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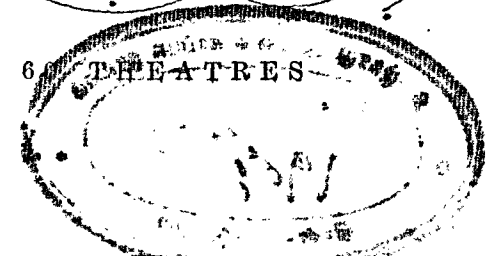
We owe it to the Great Tamil Scholars and the vast Tamil public for having encouraged us to fulfil this rare and privileged task and in all humility we dedicate this film at the Feet of the Goddess of Learning.

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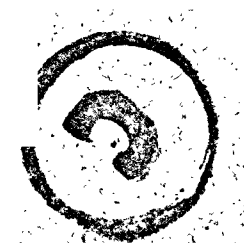
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Index Review



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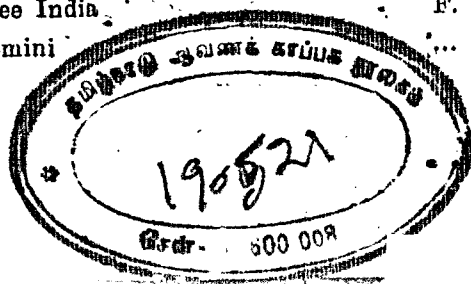
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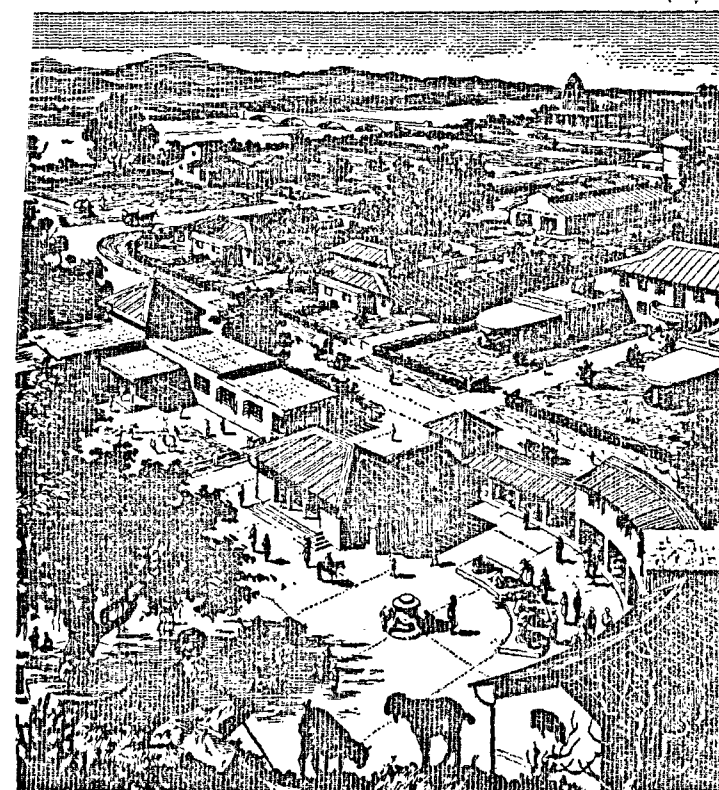
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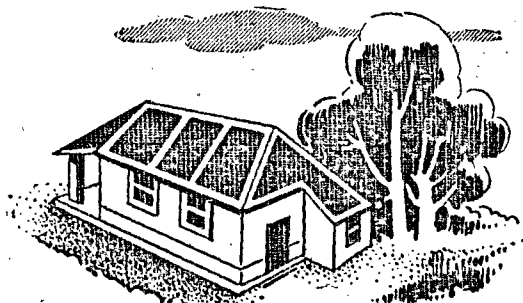
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CHINA'S RADICAL LAND-REFORMS

BY PROF. K. C. PETER

"The seed you sow, another reaps;
The wealth you find, another keeps;
The robe you weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears".
—Shelley.

ASIA to-day is at the crossroads of history. The whole of South-East Asia moves with drama and the most moving story is that of China, condemned as 'the sickman of Asia' in the past. So unexpectedly and deadly swift has been the charge of the new spirit, the spirit of creativity of human labour, that the Chinese, 380-million strong inhabiting 4 million square miles, foresee today an era in which they can advance on their own merits.

Chinese culture dates back to those dim ages whereof thousands of years are added or subtracted without contradiction from experts. History speaks of devastating famines that visit China frequently and repeatedly. Locusts have been laying waste thousands of square miles of luscious green of growing crops. There dysentery, malaria and tuberculosis are accepted as part of normal living. For centuries on end, poverty has been endemic in this nation.

Today, the face of China has changed beyond recognition. The civil war left a wake of socio-economic chaos. The Reds have succeeded in a large way in sweeping China clean of dirt and squalor, of plague and contagion. The Reds have given the people back their smiles.

FROM SICKNESS TO HEALTH

"Hunger is the greatest of all politicians", said Lord Boyd Orr, "people who are short of food and other primary necessities of life and believe these can be obtained will overthrow any govern-

ment or economic system which does not make them available". Facts help to bulwark this conclusion. The Red Chief, Mao T'Se-Tung placed his finger on the real source of trouble—poverty, starvation, death on the one side, and on the other inordinate wealth, conspicuous waste, conspicuous leisure and undigestible luxury-consumption. Now the enemy—starvation—was stopped in its tracks.

Under Kuomintang rule, out of 380 million people, 70% were labourers, 20% middle-class peasants, 6% rich peasants and 4% land-lords. During the period of 1901-1924, 50 per cent. of expected harvest was destroyed; famines broke out and millions lost their lives. The usual rent collected from the peasants was 50 to 70 per cent. of the total produce. The land revenue was too heavy—12 to 15 per cent. of land-value. Rack-renting enabled the land-lords to get back the price of their lands within half a dozen years. Ancient feudal customs compelled the peasants to make a forced supply of water, fuel and cattle to the land-lords. The land-lords lived on the fat of the peasants who slaved to death for them. The money-lenders' interest-rate ranged from 100 to 400 per cent. Borrowing which was frequent sold the peasants into perpetual slavery. Life did hang heavy upon the people. They were innocent victims of circumstances, over which they had no control; but the land-lords had.

The Communist revolution aimed to achieve: (1) a fair and equitable distribution of land; (2) socialisation of heavy industries and all national resources except land; (3) enfranchisement of the masses; and (4) the establishment of constitutional

government. Briefly put, the Communist revolution was a revised and enlarged edition of the TAIPING movement of the 19th century in China. The revolution is to spiral up through three vital stages—(1) New Democracy (2) Socialism and (3) Communism. In the words of Edgar Snow: "The Reds stand up on a moderate agrarian platform with a Marxist colouration".

The results of the first phase of revolution are astounding. Within two years of power, the Reds worked 'the New Democracy' to effect the liquidation of feudalism and monopoly-capitalism. For the first time since 1877 food sufficiency was achieved by China in 1951 only and that under the new leadership. For that year, China had a trade balance of 1.94 per cent, exports over imports. The famine was dwarfed from 20 million acres to 6 million. In 1950 China produced 110 million tons of food; in 1951, 120 million tons; in 1952 she bagged 150 million tons. No wonder, the American editor of the *China Monthly Review* was led to assert that "given ten years of peace and continuous production, China can feed herself and all deficit nations in Asia". Ten million peasants are busy today completing the blue-printed big irrigation projects. This moment, the 'sickman of Asia' is up and doing, working his way towards radiant health. The Red victory on the economic front is the triumph of the will of man over the curse of God (food scarcity and famines). Nature, her rebellion quelled, is back in harness.

AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

Under the Kuomintang regime, 10 per cent. of the rural population owned 75 per cent. of the land. Mao's programme of 'New Democracy' was geared to the end of "wiping out feudalism and monopoly-capitalism." It released the rural productive potential for national reconstruction. The first stage of agrarian revolution is well-nigh over. The second stage—the present one—is organisation of agricultural production through co-operatives and Mutual-Aid teams. In this stage, private property

plays a very vital role. The third and the last stage will effect the shift-over from peasant-proprietorship (of co-operative or individual nature) to agricultural collectivism. Yet, two or three decades more are required still for the switch-over to the last stage.

The peasant-associations in the villages are storm-centres of reform; they are also the culture-clubs providing recreation and useful employment of leisure. These village organisations have to spearhead moves towards rental and interest-rate reduction. The standard rental cut varies from 25 per cent. to 45 per cent. The peasants are obliged by law to stop paying usurious rates of interest on loans issued. Therefore, the Shylocks have to lose their pound of flesh; but law enforces the payment of the principal back to them. These financial sharks—the land-lords—are not killed outright; they are rendered harmless by pulling their teeth out.

The rural community falls under five broad categories: (1) Land-lord—owning vast expanses of land but not cultivating it himself, (2) Rich peasant—owning large tracts of land, but cultivating only a small part himself and the rest leased or rented out, (3) the Middle-peasant—owns and cultivates his small plot and takes lands on lease to make ends meet, (4) the poor peasant—owns no land, depends entirely on lands taken on lease to earn his bread, (5) Hired labourer—owns neither lands nor farm implements and earns his living by sweating for others.

The land-lord is looked down upon as a parasite, whose removal is always welcome. The rich peasant is always a profiteer and has to be held in check. The middle-peasant has to be encouraged, while the poor peasant and the hired labourer shall have lands to call their own—lands to work and live on. The popular courts hear the open complaints against the land-lords with black records. The land-lords, of course, can defend themselves. Usually the land-lords lose the surplus lands they possess. The HSIANG, an administrative unit, takes charge of the confiscated lands; but the work of land re-distribution rests with

the peasant-associations. Besides, these associations sparkplug production drives and sponsor culture-promotion. In these peasant-associations, the lowest two classes have a greater say. New leaders rise out of their ranks adding zeal and vigour to the movement. The pace is swifter now. Today, the Chinese work with redoubled enthusiasm that overrides every discouragement, training themselves to power their will.

AGRARIAN REFORMS

Absentee land-lordism has been driven underground already. Clipped off half of his land, the rich peasant is gentle and tame. China has use of him, for his class supplies the best entrepreneurs for organised agriculture. Hence, while the land-lords are clubbed on the head, the rich peasants are just disarmed. Rich-peasant economy is to continue for another ten or twenty years—till agriculture is mechanised and collectivised.

In October 1949, the People's Republic of China came to stay. Agricultural production had to be stepped up. Industrial production dangerously leans upon agricultural production. Land reforms and stabilised agricultural prices assure the peasant a higher income. Only increased purchasing power in the hands of the peasants can help them buy industrial goods. Present-day China is self-sufficient in food. The money which Kuomintang regime bought an yearly two million tons of food with, is set apart by Reds today to buy capital goods from abroad.

The reappearance of the active voice in the lives of the Chinese today is re-assuring. Only a nation free from want can keep the flame of culture alive. The people work zealously nowadays round the agricultural calendar—ploughing and sowing, reaping and mowing. The only thing for every one of them to do is to set his teeth and go on with it. Paper-plans cannot stave off starvation and distress; only human toil and sweat can.

Mutual-Aid teams in China too claim their share of credit. A number of peasants join together and cultivate their lands in common. The peasants agree

on division of labour and each peasant family does its part. Having pooled together their draft animals and farm implements already, the government help the Mutual-Aid teams with fresh supplies of implements, manures and other requisites. Such voluntary organisations respect the individual's property-rights and try out new techniques of production which the single cultivator flights shy against.

The government have decided to soft-pedal through the whole programme of land-revolution. No haste or hurry is evidenced anywhere. Modern China rests on her own oars in the matter of food. "The real problem of the new Chinese granary or kitchen is how to eat food of better quality, greater variety and of more vitamin-values", says China's food Minister. New China is not particular of mechanising farms or collectivising them all on a sudden; for then, technological unemployment will result. Machines shall not be allowed to drive out agricultural labourers, until industries are strong enough to take them over.

Land-revenue assessment in China is based upon principles of social justice. To assess land-revenue three vital factors are taken into account. (1) The size of the peasant's family. (2) His agricultural produce. (3) His untaxed non-agricultural income. The total amount of agricultural produce is then divided by the number of family-members and the resultant forms the measure for land revenue assessment. This method has proved beneficial in promoting families happiness and social solidarity. Through currency reforms and stabilisation of industrial and agricultural prices, the Communists have put the shillings back in the pound.

CHINA FACES THE FUTURE

Modern China is not a nation of a dominant few and a suppressed many. China has been called 'communistic', a label she passionately rejects.

The famed Gandhian economist, J. C. Kumarappa, who was on a six-week tour of China says:

The first thing that strikes the visitor is their communal cleanliness. Cities like Canton and Shanghai, noted for their filth and dirt in the

past, miss our ubiquitous friend in India—the fly. . . The shops were full of consumers' goods, other than luxury articles. Though the prices were high, yet because of the government's programme of regulating prices, these latter were steady and shared little or no fluctuation. There was plenty of food everywhere including fruits and the prices were reasonable. . . . Land-revenue is collected in kind. With this stock, part of salaries of government employees are paid in kind. . . The range of income had been shrunk and the difference between the rich and the poor had been considerably narrowed down. . . . At Canton, prostitution and vagrancy have been banished within an year by providing gainful occupation to these erstwhile outcasts.

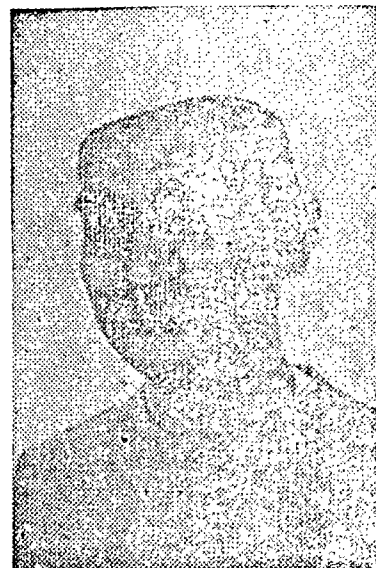
These matter-of-fact observations of Kumarappa are well worth our consideration.

Those who visited China say that China's 'ism' may be anything but communism. Kumarappa thinks that the Chinese brand of communism is a kind of 'national joint family' and will surely take to the path of non-violence in due course.

A new day has dawned in China, bright with hope, stirring with nascent collective happiness. Nay, China is born anew, holding forth promises of a roseate future.

THE PRESIDENT ON OUR WELFARE STATE

Our Constitution commits us to the creation of a Welfare State in India. We are determined to spare no pains in bringing about the desired consummation as early as possible. Most of the States have already gone far ahead with the programme of eliminating the middle man between the State and the tiller of the soil. Zamindaris have either been abolished or are in the process of abolition. Legislation of momentous importance for reducing the existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth is at the moment before our Parliament. Progress has also been made in respect of enacting suitable laws for ensuring fairer treatment to labour.



Another important step has been taken this month towards the nationalisation of a key industry, by the State taking over all air services operating in the country.

Important as this progress is, we have to reckon that we have still much leeway to make up to banish poverty, hunger and illiteracy from India. To the achievement of that goal must bend the energies of our Government and every citizen of the soil.

The Five-Year Plan and the Community Project Scheme, which are being implemented and have made good progress, are at the moment

the centre of the nation's hopes. Let it not, however, be forgotten that in the materialisation of these plans, people's co-operation is a vital factor.

FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE

A REVIEW OF PROBLEMS

(BY "AN ANDHRA PUBLICIST")

THE imminent formation of the Andhra state is undoubtedly a matter of special significance to the Andhras; it is also an event of national significance in its being potentially the precursor of a wider redistribution of state boundaries on a linguistic basis. In this movement for linguistic division some envisage a latent proneness to a secessionist tendency while others a tendency to the disintegration of national homogeneity. Neither of these prognostications is justified. So far as Andhra formation is concerned, given wise and efficient management, which we may expect Andhra leadership to provide, it should be a bulwark of national strength and solidarity. The greater opportunity afforded to the Andhra people to develop their natural resources and to advance the economic, cultural and other interests of their state would doubtless prove a source of greater stability of the Indian Union, of which it will be an integral part.

The partition it involves of nearly a century old state of Madras, with its high traditions of progressive and efficient administration, does cause a pang. Compositeness is indeed a source of power when related to internal unity, but it can be a source of debility and weakness when accompanied by internal stresses and friction. Rightly or wrongly recent years have witnessed an increasing friction and stress between Tamils and Andhras, which could be effectively encompassed and countered only by partition in a friendly and brotherly spirit. Whether it is regarded as a concession to the linguistic principle or as a concession to the requirements of administrative convenience, the division was, therefore, inevitable and eminently desirable. On the whole it is a concession to the facts of the situation, with the ardent hope in the background that time, the great healer, would restore amicable relationship between the two people.

Division of an existing administrative unit and setting up of a separate state

has inescapably led to a spate of problems clamouring for settlement prior to the actual act of separation. Questions pertaining to boundaries, to division of financial assets and liabilities, to the allocation of administrative personnel, to selection of sites for the state capital and so on have cropped up.

It cannot be considered that through expressions of opinion on the Andhra State Bill deliberated upon by the Madras legislature all these issues have been decided in a manner completely satisfactory to the Andhra or to the residuary state. But the new state's problems are of special significance in consideration of the compulsive fact that on the one hand it would have to build a capital for itself wherefrom its Government could function and on the other it would have to commence its career with a financial deficit, which may have a cramping effect on progress. Having decided upon Kurnool as the temporary capital, the new state would have to strain every financial nerve to make that town capital worthy by expending anything from Rs. 40 lakhs to a crore of rupees on building construction and other needs. It is superfluous to enter into details of the considerations which prompted the selection of Kurnool as capital; but having selected it, Andhra political parties and their leaders have to justify their choice by functioning unitedly and in concert so as not only to make Kurnool acceptable to Andhras as a whole but also to sustain the political unity that resulted in its selection a feature of their future relationship to one another. It is the hope that Rayalaseema, having in exercise of its choice under the Sri Bagh pact secured the location of the capital in its area, would wholeheartedly join hands with the Circars districts people and endeavour to make the new state administration a success.

The Andhra state enters upon its separate existence with a preliminary grievance about the transfer of Bellary

taluk and some other parts of Bellary district to Mysore state, following an *ad hoc* investigation by Mr. Justice Misra. The Government of India's decision to accept the Misra recommendation in this respect has resulted in keeping a sore bleeding, whereas this could have been avoided by postponing a decision on the issue until the high-power boundary commission contemplated by them had gone into it along with other unresolved boundary disputes. To Andhras labouring under a sense of grievance for the loss of portions of Ganjam district to Orissa and uncertain whether or when the Telugu-speaking areas in Hyderabad state would be brought within its compass, the Centre's apparently final allocation of Bellary taluk to Mysore has come as a double injury. The Madras Legislative Assembly's recommendation that boundary issues between Andhra, Madras, Orissa and Mysore states should be referred to the boundary commission should be regarded in the context of this salient consideration. Undoubtedly, so far as this correspondent can see, there is no disposition on the part of any section of Andhras to disregard the justifiability of the contention that certain disputed areas in Chittoor district should also be included in the Commission's terms of reference.

The apportionment of assets and liabilities of a financial nature between the Andhra and residuary states had been a source of acrimonious exchanges for some time. With the abandonment of claims over Madras city by the Andhras with all its financial implications, and the consequent need to develop a capital almost from scratch, with practically no liquid assets to share, with an overhanging uncertainty regarding the Centre's intentions to finance its ways and means position in the initial stages, and with heavy liabilities to be incurred to complete the Tungabhadra project and extend relief to famine-stricken Rayalaseema, the Andhra state would start its career with a disheartening prospect. The complications implicit in a precipitate decision on division of assets and liabilities between the two

states, involving transactions of various degrees of complexity extending over some decades, are nevertheless unignorable. Any rough and ready scheme of apportionment devised on the basis of a cursory examination of the problems involved, is inherent with possibilities of being inequitable or unjust to either state. On a balanced appreciation of the issue, it seems altogether wise and good that the Madras Assembly suggested its remittance to a President-appointed expert finance committee. Whether it was equally wise and good to hamstring the committee in advance by incorporating the omnibus rider that, except in regard to physical assets like buildings, land and equipment, the division should be on a population basis, is open to question. In any event, it seems essential to ensure that adoption of the suggested procedure of instituting an expert committee would not interfere with the timetable for the state's formation. This latter should follow the appointed schedule while a presidential order could regularise the apportionment in course of time after the committee has made its report.

The issue of allocation of services' personnel between the two states touched off a keen controversy, the reason being a notable deficiency of Andhra officers in key all-India services like the I. C. S., the I. P. S., and the I. S. E. and the indispensability of designating non-Andhra officers for service under the new state Government. While generally agreeing that Andhra or Andhra-domiciled officers should be posted for permanent service in the state, rigid enforcement of the rule is impracticable because not all Andhra officers in the all-India services serving outside it can be repatriated to Andhra without causing dislocation elsewhere. On the other hand non-allocation of some experienced and senior officers, though non-Andhras, to the Andhra state would be prejudicial to efficient and good administration. This consideration is paramount; but equally important is the consideration that the terms of allotment of non-Andhra personnel should not on the one side be such as to prevent them from giving their best to the new state and should not be so framed

on the other that they would be restrictive of the Andhra Government's competence to enforce disciplinary action against them without the express concurrence of the residuary state's Government.

The imperative need for efficient and sound administration and for having as many Andhra officers in key positions in departments like the police and engineering and general administration to ensure loyal and expeditious dispatch of public business has to be reconciled with the patent shortage of such officers. It is no reflection on the loyalty or the goodwill of non-Andhra officers to say that apprehensions entertained by some of them about the treatment they would receive under the Andhra Government are unwarranted and that they should not insist on protective safeguards of a restrictive character against possible discrimination. The Madras Assembly has decided to leave the issue to be determined by the Government of India after taking into account the views expressed by representatives of the Andhra state, and the President's order on personnel allocation would, it is hoped, settle a delicate issue without detriment to the interests of non-Andhra personnel allocated to Andhra.

Two other issues pertaining to Andhra separation to which reference should be made are those of the Andhra High Court and the existence of a second Legislative Chamber for the state. It would have been highly appropriate if, along with the creation of the new state, a separate High Court for it had also been designated. As it is, both Andhra and the residuary states will have a common High Court until the Andhra legislature resolves to have a separate court for Andhra, whereupon the location of that institution will be decided on the recommendation of the Chief Justice of the new court and the endorsement of the choice by the state Governor. Public opinion expects that the requisite resolution would be adopted by the Andhra legislature at its first session, and that thereafter arrangements would be made for the separation by the President. The legislature is expected

to determine a seat for the court too, which should be in a Circars' town in conformity with the terms of the Sri Bagh pact. It can be reasonably hoped that the deadline of July 1954, set by the Assembly for the establishment of the Andhra High Court, would in no event be ignored or by-passed.

When upper houses or second chambers are being considered either superfluous or fifth wheels in the state coach in many countries and when, in the particular case of Andhra, financial considerations are decisive against the continuance of a redundant institution, the Government of India were justified in refusing to provide for a second house. An academic disputation for and against a second chamber may be carried on, but practical and financial factors heavily outweigh the theoretical ones that can be urged in support of its existence in a new state like Andhra. While the Madras Assembly voted down the proposition for a second chamber by a negative vote, it is curious, though not completely incomprehensible, that the Madras Legislative Council should have voted for a counterpart of itself in Andhra. In the final analysis, the Centre should be expected to realise which view should prevail.

The separation of the Andhra state on October 1st, will be a momentous occasion for Andhras in one way; but in another way, it would probably be the beginning of their real worries. Indubitably the more difficult and complicated part of the problem confronting them is to render the state's administration efficient and to promote the economic prosperity of the Andhra people. What it requires is not only efficient administration but a stable political leadership and its concomitant of a stable government. It is true that every state gets the government it deserves, but in the case of a new state like Andhra the government it gets should be the best possible.

At the moment the position in this respect oscillates between hope and despair—hope that the democratic parties in the state, the Congress, the Praja

Socialist and the Krishak Lok, would evolve a formula for active co-operation and working together for the state's welfare and despair that party rivalries and personal factors may unfortunately obstruct that consummation. An understanding on the basis of such co-operation, it is hoped, would be forthcoming clearly in advance of October 1st, so that a ministry composed of representatives of these groups can be installed in office simultaneously with the state's inauguration. Nothing can be more damaging to the prestige of the Andhras or more destructive of the fundamental basis of a separate statehood for which they aspired so long than for the new state to commence its career with President's rule. The encouraging aspect of the situation is that despite their holding aloof so far from one another, there is among the three parties mentioned a clear perception of the fact that the progress of Andhra state in the initial years is intermixed with co-operative attitudes governing their mutual relations, leading as they should to a sharing in political responsibility. This is essential at least until the next elections, which may result in a clearer enunciation of its views by the electorate and, therefore, to the formation of a government of unimpeachable stability.

Immediately, Mr. Chandulal Trivedi's appointment as special officer for Andhra affairs is presumably intended to facilitate a smoothening of the path of transition from one system to another, between now and the appointed day. To assist Mr. Trivedi to complete preliminary arrangements for the inauguration of the state, an advisory committee of Andhra representatives has been set up. Such an arrangement involving participation of Andhra representatives in tasks bearing on the state's separation can be a valuable expedient, provided these latter are assured that any advice vouchsafed by them would be morally binding on the special officer. Its sole

and ultimate justification will rest on to what extent it would ultimately consummate in the participation of the parties to which these representatives belong in ministry-formation.

At the time of writing, the Andhra State Bill is being debated in Parliament in New Delhi, while in Madras, Mr. Chandulal Trivedi is engaged in the task of hammering things into shape to facilitate inauguration of the state on the appointed day. A town of tents is springing up at Kurnool, while other arrangements for separation are being speeded up so that the new state Government, can set up "house" at its temporary habitation. It is highly unfortunate that controversy should persist in respect of and uncertainty should hang over continuance of the temporary capital at Kurnool, with its potentially undesirable repercussions on the vital issue of Government formation. The Government of India's indecision, amounting to continuous wobbling, on this pivotal question has set in train a spate of interminable speculation, which could have been avoided by a clear enunciation of their definition of the word "temporary", which indubitably points to some other place which in their view would be the permanent capital of the Andhra state. A further complication has arisen by their interlinking the question of solution of a capital town by Andhras with that of the financial assistance which would be available to Andhra from the centre for developing that town.

Nevertheless, let us hope that now that Andhra separation is a practical reality, it would be possible for all sections and parties who are involved in and concerned with it to forget past acerbities and distrusts and to wish each other god-speed in the promotion of the wellbeing and progress of the people of South India, which currently is a composite state but which will very soon be divided into two units.

Arab States and the Western Powers

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

INTERNATIONAL political developments are being greatly influenced by the gigantic problems which now face the Arab States. It is demanded by Egypt that British troops should be evacuated from the Suez Canal Zone unconditionally. Besides Iraq and Saudi Arabia want to further increase their oil royalties which at present stand at fifty per cent. of the net profits. On the other hand Syria, Lebanon and Jordan are desirous of settling the refugee problem. It seems that the Arab leaders at present are not perturbed by the Arab world's proximity to Soviet Russia, though they are aware of what in 1946 happened in Iran and is now taking place in the Asian countries. The Arab leaders have on more than one occasion expressed displeasure at the policies followed by the Western Powers and have threatened to enhance relations with the Communist bloc with a view to influencing the Western Powers to develop a pro-Arab attitude. It is reported that General Mohammed Naguib, Premier of Egypt, is trying to compel England to evacuate the Suez Canal Zone by threatening to enhance relations with Soviet Russia and the States included in the Soviet bloc. Soviet Russia also has of late cut off diplomatic relations with some countries in order to win support and friendship of the Arab States. It is learnt that the Soviet authorities have offered timber and machinery to Lebanon, agricultural machinery and planes to Syria, and tanks and wheat to Egypt. Reports received from Cairo state that the present cry of the communist parties in the Middle East is that "bread for the poor, work for the jobless and peace for the peace-loving Arab peoples." But the Arab nationalist leaders demand that the independence of the Arab States should be respected. Not only that. They desire that before any determined steps are taken to create the Middle East Defence Organization an assurance should be given to this effect that the Arab Sovereignty should under no circumstances be violated. It is apprehended in Arab quarters that there is every possibility of Arab nationalism

being jeopardized by the ever-increasing Israeli danger, the presence of British troops in Egypt and the British trained and equipped Iraqi and Jordanian armies. According to the Arab nationalist leaders threat to Arab nationalism and sovereignty comes primarily from Israel. Further, as the Arabs believe that the creation of Israel was possible due to the British and American help, the proposals made with a view to bringing about a better understanding between the Arab States and the Western Powers have not been successful. In the opinion of the Arab political commentators the Western Powers fail to understand that Israel threatens the existence of the Arab world. The reports received from Washington indicate that during the Truman regime the American attitude towards the Arab States was dependent upon Zionist advice. Determined efforts were also made to formulate American Arab policy with an eye to the British policies and interests. These facts, according to the political circles, constituted a hindrance to the successful settlement of the Sudan and the Suez Canal problems and to Arab unity. President Eisenhower is concerned over the defence of all regions bordering the communist countries. According to him the Arab world is the bridge between West and East. He believes that in a future world conflict this bridge will be very significant. This fact accounts for American desire to revise Arab policy. As a result of the recent fact-finding visits by U.S. State Secretary Dulles the U.S. authorities have come to recognize that the Middle East has been transformed into the world's basic centre of gravity. Besides the U.S. political leaders want to establish a genuine understanding between the Arab States and the Western Powers. Senator Alexander Wiley observed: "In all this world, there is probably no more single important phase of our foreign policy than our relations with the Arab World." Reports recently received from the Middle Eastern countries state that various Arab leaders paid visits to several Arab countries. This fact seems

to indicate that the Arab world is at the threshold of important political events. It is learnt that Camille Chamoun, the Lebanese President, paid official visits to all Arab countries including the oil rich principalities of Kuwait and Qatar. General Mohamed Naguib, Premier of Egypt, Fawzy El Molky, Jordanian Premier, and Fadel El Jamali, Iraqi Premier passed a few days in Amman, Damascus and Beirut. Besides King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia was visited

by General Abile Shishakly. According to the political commentators the main subjects which were discussed during these visits were the proposed Middle East Defence organisation, the influence of the Asian-Arab bloc and the change of U. S. attitude towards the Arab world. The Arabs, it is learnt, want to unify Arab armies, to cement the newly promoted Asian-Arab Bloc and the geographical ties which link all Arab States to the Mediterranean.

T. R. V. SASTRI

BY "A FRIEND"

WITH the death on 2nd July 1953 of Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, lawyer, publicist and scholar, there passed away the last of the great liberals of our country. Hardly any one of distinction is now left of that school which, with Ranade, Mehta, Gokhale and Sastri as its leaders and Burke, Mill and Gladstone as its fountainheads of inspiration, strove so hard and not unsuccessfully to build up sound traditions of public life in our country and to prepare it for what they conceived to be its proper destiny—the establishment of parliamentary democracy of the British type. An epoch has come to a close—the epoch of those who believed in the rule of law and in ordered constitutional progress, in freedom of the mind, in the progressive adaptation of our social structure and institutions to the needs of changing times, and above all in the maintenance, in public affairs and administration as in private life, of certain high standards of character and conduct.

Sri T. R. V. Sastri was born on 6th February 1874 at Tiruvalangadu in the Tanjore District. His father, Brahmasri Raju Sastri, was one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of his time, a representative of the Appayya Dikshitar school of Advaita Vedanta and an authority on the Hindu Dharma sastras. Venkataraman was the only son of his father, who had only one other child, a daughter. Sri Raju Sastri resisted the current craze for an English education for children and brought up young

Venkataraman in strict orthodox style—albeit with a loving tenderness which guarded Venkataraman from even the risk of learning to swim in the Cauveri like other village youngsters of his age. Nevertheless, the daily discipline of orthodox life, Sri T. R. V. used to say later, served to promote not only intellectual strength, but physical vigour and moral courage. Young Venkataraman went through an exceptionally intensive course of instruction in the Vedas and Dharma sastras, under his own father and other scholars of the village, till the age of ten, when he joined the Municipal High School at Mayavaram where he soon met one who was to be so great a personal influence on him, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, then a new-fledged schoolmaster. The early Veda Adhyayana and instruction in the Dharma sastras were to the end of his life to exercise a very potent influence on his outlook and personality. He thought these essential elements in a complex culture for Indians. He became a farseeing and fearless champion of such studies when they were assailed repeatedly by groups of men swayed not less by ignorance than by prejudice. And quite early in his life Sri Sastri realised the need to bring a broad, tolerant, intelligent mind to bear on the many usages, customs and prescriptions of the Sastras and the Smritis, in the larger interest of social solidarity and national progress, aided in this as he was by the example of his own father who conservative as he was could nevertheless

see the need for timely change and adjustment too. Sri Raju Sastri, for example, gave an opinion on the question of the sin incurred by one in having undertaken a sea voyage, which must have seemed damnable heresy to the hidebound. But Sri Raju Sastri had an inconveniently thorough mastery of the Dharma Sastras and could confound his critics with ease, even as Sri T. R. V. used to later, by citations from the Grihya Sutras which made his over-orthodox opponents look rather foolish indeed.

Sastri had a brilliant school career at Mayavaram, during which, as has been stated before, he laid the foundations of that unique friendship which he enjoyed with the Rt. Hon. Sastri. The pupil and the teacher differed in age by four years, but they came very close together especially because of a common interest in a complete mastery of the English language. The pupil imbibed something of the master's passion for an utterly faultless English accent and pronunciation. Here too began Sri T. R. V.'s interest in the foundations of religious beliefs, stimulated and sustained by a study of Mill, Huxley, Herbert Spencer and Ingersoll, in common with his then rather young but clever master, V. S. Sastri.

Sastri went from the Municipal High School, Mayavaram, to the Government College, Kumbakonam, then famous as the Cambridge of South India. Graduating with distinction from the Government College, Kumbakonam, in 1894, he joined the Law College, at Madras, taking his B. L. degree therefrom in 1898. He was enrolled as a High Court Vakil in 1899.

The farsighted wisdom of a kinsman, Sri Sitarama Sastri, wellknown as a translator of Hindu Law books, brought about the fruitful meeting between Sri T. R. V. and Sri Sivaswami Aiyer which led to Sri T. R. V. becoming an apprentice-at-law to Sri P. S. S. Sri Sitarama Sastri saw that a person of Sri T. R. V.'s natural shyness and diffidence would have a chance only in Sir P. S. S.'s office. Sir P. S. S. was a discerning, if rather exacting, master, but Sri T. R. V. became, as he himself says,

soon an "antevasin" at Sir P. S. S. and at the end of the apprentice period, became at Sir P. S. S.'s invitation a regular Junior under him. T. R. V. spent six years at Sir P. S. S.'s, completing his education and equipment for an independent professional life. He then set up on his own but the professional association with Sir P. S. S. continued for long till, after a brief tenure as Advocate-General, Sir P. S. S. became a Member of Council in 1911. On his retirement in 1917 from the Council, Sir P. S. S. decided not to revert to the Bar, although he was only 53 then. The professional association between T. R. V. and Sir P. S. S. which had been so fruitful had however left an indelible impression on T. R. V. There was in him the same unremitting conscientiousness in the mastery of the law and facts of cases entrusted to him, the same lofty sense of duty owed to his client, and more, to the ideal of justice, the same resolute integrity and accuracy in the presentation of a case, the same scrupulous firmness and courtesy to advocates appearing against him in a cause, in fact, every quality that characterised Sir P. S. S. as advocate and as man. Briefs flowed in copiously enough and due recognition of his standing at the bar came in 1924, when on the elevation of Sir C. Madhavan Nair to the High Court Bench, shortly after Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer's appointment to the Law Membership of the Madras Government Sri T. R. V. was appointed Advocate-General to the Government of Madras. As Advocate-General he resolutely upheld the highest standards of the profession, of which he was now the official as well as the real leader. But it is only known to a very few that in his relation of confidential legal adviser to the Government he conscientiously strove to serve the public interest, bringing to the discharge of his duties as Advocate-General that sense of responsibility for the good of the country that the better minds among the then British rulers of the lands have so often acknowledged as having smoothed the position of Government and as having saved them from gross errors of policy and administration.

On the conclusion of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer's tenure of the Law Membership of the Madras Government Sri T. R. V. was appointed to that place. Differences

between the then Governor and Sri T.R. V. developed, however, soon over the allocation of the portfolios of Government and Sri T. R. V. felt that he could not consistently with his honour and self-respect retain the office which he had accepted but 24 hours earlier and he resigned it, amid mingled regret and rejoicing. There was widespread regret that circumstances should have arisen in which the guidance of a man of T.R.V. Sastri's ability and statesmanship and breadth of outlook would be absent from Government at a truly critical moment in the country's fortunes. It was felt that anti-national and communal elements, so long held at bay, had momentarily, owing to the imminent visit of the almost universally execrated Simon Commission, been given a chance to intrigue successfully and prevent a staunch nationalist from holding a position of real power and responsibility in the inner Councils of Government. There was, mingled with this, universal rejoicing, more specially in the Congress ranks headed by Gandhiji and Motilalji, that even Indians of the Liberal or Moderate or Constitutionalist wing were stout-hearted upholders of high principles and would not be tempted by the sweets of office and power into compromising national honour and self-respect. Gandhiji and Motilalji hailed Sastri's dramatic resignation as a proof that there could be no co-operation between the bureaucracy and Indians of self-respect and integrity, howsoever moderate their political views. For Sastri, it meant a vast enhancement of his personal prestige and his reputation for independence and integrity. T. R. V, who had spurned the customary arts of publicity, was an essentially modest man and shunned the limelight, and particularly the fierce light which beats on a man in public life. But the quiet resolute manner in which he had flung away the much-prized membership of Council which he had not sought, but which hundreds of others eagerly coveted, brought him away from his seclusion into the forefront of politics. He was a follower, as has been said before, of the Liberal school of thought in Indian politics but during the discussions on India Council reforms immediately before and after the

Government of India Act of 1935, there was little difference among Indian leaders on fundamental objectives or even on the pace of constitutional progress, though there was much on methods and techniques of political activity. As President of the Liberal Federation in 1935 at Nagpur, he gave a vigorous and penetrating analysis of the weaknesses of the 1935 Act but advised the country at large to work it. Along with the Rt. Hon. Sastri, he felt that though the Congress dominated the country the spread of the basic philosophy of political liberalism would promote a sound public life, individual liberty, enduring and beneficent social change and those individual and social values that they regarded as worthy of realization. He was ceaselessly concerned to put forward the principles that should govern the conduct of the Government and of the public, promoting thereby an intelligent awareness of the issues on the part of the public. The *quana marga* of the Liberals was doubtless once more intellectually exacting and less attractive than the *tyaga marga* of the Congress. But Sastri didn't seek to be a power, he was content to be an influence. This he undoubtedly was. And when during the Civil Disobedience struggle in Madras, the local authorities resorted to acts of high-handedness unworthy of civilized Government, Sastri strove hard to ensure that the decencies of civilized living were not stamped out in the name of law and order.

When the Congress Governments were in power for a brief but memorable period under the 1935 Act, Sastri felt it his duty to be constructively critical, never allowing party differences to come in the way of cooperation in the public interest with the Congress authorities. This was from a lively sense not merely of the importance of consolidating the hard-won gains of the political struggles of the past but of the need to maintain, in regard to the still unresolved constitutional issue, a united front of the nationalist elements in the face of growing communal intransigence and the ever-present danger of unscrupulous imperialist exploitation of the communal dissensions sedulously promoted by short

sighted elements within and without. The war and the Congress attitude to it especially during the Quit India movement, found the Liberals with Sastri at their head, firmly on the side of an honourable and peaceful solution of the political problem. Sastri was no friend of disorder or of revolutionary political techniques and unhesitatingly condemned the violence of the mob. But no less critical was he of the official attempt to make use of the War emergency and the unfortunate outbreak of popular fury over the unceremonious and humiliating incarceration of the Congress leaders, for suppressing the national demand for freedom. Along with the Rt. Hon. Sastri, his contacts with the friendly elements in the British Labour Party enabled him to play a significant though scarcely publicized part in promoting in Britain a realization of the urgency of the political issue. With the advent of the Labour Party to power in England and the arrival of the Cabinet Mission in India, Sastri, as the acknowledged leader of the Liberal Party, was summoned to Delhi for the constitutional discussions which led to the election of the Constituent Assembly. The sudden illness and subsequent death of his dear master the Rt. Hon. Sastri led to Sastri putting off his visit to Delhi but he expressed his considered views with vigour in the Public Press, bringing to the consideration of the issues involved, his vast knowledge of politics and constitutional law. Local Congress intrigue kept him out of the Constituent Assembly, but Sastri didn't allow this slight to himself and his party to deflect him from his task of continuously educating and advising the public on the great matters at stake. It hardly need be said that during the partition and in the discussions on constitution making later on, Sastri was constantly consulted by the leading members of the Constituent Assembly and of the national Government. His faith in the duty of a publicist to keep the public fully informed and alive to affairs of public importance made him, despite the engrossing preoccupations of an exceptionally busy and exacting professional life, keep a close and lively interest in all issues

affecting the general welfare of the people. From time to time he exerted himself actively and not merely by public expression of his views to safeguard the public interest or to counter an injustice or correct an error of policy or administration. His pronouncements on public questions were not merely temperate and persuasive in tone, but informed by a deep study of principles and facts bearing on them.

At the Bar—where for over half a century, he was in the van—Sastri commanded the respect both of his colleagues and of the judges of the High Court, many of the latter of whom, Indian and European, were lifelong friends of his. Sastri was easily one of the most commanding of the men in the profession in India. But it was not merely in a professional sense that his opinion was sought by the vast circle of friends all over India who were privileged to know him. Many were the occasions when his vast experience and wisdom helped to resolve tensions and conflicts and promote harmony. Bound by ties of deep affection as he was to the members of his own family circle, he was the respected elder and patriarch of many outside the circle.

Like his master Sir P. S. S., Sastri was a great lover of reading. His restless intellectual curiosity made him range over an exceptionally large and varied field, embracing religion, politics, law, sociology, English and Sanskrit literature, and astronomy. His library is perhaps one of the best equipped of private libraries in India, containing valuable books on a variety of subjects. A tireless reader himself, he used to put his friends, young and old, on to books new and old, stimulating their interest in them and actively promoting that liberality of mind which he felt would make not merely for joy but for peace and understanding in life.

Profoundly concerned to promote the consolidation of Hindu society, threatened as it was by disintegrating and hostile forces from within and without, Sastri took a keen interest in the adaptation of the principles of Hindu dharma to the

changing needs of our times. The Hindu Code, which emerged from the Hindu Law Reforms Committee of which he was a most important member, is an example of the way in which Sastri tried to promote strength and progress by conservative innovation.

Sastri's interest in education was life-long. He was a member for a time of the Syndicate of the Madras and Annamalai Universities and of the governing bodies of many educational institutions in the City and in Tanjore district. His work on these bodies his colleagues testify, was as usual marked by conscientious concern for the well-being of the community. His zeal, courtesy and wisdom made him truly beloved—and the progress which these institutions have made and are making owes not a little to his active and beneficent participation in their management. Mr. Sastri was also connected with the Indo-Commercial Bank and the now defunct Bank of Hindustan.

To deep respect for Indian literature and philosophy, based on close and reverent study, he united a most lively curiosity about the culture and achievement of the West in all fields. In himself he was a visible embodiment of the profound meditateness of the East. And blended therewith was a vigorous realism and rationalism which admitted nothing to be above careful and conscientious re-examination. His somewhat agnostic turn of mind didn't prevent him from approaching orthodox religious and social usages and customs with deep respect and understanding.

Public life in India is decidedly the poorer by the passing away of one who brought so constantly the light of reason and imaginative sympathy to the consideration of affairs. We owe it to ourselves rather than to him to cherish his memory with affection and reverence and to look for guidance and inspiration to his magnificent example.

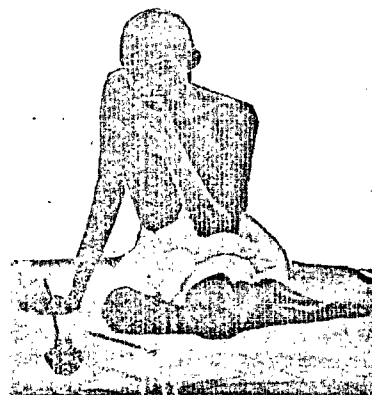
INDIA OF MY DREAMS

"I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all

communities shall live in perfect harmony. . . There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. . . Women will enjoy the same rights as men. . . This is the India of my dreams.

"There should be no selfish purpose behind our actions. And to be detached from the fruits of actions is not to be ignorant of them or to disregard or disown. To be detached is never to abandon action, because the contemplated may not follow. On the contrary, it is proof of the immovable faith in the certainty of the contemplated result following in due course."

—MAHATMA GANDHI.



HILAIRE BELLOC—AN APPRECIATION

BY SRI JAGDISH CHANDER, M.A.

Punjab University College, Hoshiarpur

ON July 16, Hilaire Belloc, Britain's best known contemporary writer died in a nursing home at the age of 82. A week earlier he had fallen into the fire place of his home and was severely burned.

With his death a great star in the literary firmament of Britain has set.

With the name of Belloc are associated versatility and prolificness. He wrote upon a great variety of subjects and wrote so much. His literary output includes novels, essays, biographies, books of history and travel, sonnets, comic verse and verses for children. As long ago as 1905, Mr. E. C. Bentley wrote about him a clerihew:—

In a case for legislation ad hoc
He seems to think nobody minds
His books being all of different kinds.

The most remarkable fact about his writings that extend to over a hundred books is their uniform brilliance. None of them, from the beginning to the end gives us the impression of carelessness, hurry or artistic immaturity. There is no question of the development of his style. He was, as it were, a born writer and he seemed to have found himself from the very start of his career, with a highly individual style already formed and mature. Even his earliest works display perfect expression and a great artistic finish.

No doubt, like most authors Belloc had to make his living by writing but he always wrote to please himself. Of course he was sometimes disgusted with the job of writing for money. He jokingly called himself a hack and the business of writing the most abominable of all trades. In one of his charming sonnets he echoed sentiments with which, I suppose, every author would agree at one time or the other:

Would that I had £ 300,00
Invested in some strong security
A midland Country House with formal grounds,

A Town House and a House beside the sea,
And one in Spain and one in Normandy,
And friends innumerable at my call,
And Youth serene and underneath it all
One steadfast passionate flame to nurture me
Then would I chuck for good my sinking trade

Of writing tosh at 1s. 6d. a quire!
And soar like young Bellerophon arrayed
High to the filmy Heavens of my desire
But that's all over. Here's the world again.
Bring me the Blotter. Fill the Fountain Pen.

But inspite of these occasional moods which he laughed away with his playful pen, English Letters are the richer for his writings.

He started writing in 1896 and it was in 1950 that he decided that he would write no more. For more than half a century Belloc went on providing pleasure to the millions of his readers with his splendid works.

Born in France in 1870, Belloc was educated in England and graduated from Balliol College, Oxford. In 1902 he became a British subject. His first work, *Verses and Sonnets* was written in his youth. In subsequent edition it was enlarged by the inclusion of several new poems and epigrams. All these poems reflect the character of their author in their glorious range and visions and contain passages of the rarest beauty. One of his poems on which he worked for several years was 'An Heroic Poem in Praise of Wine' published in 1931. This poem will be particularly remembered as a noble piece of poetry. He begins:—

To exalt, enthroned, establish and defend,
To welcome home mankind's mysterious friend,

Wine, true begetter of all arts that be;
Wine, privilege of the completely free,
Wine, the reorder, wine, the sagely strong,
Wine, bright avenger of sly-dealing wrong,
Awake, Ausonian Muse and sing the vineyard song.

And so the poem goes on, springing pleasant surprises at every step and carrying the reader along in its sweep.

His novels are all delightful. It is said that G. K. Chesterton used to illustrate them with his fantastic pencil. Besides

being full of a deep political wisdom and a vision of the one kind, they are flavoured with the fund and sharp satire of Belloc. For years Belloc had been having his great laugh at the politicians, cranks, and share-shufflers by exposing their antics. Here are a few lines on prison that would give the reader some idea of his rollicking fun and Rabelaisian humour:

"It is our duty to pity all men. It is our duty to pity those who are in prison. It is our duty to pity those who are not in prison."

How much more is it the duty of a Christian man to pity the rich who cannot ever get into prison. These indeed I do now specially pity and extend to them my commiseration.

What! Never even to have felt the grip of the policeman; to have watched his bold suspicious eye, to have tried to make a good show under examination... never to have heard the bolt grinding in the lock, never to have looked round at the cleanly simplicity of a cell. Then what emotions have you had, unimprisonable rich, or what do you know of active living and of adventure?"

As a writer of history his favourite period has been the French Revolution.

His '*Danton*', '*Robespierre*', '*Marie Antoinette*' and '*Napoleon*' are some of the splendid historical biographies that will rank as classics. It has been pointed out that in spite of such a large number of books that he wrote, there is little autobiographical information to be gathered from his works. But there was one experience in his life that he often mentions. It aroused the susceptibilities of his youth and created in his heart a deep love and affection for the French people. At one time, he chose to do military service with the Guns of the French army. In the dedication of one of his books *Avril* he says.

"I can put to my credit a year of active, if eccentric experience in a French barrack room and complete segregation during those twelve memorable months wherein I could study the very soul of this sincere, creative and tenacious people."

This experience, together with the French blood that was his gave him a love and understanding that served him so well in his historical works. His glorious prose, his sense and grasp of History and of Tradition, his power of description of warfare and battles give to his work a vividness to be envied by any historian.

Travel and above all the sea has inspired some of his finest writings. His travel books will always be read with delight and they are many. His sea-going adventures have been described in some of his essays and they have inspired one of his grandest work '*The Cruise of the Nana*'. This book is also remarkable for its autobiographical content.

To the gift of a facile pen, Belloc added that of making charming drawings in pen and pencil. Some of his books are beautifully illustrated. He also composed some delightful airs.

Above all, Belloc wrote splendid prose. Some critics called him one of the greatest prose writers of our time and one of our finest poets. Maurice Bearing wrote about him:—

"As a prose writer, Belloc has other chords to his lyre; wit, irony, vividness, gusto and above all vision."

And his prose he calls, "Grave, like the mellow tone of a beautifully played cello.....Solemn, melancholy and majestic."

In short Belloc's prose is lucid and flexible. It can be adapted to any subject or mood. It is smooth and clear like a flowing stream without any jerks or jolts. It is the expression of his strong personality and his robust, cultivated and tender mind. It is nourished by the faith that he holds and proclaims; it is charged with that force which is the mark of great. Mr. Douglas Jerrold in his autobiography '*Georgian Adventure*' compares Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Belloc:—

"Winston Churchill and Hilaire Belloc are in most things singularly unlike, but they resemble each other closely in that impression of massive aloofness which they imply but never express. Grave or gay, pontifical or ribald, these are great men, different not in degree but in kind from their fellows. Indeed, greatness, I have come to see, resides not in brains nor in virtue, though great men require both in some measure; but in a force of body, mind and will or above that which ordinary men have the capacity to control."

It is this force that will make the name of Belloc memorable in English letters. Other literary reputations might suffer eclipse under the bending sickle of Time but Belloc's will certainly survive.

Relics of "Stupas" in East-Pakistan

BY SRI BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

THE colourful ceremony of re-enshrinement of Sariputta and Mahamoggallana on November 30, 1952, at Sanchi is, undoubtedly a significant event in the process of the re-discovery of some glorious pages of Indian history, so long lost in oblivion. The fragments of the relics of these two arch followers of Lord Buddha, unearthed by Sir A. Cunningham about a century ago from the great 'Stupa' at Sanchi, incidentally bring to light solemn remembrances about some other allied relics—left straggling in forgetfulness—in East India consequent upon the Indo-Pakistan partition of August 15, 1947. One of them is the great Stupa at Paharpur which is indubitably an old archaeological piece of culture and ancient civilisation. Like a mystified city long buried in oblivion and suddenly discovered by a wondering generation this mound, after archaeological excavation, has brought to light living facts and details of wonderful memories.

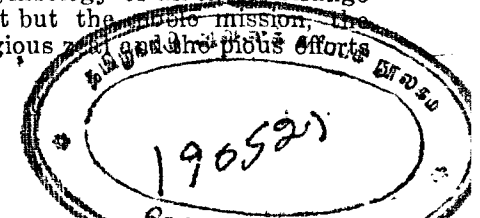
The very sight of the Stupa touches the heart and the mind and harks back to the past seeking to explore its dim vistas. And, irresistibly one asks himself, rather contemplatively: Where are now the ancient cities, where once lived the sages with more light and less learning? Where are those societies which received with fertilising ardour the life-giving seeds of peace, love and fraternity?

And, Paharpur is but a dot—a straggler left—on the map of East-Pakistan—though its sacred relics make one feel the pulse-beat of the ancient Indian culture's synthesis and enlightenment of undated centuries. For, did not herein lie the temple, now shrouded in debris, where the Buddhist, the Jain and the Hindu came in historic succession, and sang songs of the Spirit Divine? Surely, the years have rolled into centuries, and centuries into eternity, but Paharpur, like a pillar of Immortality, has stood the ravages of time patiently and calmly. Its magnificent structure which stands in the heart of a rectangular compound of four blocks, according to the archaeologists

like Dikshit or Bhandakar, "not easily surpassed in points of antiquity, grandeur and beauty." The Temple faces north and the blocks are buildings of brick, with fairly large dimensions and consisting of several rooms not all of equal area. The rooms of the northern block are a trifle smaller than those of the southern while those of the eastern flank seem to vary in area from those on the western. In each room, as it may be well-known, there is a pedestal with fine decorations and a lotus in the centre. Sometimes, one observes the foot-mark of an imaginary "Tathagata," clearly embossed on the steps of the pedestal. As one moves from one block to another, these rickety buildings, with their hoary mosses and dusts, and petrified engravings, seem to carry one back to the ages when a peculiar species of men, tall, fair and yellow-robed thronged here and proclaimed the glory of Lord Buddha!

The Temple, which has a rectangular aperture about seventy-five feet high has baffled all attempts at a thorough excavation within, there being no gateway in its exterior. It possesses exquisitely beautiful geometric carvings and in all those fine paintings which adorn its sides one may naturally come upon the specimen touches of a master hand.

The pictures which have been engraved on rectangular slabs of black stone as also on bricks, will remind one much about their epochs and the spirit that went to their making. The serenely calm pose of a seated 'Gajananam,' the supremely majestic look of an 'Amitava' and the rhythmic dance of a 'Shiva' will certainly please one even if the work on the vitrified slabs seems to be a deal ponderous and cryptic. One will get here almost all the signs of the Zodiac pictured on clayey slabs. They are obviously less charming though their forms are suggestive and give you an idea as to their astronomical significance. It matters little whether one is scholarly enough and can fathom the symbology of all these strange figures or not but the earnest religious and the pious efforts



of those puny mortals who once sought to build this grand edifice on the sands of time and to immortalise it in the garbs of beauty touch one to the core! For, though thrones have tottered, nations have come and gone, religion and morality have been shrivelled, history has seen her transmutations but Paharpur with its towering Temple appears to have kept the marks of by-gone days embossed on its bosom. As the visitor takes his stand on the summit of this Temple and begins to muse over its site and surroundings, one important fact strikes him and that is the extreme fertility of the soil! This must have helped Paharpur to grow into a religious entrepot and ultimately turned it into a Buddhistic University, a monastery and a Hindu Pantheon. The very dust that licks your feet here is as old as a Hiuntsang, a Mahavira and a Mahendra, and has history behind it. As one casts a glance around and makes a mental survey of the geography of the place, one is likely to discover an important fact. Indeed, he finds to his curiosity, a good many mounds lying scattered here and there almost all of them being within a radius of fifty miles with Paharpur as the radiating centre. This is no mere commonsense guess but has basic facts behind it.

Located within the new-born Pakistan Districts of Dinajpur, Bogra, Rajshahi and Malda, one finds the following great stupas amongst others of lesser significance—lying scattered hither and thither in solitary oblivion:—(A) Paharpur (B) Halud-Vihar.

As you pace here up and down big banyan trees covering acres and acres fascinate the vision and now and then one may gape and wonder at the hallowed antiquity of a sylvan temple, haggard with age, but still holding the holy trident of 'Mahadeva' in its cold corbel! The hand that wrought the temple is dead, the Horn, the Bull and the 'Dhustura' flower might have suffered the same lot but the soil of Paharpur as well as that of Halud Vihar is redolent to the seeing soul of the religious aroma of centuries that are dead! As you scan the place, you observe that the land is dry, the soil fertile, its level

high, and the climate equable. The people are unlettered though strictly not illiterate; they are polite, hospitable and decent.

A Gandharvapour, a Vyaspur, a Vishnupur, a Bhandarpur—all these are the names of villages some right, some left of you—give rather a conclusive evidence as to their propinquity to Indian heritage. Halud-Vihar too is not without a customary legend. For, it is, so the legend says, the remains of the palace of the King of Halud Vihara, who had a daughter of exquisite beauty named, Sandhyavati, and in the part of the district where the "Stupa" is situated one will often hear folksongs in which the princess Sandhyavati figures much. These folk-songs are sung in almost every rural home and held in high veneration. In their essence they are almost akin to the ballads of Charlemagne or the Arthurian romances but differ in this that they lack much of the charm, glitter, and quixotic elements of the above legends.

Impressed by the above facts the writer sought to invite the attention of the Government to the "Stupa" at Halud-Vihar by the publication of an article in the then Calcutta Daily, the *Vanga-Vanee* in 1929. After about two years the present-writer got the following copy of a letter in D.O. No. 71/1C from the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Eastern Circle, Dated Paharpur Camp, P.O. Jamalganj (BOGRA) the 7th January 1931:—

Dear Mr. Chaudhuri,

I have to inform you that my attention has been drawn to your descriptive notes on "Halud Vihar" published in a Bengali Journal.

I accordingly propose to visit the site to examine the prospects of the great Mound and hope you will kindly help me in this direction.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) G. C. CHANDRA,
Superintendent

As desired, the present-writer rendered all possible assistance to the party consisting of the above Superintendent and his colleagues during their inspection tour of the mound. The mound can be easily reached in a cart from Akkelpur Railway Station on the E. B. Railway in about an hour's drive along the District Board Road.

The surrounding ground is low and there are visible remains of ditches encircling the Stupa.

The Manja, Halud-vihara, seems to be as old as the Stupa itself and the very name "Vihara" is evidently associated with the Buddhists. As desired by the Superintendent, a group photo of the team was taken on the slope of the Stupa with the writer in the centre.

A report of the above visit has also been published on page 128 of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey (1930-34)* of Government of India and is quoted below, in its entirety for focussing public attention to the archaeological possibilities of this stupa, alike that of Paharpur:—

THE MOUND OF HALUD VIHARA

By Mr. G. C. Chandra and Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

In pursuance of the request made by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Mr. G. C. Chandra visited during (1930-31) a mound locally known as HALUD VIHARA, situated close to the market-place of Dvipganj (Vulgo: Deepganj), in the Rajshahi District of Bengal, about eight miles to the South-West of PAHARPUR. The Mound which measures about 215 feet from east to West and 135 feet north to south, rises to a height of about 35 feet from the surrounding ground level, and ancient structures have been exposed here and there at its foot by brick-hunters.

A miniature bronze image of Genesa (ht. 2.5") was discovered by a Muslim in one of these diggings (Plate LxII, f)

The god who sits in the "Maharajalila" posture, has four hands holding a trident and a half-blown four-petalled flower in

his upper hands, and a creeper-like thing (Kalpalata?) and sweets in his lower right and left hands respectively.

His vehicle, the rat, is seen below his right foot, looking up. The trunk is bent up towards his right truncated tusk: an unusual feature in most of this god's images.

It may be assigned to about the 8th to 9th century A. D.

The local people associate this place with Buddhism, and the name HALUD VIHARA itself justifies such a conclusion.

It is not unlikely that the site, which is more or less like the main mound at PAHARPUR, may yield important antiquities if excavated systematically".

No doubt, these stupas when fully excavated will tell our woe-begone modern world the secret of the great Master's teachings which they enshrine, in moulding the life of the common-people—Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike—in one common temple of universal love, concord and non-violence—through ages!

Asoka alone is said to have erected such reliquary Stupas and Pillars across the length and breadth of India for the above purpose. In the present age there might be some literary sneers who may regard these as no better than mere curiosities for a limited number of antiquarians—having no vital link with the pulse-beat of common-folks' lives. But the recent gathering of different peoples of the world at Sanchi to pay homage to the prophet of world-peace has totally given the notion a rude shake! May we then hope that this ceremony of international enshrinement at Sanchi, will have reciprocal repercussion too, on these straggling relics in East-Pakistan and reawaken the peoples of both countries to the inescapable necessity of treading back the path of universal love—from which the world is fast straying into alleys of certain destruction!

GOA AND THE PROBLEM OF MERGER

BY SRI M. N. WAGH

WE in India have the strong feeling that if a referendum is taken in Goa, the Goans, one and all would plump for a merger with India. This view is held not only by the proverbial man-in-the-street, who is a weather-vane without an opinion of his own, but also by those who profess to be experts on the Goanese situation.

From the newspaper accounts of terrorism in the form of arbitrary imprisonment and whipping of those who talk, or are alleged to be talking against the Portuguese Government, we have come to take it for granted that the Goans if called upon to vote, would unanimously vote for a merger with India; that India, or Bombay in particular is a heaven for them. This is a delusion, and the sooner we get over it the better.

There is no doubt that Goa is out and out a police state. It is beyond doubt that the Portuguese are interested only in making the maximum out of the manganese and wine industries that flourish there, that they do not want to utilise these resources for the general good of the colony. It is also true that Minister Rodrigue's promise to redress the grievances of the people was a sham to postpone, or if possible to evade altogether what is a desideratum. It is also true that the ugly incident that occurred when the Minister toured the pocket reverberated through every nook and corner, and lingered many a day after its occurrence.

But—and that is a big 'But'—in spite of all these bad features of Portuguese colonial rule, which would normally have strengthened the embryonic desire of the subject people to cast off the shackles of slavery and be free, the problem of merger does not hold much attraction to a Goan. It is a paradox no doubt, but a paradox which can be easily explained only if we examine closely the back-ground of life that the people in Goa lead.

Poverty does not necessarily mean discontent and unhappiness. Poverty fomented discontent only when it verges on starvation and destitution. It is then that the people manifest their discontent with revolts and revolutions. A Goan is poor,

economically or clearly, monetarily poor. He has no bank account, nor does he invest his money, for he has no money to invest. But he gets without difficulty what every human being in a civilised society should get, food, shelter and clothing. In the absence of stream-lined publicity and mass advertisement the temptation to struggle for luxuries is more or less nil. Hence the contentment and sense of security. An average Goan family with five to six children cultivates rice and if possible supplements its income from land by a wine shop called a taverna, or grocer's. From father to the youngest member of the family every body is engaged in his or her piece of work and six to eight hours to toil and moid leave little or no time for thoughts of freedom and politics. The family lives in a shell of its own. The Minister's tour was merely a ripple in the otherwise smooth, monotonous stream of its life. Nobody understood the significance of the visit; nobody cared to know. Nor does anybody really feel that reform is necessary. The people are not only poor, but illiterate—insouciantly illiterate.

This is a vital fact. It is essential to look at the problem of merger in the light of this vital fact. The delusion under which we labour stems from ignoring it.

If after a study of the life of the people in Goa, we turn our eyes to our shores, we will find that Goa and Bombay are Poles apart. If Goa has no major food problem, and rice though insufficient for home consumption can be imported conveniently, we have got a tremendous food problem to tackle. If Goa has adequate housing supply many of us here have to sleep in garages and even foot-paths. If crime is conspicuous by its absence in Goa, we are getting more and more worried over our mounting crime graph. And above all, if wine is the tea of Goa, we here have to rest satisfied with pure water, or what for our consolation we call, Adam's ale. What have we got to offer the Goans in exchange for the peaceful, happy life that they lead there? Aye, there is the

rub. "Goa might be a frying pan, but do you think we are eager to jump from the frying pan into fire?"

That was the answer, more like a rhetorical question that I had to take when I asked a man in Assolna, a village three miles from Murgaon: "What do you think about a merger with Bombay?". In Kanakona also I pointed out to a policeman named Caroz with whom I had made friends the absence of educational facilities in Goa, and the charm of education in Bombay: "Is your damn education going to get me food, shelter and wine?". The answer was as convincing as the answer that a lady is reported to have given, when a journalist asked her if television would replace newspapers: "We can't wrap herrings in a television!"

Such answers as these are not rare. They are a common feature. They clinch the issue; they leave one speechless,

stunned. In short they reflect the attitude of the Goans towards merger. We have to realise that the problem of merger is not as easy as all the experts argue, it is. The necessity of awakening the people is of utmost importance; it comes first and foremost. In carrying on propaganda there is one grave danger of hurting the conservatism or susceptibilities of the people. The problem is as delicate as the problem of birth-control, or the problem of enlightening an adolescent mind. Here we can very well imitate the method of door-to-door indoctrination carried on by the communists in our country. This method has yielded good results to the communists. By constant repetition of the fact of slavery, by making the people aware of the injustice of their life, public opinion can be mobilised. Such intrepid leaders like Brute De Costa are striving to do that.

Unemployment and the Five-Year Plan

BY SRI V. R. NATARAJAN, M.A.

THE Five-year Plan stresses the need to increase employment opportunities and to raise the standard of living of the masses. Formost consideration is given to the rural sector on account of the magnitude of the problem there. The problem of unemployment and the under-employment in urban areas is equally acute. The solution of the unemployment problem lies in the extension of existing large-scale industries and also the starting of new ones.

The Planning Commission has recently addressed the State Governments on the vexed question of urban unemployment. The Commission has suggested a 11-point programme to the State Governments for alleviating the problem of urban unemployment. Among the items in this programme are expansion of training facilities, encouragement of cottage industries, financial assistance to deserving men for starting small industries on their own, road development and slum clearance, encouragement of house building and running of work training camps for the

unemployed. The Commission has not worked out the financial implications of this programme. It has merely called upon the State Governments to examine in their respective areas and to indicate the suitable action to be taken to mitigate unemployment.

Owing to increasing pressure on the land, a large number of people move to the towns and cities to seek employment. Proposals have been made in the five year plan for assisting the small-scale industries and for starting new ones.

The problem of unemployment among the educated classes assumed serious proportions. The War temporarily relieved this unemployment by affording opportunity for service in the armed forces and in industries serving defence needs. But the end of the War brought this problem to the forefront again and the partition of India aggravated it. The Plan brings into special prominence the need to increase agricultural production and creating at the same time a base for future industrial expansion. It is only

when more rapid expansion of the industries takes place that there will be a big increase in the avenues of employment for the educated classes. Educated people, should be encouraged to set up independently in business. The Commission recommends that as many of the educated persons as possible should be absorbed in the National Extension Service and in other activities. If the present output of Intermediates and Graduates continues to increase, the problem of educated unemployment will be impossible of solution. Diversion of Matriculates to agricultural diploma schools, technical institutes, training cum production centres, etc., has therefore to be viewed as an immediate measure to be taken to the utmost extent possible. It is also suggested and it is essential that the State Governments should take steps to restrict the growth of mushroom schools and Colleges without adequate provision for teaching science subjects which make the problem of educated unemployment increasingly more difficult.

The unbalanced nature of our economy is the primary cause for unemployment at present. There is no single cause of unemployment. Unemployment is a great curse. Apart from the material waste it involves, it brings about demoralisation. It has to be avoided, to use the words of Beveridge, for "not the want it may bring but the hatred and fear which it breeds". We must do something to combat unemployment. It should be positive. We must build up such an economic system that every able-bodied person is guaranteed a job by the State. In recent years, a vigorous campaign has been carried on in various countries in favour of a full employment programme. According to Professor Pigou, *full employment* means that all able bodied people are employed, if they desire, to work at the prevailing rates of wages. *State control will be essential in the economic sphere to provide employment for all.* Employment Exchange should be re-organised on a new footing. There is at present tremendous amount of work that is waiting to be accomplished in India in almost every sphere of life, e.g., public health, education, housing, transport, irrigation, electrification,

modernization of agriculture, and industry. Each of these can be developed to such an extent as to provide employment for the requisite number of men. Without providing full employment the establishment of a decent standard of living would remain a pious hope.

The Government will have to undertake the responsibility of maintaining an economic system in the country which will provide full employment. Only the Government can command the resources and exercise the requisite authority to translate into practice any full employment programme that may be conceived for India. Any employment for India must aim at preserving a progressive balance between economic development and the volume of production and population to maintain a progressive standard of living and must protect the economic system from the impact of economic instabilities which may originate abroad. This is not an easy task and all the resources of the Government will have to be mobilised to accomplish it. Thus the Government role will be an all-important role in providing and maintaining employment in India.

The Praja-Socialist leader, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, called upon the people recently to organise an agitation which would compel the Government to implement a vigorous policy to combat the immense problem of unemployment facing the country. He said that an *organised public voice* is wanted and not exhibitionism.

The Government of India as well as the All-India Congress Committee had of late shown signs of awareness of the unemployment situation. But a vigorous lead from the Government is conspicuously absent. Curiously enough, the Five-Year Plan and unemployment were progressing hand in hand. The solution of the employment problem called for radical adjustments in the Five-Year Plan. Unemployment problem existed in the villages in a far more severe form than in the urban areas. The solution of the problem lay in more production and rapid industrialisation. Only by gearing the economy to an expansionist phase can we hope to increase the scope for employment.

THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM

BY MR. SEBASTIAN HAFFNER

IN the first half of the 20th Century the number of national States in the world has multiplied. After World War I, many small nations in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, formerly submerged in the Russian, Austrian, or Turkish Empires, established their independent statehood. After World War II, the process spread through Asia, and it may even yet not have reached its term. Nationalism is still the strongest political emotion of our times. To ignore it would be quite futile, and the attempt to suppress it through a new ideological imperialism clearly works against the grain of history.

But the triumph of nationalism has produced its own problems. The very first function of a State, and the hallmark of its sovereignty, used to be its capacity to defend its citizens, if the need arose against aggression, invasion, and subjugation. As long as wars were fought by armies of peasants, armed with rifles, this was no problem even for the smaller States. But now that modern science and technology have shrunk distances, and war is waged with enormously complex, powerful, and costly mechanical weapons, it has become an almost insoluble problem even for the larger ones. World War II proved again and again that the smaller nation States covering a limited area and lacking the massive heavy industries with which to sustain modern warfare, had not the slightest chance of standing up to attack on their own. Their citizens, despite their bravery and their determination to defend their national independence, was virtually defenceless, a helpless prey to any determined aggressor.

THE IDEAL

Ideally the means to give every nation whether great or small, security in a world of supersonic aircraft and atomic bombs would be a world organisation which could prevent aggression and war altogether; and after both world wars, the first instinctive move of humanity was to set up an organisation with this purpose. The League of Nations and the United

Nations stand as the monuments both to the dilemma of our age and to the idealism which seeks to transcend it. Alas, Neither the League nor the United Nations have prevented the recurrence of aggression and war. While the attempt to establish universal law and order must not and cannot ever be given up, realism clearly demands less perfectionist and more dependable interim solutions (which are indeed in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter), if insecurity and defencelessness are not to make a mockery of national independence for all but a few exceptionally large and industrialised nations.

INTERIM SOLUTIONS

During the last eight years, such pragmatic interim solutions have spontaneously established themselves over large part of the world. They are groupings of States, communities for the single purpose of giving security to their members, while leaving their National independence and sovereignty in every other respect untouched. In these new international organisations sovereign and independent States have deliberately merged one part of their sovereignty, because this was and is the only means of preserving, in case of need, the substance of their sovereignty intact from foreign danger.

The process may seem paradoxical in theory, but it works in practice. The defence of the 14 member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, for instance, is now so closely organised that in case of war it would not be any one of the member States, but the Organisation itself which would wage war. But the sovereignty of each of the member States remains un-impaired. The United States remains the United States, Britain remains Britain, France remains France, and so for every other member down to smallest Iceland; none of them interferes in any way in the liberty and identity of any other, and this although soldiers and airmen of each are stationed on one another's territories, train under international commands, and carry weapons produced in countries other than their own. In this pragmatic

way, national sovereignty has been reconciled with that security which the nation State in isolation can no longer provide. The defensive international organisation, the grouping of linked sovereign States, has become the characteristic political structure of the mid-20th Century.

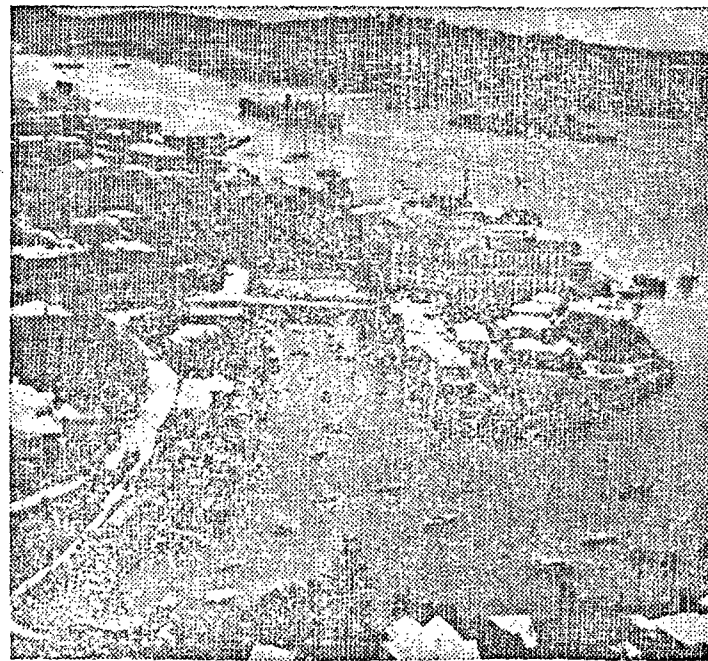
PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

The speed and relative smoothness with which it has established itself as such are, by historical standards, breathtaking. Who would have thought that United States isolationism, United Kingdom insularity, French-German enmity, and the proud self-centredness of so many smaller nations could so quickly be reconciled with the needs of our technological age! But the very speed of the process has naturally

produced difficulties of psychological adjustment. Their chief manifestation is the new widespread phenomenon of "neutralism".

"Neutralism" is a rationalisation of that unease which people always feel in the presence of the new and unfamiliar. The basic feeling is simply a boggling at the unaccustomed. The rationalisation is an attempt to persuade oneself that the new and unaccustomed merger of defence with other nations is superfluous: that neutrality in isolation might be just as good an insurance against danger.

In the conditions of our day, however, international co-operation in defence is the only means of making national independence real.



This is Hamilton Harbor, Bermuda, viewed from an airplane. The large building in the foreground is the Princess Hotel. In the distance a freighter points her bow toward the harbor entrance and the sea. In Bermuda, the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of France plan to confer on world problems.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

THE MIDDLE PATH

Twenty-one days after his enlightenment, the Blessed One resolved, 'The doors to Enlightenment are open; let them that have ears to hear show faith', and started on his ministry. Wandering from place to place, he came to the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Banaras, where he met the five ascetics with whom he had practised austerities in the Uruvela grove.

*These five ascetics were Buddha's first monastic disciples to whom he preached the Middle Path, the Path that would release man from suffering through a life of right thinking and right living, without any extraneous aid. This first sermon of Buddha was the starting point of a wave of spiritual renaissance in society which set the Wheel of Dhamma in motion.**

These two extremes, brethren, should not be followed by one who has gone forth as a wanderer:

'Devotion to the pleasures of senses—a low and pagan practice, unworthy, unprofitable, the way of the world, and on the other hand devotion to self-mortification, which is painful, unworthy, unprofitable.

'By avoiding these two extremes... the Buddha has gained knowledge of that Middle Path which giveth Vision, which giveth Knowledge, which causeth Calm, Insight, Enlightenment and Nibbana.

'And what, brethren, is that Middle Path...?

'Verily it is this Aryan Eightfold Path, that is to say:

Right View, Right Aim, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Living, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Contemplation.

'Now this, brethren, is the Aryan Truth about Suffering:

'Birth is Suffering, Decay is Suffering, Sickness is Suffering, Death is Suffering, likewise Sorrow and Grief, Woe, Lamentation, and Despair. To be conjoined with things which we dislike, to be

separated from things which we like—that also is Suffering. Not to get what one wants—that also is Suffering...

'Now this, brethren, is the Aryan Truth about the Origin of Suffering:

'It is the Craving that leads downwards to birth, along with the Lure and the Lust that lingers longingly now here, now there; namely, the Craving for Sensation, the Craving to be born again, the Craving to have done with rebirth,...

'And this, brethren, is the Aryan Truth about the Ceasing of Suffering:

'Verily it is the utter passionless cessation of, the giving up, the forsaking the release from, the absence of longing for, this Craving.

'Now this, brethren, is the Aryan Truth about the Way leading to the Ceasing of Suffering. Verily it is this Aryan Eightfold Path,...

—(Translated by F. L. Woodward)

LIFE AT 50

Ogden Nash, past 50, and disillusioned looks at life with a middle aged realism shorn of youthful visions and dreams. In one of his recent poems there is a blunt admission that when a man reaches 50 he inclines "to cast aside his jack-boots and reaches for his slippers."

When I was young I was Roland and Oliver,

Nathan Hale and Simon Bolivar,
Today I would rather step aside trouble
And be healthy, wealthy and comfortable.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE TIMES

Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear, so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up?

—William Faulkner,
Nobel Prize Winner,

* Prabuddha Bharata.

The Kashmir Incident

SHEIKH Abdullah's exit from the Kashmir scene is perhaps the most tragic and painful episode in the whole affair. Here was a man who for close upon twenty years was the trusted friend and colleague of our Prime Minister in the freedom struggle but had suddenly become a reactionary and whose continuance at the head of the State was bound to be disastrous to that freedom and security for which he laboured all his life. Who more patriotic or more eloquent on the perennial theme of democracy for the happy valley? Prime Minister Nehru who had always a warm corner for the Sheikh, in spite of persistent warnings from the Praja Parishad, must have felt himself greatly disillusioned and humiliated at the revelation of this betrayal. Yet with a forbearance born of loyalty to an old colleague he spoke of the dismissal, arrest and internment of his erstwhile friend and colleague with pain and anguish.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that Sheikh Abdullah, an old comrade of 20 years, should have come into conflict with our other comrades in Kashmir and that it should have been considered necessary by the Kashmir Government to place him in detention for the time being. I earnestly trust that this is a passing phase and that the leaders of Kashmir will co-operate together in the service of that beautiful and unfortunate land.

Mr. Nehru ended his statement with an appeal to members of Parliament, the Press and the people to exercise forbearance and restraint in regard to the events in Kashmir, and said:

We must send our full sympathy to the young Sadar-i-Riyasat, to the Government and to the people of that State who are facing this crisis and assure them of all the help that we can give them to bring about normality and a progressive administration which will serve the cause of the people of that State.

It is evident that in recent months Sheikh Abdullah had completely ignored past pledges and promises to which the Working Committee of the National Conference was a party. He ceased to take serious interest in the improvement of

the economic conditions of the masses and was constantly harping on political issues. Power, it is said, corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. More and more he played the role of Mossadeq in Persia, and fell.

It was left to Mr. Shamlal Saraf, former Health Minister of Kashmir, to bring the affair to a decisive and dramatic issue. In his letter to Sheikh Abdullah, refusing the latter's demand to tender his resignation, he had stated that such a course would be "suicidal for the country."

Ordinarily, as a humble worker of the great organisation (National Conference), I should have felt no hesitation in relinquishing my office. But the manner in which you have created a dangerous situation in the country by making highly inflammable speeches before the public, combined with your authoritarian attitude in the Cabinet, have convinced me that, instead of helping the difficult situation, my resignation will encourage you to pursue your policies unbridled. Such a course will be suicidal for the country.

Detailing the circumstances which had culminated in Sheikh Abdullah's demand of Mr. Saraf's resignation and the latter's refusal to comply, Mr. Saraf said that in recent months he had been noticing a great change in Sheikh Abdullah's behaviour towards his Cabinet colleagues and the members of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. He and others had made repeated attempts in vain to point out to Sheikh Abdullah the futility of his wrong approach and to bring him round to the policy of the National Conference.

What did surprise me most in all these long and fruitless discussions in the Working Committee, he added, was the complete repudiation on your part of the stand which the National Conference had taken with regard to the relationship of the State with the Indian Union and later on your persistent refusal to listen to reason, and your adamant attitude to stick to your dangerous viewpoint was nothing less than a shock to me.

There could be only one course left under such circumstances and the young Sadar-i-Rasayat took the only proper course he could to save the State from chaos and disaster.

The Prime Ministers' Agreement

The Indo-Pakistan Prime Ministers' Conference, which concluded on August 20, has brought the solution of the six-year-old Kashmir dispute nearer to its final stage; that is, if the Pak press ceases to foment trouble and harp upon *Jehad*!

Both Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the results of the four days' conference which prescribed a provisional time-table for the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator in Kashmir and his induction to the office by the Kashmir State Government.

The official announcement did not say anything new because India had already agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir and to the appointment of an Administrator as soon as agreement was reached between the two countries in regard to demilitarisation.

According to a shrewd observer, the most important and significant result of the agreement is that the United Nations has been completely eliminated from the picture, at any rate for the time being.

Strangely enough Mr. Mahomed Ali's latest broadcast on the 1st Sept. throws a baleful light on his subsequent reactions. His reference to the internal differences in Kashmir is extremely unfortunate and even provocative.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, himself stated at his Press conference in Karachi that he had accepted Mr. Nehru's statement that the Indian army had no part whatever to play in the Kashmir developments. But yet Mr. Mohammed Ali has sought to give the impression in his broadcast that the Muslims of Kashmir were being suppressed by bayonets and bullets.

There is no disguising the fact that the speech has caused considerable disappointment. The most charitable inference is that the broadcast was probably intended for local consumption. But if Pakistan Press reports of a rift in the Cabinet have any basis, the speech may be interpreted "as a triumph for the old guard who would resist any independent action by the Prime Minister."

Royalist Coup in Iran

The year 1953 holds the record for military coups. The Egyptian coup was followed quickly by the change over in Pakistan, on the heels of which came the fall of the Abdullah Government in Kashmir. And now Iran has followed suit.

Iran was practically leading for a civil war on the flight of the Shah from Teheran. There were open fights in the streets of the capital, between the Royal forces and the forces of Mossadeq. For the moment, however the Prime Minister appeared to be secure. But it was only for a moment. For within a couple of days Royalist troops overthrew the Government of Dr. Mossadeq and called the Shah to return to Teheran. The situation was well in hand when the Shah's Prime Minister Gen. Zahedi took over charge and proclaimed the new Government.

Events during the last few months had indeed made for disquiet, and the climax to the impending crisis was dreaded every moment. For

the dispute between Dr. Mossadeq and the Shah has been simmering for more than a year with occasional outbursts of violence. In July, 1952, the Shah denied Dr. Mossadeq his wish to become War Minister. The Prime Minister resigned, was replaced by Ghavames Sultaneh but was back a few days later, after a series of riots had swept Teheran.

This year trouble broke out afresh when Dr. Mossadeq sought an extension of his powers and control over the Shah's income and wealth. On February 28, the Shah announced his intention to leave the country. Reaction was almost instantaneous—crowds gathered outside the Royal Palace in Teheran and shouted slogans asking him to change his mind. The Shah stayed.

But, Dr. Mossadeq's set-back was short-lived. Soon, he was pressing on with his Bill to limit the Shah's powers. He overrode opposition in the Majlis with a referendum last month, which overwhelmingly supported his decision to dissolve the House.

India and the Korean Conference

That U. S. was making desperate efforts to see India out of the Korean political Conference was common knowledge in circles close to the United Nations in New York. It would appear that the U. S. Government, had gone so far as to make a direct appeal to the Prime Minister to withdraw her candidacy. Why was U. S., so bent on the exclusion of India from the Conference while U.K. and other powers were apparently anxious to see her in? The New York correspondent of the *Hindu* has no doubt that the real reason was Dr. Rhee's threat of boycotting the Conference if India was invited to participate.

India's own position in the matter was made clear in the Prime Minister's statement that she would be willing to participate in the Political Conference on Korea if a majority of members of the United Nations wanted her to do so.

It is true that the Assembly's Political Committee had approved a recommendation that India should take part by a vote of 27 to 21 with 11 abstentions. This would not have been enough to have given India the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly. It was a moral victory for India which should have entitled her to press her claims. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of the U. N. members want India to be at the Conference because they feel that she has a useful contribution to make to it. But persistence would merely have widened the rift and a technical triumph for India would have been bought at the price of dissension and conflict in the U. N. The Indian delegate therefore at the last moment, thought it good, in the interest of goodwill to withdraw from the contest. Mr. Krishna Menon declared that the purposes of peace would best be served by not pressing the resolution to a division. He told the Assembly that India's action was motivated by the consideration of creating the proper atmosphere for what he described as the "post-armistice period."

Debate on the Andhra State Bill

There is restraint and dignity in the presentation of the Andhra case in the article published elsewhere in this issue. We wish that members of the legislature shared this writer's method of approach. Even in Parliament members who are expected to speak for the whole country seem to have spoken with a regional bias. They could very well have dropped their poisonous shafts and carried the House with them, with arguments born of conviction. Yet they indulged in throwing mud on the regime so far reputed to have held the scales even.

It was left to the member for North Madras to rebut the charges of partiality and point out that for years the whole composite State was practically under Andhra rule: and any animadversions on the administration should only recoil on their heads.

One lamentable feature of the circumstances attending the birth of Andhra, said the member, was "the consistent suspicion and ill-will expressed by the leaders of the agitation against their erstwhile friends in the residuary State." Some members had tried to make out a case that undivided Madras had neglected Andhra. It was an exaggeration to say that nothing had been done for the development of Andhra. Andhra State was to-day handed over with electricity completely developed all over the State. The Muchkund scheme would yield as much as 130,000 kilowatts. Besides, there was the Tungabhadra electric scheme and stations at Vijayawada, Vishakapatnam and Kakinada. There were also thermal stations elsewhere in the new State.

Relief to Flood Victims

A number of relief measures, expected to cost between 5 and 6 crores of rupees for giving aid and succour to those affected by the recent Godavari floods, were decided upon at the high-level conference held at the Madras Secretariat.

The relief measures cover a wide field and include provision for financial and other assistance for the rehabilitation of the victims, rebuilding of their houses, for reclaiming lands and raising short term crops wherever possible.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE INTEGRAL YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO.
PART ONE: By Sri Rishabhchandra.
Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram,
Pondicherry, Rs. 3.

The most outstanding contribution of Sri Aurobindo to the spiritual enlightenment and advancement of mankind at large has generally been recognized as, consisting in a new synthesis of yoga in a new integral yoga, leading to a *transfigured humanity on earth*. It is in this new conception of yoga and in the implicit rejection of any fixed and rigidly graded way of Sadhana that Sri Aurobindo departs from the traditional teaching of the Hindu sages. The author of this book seeks in his first part of a larger work, to examine the bases and preliminaries of this new yoga, against the background of the ancient spiritual heritage of India and the incipient, but insistent and irresistible urge in humanity towards a harmonious perfection and fulfilment in life. Sri Rishabhchandra is convinced that in spite of all the current confusion and conflicts humanity is slowly moving towards a new social order of unity and harmony. The 'generalization' of a new synthetic spiritual culture, reconciling matter and spirit, light and life, earth and heaven by an integration and transformation of all the parts of the being of man and their perfect attunement to the supreme Divine Will, he thinks, will accelerate this slow advance. The conviction does honour to Sri Rishabhchandra and whether or not one shares this conviction, one must salute him for working in the light of this supreme faith.

THE PRESS AND THE WELFARE STATE.
By R. J. Venkateswaran, 15, Park
Street, Calcutta-Price Re. 1/-.

In this pamphlet the author discusses how the Indian Press can help in the creation of a Welfare State in this country. He points out that the role of the Press in an underdeveloped country should be somewhat different from what it is in advanced countries. Though

the recent general elections were a success, one should not exaggerate it. The fact is that the vast majority of the people are still steeped in poverty, ignorance and superstition. The Press, therefore should bear in mind these factors in the presentation of news and views. The author feels that the Indian Press cannot be wholly absolved from responsibility for the partition of India. He wonders if Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory would have spread among the masses throughout the sub-continent so rapidly and effectively if the Press had taken a more farsighted view of its responsibilities from the beginning.

The central theme of the pamphlet, however, lies in the Chapter, "Economic Journalism". The author pleads for greater attention being paid to economic and financial matters by the daily press. "The journalist should be Scholar enough to digest technical matter and Writer enough to make technical matter interesting". Incidentally, he stresses the need for an intelligent interpretation of statistics.

Other aspects of journalism dealt with relate to the status of working journalists, relationship between editor and proprietor, role of free-lance journalism, etc. A brief chapter is devoted to a description of the position of the Press in Soviet Union, where, in the words of Mr. Louis Fischer, "the nationalisation of land, forests and factories is as nothing compared with the nationalisation of words".

The author says that the Indian Press is a free Press, in fact, freer than the Press in most countries of the world. He holds up the *Manchester Guardian* as a model for the Indian Press and observes that if every State in the Indian Union can have at least two or three such reliable and readable newspapers, democracy will be reasonably safe in this country.

THE GREAT LIBERATION. Mahanirvana Tantra. Sanskrit Text with Translation and Commentary. By Arthur Avalon. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd., Madras-17.

Yet another of Arthur Avalon's magnificent series of scriptural literature—Text and Translation with critical notes and commentaries—is now before the public in its third Edition. Sir John Woodroffe who writes under this pen name chose for his labours a class of literature with which the English speaking world is not quite familiar. The accuracy of his translation and the lucidity of his exposition, coupled with a rare knowledge and insight into the genius of the literature and traditions of the peoples concerned make his rendering of exceptional value. In the book under review Sir John deals with the scripture of orthodox Hindus—the Tantra Shastra—a development of the Karmakanda promulgated to meet the needs of the Kaliyuga.

Yet of all the forms of Indian Shastras the Tantra, is least known and understood—a circumstance, as Arthur Avalon observes, in part due to the difficulties of the subject matter and to the fact that the key to much of its terminology and method rests with the initiate. The foreigner in particular is greatly handicapped in his interpretation of a ritual and terminology which can be fully understood only through "race upbringing and environment" and with an instinctive regard for ancient inheritance and tradition. But Arthur Avalon brings to his approach a knowledge and discipline rare among outsiders.

The secret mysticism and magic of India with which the Tantra Shastra is so deeply concerned have been misunderstood and misinterpreted even by Indian scholars who sometimes have decried them as black arts. Only a daring investigator with profound knowledge and reverence like Sir John Woodroffe could disentangle the lofty conceptions and beliefs from the erroneous notions which have clouded them. The world of scholarship owes a deep debt of gratitude to the publishers for making such rare scriptures available to the lay public.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By D. N. Banerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

This is a collection of occasional papers and addresses delivered at different academic bodies and on different occasions; but there runs through them all a unity of purpose and design which is unmistakable; they are, as the subtitle indicates, studies in political theory and practice. There are 17 papers in all dealing with different aspects of Law and Society, National and International. In the Future of Democracy the author expresses his faith in Mill's dictum that the worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it; it holds that democracy, more than any other form of state, promotes the mental expansion and elevation of the average citizen. In the next paper Dr. Banerjee shows how democracy can not function in a one party state. In Personal Freedom and Planned Society he pleads for what he calls "utilitarian individualism" whereby he would have public and private enterprise in a state, together with both social and economic planning to a limited extent. The Essays on "Austin and the Basis of Obedience to Law," "Rabindranath and the cult of nationalism," "Religious and Political ideas of Mazzini" and "Some Ideas of Thomas Paine" contain ample extracts from their writings to substantiate their respective points of view. In another Essay Dr. Banerjee shows how Wilson's famous "Right of self determination" has led to many dangerous and disintegrating demands so much at variance with his own fundamental teachings. In "The Indian speaker" he takes exception to speaker Tandon's view that the speaker could yet be an active partyman—a view which strangely enough found favour even with Prime Minister Nehru. Complete separation of Executive and Judicial Functions is urged in another paper. . . . Altogether Dr. Banerjee's studies are a valuable and scholarly contribution to democratic thought.

KINGS AND QUEENS. By Eleanor and Herbert Farjeon. Illustrated by Rosalind Thornycroft. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's St., London W.C.

This new Edition of Kings and Queens is brought up to date by the addition of two new drawings, those of George VI and the new Queen. The whole history of British monarchs from William I to Elizabeth II is told in witty verses accompanied by full page drawings in colour. Rosalind Thornycroft's pictures, riotous in colour and movement, fully reflect the spirit and gaiety of the biographical history in verse. What could be more apt and truthful than this of Edward VII:

King Edward wore Hamburg mat
And went to Hamburg Spa
And when he was the Prince of Wales
Was scared of his Mamma.

Or this of Edward VIII:

As King the dressing up and fuss
Upon his feelings grated;
He could not manage to forget
The lady whom they would not let
Him marry to his great regret,
And so he abdicated.

and then:

For while he led one kind of life,
He longed to lead another life;
He told us on the microphone
He could not bear to live alone
And so for love he left his throne
And gave it to his brother.

How true it all is and how significant. That is the way children are drawn to see the fun in history and superbly entertained.

MADELINE. Story and Pictures by Ludurg Bemelmans. Casement Publications, 11 Oak Lane, Fort, Bombay 1.

The late Chesterton used to say there can be no story which can't be told in coloured pictures: and Mr. Bemelman's gay pictures in this sumptuous volume, with the minimum of words and maximum of coloured plates is a fascinating book affording plenty of fun and excitement for children. Madeline and her school mates find a good deal of amusement and thrill in her adventures in gay Paris—amusement which readers will fully share. A delightful book for children.

THE PRINTERS' DIRECTORY, 1953. Published by Kubera Enterprises Ltd., "Kubera Buildings," 21, Sunkurama Chetty St., Madras, Rs. 5.

We have not so far come across a Madras Directory solely devoted to the business of printing and allied trade. We therefore welcome this pioneer attempt in Madras to present under one cover all that is relevant and useful in this particular line. The publishers have spared no pains to collect a vast deal of information about printers, paper merchants, block makers, type foundries, printing machinery and their suppliers—indeed every aspect of the printing business—and presented them in a way that is readily available for reference. There is at the end of the book a brief illustrated account of leading printers in the city. Directories of this kind naturally grow with the passage of time and experience; and what is now confined to the City may in time cover a wider field and prove useful alike to the trader and the public. We congratulate the publishers on the neat and attractive way they have brought out this pioneer Directory of the Printing business.

TALKS ON JNANAYOGA. By Swami Iswarananda. Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Vilangans, Trichur.

This booklet of 126 pages seeks to expound the philosophical approach to the realization of Brahman or the Absolute Reality in a very simple and rational way. It is divided into two parts. The first part consists of expository talks which present the Brahma-vidya shorn of the mystical and later day theological accretions, understandable by even the lay man amidst his busy life. The second part is intended for those who want the authority of the scriptures and the great teachers for the standpoint adopted in these talks. The book presents in a very simple language the difficult subject of Brahma-vidya.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- August 1 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates the State Corporation "Indian Airways" at the Safdurjung Airport.
- August 2 French Government decides to give full freedom to Indo-China.
- August 3 250 delegates from 17 countries meet in Conference at Geneva to discuss how to get to the moon.
- August 4 Dulles arrives in Seoul to confer with South Korean President.
- U. N. Council calls for financial aid to Libya.
- August 5 Indian advance party led by R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary, leaves for Tokyo.
- August 6 Russia agrees to Big-4 talks but demands China too must join.
- Mr. Chandulal Trivedi, Special Officer for Andhra, in Madras.
- August 7 Prime Minister tells duputation of Andhra M. Ps. that it is open to Andhra Legislative Assembly to change temporary Capital from Kurnool.
- August 8 Dulles signs mutual defence pact with South Korea.
- Malenkov, replying to U. S. "blackmail" says that Russia has the H. Bomb.
- August 9 Sheikh Abdullah dismissed and arrested: Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed sworn in as Prime Minister.
- August 10 Nehru, reviewing Kashmir events in Parliament says that it is for the State people to deal with internal issues.
- Asian Socialists meet at Hyderabad.
- August 11 U. N. Observers' activities in Kashmir condemned.
- Asian Socialists urge withdrawal of K. M. T. troops in Burma.
- August 12 Two Greek towns Argostoli and Lixnuri completely destroyed by earth-quake.
- August 13 Dr. Katju, Home Member initiates discussion of Andhra State Bill in Parliament.
- August 14 Pakistan celebrates 6th anniversary of Independence, shorn of customary festivities owing to Kashmir crisis.
- August 15 India celebrates 7th year of Independence.
- Shah of Iran flees from Teheran.
- August 16 Pak Prime Minister Mahomed Ali in New Delhi conferring with Nehru.
- August 17 Godavari in spate: Cauvery and Colaroon overflow their banks.
- August 18 Jaladurga carrying the first batch of Indian Custodian Force for Korea sails from Madras harbour.
- August 19 Royalist coup in Teheran. Mossadeq's Government overthrown by Shah's men.
- August 20 Joint Communique issued by Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers.
- Sultan of Morocco deposed and exiled to Corsica by France.
- August 21 Sidi Mohammed Ben Monlay Arafa, uncle of the deposed Sultan of Morocco, enthroned new ruler of the Protectorate.
- August 22 Hindu Mahasabha opposes plebiscite for Kashmir.
- August 23 Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed reiterates Kashmir's ties with India.
- August 24 New U. K. Atomic weapons more powerful than Hydrogen bombs to be exploded in Australian waters.
- Diamond Jubilee Conference of Upasi in Coonoor.
- August 25 U. S. stand against India in U. N. Political Conference on Korea.
- August 26 Committee appointed to examine the Madras new Elementary Education Scheme.
- August 27 Parliament passes Andhra Bill unanimously.
- 27 nations vote for seat for India on Korea Conference.
- August 28 India withdraws name for Membership of Korean Peace Conference.
- August 29 President Prasad inaugurates sixth Tamil festival in New Delhi.
- France signs pact with Cambodia transferring sovereignty in Judicial and Police issues.
- August 30 Italian forces moved to Eastern frontier in reply to alleged Yugoslav "threat" to Trieste.
- August 31 Indian force reaches Korea Zone.



READERS' DIGEST



OBEDIENCE TO LAW

Chief Minister Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing the Madras Law College Representative Council read interesting extracts from Plato's Life of Socrates wherein the Greek philosopher emphasised the paramount need for obeying the laws of the land.

The following were the passages read out from Plato's Socrates:

Soc: Then consider the matter in this way: Imagine that I am about to play truant (you may call the proceeding by any name which you like), and the laws and the Government come and interrogate me: "Tell us, Socrates," they say: "what are you about? are you not going by an act of yours to overturn us—the laws, and the whole State, as far as in you lies? Do you imagine that a State can subsist and not be overthrown, in which the decisions of law have no power, but are set aside and trampled upon by individuals?" What will be our answer, Crito, to these and the like words?....

"Answer, Socrates, instead of opening your eyes—you are in the habit of asking and answering questions. Tell us, what complaint have you to make against us which justifies you in attempting to destroy us and the State? In the first place did we not bring you into existence? Your father married your mother by our aid and begot you. Say whether you have any objection to urge against those of us who regulate marriage?" None I should reply. "Or against those of us who after birth regulate the nurture and education of children, in which you also were trained? Were not the laws, which have the charge of education, right in commanding your father to train you in music and gymnastic? Right I should reply. "Well, then, since you were brought into the world and nurtured and educated by us, can you deny in the first place that you are our child and slave, as your fathers were before you? And if this is true, you are not on equal terms with us; nor can you think that you have a right to do to us what we are doing to you. Would you have any right to strike or revile or do any other evil to your father or your master, if you had one, because your have been struck or reviled by him, or received some other evil at his hands?—you would not say his? And because we think right to destroy you, do you think that you have any right to destroy us in return, and your country as far as in you lies? Will you, O professor of true virtue, pretend that you are justified in this? Has a philosopher like you failed to discover that our country is more to be valued and higher and holier far than mother or father or any

ancestor, and more to be regarded in the eyes of the gods and of men of understanding? also to be soothed, and gently and reverently entreated when angry, even more than a father, and either to be persuaded or if not persuaded, to be obeyed?....

....For having brought you into the world and nurtured and educated you, and given you and every other citizen a share in every good which we had to give, we further proclaim to any Athenian by the liberty which we allow him, that if he does not like us when he has become of age and has seen the ways of the City and made our acquaintance, he may go where he pleases and take his goods with him.... But he who has experience of the manner in which we order justice and administer the State, and still remains, has entered into an implied contract that he will do as we command him. And he who disobeys us is, as we maintain thrice wrong; first, because in disobeying us he is disobeying his parents; secondly because we are the authors of his education; thirdly, because he has made an agreement with us that he will duly obey our commands: and he neither obeys them nor convinces us that our commands are unjust; and we do not rudely impose them, but give him the alternative of obeyings or convincing us:—that is what we offer, and he does neither.

INDIA ON THE SIDE OF DEMOCRACY

Mr. Chester Bowles (Former U.S. Ambassador in India) is sure that India is on the side of democracy in the East-West struggle and will honourably fulfil her projected role as one of the umpire nations in the proposed Korean truce.

India's role in the armistice, he says, should be an eye-opener for her.

There is no question about India's honesty, courage, or devotion to democracy. But she looks at world communism today as most Americans naively viewed Nazism in the 1930s—unpleasant, ugly, potentially dangerous, but someone else's job.

Another question often asked of him is what position will India take in the struggle between the East and the West; how will India fit into U. S. foreign policy?

For the time being, at least, he says, India is striving for an independent status in the cold war,

much as we tried to isolate ourselves from the struggles of the world for the first 150 years of our history.

SUNSHINE FOR BETTER HEALTH

The British Medical Research Council carried out a special inquiry to find out why babies born in the south of England had such a better chance of surviving the first critical year of life than babies born in the north. The result of the inquiry was that the extra sunshine in the south made all the difference.

Before the war, poor feeding and overcrowding were blamed for the higher infant mortality in the industrial north. In the past 12 years rationing and full employment have practically eliminated any nutritional differences between north and south.

Doctors argued that this should result in a levelling-up of mortality statistics between the two divisions of the country. But while baby deaths have fallen throughout the country the improvement has been far more marked in the south.

And the explanation is that the south has more sunshine—and less industrial haze.

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

In May last, the Worcester Art Museum opened a gallery devoted to the regular exhibition of the art of Greater India. Used in relation to a long history, the term "Greater India" describes the area which extends from an uncertain border northwest of the Indus River south and east to the tip of Ceylon, east and south across the Ganges, and through Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Cambodia, and Malaya, to Java and the other islands of Indonesia.

With the exception of a brief period revealing Greek and Roman influence caused by the conquests of the armies of Alexander the Great and by later Roman contact, Indian art shows in many ways the survival of the ancient empire. The artists were trained men who supplied a general demand for certain kinds of images and illustrations and who only rarely signed their works. In all materials their art is now esteemed for its technical accomplishments and for the evidence it

gives of the customs, beliefs, and ideas of a civilization that is both ancient and modern.

The first object of art from Greater India in the Museum's collection was accessioned in 1903. With the exception of loans, the collection, acquired by purchase and by gift, now includes 13 sculptures in bronze and in stone, 15 paintings, 20 items of jewelry, and 73 textiles and miscellaneous objects.

Earliest in date of the objects to be seen in the new gallery are stone sculptures made in the 2nd or 3rd centuries and known as Gandhara from the country where they were made. Other sculptures range in date through the 17th century. Paintings on view date from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

NEW SHOCK TREATMENT IN HOSPITALS

British research chemists, waging war against shock which results from loss of blood after accidents or during operations, have now armed hospitals with a new drug.

It is particularly suitable for use in sparsely populated countries where, because of the absence of "banks" which store blood from donors, treatment of shock by blood transfusion is virtually impossible.

Dextraven is the name which has been given to an entirely new form of dextran which hospitals in Britain are now using for infusion into the patient's body to restore blood volume and pressure.

Working in conjunction with scientists at various medical centres, chemists at the Benger laboratories have now found the answer to one problem of the manufacture of dextran. If made in a form that contains too many small molecules, it falls short of its job in anti-shock treatment by not remaining long enough in the blood stream, and if too large they can cause undesirable reactions. This new narrow fraction dextran has been referred to by a leading surgeon as "one of the major advances of the year. For it is now possible to manufacture dextran with a narrow range of molecular size.

THE NILGIRI MOUNTAIN RAILWAY

The Nilgiri Mountain Railway is the only one of its kind in India which runs on a rack. The story of this unique engineering feat is a tribute to British initiative and enterprise in the early development of Indian Railways. Other Indian mountain rail links are the Simla-Kalka and the Darjeeling Railways, says Mr. A. Dharmalingam in the *Sunday Hindu*.

The Nilgiri Mountain Railway, commencing at Mettupalayam and terminating at Ootacamund which covers a total distance of about 28 Miles, says the writer, is a marvel of engineering skill in the construction of railway lines over rugged and thickly-wooded mountainous terrain.

For the first five miles the line winds its way through a level country of areca plantations and then starts the ghat portion unfolding one of the finest panoramic views of natural scenery in the country. The line is marked by long and eerie tunnels piercing through mountains, numerous bridges over deep ravines and gushing mountain streams, perilous gorges, over-hanging boulders and precipitous cliffs. It may be mentioned that there has not been any serious accident in this line since its construction.

The Railway beyond Kallar runs for the most part skirting the several hills and it is one steep ascent right from Kallar to Coonoor.

The gradient is steep being 1 in 12.5 maximum and on account of this the rack system of Railway has been adopted for this reach of 12½ miles from Kallar to Coonoor. Special rack bars are provided centrally between the track rails on special chairs. These rack bars are laid on the slope of the line itself and form a ladder up which the engine climbs and pushes the train. The teeth of the rack are spaced 4.72 centre to centre and correspond to the pitch of the cogs of the driving wheel when fitted to the locomotives. The racks are laid centrally and are bolted to special cast iron chairs fixed to the sleepers by fang bolts. These racks are laid in a double row about 1¾" apart and 2½" above the running rail, so that the tooth of one is directly opposite the gap of the other to ensure that the engine pinions do not work off the racks when negotiating curves. The rack bars are laid only between stations and do not exist at stations which are either level or on a fairly level gradient. Special entries are provided for enabling the engine to enter the rack portion smoothly and to ensure proper meshing of the cog-wheels of the engine with the rack bars.

The locomotives are tank engines of the horizontal cylinder compound type, the high pressure cylinders working the admission

engine and the low pressure cylinders superimposed on the former working the rack engine.

Steam acts through a separate set of cylinders and drives a special crank shaft connected by spur gearing with the axle carrying the toothed wheel. The spur wheels are in duplicate and if one is damaged the other is strong enough to do the work. A mechanical device has been fitted to the engine whereby oil is forced by steam through a pipe on to the pinions and thereby to the rack bars.

The Railway was constructed up to Coonoor only in June 1899 and was worked by the Madras Railway Company under an agreement with the Government. It was extended to Ootacamund in 1908.

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

The Soviet Union recently tested a Hydrogen Bomb, it was officially announced on Aug. 20. *Prauda*, announcing the testing of the Bomb said, "Recently, in the Soviet Union, the explosion of a type of Hydrogen Bomb was carried out with an experimental aim.

"As a result of the possession of mighty power or the monuclear fission in the Hydrogen Bomb, the explosion was of great strength. The test showed that the power of the Hydrogen Bomb was many times greater than the power of the atomic bomb."

If recalled the speech of Soviet Prime Minister Malenkov on August 8 in which he claimed Russia had taken possession of the secret of the production of the Hydrogen Bomb.

The announcement continued this information.....caused a great deal of reaction abroad. Some foreign circles who had laid their stake in their policy of the monopoly of the United States in the possession of the atomic bomb and later of the Hydrogen Bomb appeared to intimidate the people by the fact that the Soviet Union possessed the secret of the production of the hydrogen weapon, and in connection with this, cause alarm, using it with the aim of intensifying the armaments drive.

The announcement then declared there was, in fact, no cause for alarm, because Soviet Union's policy was one of peace.

PAK RUPEE

A suggestion to the Pakistan Government to devalue her rupee early and save thereby her trade and shattering economy, is made by the British journal, *Great Britain and the East*. Analysing Pakistan's economic condition recently, the journal wrote;

"Pakistan's cotton should in the near future be able to replace the American cotton of equal quantity in the Lancashire trade, Pakistan is pressing for larger U. K. purchase of her raw cotton of which there is a large surplus.

"Pakistan could do well to improve its case by offering reciprocal trade arrangements for Lancashire goods which have been affected by the severe import limitations dictated by financial stress in Pakistan.

On Devaluation, the journal suggests; "Perhaps the best solution to the whole problem would be devaluation of the rupee. This would place the country's cotton in the market at competitive price. But Devaluation has always been an anathema to Pakistan."

NON-EXISTENT DISEASE

For 50 years doctors have been telling their anguished patients that those jabbing pains in the neck, back and shoulder were the result of fibrositis.

But medical experts now wonder if they have been diagnosing a non-existent disease.

Five of the doctors, who spoke at the British Medical Association's Conference here denied its existence. They declared that fibrositis was an inaccurate label for some other painful complaint explanations of what the complaint really was.

Since 1904, when the word was coined, it has been applied to muscular, rheumatism in the back, neck and shoulder.

One doctor said it was a misnomer for spinal strain; another maintained it was usually a result of a slipped spinal disc; a third claimed the true diagnosis would often be faulty posture and a fourth declared the whole thing was really psychological—due to a nagging wife or troublesome husband.

THE MIRACLE PLANT

The movement of plants from one country to another has been going on for several centuries. According to *Indian Farming* an India plant has been introduced in Egypt under interesting circumstances. This plant, which is called by various names, such as the 'miracle' plant, the 'devil's' plant or 'German grass' is commonly found near Delhi, where it is called *bui*. The plant is an annual weed.

During the World War II, it is well known that large-scale transport of troops took place between India and North Africa, and some of the seeds of *bui* may have been accidentally transported from Delhi to the deserts of Egypt. They may have found their way either by sticking to the gunny-bags of air cargoes or by being carried in the folds of the trousers of military personnel. This was possible, because the *bui* plant is common near the aerodromes of Delhi.

The seeds germinated in the Western Desert and contrary to expectations gave rise to clumps of green vegetation in those desolate and arid regions.

POLITICAL PENSIONS IN INDIA

A total sum of Rs. 23,20,600 is being paid annually as political pensions by the Government of India.

The major portion of the pensions represents the amounts paid to descendants and dependants of former ruling families of India. These include Rs. 1,76,500 per annum as Carnatic stipends, Rs. 3,18,100 per annum to the Nizammat family Rs. 1,81,200 to the Oudh family Rs. 8,50,000 as Oudh Wasika Pensions, Rs. 2,94,000 as Malabar Malikhana and Rs. 1,82,000 for pensions of Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of Berar.

The Aga Khan too gets a pension of Rs. 12,000 per annum. This grant was originally made by the British Government to the grandfather of Aga Khan in 1844 for his valuable services to the East India Company and is being continued ever since.

DEFENCE OF FREEDOM

An international four-day conference on "Science and Freedom," sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, opened at Hamburg in Germany on July 23. The conference was attended by 119 world-renowned scientists.

Inaugurating the meeting, Herr Max Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg, said:

This Conference is a parliament of thinkers from many different parts of the world who have recognised their mutual dependence. Scientific freedom is situated in a certain political context, and no scientist can ignore this fact. The subjection of science destroys science. Scientists cannot leave to others the defence of freedom of research.

Science, even more than the arts "is threatened by state tyranny," said Mr. Denis de Rougemont, President of the Executive Committee of the Congress.

The lot of a ballerina in Moscow is more enviable than that of a scientist forced to teach biology according to Lysenko, linguistics according to Stalin, and history according to the future confession of Beria.

M. de Rougemont underlined the importance of resistance by free intellectuals to all forms of thought control, since the formation of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin in 1950.

Dr. Bruno Snell, President of the University of the Hamburg, said:

We scientists need one another. We must have the feeling that we can count on one another when our common patrimony is endangered.

Nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize winner James Franck, native of Hamburg and Professor at the University of Chicago, emphasized that the defence of the democratic society against totalitarian threats imposed certain restrictions, but also served sometimes as a pretext for unjustified restrictions. Max Hartmann of Tübingen, Nobel Prize winner in biology, and philosopher Josef Pieper of Münster, discussed the spiritual basis of scientific research.

"No system of Government," stated Professor Franck, "is free from vices." Warning of the latent dangers to scientific freedom in the United States, he insisted at the same time on the necessity for defensive measures against scientific espionage.

CHINA AND THE WEST

Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said in an interview published last month by the French monthly *democratic Combattante* that a country as important as China "cannot remain permanently the instrument of another country."

"Certainly in special circumstances and for some time, China can find herself in the slipstream of another country or in its sphere of influence, but that can never become a permanent state," Mr. Nehru said.

The Korean war has accentuated China's economic dependence on the Soviet Union but it must not be forgotten that the Korean war is temporary phenomenon and that, China could obtain more for her industrialisation and economic development from the West than she is receiving or could receive from the Soviet Union.

A China devoting herself to economic and social progress would increase the possibilities of peace in the Far East. This development demands naturally—and it is a key to the whole situation—an increase in international trade and the reduction of customs barriers.

But at the present time, Western policy was tending to egg China "increasingly into Soviet arms."

Despite the latest events in Korea and despite Syngman Rhee's unilateral decision about the prisoners, the international situation will continue to improve. There is no shadow of a doubt that, a sincere desire exists to reach an armistice and everything must be done to succeed as quickly as possible, because this armistice is of a capital importance for all countries and the peace of the world.

Mr. Nehru also called for the setting up of an international aid fund for underdeveloped countries. It would benefit not only poor countries but the whole of humanity.

"LIBERATION" OF ASIANS

A Chinese Nationalist news agency report says that Russia had appropriated a special fund equivalent to 400,000,000 U.S. Dollars (Rs. 190 crores) for assisting the "revolution and liberation of Asian peoples" during the year ending May, 54.

According to the news agency, this sum has been earmarked thus: Japan, 40 per cent; Malaya, 10; Nepal, 3; Indo-China, 11; Burma, 5; Indonesia, 5; INDIA, 7; the Philippines, 10; rest of Asia. 6.

NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The proposed National Extension Service, when in full swing, can afford employment to 83,834 skilled persons, and its employment potential for unskilled labour will be at least twice as much, it was officially stated.

The Planning Commission, in its recent communication to the State suggesting an eleven-point programme to relieve unemployment, asked them to pursue the National Extension Service "with courage" for its own sake, inasmuch as "it is fundamental to the growth of rural economy in India as well as for the immediate contribution it can make towards the problem of educated unemployment."

It is estimated that the Extension Service, which will cover under both intensive and extensive development 120,000 villages, comprising a quarter of the rural population of India, will need 12,440 village level workers, 1,120 project executive officers, 38,440 school teachers, 3,900 veterinary staff, 2,480 health staff, and 25,754 others such as social education organisers, agricultural graduates and engineers and their subordinates.

Some of the staff have, however, already been employed in the Community project which have been in operation in 24,000 villages since October last, and to be opened in another 20,000 villages.

CURE FOR 'Q' FEVER

Q fever, a pneumonia-like disease unknown before 1937, is rapidly becoming a major problem in most parts of the world. According to a recent issue of *The Lancet*, British medical weekly, Q fever has been found "almost everywhere that a search has been made".

The fever, which is caused by a tiny germ called *Rickettsia burneti*, strongly resembles a typical pneumonia or the so-called virus pneumonia, differing only in attacking more suddenly and in producing a headache much more intense than the degree of fever suggests. In the majority of cases the illness lasts about a week, but Q fever can also be a severe, protracted disease, and occasionally causes death.

Several groups of investigators have reported that Q fever can be cured with the antibiotic terramycin.

Thirteen Q fever patients in Umbria, recovered from the disease in 24 to 48 hours. Dr. R. Frascarelli reports in a recent issue of *La Riforma Medica*. The early use of the antibiotic, the investigator noted, did not appear to impair the development of disease-fighting antibodies in the patients' blood.

The microorganism that causes Q fever apparently infests cattle, sheep and goats through the bite of infected ticks. Human beings are believed to contract the disease by exposure to contaminated dust, animals or dairy products.

SEPARATE CHURCHES IN S. AFRICA

A graphic account of the extent to which racial segregation is practised in Dr. Malan's South Africa was given the other day at an Editors' conference in Calcutta by Sri P. B. Singh, a sportsman-cum-journalist of South Africa.

It appears, writes the *A. B. Patrika*, from what Mr. Singh said that the racial segregation is complete in South Africa. Every coloured person, be he an Indian or African, is made to feel every day, every moment of his life, that he is not fit to be seen in company with a European anywhere, in tram cars and buses, railway compartments and stations, in cinemas, schools and Universities, in sporting fields and even in hospitals. Dr. Malan was once a churchman but such is his devotion to Christ and his teachings that he does not allow the non-whites even to pray with the Europeans in the same church. The non-Europeans have been assigned separate church buildings where to pray.

A TALL ONE

"It was so cold," complained the Himalayan Sherpa, "that the candle froze and we couldn't blow it out."

"Yes," said his companion, "the words, came out of our mouths in pieces of ice, and we had to fry them to see what we were talking about."

TRIP TO THE MOON

More than 250 delegates from 17 different countries met at Geneva in the first week of August to talk, as if it were commonplace, just how to get to the moon.

The delegates represented dozens of inter-Planetary Societies and they were planning how to conquer the planets with the help of rocket ship "stations" circling the earth at the rate of about 1,000 miles in the sky.

Most of the delegates were men famed in their respective spheres in the scientific world, and included physicists, chemists, mathematicians, astronomers, biologists and engineers.

The Chief controversy at the conference, was touched off in a paper read by Dr. Warner Von Braun the German scientist, who built the V-2 rockets in world War II.

He said with \$400,000,000,000 and in ten years' time, it would be possible to build a satellite between the earth and the moon from where space ships could be launched for trips to Mars.

But another body of opinion believes energy for such flights must come from a completely new source, possibly an atomic rocket motor.

ROSENBERG AND THE ATOM SECRET

Long before the first atom bomb was exploded and the public knew anything about the dawning nuclear age, Soviet espionage services were trying to steal the West's atomic secrets, says *News Week*.

The first revelation that they were succeeding came from Canada, where investigation spotted Alan Nunn May, a British scientist, as a leak in Western security. He was sentenced to ten years in jail. The name "Fuchs," scribbled in one of his notebooks, led to the arrest of Klaus Fuchs, German-born British scientist, who had worked on the first American atom-bomb project at Los Alamos. N. M. Fuchs confessed to spying for Russia and was sentenced to fourteen years.

Fuchs identified Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, as a courier for the spy ring. Arrested by the FBI and subsequently sentenced to 30 years, Gold named as his source of atomic information at Los Alamos

one David Greenglass, an army sergeant who in 1944 and 1945 had been assigned to a Los Alamos shop. Greenglass, later sentenced to fifteen years, confessed and accused his sister, Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, and her husband, Julius of directing his activities as a spy.

By confessing like the others and telling what they in turn knew of Soviet espionage in this country, the Rosenbergs might also have won clemency. But they were devout and disciplined Communists and chose to profess innocence and, if necessary, to die with their secrets. They did so in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison on Friday night, June 19, the first Americans ever condemned to death for espionage in a civil court.



Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Strauss had served a five year term as a member of the original Commission when it was established in 1946. Since March 9, 1953, he has been special advisor to President Dwight D. Eisenhower on atomic energy matters.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

Mr. POLAK'S INDICTMENT OF APARTHEID

Mr. H. S. L. Polak who was associated with Mahatma Gandhi in his work in South Africa, representing the Theosophical Society in Britain, told the U.N. Commission on racial discrimination in South Africa, which met at Geneva in the first week of August, that Dr. Malan's policy of *Apartheid* could only lead to fear, suspicion, hatred and a desire for revenge. He urged the United Nations to give encouragement to those people of various races and colour who were still working with the help of the churches to eliminate the racial difference on which *Apartheid* was based. "It seems strange," he said,

that Dr. Malan who was trained as a Christian teacher should have forgotten completely the first Chapter of Genesis, which says that God made man in his own image and not particularly that he made man white.

Mr. Polak particularly emphasised the sufferings of the 350,000 Indians in South Africa who had done so much to help the economic development of the country. He declared that even though 90 per cent of these Indians were South African-born—many of them had been in South Africa for three generations—they were still regarded by the South African authorities as foreigners.

"Under the Group Areas Act" he said, the Indians are being uprooted from those areas where they have lived and owned property and are being restricted in every way possible and are facing ruin. No Asiatic can now own property of any kind except within the walls of specifically delineated areas.

Recalling his work with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa when the latter was carrying out his passive resistance campaign in the Union, Mr. Polak said:

I once asked Mr. Gandhi why he did not bring into the struggle, the African native people who were suffering more at that time than the Indians.

Mr. Gandhi replied he did not think that the Africans were then sufficiently politically minded, and in any event "we were

fighting their battle and any thing gained was gained for them also."

To-day under the constant pressure of anti-colour legislation and administration the various classes of colour in South Africa have been brought closer together than ever could have been foreseen 25 years ago.

We cannot afford to have the world divided according to race and colour. The nations must quickly realise how fundamental is the inter-religious teaching of human brotherhood and that each race and individual is entitled to the fullest opportunity of discovering and displaying the divinity within them, if mankind is not to destroy itself by ignorance of fundamentals or by refusal to apply its knowledge for peace and good-will.

Mr. Polak argued that the provisions of the United Nations Charter did not rule out of the field of purely domestic interests such questions as those involved in the policy of *Apartheid*.

Based as it is upon a doctrine of the inherent and permanent superiority of the white race over all other races, it is difficult to understand what meaning they have.

Malaya

INDIAN INTERESTS IN MALAYA

Sri Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, assured the House of the People on August 4 that the Government of India was taking all possible steps to safeguard the legitimate interests of Indian nationals residing in Malaya.

He told the House that the attention of the Malayan authorities had been drawn to the difficulties that were likely to be experienced by fresh entrants under the new immigration law which came into force on Aug. 1. The matter would be pursued further after ascertaining the views of the local Indian Chamber of Commerce.

Sri Chanda explained that the new law applied not only to Indian nationals, but also to nationals of all Commonwealth countries, including citizens of the United Kingdom and the colonies.

So far as the Government of India was aware, the colonial Governments in the peninsula considered it necessary to impose a general restriction to protect the interests of their permanent residents, including Indians.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

ARMISTICE PACT

The United States State Department, released the text of the Korean Armistice Agreement to bring about a "complete cessation of hostilities" until there is a final peace settlement.

The agreement provided for:

1. A cease-fire 12 hours after the signing of the truce.
2. A demarcation line running through the centre of a two-and-a-half mile deep demilitarised "buffer" zone between the opposing forces.
3. The exchange of all prisoners of war willing to be repatriated, and no interference with the return of displaced civilians to their homes in North, or South Korea.
4. The safe despatch to demilitarized zones of prisoners unwilling to be repatriated. Here they will be placed in the custody of Indian troops.
5. A joint military armistice commission to enforce the truce.
6. A Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, with representatives from Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia to supervise, and inspect truce arrangements, and report violations to the Joint Military Armistice Commission.

The preamble to the 12,000-word agreement said the United Nations and Communist Military commands "in the interests of stopping the Korean conflict with its great toll of suffering and bloodshed on both sides, with the objectives of establishing an armistice, which will ensure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved, do individually, collectively, and mutually, agree to accept, and be bound and governed by the conditions and terms of armistice.

The opposing commanders agreed to recommend that their Governments should hold a higher-level political conference within 90 days of the signing of the truce

to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea.

NO NEW MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS

The agreement banned new military reinforcements into Korea by either side during the period of the truce. It did not prohibit the rotation of units already there, but placed a monthly limit of 35,000 men on such rotation.

It called for full protection, and "all possible assistance and cooperation" to the Armistice Commission, its Joint Observers, Teams, the Supervisory Commission, and Inspection Teams.

The Agreement applied to all Army Naval and Air Force of the Communist, and the United Nations commands.

PLEBISCITE IN KASHMIR

A joint Press communique issued by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India on August 20 announced the decision to appoint a Plebiscite Administrator for Jammu and Kashmir by the end of April 1954.

The communique, which incorporated the decisions of the two Prime Ministers following the four-day talks at Delhi, expressed their opinion that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State and the most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by a fair and impartial plebiscite.

Both the Prime Ministers had decided that committees of military and other experts should be appointed before April 1954 to advise them on the question of deciding preliminary issues.

The Plebiscite Administrator, who will be formally appointed and inducted into office by the Kashmir Government, is to examine the situation and make proposals for the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the entire State.

The communique also referred to the evacuee property and stated that a meeting of representatives of two Governments would be held within a month for further consideration of the question.

INDO-KASHMIR RELATIONS

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the new Premier of Kashmir broadcasting to the people of the state on his assumption of office on August 9 said;

To-day a momentous decision has been taken which will determine the course of our national history. As you are aware, during the last few months, the entire State had been forced into a grave political and economic crisis, which threatened to disintegrate it and disrupt the unity of its people. The compelling necessity of averting a national disaster has impelled me and my colleagues to accept, in a spirit of humility and duty, the responsibility of Government from our erstwhile colleagues with whom we fought for the freedom of the country. In times of historic crisis, when the fate of millions is at stake personal relations and affections have to be subordinated to the paramount interests of the country. In the course of our joint struggle for liberty what kept us together was the community of ideals and principles. These principles formed the bed-rock of the democratic movement in our State. But, of late, we were extremely shocked and grieved to see that our former colleagues were not only repudiating these vital principles but were attempting to destroy all vestiges of democratic functioning in all spheres of administration and organisation.

We know that many friends will be perplexed by the trend of events, and the parting of ways between us and our colleagues will be as painful to them as it has been to us. They must, however, realise that all along these arduous years of trials and tribulations we have been united by our devotion to certain common purposes affecting the destiny of our people. But recent developments have made it abundantly clear to all of us that a betrayal of the country's interests and the traditions of our democratic struggle was in the offing which would inevitably have led to grave consequences. None of us could afford to watch complacently the repetition of events which uprooted the lives of millions of people in the Indian sub-continent in 1947. We felt strongly that silence and inaction on our part would surely bring about chaos and anarchy in every part of the State. It was, therefore, after careful deliberation and serious thought that we decided to avert this explosive situation at the risk of breaking our personal relations.

Certain recent developments have made it possible for disruptive forces to make desperate attempts at the disintegration of the State. The activities and utterances of some of our erstwhile colleagues make it clear that they have been thinking in terms of carving out a portion of the State from the wreckage as an 'independent State.' These moves have naturally the connivance and support of interested foreign Powers who have all along been resisting the exercise of the right of the people of the State to freedom and self-determination.

The present situation threatens to open up explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, unless the designs of these forces and their foreign supporters are foiled in time. The democratic movement in the State has been consistently fighting for the realisation of an autonomous status for the State within the Indian Union. But efforts are now afoot so as to bring about conditions in which this objective will perish. There are elements at work to-day for the merger of the State with Pakistan or India and, in the midst of the ensuing confusion, some opportunist elements are dangling the alluring picture of an 'independent State' before the people.

It is clear that in the interests of the unity and integrity of the State none of these alternatives is going to be helpful for the people of this State. Any attempt to secure the merger of the State with Pakistan will result in its dissolution as an entity, and the idea of an independent position carries with it deep implications of political and economic dependence on foreign charity. The slogan of 'independence' is highly misleading and there should be no doubt as to the motive of sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world.

An 'independent' Kashmir under the influence of an imperialist Power will be a grave threat to the freedom and independence of the Indian and Pakistani people. In view of the geographical position of the State, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another 'Korea' may be staged here, as a result of the armed conflict between interested Powers.

Let us objectively understand how our accession to India in terms of the Instrument of Accession and the Delhi Agreement affects the substance of our independence, material interests and national honours. We have transferred only foreign affairs, defence and communications to the Union of India and the limit of the ancillary and implied powers has been defined in the Delhi Agreement. In the context of the international situation to-day, many countries, especially the Asian-Arab group at the United Nations, look to the foreign policy of India's as the way out of the prevailing strife and tension.

The interests and honour of our State are safe in association with such a foreign policy and its further progressive orientation with the rapid development of democratic forces in India. The defence forces of India are meant for protecting the country against foreign aggression. The experience of the people of our State during the last six years of emergency and strain bear ample testimony to the correct role of the Indian Army. . . . The Indian Army has not been an army of occupation feeding on the people. On the contrary their economic help, exemplary conduct and humanitarian work have been appreciated by all sections of our people.

THE PRESIDENT'S CALL TO THE NATION

"On this day, the sixth anniversary of our Independence, let us once again dedicate ourselves to the great task of contributing our utmost to the happiness of our people, and the general welfare of the world. It is a task which is at once a heavy responsibility as well as a privilege which freedom bequeathes". With these words the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad began his message to the nation on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of Independence. He continued:

We dedicate ourselves to the principles that make for peace and prosperity not only of our nation but of the human race. In this connexion, we look back with satisfaction that our humble efforts in the cause of peace have begun to show signs of success, particularly in Korea.

Of no less importance for us is the fact that India's relations with her neighbours, particularly Pakistan, are also showing signs of improvement. Not only has the tension between the two sister countries eased, but an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness prevails. Let us hope the talks begun recently to solve outstanding problems will succeed to the satisfaction of both the parties.

"Irrespective of success or failure, we are determined to pursue the path of peaceful negotiations in settling all international disputes.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KASHMIR

Sheikh Mahomed Abdullah, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, was on August 9, dismissed from office by the Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh and the Cabinet headed by him dissolved.

Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, Deputy Prime Minister in the dissolved Cabinet, was sworn in, as Prime Minister, the same day.

An order, issued by the Sadar-i-Riyasat, referred to the existence of acute differences in the Cabinet and said a majority in the Cabinet expressed the view that the Cabinet had lost the backing of the people.

A stage has been reached at which the very basis of an honest and an efficient administration has become impracticable, and therefore, the Sardar-i-Riyasat has dismissed Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime Ministership of the State, and dissolved the Council of Ministers headed by him.

The order also said the functioning of the present Cabinet on the basis of joint

responsibility had become impossible, and the resultant conflict had jeopardised the unity, prosperity and stability of the State.

The order added:

I, Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat, functioning in the interest of the people of the State, who have reposed the responsibility and authority of the headship of the State in me, do hereby dismiss Sheikh Mahomed Abdullah from the Prime Ministership of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Council of Ministers headed by him is dissolved forthwith.

A communique, issued from the residence of the Sadar-i-Riyasat said the Sadar-i-Riyasat later called on Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, Deputy Leader of the Majority party in the Legislative Assembly, to form the Government.

Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, having accepted, was sworn in by the Sadar-i-Riyasat as Prime Minister. On the advice of the Prime Minister, Sri Girdhari Lal Dogra was sworn in as Minister of the State.

The dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah came as a climax of the 10-week-old crisis in the State Cabinet, the rift in the National Conference, and the political confusion created by the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah.

For the past few months trouble has been simmering in the State Cabinet. Charges of corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, and despotism on the part of the former Prime Minister were made freely both within and outside the Cabinet.

It was reported that Sheikh Abdullah's recent utterances and attempts to inflame the dying and dormant communal forces in the Valley was with a view to rehabilitating himself, and regain the confidence which he was fast losing among the people, and his followers.

COMMITTEE TO ADVISE TRIVEDI

An informal committee of Andhra leaders will advise Sri Chandulal Trivedi, Special Officer for Andhra Affairs, in connexion with matters relating to the formation of the Andhra State, it is authoritatively stated.

The Committee will consist of Sri N. Sanjiva Reddi, Cong., Sri T. Viswanatham, P. S. P., and Sri G. Latchanna, K. L. P.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Sir Navroji Jehangir Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, delivering his Convocation address to the new graduates of the Bombay University on August 18 emphasised that English must stay for many years to come, and till Hindi was well established as an all-India language, which it was not at present, must also remain our main medium of communication and interchange of ideas with other parts of India itself.

He welcomed the new Act converting the Bombay University into a federal and teaching university, but added that powers of affiliation of colleges must remain with the University.

Sir Navroji said;

"The changed political conditions have opened a new future for the Bombay University. One of the questions which assumed both importance and urgency is the question of the national language and the medium of instruction. Till the advent of the political changes which took place in 1917, we did not contemplate that our university education should in the near future be given in any language but English. But important changes have been made by our Constitution. Article 343 of the Constitution has laid down that Hindi shall be the official language of the country. This is a provision which is both necessary and beneficial, and which we must carry out. But the transition, especially, in the sphere of university education, from English to Hindi, is a process which must necessarily be slow, if our educational system is not to be seriously disorganised."

MADRAS EDUCATIONAL SCHEME

The Government of Madras have appointed a committee with Professor R. V. Parulekar, Director of the Indian Institute of Education, Bombay, as Chairman to examine the modified scheme of elementary education and to make recommendations thereon. Mr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Director of Public Instruction, Madras, will be the member-Secretary of the Committee.

FREE COPIES TO LIBRARIES

Louis Fischer announced that libraries in India could obtain free copies of four of the books said to have been banned recently from U. S. Information Libraries in Bombay and Calcutta and burned.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY
CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Addressing the new graduates at the Convocation of Madras University, on August 18, Dr. V. S. Krishna, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, referred to the relationship between the State and Universities. He remarked that the State should provide adequate facilities, and a constitution which places the right people in charge of administration, and then leave the Universities free to plan their development. He added that the development of the National Research Institutes, had increased the difficulties of Universities in providing a qualified staff as the institutes, paying higher salaries, attracted experienced teachers from Universities.

LOANS TO STUDENTS
AND TRADERS

Eight State Governments have been sanctioned varying sums for advancing loans to students, traders and those engaged in small and cottage industries. The States concerned are PEPSU, Rajasthan, Delhi, Bopal, Ajmer, Kutch, Madhya Bharat and Madras.

PEPSU receives the largest sum—Rs. 5,00,000, Rajasthan, Delhi and Bhopal each receives Rs. 2,00,000, Madhya Bharat and Kutch get Rs. 50,000 each, Ajmer Rs. 10,000 and Madras Rs. 5,000.

Actual payments to the State Governments concerned will be made by the Union Ministry of Rehabilitation on receipt of requests, accompanied by specific schemes.

15 INDIAN STUDENTS GO TO
U.S. FOR STUDIES

Fifteen Indian students, 11 boys, and four girls, recipients of the Fulbright travel grant for higher studies in the U.S. left for Genoa aboard the Italian liner, m/v "Victoria", last month.

They will study medicine, law, economics, literature sociology, mathematics, and theology in various U.S. universities

HIGH COURT FOR ANDHRA

On the question of the location and functioning of the Andhra High Court, Dr. Katju said in Parliament that the Government thought the Andhras had not taken a firm decision on this and to specify that the date by which the High Court was to be established as June 1, 1954, would be fixing too short a period. The Central Government had therefore decided to shift the date to January 1, 1956. Dr. Katju did not think that January was an unsuitable month for the removal of the High Court to any place fixed in the Andhra area.

The House adopted on 22 August. the clause relating to the setting up of the High Court for Andhra, with an amendment moved by the Deputy Home Minister, Mr. B. N. Datar.

Under the Bill a High Court would be set up for Andhra from January 1, 1956, or from any earlier date to be appointed by the President if the Andhra State Assembly adopted a resolution to that effect. Mr. Datar's amendment provided that the Government would prescribe the principal seat of the High Court, and if the Andhra Assembly by a resolution suggested any particular place, he shall prescribe that place as the principal seat of the High Court.

MUSLIM WAKFS BILL

The Law Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas, told the House of the People on August 14, that meetings of the Select Committee on the Muslim Wakfs Bill had to be postponed twice. On one occasion, he waited for 45 minutes and sent out urgent messages to collect a quorum, he said. A third meeting had to be adjourned as the sponsor was going away from Delhi.

The Minister was moving for extension of time for presentation of the report of the Select Committee from August 22 to the last day of the second week of the next session. The Bill introduced by a private member seeks to provide for the better governance and administration of Muslim Wakfs and the supervision of Mutawall's management of them. The extension was granted.

JUSTICE AFTER 19 YEARS

An Italian Appeal Court on August 1. acquitted a fortythree-year-old Italian peasant, Carlo Corbisiero, after he had served 19 years of life-prison term for a murder he did not commit.

The Court gave him the fullest form of acquittal recognised by Italian law, thus acknowledging the gravest miscarriage of justice of the century in Italy.

No one from his village dared to testify in his favour 19 years ago though many knew he could not have committed the murder of two commercial travellers for which he was condemned, the Naples Appeal Court was told this month.

Sergeant-Major Armando Calo, the local Police Chief who investigated the murder, was Corbisiero's sworn enemy.

But with the Sergeant-Major dead (he was killed in North Africa during the war) the villagers of Marzano gave evidence for the first time in Naples during the past three weeks.

DEATH PENALTY IN VICTORIA

The Victorian Parliamentary Labour Party, which is the ruling party, adopted a resolution deciding to abolish capital punishment in this, the second largest Australian State. It was followed by a Government announcement that legislation to give effect to the resolution will be introduced in the next session of Parliament.

For many years no execution has taken place in any Australian State when the Labour Party was in power but many death sentences were carried out when other parties were in power. The "Evans Case" in England gave impetus to the present action of the Government of Victoria.

JUDGE'S LESSON IN DEMOCRACY

A Chicago Judge has ordered two men who took part in anti-Negro demonstrations in a State-owned housing estate to write 1,000-word essays in four days on the meaning of Democracy. They were arrested when an angry crowd protested against a Negro family being given a house in Chicago's Trumbull park estate.

INTER-STATE TRADE

The Government of India has advised State Governments not to demand sales tax on inter-State trade transactions, which took place before the Supreme Court judgement on the subject.

The Supreme Court, in its judgement in the Bombay Sales Tax Act Case, ruled that in inter-State transactions, the State, in which the goods were delivered for consumption was entitled to levy the tax.

After the judgement was delivered, many of the States were reported to have sent out notices to parties in other States for submission of accounts and payment of tax, with retrospective effect from Jan. 26, 1950, when the Constitution came into force.

Since inter-State transactions had mostly been put through before the Supreme Court judgment on the assumption that these were not liable to tax, the Union Government has suggested to State Governments that the tax in these cases should be waived.

FOREIGN FIRMS IN INDIA

The question of employment of Indians in foreign firms in India formed the subject of a number of interpellations in the House of the People on August 11.

Dr. Choitram Gidwani, who raised the issue, wanted to know whether only 60 firms out of 1,200 in India had given a "gentlemen's undertaking" not to take on new young British and foreign employees where Indians were available and trained for the same posts.

The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, said: "The Government do not contemplate that all foreigners should be sent out. What they want is that progressively Indians must be associated more and more with these firms. From the employment point of view, we want that our young men must go into these firms, and we should not seek to solve the unemployment problem of other countries. With this view, the Government have made clear to the foreigners in this country their policy in this regard."

TATA POWER COMPANY

An extraordinary general meeting of the Tata Power Company on August 12 decided to issue 15,000 shares of Rs. 1,000 each out of 23,464 ordinary unissued shares in the capital of the company.

This decision was taken in pursuance of the plan to raise Rs 3 crores from the Tata hydro-electric agencies (of which the company is a part) to meet a portion of the cost of the Rs. 13-crore thermal station proposed in Trombay, near Bombay.

The station, a 100,000 k.w. project, is a joint venture of three companies. The other two companies—the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company and the Andhra Valley Power Supply Company—have already resolved to subscribe the remaining Rs. 1.5 crores.

The rest of the cost of the station will be met from a loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and from temporary borrowings from banks. These 15,000 shares of the Tata Power Company will, in the first instance, be offered to ordinary shareholders of the company in the ratio of two shares of five shares already held.

TREND OF BANKING IN INDIA

"The year 1952 was essentially a year of transition for the banking system in India, involving a process of readjustment to the new monetary policy initiated in November 1951", observes the Reserve Bank's report on the trend and progress of banking in India in 1952.

The report says that looking back over 1952, this readjustment has been effected without adverse results. On the contrary, the fact that credit has been held in check has had a salutary effect on price levels which in the post-Korean period had risen to abnormal levels. Throughout this period of readjustment the Reserve Bank was watchful and ready to meet any situation which, in the interest of the country, demanded special measures.

WOMEN OUTNUMBER MEN

Females are increasing more rapidly in number than males in most areas of the world, according to statisticians of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York.

This trend is seen not only in countries where males are still in the majority, but also where females have long had superiority in numbers.

Females now outnumber males in almost all the European countries, the statisticians say.

Eastern Germany, with 743 males for every 1,000 females, has the greatest "unbalance", of the sexes in Europe and probably in the world.

No postwar figures are available for the Soviet Union, but statisticians believe that it has a considerable deficit of males.

In 1939, the ratio there was 920 males for every 1,000 females. With the heavy losses of men suffered by the Soviet Union during the war, they say, it is likely that the ratio is even lower now.

Austria and Western Germany have the largest deficit of males in Western Europe, but in Finland, France, Spain and Britain the number of men has also fallen well below that of women.

Emigration has been one of the major historic factors in depleting Europe's male population, while at the same time building up surpluses of men in the new countries.

Fifty years ago there were 1,044 males for every 1,000 females in the United States, and males maintained their numerical superiority until recent years.

In Australia and New Zealand, men are still in the majority by a slight margin.

The situation in Africa and Asia is more difficult to determine, the statisticians explain, "since large parts of these continents have never been fully enumerated."

RIGHTS OF BURMESE BUDDHIST WOMEN

Twenty-nine women's organisations in Burma have formed a central committee to work for the enactment of the Burmese Buddhist Women's Marriage Act Amending Bill which is aimed at safeguarding the rights of Buddhist women. This Bill seeks to obviate the necessity for Buddhist women marrying non-Buddhists to change their religion in order to secure their rights of inheritance. An appeal has been issued to all women's organisations in the country to support this Bill which came up before Parliament, when it commenced its session on August 17.



Leah Sykes Young was the virtually unanimous choice of women's organizations in the State for Virginia State Mother for 1953. Mrs. Young and her husband, the son of a Negro slave, are tenant farmers who dreamed when they were married in 1907 of raising a large family with education and careers for all. Through hard work and prayer, Mr. and Mrs. Young reared 14 sons and daughters, including a farmer, two building contractors, a nurse, carpenter, mason, dietitian, librarian, and six teachers. Each is a graduate of a secondary school and five won College scholarships.

A CLASSIC IN CELLULOID

Much of the criticism of recent films is on the score of their effect on people's morals. Mr. Vasani's new picture—*Avvaiyar*—clean, healthy and irreproachable in its appeal has taken the wind out of the sails of such criticism. Gemini's classic in celluloid which is on show in most of the theatres in South India is by all accounts a masterpiece alike in technique and tone. It is frankly a film with a purpose. K. B. S. in the role of *Avvaiyar* has surpassed herself as the *Bhaktha par excellence* in song and speech. Mr. Vasani spared neither money nor pains to make a picture unique in many respects and has succeeded in setting a standard that must be frankly embarrassing to his successors in the line. The theme of the picture and its representation on the screen are so woven into a fabric of such variety and magnificence that every element of human emotion—awe, wonder, pity, pathos, prayer plays its allotted part in the irresistible appeal of the whole show. The settings and the photography are truly magnificent.

INDIAN CUSTODIAN FORCE

The first batch of 1,200 officers and men of the Indian Custodian Force to Korea—the first army in the world ever to embark on a mission of peace—sailed for Korea on August 18th from Madras Harbour by the s.s. *Jaladurga*. The troops are led by Lt.-Col. Swarup Singh Kalan.

Though it is the first batch to leave for Korea, the troops will not be the first to reach the destination. The British vessel "*Empire Pride*" carrying 1,600 officers and men consisting of the Headquarters Staff, Red Cross and other forward units, led by Brigadier Gurubaksh Singh, the Deputy Force Commander, which left Madras Harbour on August 19 along with "*Dilwara*", carrying another batch of 1,000 officers and men, was the first to reach Inchon in the first week of September. The last batch of 1,000 officers and men left by the steamer "*Hellenic Prince*" on August 20.

SRI ARCHIBALD ROWLANDS

Sir Archibald Rowlands, former Finance Member of the Government of India and later Financial and Economic Adviser of Qaed-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, first Governor-General of Pakistan, died suddenly on August 19. He was 60.

Sir Archibald was Adviser to the Viceroy of India on war administration in November, 1943, and Chairman of the inquiry into Bengal's administration in October, 1945. He served on the Governor-General's Executive Council in 1945 and 1946.

DR. T. S. TIRUMURTHI

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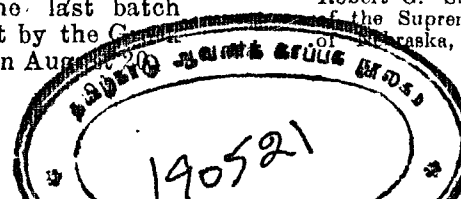
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