and asserted that this could only be done through an increase in the volume of national savings.

This is the essence of the problem of economic development; and it is also the most important problem of the follow-up plans that are intended ultimately to lead to a doubling of the per capita national income.

The only way in which this could be done, he said, was by tapping the national surplus accruing from economic development.

Dealing with the question of how this was to be done, Dr. Rao said:

One way by which this can be done is through public savings; and another is through private savings. In either case, the surplus can be tapped at the source, or it can be collected after it has reached the individual and become a part of his personal income. In fact all the five following methods will have to be adopted:

1. Public savings obtained from tapping the national surplus at the source through public enterprises;
2. Public savings obtained by taxes on the national surplus accruing to individuals and corporations, in the private sector;
3. Private savings obtained by Government loans, and small savings schemes, from the national surplus accruing to individuals and corporations in the private sector;
4. Private savings obtained from tapping the national surplus at the source by the private sector; and
5. Private savings obtained by the private sector through stocks, shares, and debentures from the national surplus accruing to individuals and corporations in the private sector.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar Union Commerce Minister who inaugurated the Conference said an adequate solution of the economic problems confronting the country could not be based on unalterable "a priori" considerations but on approaches largely conditioned by the existing economic and social environments. Factors like India's resources, traditions and the availability of means of development and the limitations imposed by international factors had to be duly taken into account in chalking out policies.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The fifth Annual Session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress concluded its two-day deliberations at Madanagar on December 28 by passing 18 resolutions on subjects ranging from the Five-Year Plan to Industrial Relations.

Meeting under the Presidentship of Mr. Khanubhai Desai, the session was attended by about 1700 delegates, representing nearly 3 lakhs of workers from all over India.

The resolution on the Five year Plan described it as an 'outstanding landmark' in the history of the Nation. While reiterating the firm faith of the INTUC in the 'goal of classless democracy', the resolution said that it agreed with the stand taken in the Plan that in the existing situation private enterprise had a scope in the task of national development.

To ensure, however, that private enterprise, plays its role to the advantage of the community and fits in with the overall picture visualised in the Plan, it is most essential that effective controls must be exercised over it in regard to proper management of industry, production, and cost and price structure, etc.

The resolution referred to the 'deterioration' in the employment position and urged that causes leading to such a situation should be set right and proper safeguards guaranteed against unemployment arising out of such closures or from a process of technological change.

Regarding labour problems the resolution said:

The INTUC finds itself in general agreement with the approach of the Plan to labour problems, especially in regard to industrial relations, working conditions, employment and training and productivity.

It, however, regrets that it cannot wholly reconcile itself to the views expressed in the Plan on the question of wages. Judged from the abnormal rise in the cost of living, the increase in wage in recent years has been almost negligible. Moreover, to equate profits with wages is not a sound proposition. While the INTUC is equally anxious to check inflation in the country, it is definitely of the opinion that the wage policy of the country must be so shaped as to lead to a reasonable standard of living. The report of the Fair Wages Committee should be implemented without any further delay.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Presiding over the opening plenary session of the seven-day Social Science Seminar on the Status of women in South Asia" at Delhi on December 28, Mr. B. N. Rau, Judge of the International Court of Justice said that in a country where women had equal status with men in political matters, no government which wished to remain in power could afford to neglect the 'problems of the home and the child,' problems in which every woman was vitally interested.

The Seminar, organised by the UNESCO in co-operation with the Asian Relations Organisation, is being attended by 23 delegates from Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, India and Pakistan, besides a number of observers and consultants.

Nadim Alva Myrdal, Head of the Social Science Department of the UNESCO, inaugurated the Seminar.

Mr. Rau hoped that the Seminar would dispel any wrong impression at least about some of the countries in South and South-East Asia.

The real argument in favour of equal status for women, Mr. Rau said, was that in a country where women have equal status with men in political matters, no Government, whatever its composition, whatever the composition of its Parliament, no Government which wishes to remain in power can afford to neglect the problems of the home and the child—problems in which every woman is vitally interested.

Mr. J. B. Orrick, Director of the U.N. Information Centre in New Delhi said "where women's rights are not assured, men's rights are not safe either."

Earlier, welcoming the delegates on behalf of the Government of India, Mr. Humayun Kabir, Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Education, said the problem of the status of women was one of the most important problems in the changing social context and atmosphere of Asia.

Dr Appadurai, Director of the Seminar, presided over the deliberations in the afternoon.

With reference to the recent general elections in India, it was pointed out that

only 216 women contested the elections to the State Assemblies and electoral colleges out of a total of 14,573 candidates. In the case of the House of the People women candidates numbered only 51 out of 1871.

An interesting fact that was brought out in this connection was that, among those who were elected, was a preponderance of Congress women.

Discussing the position of women with reference to the elections, the Seminar also considered the question of reservation of seats for women. It was mentioned that Pakistan, unlike India still adhered to the system of reservation of seats for women although women in Pakistan were also permitted to stand from the general constituencies. Unlike in India, women's organisations in Pakistan had also no desire to give up such reservation of seats. In fact it was disclosed that women's organisations in Pakistan had actually demanded recently that 25 per cent of the seats in local bodies should be reserved for women.

Delegates from all countries, however, expressed themselves strongly against such a system of reservation of seats.



Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, Republican National Committee woman for the State of Utah since 1944 is Treasurer of the United States in the Administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The Indian Philosophical Congress could make two significant contributions to the development of philosophical studies firstly by the revival of the essential greatness of the ancient wisdom of India and secondly by the promotion of greater mutual understanding between the East and the West and bringing about a synthesis of the ideas and ideals of the two great philosophical traditions that had met on the soil of India, observed His Highness the Rajpramukh of Mysore opening the 27th session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, at the Crawford Hall, Mysore, on December 28. Dr. D. M. Datta, Professor of philosophy, Patna University, presided.

The Rajpramukh said that in this Congress were gathered people whose daily preoccupation was the quest for ultimate Reality.

India must still continue to lead in philosophical thought in keeping with her great heritage. Unfortunately, in some quarters, philosophy and philosophers received scant courtesy. They were dismissed with scorn as chasers of dreams. Even as a subject of study philosophy was losing its hold in several Universities of India. Looking at the problems of man to-day, deeply caught in the intricacies of a materialist and scientific civilisation, one felt more convinced than ever that it would be perilous for India and the world if she turned away from philosophy where her genius truly lay. It would be unfortunate for India, if her young men and women grow up in ignorance of India's philosophical heritage towards which other nations and civilisations were wistfully turning for solace and illumination.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Vice-President of India, inaugurating the Session said that if the present world were to be led on the path of peace, fundamental ideas of different religious traditions must be co-ordinated with generosity in human relationship and they must interpret *Sutras* and *Brahmasutras* in a liberal sense.

Dr. Radhakrishnan stated that it was only when a generous view of not merely individuals but also of ideas of different philosophies were developed, they would be able to evolve, if not a world philosophy at least a world perspective of philosophy by which they could move on to a better state.

There was to-day a wave of scepticism due to conflicting ideas of materialism and capitalism and there was utter disregard for metaphysics and contempt for the philosophic idea. It was true when they looked at the Western philosophy it was one of empiricism and this empiricism had assumed different shapes and inculcated in men's minds a scientific attitude for judging things. This judging from merely an empirical and scientific point of view would demonstrate utter futility.

Dr. Dharendra Mohan Datta, in his presidential address, said that science had placed at man's disposal tremendous power and resources with which he could make or mar himself. Only by the conscious and wise realisation of his own destiny, could man plan to use the achievements of science.

On the question of modern Indian thought, he said that in contrast with the contemporary Western philosophers they found in the great Indian thinkers

(1) an earnest search for truth in other lands too and search for unity in the diverse peoples and their cultures, (2) an effort to assimilate and synthesize the best wisdom of the East and the West ancient and modern, (3) an international human outlook underlying the Bhagavata to integrate the different concepts of God and the different incarnations of the divinity including the founders of Buddhism and Jainism, (4) the attempt of the Jaina logicians to accommodate the different views of Reality with their doctrine of Syadvada and Anekantavada, (5) the attempts of Vijnanabhiksu and Madhvacarya to interpret the different philosophical systems as a series of gradual steps towards Truth, (6) the attempts of the Medieval saints of India like Kabir, Nanak, Rujab, Ramanand, Chaitanya and others to synthesise the different religions and equalise different classes, (7) the more recent efforts of Rammohan Roy, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Tagore, Gandhi, Aurobindo, Radhakrishnan and others to recognise and utilise the divergent religious and cultural trends for building up, in different ways, non-sectarian traditions in religion, philosophy, literature, society and politics.

He added that if democracy was to avoid, on the one hand, regimentation and suppression of the individual by State and, on the other, the degeneration of free enterprise into capitalist greed and exploitation, the Gandhian philosophy offered a good solution. The world at the cross-roads had two paths before it, one to Communism and the other to Gandhism.

The three-day session of the Indian Philosophical Congress concluded on the 30th.

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