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INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE

BY SRIMATHI KAMALADEVI

INTERNATIONAL Conferences are no more a novelty feature. There is perhaps hardly a day when some international Assembly is not in session somewhere in some part of the world. India has in recent years become the venue of almost a chain of Conferences. The population has been particularly busy. This has been a regular bat-ting. As



one who attended a few of them, I must admit that the Conference on Social work at Madras was the most outstanding of them all. It is probably the largest such conference ever held—it drew some 1300 delegates. It was distinctive not only in size but in quality too. Of course in a vast concourse of this sort, the quality is bound to be uneven. Nevertheless taking all the different aspects one can commend on the general high level of the talks and discussions. The theme of the Conference was the role of social service in raising the standard of living. It was thought for the appropriate since this Session was for the state in Asia, one of the under-brute tota of the world, with what

may be called a low standard of living. But when one actually sits down to analyse the theme, one faces a problematical situation. For the question is: Is there a single established standard of living, a kind of a yard stick by which we may measure living standards, and characterise those that fall below this standard as low. Even if what constitute the essentials are taken as the minimum, there are bound to be differences of opinion on what are to be termed essentials. For there is no one single way of life. The world is peopled by groups each of which has its own concept of essentials. And the Governor of Madras in his inaugural address very rightly stressed the existence of this wide diversity and pointed out: "Civilisation has evolved in diverse ways in diverse places and many people have come to regard many things as essential for daily life at one place which might appear unnecessary and cumbersome to others in other environments. It is unsafe for anyone individual or any group of people to think that the way in which he or they live is the only proper way of living—and those who live in any other way, are uncivilised or ignorant and they must be taught and helped to live in their own particular way—and that alone. I fear I am not one of those who regard the manner of living of any one particular community as necessarily better than or superior to that of any other. A gathering like this where men of great intelligence and understanding, of much experience and knowledge, come from various parts of the world, is helpful in giving a proper balance to our own thought and activity.

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For it can be no part of social work or service to disturb men's thought to such an extent that they should be made forcibly to ask for what is impossible and what may even be inevitable or uncomfortable in the particular circumstances—physical and psychological—in which they live.....and which high brows representing differing manners and customs will have a feeling of contempt one for the other, because their ways do not tally, good men and fine such as you, who have dedicated their lives to social work and to the service of their brother men, cannot afford to have such supercilious feelings due for one another." This was undoubtedly the key note to strike. For the essential minimum of life can only be determined by taking into account the social conditions and climate in which a community lives as well as its background, and the standard decided out of its own environment rather than prescribed or imposed.

It was a happy augury to find the Conference stressing this aspect through its several speakers. This approach was commended as highly desirable. In fact it was stressed that no workers can really serve the community without such an approach.

For Colonial peoples and those who were until recently like ourselves, this is of tremendous importance. Because so much of our self-respect and confidence were undermined by creating a feeling of inferiority. No damage can be greater for any community—social workers must approach their task with delicacy and reverence, learning first to understand differences with vision.

Nor is life as simple as it used to be. In fact it is getting daily more and more complicated. Necessarily man's needs change and get more complicated correspondingly. Thus even the mere essentials have ceased to be the ordinary creature needs and later also to the intellectual and emotional needs of man. Thus human needs to-day include not only education but also recreation, housing, communications and a host of other problems such as population and its regulation etc. Thus social workers have a gigantic task before them and

which the old unscientific method of trial and error with all its results waste can no more effectively tackle. The West saw the need for evolving a Science out of it nearly half a century ago. For the rising industrialisation and rapid development of technology had brought in its wake a long chain of intricate problems that could no more be solved by stray individual efforts. The working out of Social Sciences and the introduction of workers trained in these Sciences marked a new epoch in human evolution. The individual ceased to be the corn of the family or the small immediate community and became the concern first of the nation and the State and now of the world.

It was natural that alongside the Social Workers should also come together to discuss their common problems and compare notes on their experiences. The National Conference on Social Work in the United States already half a century old when it held its Session in Washington in 1923 took steps to convene an International Conference on Social Work which held its first meeting in 1926 under the patronage of Monsieur Saud. After an interruption during the war years, it resumed its life again in 1949.

The holding of this important gathering in India was not accidental—social problems have ceased to be the concern of any one single country or people. Their interlinking, the lot of one on the other, are well realised. Social problems can no more be isolated than wars. The growing danger of the uneven development of the World's resources and peoples is greatly agitating the thinking section of the World's citizens. The narrow gains that accrue to a few classes in the more advanced countries are recoiling on them as being increasingly realised. The socially awakened people that as health cannot be maintained in any by keeping only a small corner clear can be no security or well being a section of a society or the while the larger regions are sunk in starvation and misery. The Asian continent for this

tedly signified the growing aliveness to the significance of studying the under-developed areas at closer quarters and by firsthand knowledge through personal contacts. It also meant alerting the people here to the deepening importance of social sciences and their application to our age old as well as new problems. The complexity of modern social problem was evident from the ten study groups the delegates split up into covering the very wide range from the disabled to be rehabilitated to the uprooted communities to be resettled; from the child and its care to community welfare through large social projects. The groups that attracted the largest numbers were social services to families and social aspects of the population problem. The last one was overwhelmingly packed by Catholic nuns and the study group of international a regular battleground for passionate advocacy of population control and equally hot opposition to the idea. The Commissions that sat simultaneously, each consisting of two representatives from each country, were smaller and tamer by comparison, being very restricted. The limited number who were permitted to attend were observers and could form only a silent audience. Whereas in the discussion groups all the delegates could

participate thus giving it a real pep and wide range.

In the plenary Session select experienced persons read papers on different subjects concerning Social Work. Most of these were of a high order and even if they did not always drop original ideas, they certainly stimulated thinking and set into motion many a fruitful discussion amongst delegates which is after all one of the purposes of a Conference.

The Conference also included visits to social institutions, social functions and cultural programmes, as usual.

What is the outcome of such a Conference is the common question on every lip? In a concrete form hardly, but stimulating general interest in Social Work, highlighting social problems and above all showing the universal character of the many questions that plague us. This forges closer human links between people of various regions of different development. The artificial barriers of race, language, colour, creed all break down in this concourse. This sense of common responsibility, common care and application of common techniques to common problems makes of diverse peoples a single world community.

SOME UNITIES ARE NEEDED

BY MR. WILLIAM D. ALLEN

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INDIA and Pakistan can plan to face some aspects of world affairs in unison regardless of their differences....

Loyalties today are even more complex than in the past. Conflicts between nationalisms, ideologies, social classes, races, are reaching intensities full of menace to peace—all over the world. The Hindu and the Catholic visions of all-embracing understanding summon us to almost superhuman efforts, to novel devices, for the sake of the peace without which brute totalitarian formulas of life will conquer.

What would I do if I were an Indian, or a Pakistani?

I would recognize that India and Pakistan are parts of a whole, members of a family whose destiny is far too interwoven to allow for any conflict that attracts outside attention. In short, differences between India and Pakistan are the quarrels of brothers. They are inside the family, inside the discreet walls of one home, of one vast and eternally illustrious sub-continent.

Here in faroff America, I as an American receive an expensive array of publications from the governments of

India and Pakistan. Do they emphasize the glories of that sub-continent? Do they tell of the good things going on? Of the many friendly relationships between India and Pakistan?

No. While a certain percentage, may be 15 per cent or 20 per cent of this excellently edited, intelligently worked out information and propaganda deals with constructive affairs, the major emphasis by both governments is on the conflicts going on between India and Pakistan. And each month this tension seems more dramatized.

I happen as an individual to be fully on the side of India. I frankly see no logic to Pakistan's position on Kashmir or any other conflicting issue. The whole concept of a State ruled by a religion strikes me as entirely out of step with modern conditions. Nor does the birth of Pakistan, as explained to me by Syud Hossein, years ago, justify the resulting difficulties and confusions.

But my friend Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, in his recent book on Gandhiji (Scribner's, New York, published October 1952), reminds me that even Gandhiji recognized a clear separation between his personal views, and his views of what could work out in practice in our everyday world. My rejection of Pakistan is forced, by the broader view, into a secondary place. The facts of life force me to accept her as a part of actual life.

I have somewhat similar problems and conflicts about my own family. Some of my relatives are positively anathema to me. But I know that I cannot divorce or forget them. Willy-nilly they are part of my life.

My unloving relationship to my own family helps me as a determinedly loyal lover of India, toward an understanding of what I should feel as regards to Pakistan. My conclusion is that there should be a "double standard" in the relations of India and Pakistan. In intimate family circles the two should oppose one another at least as determinedly as they are doing. But in the presence of strangers, they should be or pretend to be, friends.

I would not suggest this if I, as an American, were not aware of the colossal ignorance of Americans as regards the Indian sub-continent. (Incidentally, if I were on the Pakistan pay-roll or for some reason anti-India and pro-Pakistan, I assure you I would say just what I am saying.)

From friends in America, and from study of the publications of the two governments, in relation to the American audience, I conclude that the only "lesson" the Americans derive from this extravagant family feud is: "India and Pakistan are on the edge of war.... The area formerly so nicely organized by Britain is now anarchic and entirely unpredictable.... The British propaganda about the bitter hatred between Hindu and Moslem is fully justified." The result is less American sympathy and co-operation than if the sub-continent spoke to America in a reassuring tone. Both India and Pakistan would benefit by facing USA as a harmonious whole, reserving their quarrels for home consumption.

In the above I am ignoring the influencing of one government by another, of key American politicians and businessmen by officials of India and Pakistan whose task it is to do just that. I am not criticizing them.

I am speaking about the contacts between peoples, not governments, between cultures, not political entities. I am trying to say that the USA, as a race, a people, a culture, is by no means educated to sufficient grasp of the India-Pakistan conflicts to be able to see right from wrong. You might as well talk in Kashmiri to us in America.

Some day India and Pakistan will surely come to some understanding. But if their approach meanwhile to the mass of Americans is primarily that of a cold war against one another, they will face an America as ignorant of the culture of the great sub-continent as it was in 1947. China followed this tradition. Even before intrusion of the communist problem, each faction spent all its effort, in the field of publicity abroad, in attacking its internal opponent.

Thus, learning only of China's discords, America failed to keep up with the cultural and other peaceful developments of the Chinese as one vast people.

My study of activities in India and Pakistan, as seen among their publications for home readers, leads me to think that the two nations possess between them a vast stock of inspiring, constructive material that is not being

exported but would be most helpful if diffused in such lands as USA. Could not the two find some means, perhaps outside of government, to impart this brotherly fundamental life of the sub-continent to American people without thereby interrupting the family feud and without disturbing at their tasks those who are in duty bound to champion the opposing claims?

COMMUNITY PROJECTS—A CRITIQUE

BY SRI S. R. K. RAO, M. COM.,

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INDIA'S prosperity hinges upon the prosperity of her villages, and her fate is closely linked up with agriculture which is the back-bone of her economy. With the out-break of the World War II, new trends began to be seen in Indian economy. There was a drift of population from rural areas to urban areas, and agriculture was discarded in the mad race for war production. The attractive industrial wages in the war days were one of the main attractions for the man on the field in the village to migrate to the urban areas. The decline of handicrafts and unorganised cultivation of agriculture have shattered the economy of Indian villages.

With the cessation of war, the problem of food was aggravated by large deficits which could only be met with huge imports from abroad, especially from U.S.A. This resulted in serious disequilibrium in the balance of payments of the country, which brought home many economic evils. India, ever since Burma was divided in 1937, was never self-sufficient in food. She always was importing food from Burma. But with the Japanese occupation of Burma in 1943, the food problem became acute. Thus, India's food problem is a problem that is annoying her since 1943.

Food became the foremost problem of India in the post-independence era. It has been well realised, and rightly too, that to be satisfied with political freedom

devoid of economic and social freedom is flattering subservience and slavery. A solution to this problem lies in the development of rural India. Unless the shattered rural economy is re-moulded, the millions of villages are regenerated and the standard of living of the villagers is raised, a strong foundation cannot be laid to a welfare state which is the "magnum opus" of our Constitution. The concept of a welfare state will remain utopian as long as starvation due to lack of food and clothing is present and the standard of living of the people is low in a country. Orientation of a new rural policy is the way-out, and Community Development Project Scheme is the enunciation of such a policy in India.

Agricultural development is a part of the wider process of rural development and Community Development Projects Scheme is the first major step in rural development which will not only increase food production, but will ultimately arrest the ruinous drift of rural population to urban areas and bring to the surface the country's potential wealth. The Community Development Projects Scheme of the Government of India has been hailed as a "NEW DEAL" for India's rural population and has been considered as a scheme which aims at the consummation of the welfare state ideal. The purpose of the Community Projects shall be to serve as a pilot in the establishment of the "Right to

live" for men, women and children, covered by the project area. The success of the scheme depends upon the extent of co-operation the State gets from the villagers. In other words, the scheme should be carried out both by the villagers and the state in close co-operation with each other. Though food receives the primary attention in the initial stages of the scheme, it is not the only ultimate objective. Regeneration of the villages is brought about by revitalising the declining handicrafts and improving the social, educational and hygienic conditions of the rural population.

The Community development projects scheme, which is designed closely on the pattern of the Extension Service Programme of U.S.A., has been made possible by the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement, signed in New Delhi on January 5, 1952. Under this agreement, the U. S. has agreed to contribute 50,000,000 dollars to a fund called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund. The Government of India will also contribute an equal amount to the Fund, and the projects financed by the Fund will be administered in close co-operation with the Central and State Governments. Under this agreement, the equivalent of 55 projects would be launched throughout India. The scheme covers 18,464 villages and a population of approximately 15.19 millions. The present projects are to be implemented within a period of three years.

All Community projects are divided broadly into two types, *viz.*, the Basic type rural community development projects and Composite type community development projects. Each project of the former type consists of 300 villages with a population of 20,000 and great emphasis is laid on agricultural production, with some work on public health, sanitation, education and road building. The smaller basic development blocks consist of 100 villages and will have exactly the same programme, and same emphasis is laid on agricultural production. In the latter type of Community Projects, emphasis is laid on development of small industries as well as agricultural production and also extension of urban ameni-

ties to rural areas. The object of these projects is to evolve an integrated rural-cum-urban community by creating new townships. Each project has been divided into three development blocks, each block consisting of about 100 villages. A village unit will consist of an approximate population of 500, distributed in about 100 families. Each village will be provided with many agricultural facilities, road facilities and primary educational facilities for children and adults, and recreation centres in the open air.

A significant feature of the scheme is the creation of common markets, known as "Mandis". A group of villages will be linked up with a "Mandi" and each "Mandi" unit will be provided with a middle or secondary school, a small dispensary, agricultural extension service headquarters, a Post and Telegraphs office, a transport service centre, a marketing centre, an arts and crafts centre, as shopping centre, a model farm and an open air dispensary for veterinary services. Four or five such "Mandi" centres will constitute a development block, a sort of rural-cum-urban township with a population of about 5,000 distributed in 1,000 families. This is in short, the picture of a township as is depicted by the Development Programme. But unfortunately, these development blocks have been excluded from the present programme sponsored by the Government of India, due to financial and other limitations.

Though primarily aimed at increasing agricultural productivity, and thereby reduce the present dependence on food imports from abroad, the Community Development Projects scheme also covers up the following spheres of activity:—

(i) *Agriculture and allied spheres:* Increase the productivity of land through better means of agricultural technique, supply of better quality of seed and provision of manures; provision of water for agriculture through irrigation canals, tube-wells, surface-wells, tanks; lift irrigation from rivers etc., improved agricultural implements, marketing and credit facilities; breeding centres for animal husbandry; development of horticulture; soil research, provision of arboriculture including planting of forests and provision for the assessment of results; development of

inland fisheries and reclamation of virgin and waste land.

(ii) *Communications:* Development of road-ways, encouragement to mechanical road transport services, and development of animal transport.

(iii) *Education:* Free and compulsory education at the elementary stage; facilities for high and middle schools; provision of social education and library services.

(iv) *Health:* Provision of sanitation and public health measures, and medical aid for the sick; provision of mid-wifery services.

(v) *Training:* Training of agriculturists, training of extension assistants, training of supervisors; training of artisans courses for improving the standard of existing artisans, training of health workers; training of managerial personnel, and training of executive officers for projects.

(vi) *Employment:* Encouragement of cottage industries and handicrafts as main or subsidiary occupation; provision of developing medium and small scale industries to employ surplus hands for local needs or for export outside project areas, and bringing about employment through planned distribution, trade auxiliary and welfare services.

(vii) *Housing:* Provision of improving rural housing both in technique and in design; provision of housing in urban areas.

(viii) *Social Welfare:* Encouragement to local talent and culture through community entertainment; provision of audio-visual aid for instruction and recreation; organisation of local and other sports activities; and organisation of co-operative and self-help movements.

On October 2, 1952 fifty-five Community Projects have been inaugurated throughout the country. Much enthusiasm is being exhibited by the Government of India in implementing the Community Development Projects Scheme. Perhaps, the Government had found a solution in this scheme to the much annoying food problem which could not be tackled efficiently till now. India spends nearly Rs. 300 crores each year in foreign exchange to buy food from abroad. This amount is more than seven times the cost of the proposed fifty-five Community

projects. Further, Community Development Projects Scheme gives a ready answer to the question how to reduce, and if possible stop the enormous drain on the country's financial resources through food purchases from abroad. It also lays a foundation in stabilizing the rural economy through regeneration of the millions of Indian villages and avails its life of all social, educational and hygienic facilities to the villages.

Two features of this scheme cannot escape our attention. Firstly, the role of the Government in the execution of the scheme, and secondly, the share of the villagers' responsibility in the success of the scheme. Even though the whole scheme is mooted and sponsored by the Government, the Government agencies will be acting merely as complements to the villagers in every phase of their activity and at every stage of the programme. The Government, with their limited resources cannot implement the scheme on their own. They can only cater to the essential items of development which primarily concern the community as a whole with the help of the contributions from the village people, either in cash or in labour or in both. This brings us to the second point, namely, the share of the villagers' responsibility in the success of the scheme. In addition to the monetary and labour contributions the villagers have to take the initiative in deciding the pattern of priorities of their needs. In the ultimate analysis, it is the villager himself who can guarantee the success of the scheme. He is the architect of his future. The Community development projects scheme is both an economic measure and an expression of the new democracy that India is trying to evolve. It is not by compulsion but by sincere conviction the villager contributes his mite to the successful execution of the scheme.

That the Indian villages derive great many benefits through the Community development projects scheme goes without any contradiction. At the same time, we can't but express certain doubts regarding the scheme. The scheme though apparently aims at increasing agricultural production, does not solve

the "basic" problems of Indian agriculture. Today, Indian agriculture is confronted with problems of fragmentation and sub-division of land holdings, burdensome and uneconomic land-tenures, crude methods of cultivation, heavy rural indebtedness and growing number of agricultural proletariat class, the class of landless labourers who have no more interest either directly or indirectly in the land than the petty wages they get as remuneration to their work. The scheme does not answer any of the above problems. Unless and until these problems are properly solved, it is unlikely that there could be any betterment in the economy of the agriculturist classes.

Agriculture in India is being carried out on subsistence level. The very fact that 85 per cent of population could not raise sufficient produce to feed themselves and the rest of 15 per cent of population, whereas in U.S.A. 15 per cent of population could meet with the home demand and also export abroad, makes obvious the need of commercialising agriculture in India. By this, the incomes of agriculturists can be increased, and thus their standard of living can be raised.

The growing volume of agricultural proletariat class is a threat to the very foundation of a country's sound economy. The concentration of cultivable land in the hands of a minority of population deprives the majority of the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour. That nearly 80 per cent of agriculturists are landless labourers makes clear that land re-distribution is the urgent need of the day. Unfortunately, the scheme is silent on this point. It tries to strike at a compromise by working for betterment in the existing framework and maintain the 'status quo.' Thus it retards the tempo of land reformation in the country. Further, as there is nothing in the scheme to compel consolidation of landholdings, the poor land holders with strips of lands are deprived of utilising the facilities provided by the scheme (like tractors and the like) as they are costly and beyond their resources. This would ultimately result in making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Another short-coming of the scheme is that there is no sufficient propaganda and publicity regarding the scheme. There is no proper organisation at present in India, either Governmental or social, which can contact the millions of illiterate and ignorant rural masses for whose betterment and benefit the projects are mooted, and make them aware of the provisions of the scheme and the advantages therein for them, if they co-operate with the State in making it a success. Without the support of the villagers, the State alone cannot implement the programme. Lack of information thwarts public enthusiasm. It is only through psychological incentives that mass mobilisation can be brought about; but not through press statements from the capital city! What miracles slogans like "Tighten up your belts" could do in the U.S.S.R. is evident by the extent of progress that country has made in recent years.

The role of U.S. capital in the execution of the scheme needs some scrutiny. It must be admitted that without the U.S. aid, the scheme could not have become a possibility. But the 'extent' of participation of U.S. capital in implementing the programme, as observed by Shri J. C. Kumarappa, is only "two annas in a rupee." This is indeed a meagre sum. What India expects from an economically advanced country like U.S.A. is not much of D.D.T. and chewing gum, but social capital, for her advancement and progress. Further, the present aid from U.S.A. would stop after five years. What is to happen afterwards to the fate of the Community projects scheme is a question, for which even the Government of India have no answer to give. Answering a question recently in Hyderabad, as to what would happen to the Community projects after five years when U.S. aid would be stopped, the Prime Minister replied: "Why five years? It may happen earlier" (italics is by me). This shows how relying upon vague and ambiguous assurances, the Government are trying to push the scheme through vacuum!

ART AND THE FUTURE

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

(Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Madras.)

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The idea about Art and Artists now almost universally prevalent is that Art is a rather exclusive department of human activity and experience. It is a sort of hothouse plant; something apart, something 'too good for human nature's daily food'. Objects of art are rather out-of-ordinary things, of very little



utilitarian value. These are out of the reach of ordinary men and women, who cannot afford them. As a corollary, artists are strange peculiar beings, not belonging to the ordinary world of human beings and not having much to do with practical life. Art should be confined to galleries, museums and rich men's houses. Now, such ideas are false, foolish and mischievous and even disastrous and should disappear in the future.

We should not put art into a watertight compartment. Art should be regarded as an inseparable organic element in life—not as something super-imposed. Art satisfies human needs which are unsatisfied by other activities. Likewise the artist should not be cut off from social life and looked upon as a man more or less living in Bohemia.

Art is not a luxury. It should not be considered as an elegant accomplishment of the leisured class.

Many of the false ideas about Art really have their origin in the distinction drawn between so-called "Fine Arts" and other Arts, between "Artists" and "Artisans or craftsmen". Now this distinction is itself comparatively speaking recent in date. It did not, for instance, exist in ancient India. It did not exist in medieval Europe. Eminent scholars have pointed out that the new distinction belongs to the ideology of industrialism, and originated in Europe only within the last two centuries and has travelled into our country following the line of least resistance.

We are now familiar with arts like music, painting and sculpture and architecture being called Fine Arts. In ancient India these are enumerated with other arts like woodwork, etc., under the common term "Kala". Ancient books enumerate sixtyfour Arts. The quality of beauty exists in every one of these. These arts are not something apart and removed from our daily life and existence.

The quality of Art in the future, (as it was in the distant past) should enter into every article of daily use, the clothing that we wear, the furniture that we use, the buildings we live in or work or enjoy, the vessels that we drink of, the objects we use for our daily worship or ritual, whatever our Religion be. It should not be forgotten that every object made by man has its artistic aspect.

In the future it should be recognised that there are two aspects of every object—one the material or utility aspect, i.e. according to its practical application or value, and the other an ideal or art aspect, according to its power to give aesthetic satisfaction. We can make a cup or weave a sari or build a temple and each may serve its purpose practically but it should not be forgotten that we can make them beautiful or

ugly. William Morris said: "Art is the result of man's joy in his work". It must be realised in the future that things of utility, of daily or occasional use can and should also be things of beauty, i.e. should be works of Art. It is a curious fact (to me it is also tragic) that many of our educated people will admire and grow eloquent over old Indian bronzes and brassware, old lamps and vessels, jewellery and pottery, and images when kept in glass cases in museums or archaeological societies. They completely overlook the fact that those objects of their admiration were and were meant to be in daily use and not meant to be mere curios or future museum pieces. The same may be said of Greek vases of Chinese porcelain of the Shing of Sung Dynasties.

Art should not therefore be divorced from life and kept apart in a watertight compartment. Art should permeate life and the living. Unfortunately now it does not. This is true not only of our country. Recently I came across a passage from a book by a famous continental author Capek who visited England. Referring to the state of Art in that country he says, rather bitterly:

Art is what is deposited behind glass in galleries, museums and in the rooms of rich people; but it does not move about here in the streets, it does not twinkle from the handsome cornices of windows, it does not take up its stand at the street corner.

It follows that Art is not a pastime for the leisured few or for the idle rich. It should be a part of every individual's life. And it must not be forgotten that until a society can produce beautiful pots and pans it will be incapable of creating beautiful temples or cathedrals.

Now it is essential that works of art, things useful as well as beautiful should

be accessible to all. A beautiful object of use should not on that account cost more. It should be recognised that it is anti-social to make a profit out of beauty. In the words of Lenin Art "will not exist for the blase heroine or the upper ten thousand who yawn and grow fat but for the millions and tens of millions of workers who are the flower of the earth, its strength and its future".

In the future Art must come into its own. People, common people, should refuse to buy or use any article, if it is ugly. For if you do so, then the manufacturer will not bother.

In the new democratic order, there will be no precious or privileged beings called artists; there will only be workers. According to Eric Gill: "There will be no despised and unprivileged being called 'workers'; there will only be artists". "The Artist is not a special kind of man but every man is a special kind or artist", as Ananda Coomaraswami said.

Art should in the future be based on the life and work of the people. It should become universal and human, it should be free from caste and class distinctions, free from nationalist or Communal hatred and free from commercial opportunism and above all free from the petrifying power of money. At the same time art should not serve merely as a vehicle of propaganda or expression of dogmas. Then it will become a 'raucous gramophone record that will only play one tune'.

Art should give play to the living diversity of the human spirit. It should express a new energy, enthusiasm and creative power which will be liberated in all departments of life and thought.

Role of Cottage Industries in National Economy

BY DR. B. NATARAJAN, M.A., D.Litt.,

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FROM very ancient times the products of Indian Cottage Industries have enjoyed an unrivalled reputation throughout the world for their artistic qualities and excellence of workmanship. The fame of Dacca muslins woven on the simple loom with handspun yarn has become a legend of the past. The hey-day of Indian Craftsmanship may be said to have lasted upto the end of the 18th century. Since then has began an era of unequal struggle between the Factory and the Cottage Industry. The bitter struggle is still going on with the die heavily loaded against the cottage industry worker who has now to face competition from within as well as without the country.

2. Throughout this long period prior to the Industrial Revolution, the craftsmen of the land enjoyed a special and honoured position in the life of the village community. They were as essential to the well-being of the village community as the farmers themselves, for if the latter tilled the soil, the former supplied them with the necessary tools and implements. In the absence of roads connecting one village with another, self-sufficiency was a matter of necessity. Local raw materials were fashioned by local artisans into articles generally with an eye for practical utility than for beauty. But beauty could not be shut out as an "inevitable result of the close union of hand and eye and spirit, with the material used."

3. Today the independent craftsman no longer holds this exalted position. With little capital and no organisation to help him, faced with perpetual poverty and indebtedness and living in overcrowded and unhealthy surroundings, he has sunk to the status of a mere executant from that of a designer. He is no longer the bold and daring craftsman who goes about his daily task with vigour in his limbs and confidence and hope in his heart.

4. The causes for this rapid decline in the status and economic position of the cottage industrial worker are not far to seek. The rapid industrialisation of the Western countries, the long period of our political subjection and the development of communication has resulted in the dumping of cheap and attractive machine-made goods produced on a large scale. Secondly, there came a change in the tastes and habits of the people which could not appreciate the artistic work of the craftsman. Thirdly, there was a loss of patronage from courts due to the decline in the fortunes of the Princes and their nobility. Influenced by the laissez-faire policy of the time, the Government also failed to take adequate and timely steps to help cottage industries with finance, technical knowledge or organisation.

Lastly there was a general neglect of cottage industries due to the inadequate appreciation of their importance, to the national wellbeing and the fallacious belief that the road to the prosperity of the country lay through rapid large-scale industrialisation.

5. It is a welcome sign of recent times that economic thought has veered round to a proper appreciation of the role cottage industries have to play in national economy. It is increasingly being recognised that no large-scale industrialisation can offer a lasting solution to the country's problem of poverty, unemployment or underemployment. With more than 80 per cent of the people living in villages and with about 70 per cent depending on agriculture, the main problem of India is how to provide employment to this large and growing population, reduce the pressure on land, increase their purchasing power and start a ripple of prosperity in the countryside which would spread itself to the urban areas. Unlike the problem in western countries, ours is not a paucity of labour but paucity of

capital. Our planning should therefore be "labour intensive" and not "capital intensive." Development of cottage industries has also the advantage of providing an equitable distribution of income and wealth among the people. The human aspect of the problem should not also be lost sight of. Cottage Industries provide employment even now to more than 15 million workers as against about 2½ millions employed in factories. Apart from the question of providing employment cottage industries have a cultural value of their own. "The organisation of a large urban factory does not encourage the fine creative skill and the pride in good work carried through from beginning to end that is to be found in smaller enterprises. Uniformity of workmanship and faithfulness to plans produced by somebody else are what the large manufacturer wants from his work people; and these, while they produce their own high standards leave little scope for individual artistry. The independent craftsman has much more opportunity to express himself through his materials and a far older tradition of fine work to maintain and it is perhaps not too much to say that he enjoys his work more and feels a deeper responsibility for it than the average maker of mass produced factory goods can ever hope to do."* The economic history of countries like Japan, China, Switzerland and Scandinavia provide ample testimony to the possibility of building a country's prosperity on the broad basis of development of cottage industries.

6. It is no doubt true that the cottage industrial worker has a difficult task before him, but he has certain advantages over his confrere in factory industries which have enabled him to flourish even in an industrially advanced country like Great Britain. According to Norman Wymer there are in Britain even now flourishing crafts from the earth, of stone and clay, from trees, wood and bush, from the crops reed and straw, from the beasts' hair and leather not to speak of those based on metal and steel and everyone of these is in the hands of shrewd master craftsmen who

* The British heritage—Heritage of craftsmanship Christian Hole. P. 279.

have the innate creative genius in them to impart to lifeless material new shape and form both useful and pleasure giving.* The main causes for the success of these crafts is the existence of an organisation developed by these workmen which imparts training to young aspirants through a period of apprenticeship, a spirit of pride in the hereditary calling and above all, the conservative tradition of women. In England the Rural Industries Bureau, an unofficial organisation, is always on the lookout for promising young persons to be drafted for the development of cottage industries.

7. Of late the Government of India have taken special interest in the development of cottage industries in this country. A Cottage Industries Board was constituted in 1948 entrusted with the following functions:—(a) to advise and assist the Government on the organisation and development of cottage industries, (b) to examine and advise how cottage and small scale industries can be co-ordinated with the large scale industries, (c) to examine the schemes of the State Governments for the promotion of cottage and small scale industries and assist in co-ordinating them and (d) to advise the Government on the marketing of the products of cottage and small scale industries in India and abroad.

8. The Board has been reconstituted recently under the new name of "All India Handicrafts Board" and the Minister for Commerce and Industry has promised at its recent inaugural meeting sufficient finance for its effective working. In order to help the handloom industry against competition from mills the Government of India have proposed a levy of cess on mill cloth, the proceeds of which will be utilised for the promotion of the former. This new method of making the large scale industries pay for the support of their weaker brethren in cottage industries has great potentialities of development.

9. There has been no survey of cottage industries in this State since the

* Rural crafts by Norman Wymer.

survey carried out by Mr. D. Narayana Rao in 1928. The Government of Madras have recently approved a scheme for the economic survey of cottage industries. The scheme is based on regional concen-

tration instead of on stratified random sampling. Nine firkas have been sampled out and the following cottage industries will be the principal ones to be surveyed in the selected firkas.

No.	DISTRICT.	FIRKA.	PRINCIPAL INDUSTRY.
1. Krishna		Kondapalli	Doll and toy making.
2. Guntur		Chirala	Handkerchiefs and other special handloom products.
3. Bellary		Adoni	Carpet and cumbli.
4. Salem		Hosur	Silk spinning and weaving.
5. Tanjavur		Kumbakonam	Brass, bronze, metalware and cutlery.
6. Ramanathapuram		Rameswaram	Conch-shell work and palmyra products.
7. Tirunelveli		Melachavel, Pattamadai	Mat and reed products
8. Malabar		Kozhikode	Rural cabinet making, coir and coconut industry.
9. South Kanara		Kasargod	Baskets and umbrellas.

10. The survey is intended mainly for an intensive study of the problems facing these principal industries with a view to suggesting a practical plan for their development. The work is in progress.

11. Cottage Industries in spite of their vicissitudes have still a great role to play in the national economy of the country. Their future though clouded for the time being, is not without its silver lining. The usual handicaps under which they suffer are inadequate supply of raw materials, want of finance, absence of organised marketing facilities and technical research. No doubt some of the rural crafts are likely to disappear

in the face of competition of mass production but many have their roots firm in the ground and will continue to flourish in spite of all competition, while some others need only a little encouragement to place them on their feet. It will be a tragedy, if these are allowed to perish for want of a little helping hand. In this task, Government as well as the people have a responsibility, the latter especially by the preference which they ought to show as consumers of cottage industrial products. In this noble task of regeneration and revival, I have no doubt exhibitions like the Park Fair have a great part to play.

THE INVITATION

BY MR. BRIAN COX

You could do much to make me move
The heart of the wide world to love.
You whose warm smile enheartens earth
In times of rainlessness and dearth
Could aid me to inaugurate peace
In realms where war seems not to cease
Because, through love of all mankind,
Leaders to living men stay blind.
Using the ruins bombs have made,
We could build, proud and unafraid,
A house of fame threatening the skies
With terror of unknown surmise.
Then we could in fulfilment rest
And with glad hands greet the oppressed
Serve their sad need with all our might
And round with splendour their long night.

Uplift of the Depressed

BY SRI V. BASHYAM AIYANGAR, M.L.C.

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THE Government of Madras was the first among the Governments of the Provinces and States of India to organize and give direct aid to the depressed and underprivileged classes of its subjects. It began as early as 1919 when a high-grade special officer was deputed to suggest a scheme for the amelioration of the unfortunate conditions of the said classes. A department with a Provincial Officer, called the Commissioner of Labour, at its head, was formed in the next year to take charge *inter alia* of the duty of watching and advancing their interests in all the needed directions. The said Department, to which factory labour and connected problems were also assigned, found its work too heavy in course of time by the growth of this side of its activities. The Harijan Welfare Committee, which was appointed by the Government in 1947 to formulate a five-year plan for Harijan Welfare and to put forward suggestion improve the work undertaken by the Labour Department in that behalf, also recommended the establishment of a separate Department for Harijan Welfare. A separate Department was, therefore, opened on the 1st April 1949 to look after the interests and uplift of the depressed classes exclusively. The Harijan Welfare Department, which was thus stated, has since been in charge of and has continued the ameliorative work which the Labour Department was doing for the said classes. There has subsequently been an extension of the said work in some directions.

Three classes or groups of people have been eligible for the benefit of the ameliorative measures undertaken by the Labour Department. They are:—

1. Scheduled Classes;
2. Aboriginal and Hill Tribes; and
3. Members of Notified Tribes and their families.

By Scheduled Classes are meant the groups, the members of which were, by reason of their mere birth in those groups, regarded and treated as "untouchables" by the rest of the Hindu society. All the castes who suffered under this social stigma and hardship were listed in a schedule and that was why they came to be called "Scheduled Classes." Thanks to the late Father of the Nation, they are now known by the more respectable and sensible name of "Harijans" which literally means People of God. All the three classes referred to above are known as "Eligible Communities."

Among the Eligible Communities, the Scheduled Castes or Harijans referred to above form a very large majority. The cruel practice of untouchability was the root cause of the miserable conditions to which they were reduced. It not merely debased them socially but inevitably led to their utter backwardness in education, economic condition, status and power. Their position, for all practical purposes, was no better than slavery.

As regards the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, the case for the amelioration of their condition hardly needs explanation. Their total population in this State exceeds 10 lakhs. They have been living in hills and forests in a primitive state of civilisation, socially and culturally separated from the main society. Their condition of life is even worse than that of the Harijans. About 50 per. cent of them are in what are called the Agency Areas of West Godavari, East Godavari and Visakhapatnam Districts. The rest inhabit the hills and forests of several other Districts like the Nilgiris, Kurnool, Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar and South Kanara. The Collectors of these several Districts have generally been in charge of the welfare of these Tribes and the Labour Department, which is represented

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UPLIFT OF THE DEPRESSED

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by the Collectors in the Districts, has been admitting them to all such facilities as are available to Harijans. A Special Officer called the Special Agency Development Officer has recently been appointed to look after and promote their general welfare and uplift in the Agency Areas.

Several Tribes such as Kallars, Koravars, Lambadis, Yenadis, Sugalis, Irulars, etc., had been notified under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924 (since repealed). The work relating to the reclamation of Kallars, Koravars Yenadis and Sugalis was under the charge of the Commissioner of Labour up to 31-3-1949. It was transferred to the control of the Director of Harijan Welfare from 1-4-1949. The Police Department, which was in charge of the actual ameliorative work in the Districts was relieved of that duty in September 1949 and the entire work now stands entrusted to the Harijan Welfare Department.

The ameliorative work of the Harijan Welfare Department consists, chiefly, of the following activities:—

1. Provision of house-sites to poor Harijans either wholly or partially free;
2. maintenance of schools, grant of scholarships, stipends, boarding grants, grants for the purchase of books, slates and clothing;
3. provision of wells, tanks, etc., for the supply of drinking water;
4. provision of sanitary amenities, pathways, street lighting and burning or burial grounds;
5. grants to private bodies engaged in social and economic uplift of the eligible communities and
6. assignment or lease of land for cultivation.

These benefits are extended to the converts of the said classes also. And this work has been steadily growing both in volume and variety from year to year.

Taking Harijans and converts, a rough idea of the growth of the said activities may be gathered from the fact that whereas the total amount spent for their benefit was 2 lakhs and odd in 1921, it rose to over 8 lakhs in 1939 when the Congress first came into power. The progress was more rapid under the Congress and after the attainment of Independence it has been very remarkable. It reached the high level of 110 lakhs and odd Rupees last year (1951-52).

The budget estimate is 112 lakhs and odd for the current year. During 1951-52 nearly 10 lakhs of rupees were spent on the granting of scholarships to deserving and promising pupils. A further sum of 21 lakhs and odd was paid as lump sum boarding grants to privately-managed hostels engaged in the humanitarian work of lodging and feeding Harijan pupils studying in the various schools and colleges. Besides this, the Government themselves are running several hostels directly for their benefit. In addition to these facilities, over 1300 Elementary Schools are run by this Department in the City and in the several Districts and the eligible pupils studying in these schools are given a meal at mid-day and this alone costed the Government more than 18 lakhs of rupees in 1951-52. The Government have also been encouraging private institutions working for the social welfare of the poor and depressed classes by giving subsidies towards the expenditure incurred by them.

The Government have passed orders that all poor Harijans who are unable to secure house-sites for themselves should be given 3 cents of wet land or 5 cents of dry land free of cost. The Collectors of all Districts have instructions to see that as many house-sites as possible are acquired and granted every year in each District for the said classes. Sanitary amenities like drains, pathways, wells, burial grounds, etc., are also provided for in all the Districts including the City of Madras.

The Madras Government removed all the social disabilities under which the Harijans were suffering by enacting the Madras Removal of Civil Disabilities (Amendment) Act XI of 1947 (amending the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act XXI of 1938) and the Madras Temple Entry Authorization Act V of 1947 which came into force from 2nd June 1947. The Harijans have now equal rights of access with members of other castes and communities among Hindus to all Hindu Temples and places of public resort such as educational institutions, streams, rivers, public

wells, tanks pathways, hotels. etc. The offence against these acts have been made cognizable and also punishable with imprisonment on the second or subsequent occasions. These two Acts have been given wide publicity all over the State. The Constitution of India has, as everybody knows, finally abolished untouchability and made the practice of it in any form an offence punishable by law.

In addition the facilities already available, the Government have also recently passed orders that legal assistance should be made available to Harijans in deserving cases in which they have to protect themselves against caste prejudice. These, in brief, are the broad outlines of the work which is being done by the Government of this State for the amelioration of the conditions of the depressed classes through the agency of the Harijan Welfare Department.

Since 1948-49, the Government have been giving educational facilities to the members of several Backward Classes in addition to the Harijans and the other Eligible Communities. Over 130 Classes have been recognised as Backward Classes for this purpose. This cost the Government nearly 10 lakhs of rupees in 1951-52 and more will be spent in the current year.

The economic problem of the poor of this country is a gigantic one. It is not humanly possible to solve it satisfactorily all at once. But the Government is doing all it can to improve the existing conditions of all the depressed classes. It is the duty of all persons and institutions interested in the welfare and growth of this country to support the Government actively in the humanitarian work thus undertaken by it.

The March of Modern Mysore

BY SRI H. S. NARASIAH, B.A., B.L.

Member, A. I. C. C.

THE momentum that had been generated by the constitutional minded monarchy of Mysore ever since its enlightened rulers laid the path of progress for their people, found its fulfilment in the establishment of Democratic Government in Mysore in 1947. Crossing all the hurdles that came in the wake of freedom, the after effects of partition and the financial burdens consequent on the declaration of Indian Republic, the popular ministry in Mysore carried the state successfully through all the incidence and impact of these national problems on it, and have kept up the progress unabated in all departments of the government, touching every aspect of a citizen's life.

FOOD

This has been the all-engrossing problem during and after the second world war. Mysore has always been deficit in rice production. To save the state from this recurring deficit, produc-

tion on a planned basis was adopted, opening a special Department of Food Production to make the state a self-sufficient one. Both with the aid of the central finance and fair allocation of local revenues the seriousness of this problem is mitigating. The Grow More Food Scheme through the agency of a net work of Multipurpose co-operative societies is proving a success. Major irrigation projects such as Lakkavalli Reservoir Project, Tungabhadra Anicut Project and Nugu Project, costing in all about 24 crores of rupees have been undertaken. Co-operative farming societies working under the direct control of the government have been started.

AGRICULTURE

Scientific research in agriculture has been the privilege of this state, to conduct from the earliest times. An Agricultural college, and several agricultural schools have been started. Well organised and well equipped scientific

sections have been set up all over the state. Experimental farms, basic seed farms, regional farms and large scale farms are fast studding the state. Intensive practical training is provided at Visveswarayya Canal Farm. The agriculturist of the state is thus being served in innumerable modern methods.

EDUCATION

After the food for the body comes the food for the mind. The number of educational institutions in the state, has vigorously increased. Occupational institutes such as the main polytechnic one at Bangalore have been opened in centres like Mysore, Davangere, Hassan, Chintamani and Badravathi. Hindi, the national language has been made compulsory in all High schools. Drive in adult education in the state has been considerable and a net work of adult night schools is spreading all over the state under the direction of the Mysore State Adult Education Council. Along with these, basic type schools, have sprung up and military training to students in some of the High schools also has been introduced.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL RELIEF

Medical institutions and health centres have multiplied. The World Health Organisation through its Malaria Control Demonstration Centre has been extending its sphere of activities and combatting malaria successfully. In collaboration with the Rockefeller foundation a Malaria Investigation Centre has been operating in Saklespur at Hassan. The Ramanagaram Health centre is conducting investigations on nutritional status of school children. A Central Leprosy Sanatorium is in formation and Tuberculosis is being tackled on a wide spread scale of after-care colonies.

PROHIBITION

District by district is being made dry one by one. The belt area adjoining our sister state of Madras cannot witness a single liquor shop. Smoking opium is forbidden by law and the public opinion is weening round prohibition and demanding its extension to other districts as well.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A separate department is devoting its attention to this need. Co-operative

activity in villages has increased. Housing schemes for depressed classes have been sanctioned. Public-address-systems and film projectors are scattering education amidst rural population.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The number of non-official presidents for municipal councils has increased. Residential extensions have been opened up by City Improvement Trusts of Mysore and Bangalore, to relieve congestion. Industrial suburbs are formed suited to the housing of labour.

POWER PROJECTS

The Mysoreans have distinguished themselves by designing and executing several big projects. The Mekadatu and Honnemaradu, already worked out, will advance the progress in this line considerably. Rural electrification is in full progress. Electrification of the Railways is under examination. The power from the jog has swelled considerably the revenues of the state under electricity.

LABOUR

Every attempt is made to harmonise the relationship between employers and employees by appointment of Labour welfare officers. In the field of agricultural labour an attempt is made to fix the minimum wages. A Labour Information Branch is functioning to keep the public informed on the problems of labour. The Regional Employment Exchange has been giving employment assistance. The Trade Unions in the state have increased in leaps and bounds.

INDUSTRIES

The popularity of the products from the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Government Electric Factory and Government Porcelain Factory, Government Silk Filatures are well known to India. Their management shows the progressive industrial policy adopted by Mysore Government without hampering the growth of private enterprise. In cottage as well as large scale industries the state is keeping up a steady progress.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The mileage of the metalled roads has increased. Bus services in the state have been nationalised considerably. Travelling facilities in all ways have been provided.

REFUGEE REHABILITATION

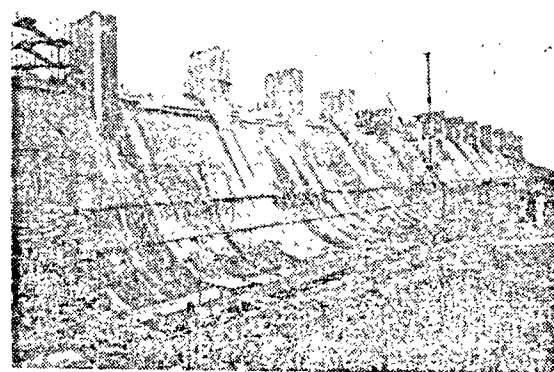
Mysore state Refugees Relief Committee has done yeoman service. The Advisory Committee, for Rehabilitation that succeeded it has been giving all possible aid to enable the refugees to settle down in the state.

All these have been made possible by the fervour with which our popular ministers have been affording selfless service to the state. The unabated march of Mysore is assured in the hands of

the present cabinet which has on its panel - illustrious persons such as Sri K. Hanumanthiah, Sri T. Siddalingiah, Sri A. G. Ramachandra Rao, Sri T. Channiah, Sri H. Siddaveerappa and Sri Kadidal Manjappa. They are known for their sacrifice and service to the people of Mysore. In conclusion one can safely affirm that the Modern Mysore will continue to shine as the Majestic Mysore in the Indian Republic.

Tungabhadra Project

THE starting of the Tungabhadra dam has opened up a new era in Rayalaseema. Soon the arid tract will be transformed into smiling green fields and the quiet lull broken by the busy



hum of machinery, not only for farm use but in various other industries and occupations like mining, metallurgy, spinning and weaving, manufacture of paints, soaps, etc.

The six thousand foot masonry dam, 160 feet high at the deep bed across the Tungabhadra near Mallapuram in Bellary District is nearing completion. Co-operation is seen at its best in this joint venture of Hyderabad and Madras.

The dam impounds nearly 3 million acre feet of water and commands about 2 million lakhs of acres in Raichur and Rayalaseema; it develops enough hydel power to meet the present requirements and the future requirements of power for industries in this area.

The canal, over 250 miles in length passes in its head reaches through difficult terrain necessitating the use of several interesting structures of considerable



magnitude, some of them unique in South India. The Dam is expected to be completed by June 1953 and water will be let down for irrigation immediately thereafter.

THE NAVY IN INDIA

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YET another year of training and toil, planning and progress marked the development of India's Navy.

In the sphere of training, at sea as well as on shore, the main effort was directed towards achieving self-sufficiency and self-reliance as soon as possible. An important step in this direction was the procurement, on loan, of three "Hunt" class frigates from the British Admiralty to meet our Naval training requirements. These frigates will be obtained, in the first instance, for a period of three years but this may be extended further by agreement.

DEVELOPMENT PATTERN

The pattern of Naval development, may be described as expansion, consolidation, expansion again, and so on. The first phase was the acquisition of one cruiser, I.N.S. "Delhi," three Destroyers and the formation of frigate and mine-sweeping squadrons. The second phase was to provide the personnel for these ships and emphasis thus shifted to training. New training centres were established and those already in existence were further developed.

In this process, however, there was one shortcoming that had to be made good—the lack of permanent buildings for the training centres and for the personnel. The year 1952 saw a beginning made in this direction and construction of suitable accommodation was undertaken at Bombay and Jamnagar, while the first phase of the construction programme at Cochin was completed.

COMBINED EXERCISES

At sea, the Flagship with Destroyers, Frigates, Minesweepers, etc., carried out routine combined exercises off the West Coast when about 115 officer-students of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington (Nilgiris) also participated. H.M.S. "Loch Glendhu" of the East Indies station and air-craft of the Indian Air Force also joined in these exercises conducted by Rear-Admiral N. V. Dickinson.

Combined exercises were also carried out by the Indian Fleet with the ships

of the Royal Navy and of the Pakistan and Ceylon Navies off Ceylon. These exercises which have now become an annual event included several anti-aircraft and anti-submarine exercises, tactical battles and engagements with aircraft carriers, etc.

Many such joint air-sea exercises were carried out all the year round.

ANNUAL REGATTA

An occasion which combined training with pageantry was the annual regatta held amidst the colourful scenes and picturesque settings of Cochin. The C-in-C, I. N. who was present and distributed the prizes to the winners, congratulated the Fleet on "the exemplary spirit and efficiency" displayed during the regatta.

The ultimate aim of our Naval development is to have a balanced force. It is, therefore, proposed to add a Naval Aviation Wing to the Navy and the ground work for the establishment of a shore-based Fleet Requirement Unit has already been done. This unit will be the nucleus for the Naval Aviation Wing.

IMPORTANT DECISION

A decision of great importance was taken and implemented to replace the designs of the Naval Crown (Tudor Crown) and Star of India by the Ashoka Pedestal and the lotus respectively in the badges and crests of I. N. ships and establishments.

In the new crests the Ashoka Pedestal substituted for the Crown is shown supporting the end-on view of an ancient Indian ship flanked by two views of the same ship at fine inclination. The ship's design is taken from a Bass relief (of about 8th century A. D.) found in Java and has been regarded for centuries as the symbol of India's maritime traditions. Similarly the laurel of lotus buds that replaced the old Star of India has been India's national floral symbol, symbolising creation out of water.

GALLANTRY AWARDS

The Indian Navy's first gallantry award since August 15, 1947, when the new awards came into force, was won by Laxman Topass, who was granted Ashoka Chakra Class III. The award relates to the jetty incident at Calcutta on January 26, 1952, when Laxman jumped into the river and single-handedly rescued nine persons including women and children. "He showed great initiative, promptitude, presence of mind and set an example worthy of the highest traditions of the Service" said the citation announcing the award.

GOODWILL VISITS

Once again ships of our Navy went on goodwill cruises to neighbouring countries, this time to the East. One group, consisting of I. N. S. "Delhi," "Rajput" and "Ranjit" visited Indonesia and the second group, comprising I. N. S. "Jumna," "Tir," "Sutlej" and "Kistna" went to Thailand.

It was for the first time that frigates of Free India called at Thailand (Bangkok) where they were given a rousing reception. A crowded five-day programme included receptions and entertainments, sports fixtures and sight-seeing excursions. The welcome was significant and symbolic of the age-old ties—cultural and others—existing between Thailand and India.

The Press and the public vied with each other to honour Free India's Navy. Describing the visit as "a momentous occasion," the Thai Naval C-in-C. said, "It is common knowledge that the Navies of the world have a common link which binds them together, but in case of two such closely situated Navies this bond should surely be stronger." In his reply Capt. M. K. Heble said that the occasion was a "Red letter day for us in the Indian Navy." He sincerely hoped that this occasion would mark the beginning of growing co-operation and goodwill between the two Navies.

IN INDONESIA

"Delhi" and the Destroyers received a similar warm welcome in Indonesia. This was the second visit of these

ships to Indonesia, the first being when India's Prime Minister took passage on board "Delhi" on his visit to Indonesia in 1950.

Before leaving Indonesia, Rear-Admiral N. V. Dickinson said: "The past close friendship between India and Indonesia continues today. I want the sailors of the two Navies to meet and exchange ideas because when sailors meet there will be goodwill." Singapore, Penang and some other ports of Malaya went all out to welcome the I. N. ships when they on their way back home, visited these ports.

RETURN VISITS

We had return visits too. The New Zealand cruiser Bellona" came to India, the first ship from that Dominion to pay a formal visit to Free India. The occasion was utilised by the Prime Minister of New Zealand to send a message of greetings to our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. From the New World came "Almirante Saldanha," a Brazilian Training Ship, and "Greenwich Bay" of the U.S. Navy, both on five-day courtesy visits to Bombay.

At home ports, an event of significance to the Navy was the Prime Minister's trip aboard the Destroyer "Rajput" on his way to Kandla to lay the foundation stone of the Kandla Port. The same Destroyer drew forth a warm welcome from the people of Madras when it paid its first visit to that port August 1952 and attracted such distinguished visitors as the Governor of Madras and the Chief Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Port Blair (Andamans) has its Independence Day celebrations highlighted by the presence of I. N. S. "Delhi" there and hundreds of officers and ratings from the Flagship and the Naval band took part in an impressive ceremony.

And thus came the year 1952 to a close. It did not see any spectacular development in our Navy's progress but it did witness the continuation of that process which aims at making a growing Navy strong and, then, a strong Navy stronger.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

MAN AND MACHINE

What is it all for—asks the philosopher—this hurry and bustle and the craze for speed which is the mark of our civilization? What is it all for—asks the Poet "if we have no time to stand and stare?" And the man of God asked—what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?; Talking of our push button civilization Prof. C. E. M. Joad says:

We live a press-the-button existence. We no longer walk. We go out in the car. We no longer climb. We go up in the lift. We no longer converse. We turn on the radio. We no longer sing. We put on a record. Thus in a thousand ways, we delegate to machines the functions of the living. And to what use do we put the time energy that they have saved for us? We have driven at 70 miles an hour, a danger to ourselves and a nuisance to everybody else, in order to do what? To spend another five minutes in a lounge in a hotel, to drink another cocktail, to turn over the pages of a picture paper exhibiting persons of no importance. Thus, we move heaven and earth to screw an extra five miles an hour out of the old bus in order to save ten minutes without the faintest idea of what to do with them, when we have saved them. An Indian sage said to me once in acid comment upon our civilization: Yes, you can fly in the air like birds and swim in the sea like fishes, but how to walk upon the earth you do not yet know.

THIS LIFE

Of this life, everybody has a share, but no one owns the mortgage. And so we are enabled to take this life more lightly; instead of being permanent tenants upon this earth, we become its transient guests, for guests we all are of this earth, the owners of the land no less than the share croppers.

Life then, is really a dream, and we human beings are like travellers floating down the eternal river of time, embarking at a certain point and disembarking again at another point in order to make room for others waiting below the river to come aboard. Half of the poetry of life would be gone if we did not feel that life was either a dream, or a voyage with transient travellers or merely a stage in which the actors seldom realized that they are playing their parts.

—Lin Yutang.

RELIGION IN EDUCATION

In a population of mixed denominations it is difficult to impart religious instruction in a way that would not disturb the sensibilities of any group of students. What then should be the right kind of religious education in a secular state? Dr. L. P. Jacks of the Hibbert Journal would have none of your text book religion in schools:

Not long ago I met one of our great school-masters—a veteran in that high service. "Where in your time-table do you teach religion?" I asked him. "We teach it all day long," he answered. "We teach it in arithmetic, by accuracy. We teach it in language, by learning to say what we mean—'yea, yea and nay, nay.' We teach it in history, by humanity. We teach it in geography, by breadth of mind. We teach it in handicraft, by thoroughness. We teach it in astronomy, by reverence. We teach it in the playground, by fair play. We teach it by kindness to animals, by courtesy to servants, by good manners to one another, and by truthfulness in all things. We teach it by showing the children that we, their elders, are their friends and not their enemies." "But what," I said, "about the different denominations? Have you no trouble with the parents?" "None at all," he replied: "we have half a dozen denominations. But we treat the children, not as members of this Church or that, but as members of the school, and we show them that, as members of the school, in work and in play, they are members of one another."

DEATH AND MARRIAGE

Death itself to the reflecting mind is less serious than marriage...Death is not even a blow, is not even a pulsation; it is a pause. But marriage unrolls the awful lot of numberless generations.

—Landor.

CRANMER AT THE STATE

He seemed to repel the force of the fire, and to overlook the torture by strength of thought.

—Jeremy Collier

THE CRAZE FOR PERFECTION

One of the noblest qualities of our nature is that we are able so easily to dispense with greater perfection.

—Vauvenargue.

LEIGH HUNT ON LANDOR

He is like a stormy mountain pine that should produce lilies.

THE BRAHMIN

Caste in India has not always been very rigid in its exclusiveness. Viswamitra, a Kshatrya, by severe penance, became a Brahma rishi. There are numerous saints who sprang from the outcasts—saints like Nandanar and Ravidas and Chokkamila. The aspirant to spiritual life is always welcome, provided he underwent the proper discipline. The compassionate Buddha took under his protection the son of an outcast because he had the noblest heritage of truth. Here is the moving story of Buddha and Satyakama, rendered into beautiful verse by Rabindra Nath Tagore.

The sun had set on the western margin of the river among the tangle of the forest

The hermit boys had brought the cattle home, and sat round the fire to listen to the master, Gautama, when a strange boy came, and greeted him with fruits and flowers, and, bowing low at his feet, spoke in a bird-like voice—“Lord, I have come to thee to be taken into the path of the supreme Truth.

“My name is Satyakama.”

“Blessings be on thy head,” said the master.

“Of what clan art thou, my child? It is only fitting for a Brahmin to aspire to the highest wisdom.”

“Master,” answered the boy “I know not of what clan I am. I shall go and ask my mother.”

Thus saying, Satyakama took leave, and wading across the shallow stream, came back to his mother's hut, which stood at the end of the sandy waste at the edge of the sleeping village.

The lamp burnt dimly in the room, and the mother stood at the door in the dark waiting for her son's return.

She clasped him to her bosom, kissed him on his hair, and asked him of his errand to the master.

“What is the name of my father, dear mother?” asked the boy.

It is only fitting for a Brahmin to aspire to the highest wisdom, said Lord Gautama to me.

The woman lowered her eyes, and spoke in a whisper.

In my youth I was poor and had many masters. Thou didst come to thy mother Jabala's arms, my darling, who had no husband.

The early rays of the sun glistened on the tree-tops of the forest hermitage.

The students, with their tangled hair still wet with their morning bath, sat under the ancient tree, before the master.

There came Satyakama.

He bowed low at the feet of the sage, and stood silent.

“Tell me,” the great teacher asked him, “of what clan art thou?”

“My lord” he answered “I know it not. My mother said when I asked her, I had served many masters in my youth, and thou hadst come to thy mother Jabala's arms, who had no husband.”

There rose a murmur like the angry hum of bees disturbed in their hive; and the student muttered at the shameless insolence of that outcast

Master Gautama rose from his seat, stretched out his arms, took the boy to his bosom, and said, “Rest of all Brahmins art thou, my child Thou has the noblest heritage of truth.”

MINE OR EARTHQUAKE

Epictetus: Seneca! where God hath placed a mine, he hath placed the materials of an earthquake.

—Landor.

HUMILITY

Lord, make me an instrument of Thy Peace. Where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled, as to console; to be understood, as to understand; to be loved, as to love. For it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned; it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

—St. Francis Of Assisi.

THESE THINGS SHALL BE

These things shall be; A loftier race Than e'er the world hath known, shall rise

With flame of freedom in their souls And light of science in their eyes.

Nation with nation, land with land. Unarmed shall live as comrades free; In every heart and brain shall throb The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould: And mightier music thrill the skies, And every life shall be a song. When all the earth is paradise.

—J. Addington Symonds.

PLANNING FOR PROSPERITY*

BY MR. CHESTER BOWLES

HOW can India and other under-developed countries best create solid economic foundations without violence or bloodshed, make greater opportunities available to all of their citizens and create a spirit of individual faith and purpose? As I see it, there are four major requirements.

First, there is a need for clear-cut economic objectives and an all-out effort to reach those objectives. India has clearly stated where she wants to go through her Five-Year Plan. Largely through her own resources and initiative and with assistance from the Colombo Plan, various United Nations agencies, and our American Point Four, it is my earnest conviction that these goals can be reached. An economic programme for an under-developed country must be ambitious, for time is short. The effort must be a mass effort designed to cover vast areas as rapidly as possible. It is not enough to sprinkle a few isolated areas of progress throughout the under-developed areas, each the reflection of some dedicated individual. We have had enough pilot studies. The knowledge and experience are available. What is needed is a steady multiplication of effort until every village is participating

Our economic planning must look far beyond the early objectives of food self-sufficiency, increasing literacy and public health. In India to-day, there are tens of millions of people who are employed only two or three months a year and who, as a result, live in conditions of the utmost poverty. These people must soon be given work to do.”

INCREASING PURCHASING POWER

In the first stage, the concentration must be on a quick and urgent increase in food production. As food production grows, some of the food will go promptly into the stomachs of the poorly-fed villagers to bring their diet to a more normal level. But much of it will be sold to provide an increase in purchasing power which in the next few years can

*From an Address to the Sixth International Conference of Social Work, Madras.

begin to change the face of India. Many tens of millions of people can be employed in the construction programmes which will surely follow a tangible increase in agricultural production. Then gradually the development will move into a third phase which will require the rapid growth of village industries.

There will be need of course, for new industrial growth in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other major Indian cities, but future planning must call for the maximum possible decentralisation of industry, particularly the consumer goods industry, if we are to avoid piling slum on slum and creating urban difficulties which might almost defy solution.

In the next few years, the social workers of India and other under-developed countries will face a particularly crucial challenge. While the economic planners and administrators move forward with their great conceptions for economic development, the social workers will carry the heavy responsibility for developing the social services which will strengthen human understanding and relationships. Tens of millions of mothers and fathers will be seeking new guidance in the development of their family life, in the solving of the many problems that lie all round them.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ASIA

India is fortunate in her system of basic education created by Gandhiji and carried forward by his devoted followers. American educators will quickly recognise in this down-to-earth system many of the principles of what we call ‘education for living.’

The requirement is a deep understanding that each under-developed nation must grow in its own way. Although foreign ways may be good ways, they do not necessarily fit other people, and any attempt on our part to impose foreign ways on the proud new nations of Asia will be deeply and properly resented.

The challenge for the people of Asia and Africa is unlimited. Those of us

who come from the more fully developed nations will face a challenge which is almost equally great. Are we prepared to raise our own sights above the narrow confines of our daily responsibilities so that we may take in the total world problems?

Are we prepared to carry the torch of understanding in our own countries so that the peoples of the under-developed lands may secure the material support which is so badly needed? Are we prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of other lands in their search for a better existence? Are we prepared

to do all this, expecting no reward except the greatest reward of all, the knowledge that human beings throughout the world are growing closer together as they solve their day-to-day problems, and, as Toynbee suggested, they make the blessings of modern science available not only to the fortunate few but to the many?

For better or for worse, we are living in one world. More than one billion people of the under-developed areas are awakening from their long and fitful slumber, eager to move forward, eager for peace, eager for understanding.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SAAR

BY SRI R. RAJENDRA PRABHU

THE Saar, situated as it is, between France and Germany, has been the bone of contention between these two nations. It has changed hands often and now it has been economically integrated with France. But Germany rightly claims that since the country is populated by Germans, it should naturally belong to her. Germany has insisted on the right of the people for "self-determination." To France, the rich coal fields of Saar are the buttress of her economy. And thus the claims have conflicted and are conflicting. This problem has held up the amalgamation of the nations of Western Europe.

However, it is fortunate, that French diplomacy is ready to come to terms with West Germany on the issue. The 1950 Convention of the Saar Government confided its economic destiny with France for 50 years. But that was because the economy of West Germany was in ruins and naturally people go where the bread is most thickly buttered. Now the scene has changed. West Germany has recovered commendably. This recovery is exercising its usual appeal and if pro-German parties are organised in the Saar, fresh elections might well result in a victory for them. German nationa-

list opinion demands either such elections or the holding of a plebiscite, whose inevitable result will be the "come home" of the Saar to Germany, as it did under Hitler in 1935.

The French know these and more. They have noted with alarm the lessening hold of the moderate Dr. Adenauer in German politics. Elections are scheduled to be held next year in Germany, the result of which may be an upper hand for the nationalist Social Democrats. Here France, with its striking post-war diplomacy, has introduced a new solution. M. Schuman has offered the "Europeanisation" of the Saar.

Yet much suspicion on both sides has held up a solution. The French plan is to create a new territory of Saar, to be integrated with the West European Defence Community. France has even abandoned the claims of Strasbourg as the European Capital. But Germany smells rat in that proposal too. To her Europeanisation still means continuance of French domination in the economic field; the separation of a German province from Germany (incidentally she asks France to sacrifice a strip of Lorraine to the Federal Germany so as to equalise the sacrifice); and more than anything, the Germans fear that the Saarlanders' right of 'self-determination' might

be endangered. Thus both sides accuse each other and the issue drags on.

The Europeanisation of the Saar, is, perhaps, the only solution of the problem. It is necessary, in the best interests of Europe that both parties resolve to end this deadlock by negotiations. It is a flexible approach that is required. The French should agree to gradually reduce their dominance in Saar and to integrate its economy with the West European Community as a whole and to transfer political authority, now exercised by the French Ambassador to the Saarlanders. Germany should equally refrain from organising pro-German parties that may unleash the dormant nationalism and jeopardise the whole issue. Incidentally, an impartial onlooker cannot but be impressed by the fertile brain of the French foreign minister M. Schuman. Dr. Adenauer should now grasp the extended hand and thus remove the last obstacle

to the formation of the West European Community.

A word about the ownership of factories in the Saar. At present they are entirely under the French. Europeanisation of the Saar should open fields of joint Franco-German enterprise, which should help both. It is high time that the nations of the world in general, and the European nations in particular, put an end to the policy of "begging other nations" as Mrs. Robinson has called it.

An industrially developed Saar is an outstanding asset to the Western nations. Let us hope that the Saar, instead of remaining a notorious apple of discord can be transformed to a real field of genuine co-operation among the French and the Germans. No purpose is served by those two nations standing against each other like beasts of prey. Let us trust that diplomacy will achieve the task most amicably.

THE ANDHRA STATE

GOVERNMENT'S decision to establish an Andhra State was conveyed to Parliament in the following statement of Prime Minister Nehru:

In furtherance of the statement the Prime Minister made in the Council of States on December 9, 1952 and in terms of that statement, the Government of India have decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the present Madras State, but not including the City of Madras and intend to take early steps to this end in accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution.

The Government are appointing Mr. Justice K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, to consider and report on the financial and other implications of this decision and the questions to be considered in implementing it. Mr. Justice Wanchoo will report by the end of January, 1953. On receipt of this report, Government will take other necessary steps. They are anxious to avoid all possible delay in establishing the new State. They hope that the establishment of the State will be brought about with the friendly co-operation of all the people concerned.

The Home Member Dr. Katju made a similar statement in the Council of States and in answer to a short term question referred to the possible terms of reference to Judge Wanchoo:

The exact terms would be a more precise formulation of the language used here, namely, financial and other implications of this decision and the questions that will arise and that are bound to arise, as, for instance, the appointment of a governor, establishment of the High Court, buildings, offices, hospitals, university, etc. Honourable members know how the City of Madras has been functioning these days as between the Tamils and the Andhras. You cannot establish a capital just in 15 days' time. All these questions will arise and we want to have a precise formulation of these by the learned Judge. As soon as he reports to us by the end of January, we will take further steps.

It is a formidable list, and fairly exacting work lies ahead. The Home Member, in the course of an interview in Madras, added that Justice Wanchoo has only been asked to make a report of his findings, but the final decision rests with the Government of India. But the central authority which tackled the far more difficult task of division of Pakistan can be expected to do this job with comparative speed and efficiency. It is good not to hustle the thing when once it is fairly set on the way to make the inevitable partition.

AN ENCOUNTER AT TALAIMANNAR

By T. S. K.

THE most trivial things have a profound effect on our lives. At any rate, it happened to me and hence this infliction on you.

I was returning to India from Colombo by train and launch. I got into the boat at Talaimannar and imagined that my troubles were over. My joy was short lived. An officer of the Ceylon Customs fastened his gimlet eyes on me and peremptorily beckoned me to his side. With apparent politeness he asked "what is the amount of cash you are carrying?" The immortal phrase "cash and carry" leaped to my mind and I was tempted to reply that I was an ally and not an enemy. I was not sure if any such answer would be tolerated and said in reply "X rupees sir". I thought the "Sir" would ward off all suspicion. The only reply was "go to the cabin, I want to search you". I followed the dignitary. I suppose my meekness made him think again and turning round he asked "I suppose you are a businessman". This was too much—all my life I had been bemoaning the fate that refused to make a businessman of me. With a touch of sadness I replied "No such luck sir. I am only a lawyer". These words had an unexpected effect. "You may go sir, I take your word and there is no need to search you".

Now, is it that businessmen are rolling in wealth and carry lacs and lacs with them when they travel or are their words not to be trusted? I have not yet found an answer and too late, I realised I could have obtained peace of mind by simply asking the Officer the reason for the change in his attitude. But trivial as this incident was it made a profound change in my life.

All my life, I had been a devout worshipper of "big business". I stood in awe of the successful businessman, so much, that I did not even dare to express my admiration openly. I worshipped him secretly and from a distance. At times, I even attempted to look like one. I thought for a moment that I had succeeded when

the Customs Official mistook me for one. But then came the sobering thought that he found me out for the imposter that I was, almost immediately. From that date I have given up my frantic efforts to look like a businessman. Nay more, I have almost ceased to regard businessmen with awe. Why the other day, I even ventured to stare in the face Tiru Rr. Ss. Tt. Uu. whose photograph, with the caption that he was proceeding, by air, at his own expense, to the United States for a full two-weeks' study of "business methods" appeared in the papers.

I was recounting this incident to a friend of mine who fatuously remarked that the Customs Official would have been taken in by a genuine businessman if he had concealed his identity by pretending to be a lawyer—as though a businessman would ever demean himself by posing as a lawyer, a doctor or an engineer! Even apart from this he would not have been a businessman if he had launched into this adventure with a telltale passport in his hand.

And now I can meet any businessman face to face without flinching. At least, I think so.

Are you by any chance a businessman, and, if so, can you please tell me who and what a businessman is? Is he one who minds his own business, or that of other people?

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Old Year and the New

THE year that has just ended was a trying time for the world and a time of alternate hopes and fears for India as well. The new year has not emerged from the shadow of the failure and frustrations of the old, which was an eventful year marked by more scars than triumphs. Yet it has left a legacy of hopes, and new times call for new efforts to make a new beginning.

The cold war between the power blocs has gone on increasing in tempo till every move on the one side, even a right move, is suspect. By a curious irony of things the well-meant Indian resolution on Korea which should have paved the way for a final settlement, met with an unexpected and undeserved fate. Derided by U.S. at first as Pro-Communist and then acclaimed by Britain and U.S. it was finally denounced by the Soviet as American inspired. Second thoughts, perhaps, as in U.S., will have a better reaction in Communist quarters. U.N.'s handling of Kashmir is a pitiful bungling which has undone what all has been done so far by the mediator; for what could be more tragic than that its unrealistic approach should now end in widening the breach and fanning the flame of fanaticism and Jihad in Pakistan. What could Dr. Graham do in such an atmosphere?

The year in India has been a time of tremendous thought and effort. The elections on adult franchise was a great experiment, notable alike in conception and in execution. The Five Year Plan is another essay in well-doing, showing a breadth of outlook and a sense of realism which cannot be brushed aside as wishful thinking. It is a magnificent plan which, with the popular support it so richly deserves, is bound to make a difference in our lives and fortunes in the near future.

A Government responsive to public opinion is now busy trying to give shape to the new Andhra state which

will shortly come into being with the good will of all concerned.

Asia and Africa are in a ferment and a new life is pulsating in regions dumb and inarticulate. Persia and Egypt and Lebanon and Syria are astir with a spirit of resurgence. A new Government under a popular President is coming into being in America. Stalin's Christmas call for goodwill is a timely gesture. The world is awaiting a similar gesture from Churchill and Eisenhower to drop the cold war and make a new beginning in human concord and fellowship.

Potti Sriramulu

Potti Sriramulu died a martyr to his cause. On the issue of the Andhra State he decided to fast unto death and he passed away on the 58th day of the fast. It is irrelevant to discuss the propriety of such Satyagrahic pressure in the sphere of administration. Pressure of this kind on a question of major importance would obviously mean the negation of democratic procedure and the end of Parliamentary authority. But at the moment and in the face of this grim tragedy one is not obsessed by abstractions of political methodology. We salute the man who is prepared to suffer and sacrifice himself for the cause he holds dearer than life. The country as a whole has been moved to its depths by the spectacle of a man determined to immolate himself on the altar of what he deemed his duty. Such faith born of courage and conviction owes no account of its acts to prudence or propriety.

And yet one cannot but regret that the cause should have claimed this supreme sacrifice. It is useless now to think if it could have made a difference if the Prime Minister's statement had come earlier or that those nearest and dearest to this Gandhili-like man had persuaded him that the new state was ready and ripe, if impossible demands were not included. For the Prime Minister's declaration is just what it should have been if made earlier. Potti Sriramulu's

death has no doubt imparted a sense of urgency to the establishment of this new Province but it would be folly to be rushed into action by the emotional stress of the moment—action which we might regret at leisure. Hence it would be proper to hasten slowly in a matter which calls for a long term consideration and circumspection. We must make sure that after this separation there shall be no more controversy or bitterness and there is an end of this dispute so that we may start a new chapter of friendliness and neighbourly goodwill. For let us remember that the separation is like the partition in a joint family, and the States are equal sharers with the rest of the country, of the powers and privileges emanating from the common centre. Let there be no mistake about it. Andhras are not carving out a Pakistan, for themselves but a State within the ambit of a common central authority. It is obvious that the division must be carried out in perfect amity and friendliness and no malice or bitterness should be allowed to mar our neighbourly relations in the future.

Kashmir

Five years have passed since India brought its complaint before the Security Council after the invasion of Kashmir "by tribesmen and nationals of Pakistan who are armed, equipped and directed by the Pakistan authorities". The Government of India's request to the Council was a simple and straight one: to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to this aid and assistance and to its participation in this act of aggression against India.

That was a plain issue. The Council, instead of facing it squarely and naming the aggressor, wasted all these years in an endless discussion of irrelevant issues until the original complaint itself was lost in a cloud of claims and counter-claims.

The U. N. delegations that were sent to investigate the situation on the spot confirmed the act of aggression yet the Council managed to burke the basic issue.

Thus the Anglo-American resolution, the latest in the series of attempts to

burke the real issue, urged immediate negotiations at U. N. headquarters between India and Pakistan to reach agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the ceasefire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation in Kashmir. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, head of the Indian delegation, speaking on the resolution in the Security Council the other day, gave the figures of the Indian forces which would be necessary to defend the security of the State, for which the Government of India have, in fact and in law, taken complete responsibility.

"While 28,000 troops were estimated by India to be the irreducible minimum for this purpose, she was prepared to reduce this by another 7,000 after the complete disbandment and disarming of the so called "Azad" forces on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line. In saying this, Mrs. Pandit was saying nothing new, much less was she visualising a situation in which the Azad forces would be allowed to continue in being under any circumstance. But Sir Zafrullah seized on this sentence and interpreted it to mean that if the Azad forces were left intact India would require 28,000 Indian and State armed forces, minus armour and artillery, to fulfil their responsibilities for internal and external security and maintenance of law and order during the plebiscite. Mrs. Pandit's statement cannot bear this interpretation to anybody who is at all familiar with India's stand on Kashmir all these years."

Sir Zafrullah's ingenious interpretation will doubtless be made much of, and already there is a cry that India in rejecting this latest offer, is trying to the wriggle out of her commitment. Threat of war is held out by Karachi Dawn and the Premier of Pakistan if this latest offer is rejected. India is not perturbed but has calmly and emphatically ignored the threat and the offer. Let it not be forgotten that it was India of her own accord that promised a plebiscite when the enemy forces had withdrawn and the fair valley settled down to its normal life. That promise was to Kashmir and not to Pakistan or U.N. India's stand on the Kashmir question has always been the same. She alone is responsible for the security of the Valley and it is monstrous to discuss the quantum of forces that Pakistan or the Azad should retain in the area under their forcible occupation. The question of any foreign force does not arise.

The Final Plan

A summary of the report of the Planning commission in its final form is published elsewhere in this issue. This 5 year plan is the first attempt on an all-India scale to estimate and utilize our resources for the planned development of India. For two years the plan has been before the public in some form or another, while the interim plan published 18 months ago was discussed threadbare in Parliament and the press. It has been in operation since April last. The present plan modified and revised in the light of experience and public criticism and suggestion is decidedly an improvement on the first draft. It formulates a dynamic programme involving the expenditure of over 2000 crores and promises "maximum production, full employment and the attainment of economic equality and social justice." For one thing there is a clear appreciation of realities the country having outgrown the first flush of enthusiasm for anything in the nature of a grandiose experiment. And then the target and the priorities show the planners' practical appreciation of immediate needs. The plan is conceived in the background of certain existing problems which have to be solved in the immediate present, like high prices of imported commodities, shortage of raw materials, relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons, and existing development programmes of the central and state Governments. Obviously it is a plan for a period of transition and its declared objective is to restore equilibrium in the national economy while holding one potential for rapid development in the future. The planners' approach is at once cautious and bold, giving due weight to first things first—like food and agriculture and small industries and community projects—and then taking a bold and forward step in the direction of planning for prosperity. The pattern of development held out by the planners shows a commendable appreciation of essentials as evidenced by the items to which they have given priority. Of the distribution of expenditure in the public

sector, "Transport and Communications" rank first with 24 per cent, while "Agriculture and Community Development" and "Social Services" come second and third with 17.5 and 16.4 per cent. The multi-purpose irrigation and power projects account for nearly 13 per cent of the total outlay while "Industry" accounts for 8.4 per cent.

Among the industries in the public sector for which provision has been made are an integrated steel plant and industries for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment and fertilisers. They have not hesitated to make larger provisions for necessary items in their programme with or without foreign aid and they ask the country to tighten up its belt in view of the high stakes ahead. The trouble about finding the money for projects is always there and the planners' scheme of deficit financing in the States will certainly mean tough work. The twofold aim of raising the standard of living of the people and increasing the nation's wealth to an appreciable degree can hardly be achieved without initial sacrifice and full and complete co-operation of government and people. Given public co-operation in generous measure the plan is bound to carry the country forward, from stage to stage, to higher levels of living and general prosperity. What in precise language will be fruit of this co-operative effort? The planners' promise is definite and precise. There is nothing vague or indefinite in the goal they aim at.

In the present Five-Year Plan, capital formation is estimated to rise by 20 per cent of the additional income each year. The internal resources thus available will, to some extent, be supplemented by external resources. By 1955-56, national income will have gone up to about Rs. 10,000 crores, that is, by about 11 per cent. If from 1956-57 onwards investment is stepped up each year by about 50 per cent of the additional output, it would be possible to double per capita income in about 27 years from now, that is by 1977.

Such definite assurance in a public document must be cheering and it is a goal worth striving for.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE DILEMMA OF OUR TIMES. By Harold J. Laski. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum St., London.

When Prof. Laski wrote his book on *Faith, Reason and Civilization* he was inspired by the prospect of a closer link between Russia and the West and he was cheered by the thought that a kind of liberal democracy would ultimately prevail, narrowing the breach between the two blocs. But he lived to be disillusioned. And towards the last months of his life he made an attempt to revise his thoughts and prepared his notes in the light of subsequent events.

These notes, originally intended to supplement his views by way of an amendment to his book, have taken the shape of a fairly sized treatise. But he did not live to revise or complete the book. With the help of Mrs. Laski the publishers have now brought out this new volume which reveals the shattering of his hopes. In the *Dilemma of our Times* Prof. Laski analyses the political issues after the war and its economic, social and moral repercussions. He deals with the problem of Russia versus America and the ensuing cold war; its roots and possibilities and their reactions on the international conflict that has come over Asia also. For thirty years Laski was a great teacher of political thought and his mature ideas for the survival of civilization have a value which the world will not easily pass by. The publishers have done a great service in bringing out this last great book of Laski's though in an incomplete and unfinished form.

FIFTH YEAR OF FREEDOM. (Aug. 1951—Aug. 1952)—All India Congress Committee, 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

The five years since India achieved freedom have been years of tremendous struggle and suffering, with alternate hopes and fears. Problems of unprecedented magnitude have been faced by Government and people with a new born faith in the ultimate triumph of good causes. The migration of millions of people forced by communal fanaticism to leave their hearths and homes, the rehabilitation of refugees, the invasion of Kashmir by the so-called Azad forces, the eternal food problem for a growing population, the task of unification and consolidation of scattered states—all these were faced with courage and competency. There yet remains much to be done. It is in the background of these conditions that we have to assess the work done in the fifth year of freedom. It is a continuing process but on the whole the Government have faced them with no little credit and the story of this achievement is recorded in these pages.

The facts and figures drawn mainly from Government sources impart to this record something of the authority of an official document. The 15 chapters comprising the book deal with food and agriculture and labour and industry, education, and Public Health, transport and the defence services, land reform and the rehabilitation of refugees and other departments of administration—in the centre and the States. There is a chapter on the Five Year Plan and one on the General Elections. Altogether this is a fairly authentic record of a year's work and progress achieved by Congress Government, and invaluable to students of public affairs.

JANUARY 1953]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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EMERSON (A Mentor Book) Edited by Edward C. Lindeman The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York, 22.

In this selection of Essays the sage of Concord, is reinterpreted to us in his own words. Matthew Arnold used to say that Emerson was not a great philosopher in the sense in which Kant or Hegel was one. Nor was he a man of letters like Newman or Carlyle with a sure instinct for style. Yet he was more than a philosopher or man of letters—a teacher of wisdom and a great moral force. Here are some of the basic writings which introduce the American author most significantly to a new audience and a new generation.

These essays (some of them addresses which therefore retain their personal appeal to the reader) throw light on problems which today are no less relevant as they were in his day. In all the essays—Civilization and Culture and Politics and Truth and Beauty and Art and Criticism and the Uses of great men—Emerson emerges as the authentic American sage speaking to modern men and on modern issues with the same dispassion and quiet assurance with which he spoke in his time. Emerson, called himself, a "radical democrat" and we have here a brilliant illumination of democratic ideals by one of the wisest men of the West.

AGGRESSION AND POPULATION. By F. J. Dawson. Rockliff Ltd., 5 s. 6 d.

This pamphlet raises an issue of vital importance to world peace. The author points out how clearly contemporary world unrest is traceable to economic factors and in particular to the truly terrific factor of an ever growing population. Apart from the sheer pressure of the vast additions made, at varying rates, to the numbers of humans sustained at various levels of living in various countries, there are in many countries serious difficulties arising out of internal conflicts between the different racial groups composing

'the people' of those countries. The unprecedented and utterly unchecked growth of population must be tackled comprehensively, according to Mr. Dawson if we are to banish War and ensure tolerable conditions of living for 'a reasonable' number of people in the world. Since statesmen have not so far shown evidence of the courage requisite for really bold measures of population control, Mr. Dawson seeks herein to ask the common man, whose vital interests are at stake, to realize the causal connection between aggression and pressure of population and demand the enforcement of a sensible measure of population control through the wider adoption of birth-control and the planning of parenthood, under the general supervision of a representative International population commission. Mr. Dawson has certainly stated the case for a measure of population control with accuracy and knowledge. He has shown considerable freedom from the customary colour prejudice that consciously or unconsciously 'colours' the approach of 'White' authors on the subject of the world's population problems. But the solution that he suggests seems hardly adequate. There is a certain amount of study going on on this very subject in one of the Departments of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. But except on the basis of real world-government with authority to allocate the vast areas of the world on sensible and equitable lines, a commission will be a futility.

THE "KADAR" OF COCHIN. By U. R. Ehrenfels, University of Madras. Rs. 10.

Physically, the Kadar are of negritoid racial type and occupy forest regions in Travancore-Cochin State and the Pollachi side of the Anamallais.

The descriptive facts of the monograph detail apparent errors in earlier observations and we ought to wait awhile before the author's findings are themselves confirmed. His inferences have also to be accepted with caution, as rightly pointed out by Prof. Schmidt in his Foreword.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 1 Cyclone havoc in Tanjore and Trichy Districts.
- Dec. 2 Bombay Government decides to de-ration food in 74 towns from Jan. 1.
- Dec. 3 U. N. General Assembly votes overwhelmingly in favour of India's peace plan for Korea.
- Dec. 4 Export Advisory Council meets in Delhi: Commerce Member Mr. Krishnamachari explains Government policy on Export duty.
- Dec. 5 Ike returns after a three-day tour of Korea battle zone.
- K. M. P. Party break off from United Democratic Front in Madras.
- Dec. 6 Failure of the Second Swiss Expedition to reach the Everest peak is reported: The members are safely back at the Base Camp.
- Dec. 7 Lester Pearson, President of U. N. General Assembly urges Peking to accept the India plan.
- Dec. 8 Nehru presents final report on Five Year Plan to Parliament.
- Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, speaking for India rejects U. K.—U. S. Kashmir plan.
- Dec. 9 C. R. in Madras Council and Nehru in the Council of States reiterate Government policy that Andhras can have their separate State if claim to Madras City is given up.
- Dec. 10 Ike seeks Gen. Mac Arthur's views on Korea.
- Dec. 11 Election of 24 M. L. C.s by Lower house held void by Election Tribunal in Madras.
- Truman rejects Korea talks with Ike and Mac Arthur.
- Dec. 12 Nehru accepts presidentship of 58th Session of Congress.
- Khosla Committee report suggests 3 dams on Krishna.
- Dec. 13 Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Commerce and Industries member, inaugurates Central Board for Handloom industries, in Bombay.
- Dec. 14 Sixth International Conference of Social work meets in Madras, Mr. George E. Haynes presiding.
- Dec. 15 Potti Sriramulu, Andhra Satyagrahi, passes away at the end of 58th day of fast.
- Dec. 16 Earl Mountbatten appointed Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean area under Gen. Ridgeway, Supreme European Commander.
- Dec. 17 Nato Council decides to aid France in Indo-China.
- Disturbances in Andhra Districts and Police action to restore peace and order.
- Dec. 18 India supports Poland's proposal to admit 14 nations' applications to U.N.
- Dec. 19 Prime Minister Nehru announces steps for formation of Andhra Province: Judge Wanchoo to report by end of January.
- Dec. 20 Nehru reaffirms India's stand in rejecting Sir Zafrullah's offer on Kashmir issue.
- Dec. 21 Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew gets Stalin's Peace Prize for 1952.
- Dec. 22 U.N. Assembly rejects Soviet charge of mass murder of prisoners by U.S.
- Dec. 23 Premier Pinay of France resigns.
- Cairo decides trial of Farouk in absentia.
- New Persian law bans re-entry of foreigners.
- Dec. 24 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates Ernakulam-Quilon Railway link.
- Nehru opens Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye.
- U.N. Council approves Anglo U. S. resolution on Kashmir despite India's protest.
- Dec. 25 Madras Ministers confer on Delhi communication re Andhra State.
- Dec. 26 Delhi lodges protest against Jihad propaganda in Karachi paper.
- Dec. 27. Peking Radio announces China's determination to continue aid to N. Korea.
- Dec. 28. Pakistanis raid Jammu village.
- Dec. 29. C. R. and Prakasam meet Nehru in Madras for talks on Andhra separation.
- Dec. 30. Sri Purushottamdas Tandon resigns from the Congress Working Committee.
- Dec. 31. Mr. Churchill leaves for U.S. by the *Queen Mary* for talks with Eisenhower.



READERS' DIGEST



U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

A writer in the *New Statesman and Nation*,—a "U.S. Citizen"—who claims to have followed rather closely the speeches and writings of John Foster Dulles over the past two years makes some astonishing predictions regarding the course of American foreign policy in the Orient.

Within the next year or so, Chiang Kai-Shek will be encouraged to invade the mainland of China. Privately, he will be assured of whatever air and sea support he may need to establish a foothold on the mainland, and whatever additional support he may need to be sure of victory. In short, he will be told, "Invade the mainland, and we will guarantee your return to power."

Publicly, of course, U.S.A. will take a less extreme position. Its secret and unlimited commitment to Chiang will be kept secret.

American public opinion to-day would probably not support all-out war against China. It would support, however, a proposal to help him establish a strong beachhead on the mainland. Once we get him there, it will be easy to persuade the American people that we must do whatever we have to, supply air support for Chiang's armies, bomb Chinese cities and industries, even use the atom bomb (which many people are secretly yearning to try out on some communists), in order to prevent our gallant democratic ally from being swallowed up, as without our help he most assuredly would be, by the godless Communist hordes.

It must be obvious where such policy will lead.

If, as seems likely, Russia declines to accept this invitation to declare all-out war against the West, and contents herself with supplying the Chinese with weapons, we will begin to hear in America the same kind of talk about "privileged sanctuaries" that we have been hearing for the past year. The difference is that this time the sanctuary will be Russia, not Manchuria. Under these circumstances it will only be a matter of time before public opinion is lashed up in support of the atom bombing of Russia, or at least of Russian supply routes to China. And there we shall be.

To those who may feel that this gloomy picture is only the product of an overheated imagination the writer insists that broad hints about the forthcoming

invasion of the Chinese mainland have already appeared in some very informed sections of the American press.

In fact a general reaction to the election of Eisenhower has been that it will result in a more vigorous prosecution of the war against Communism in Asia. When you add to this the fact that Mr. Dulles has for some time urged that we make every effort to reinstate Chiang in China, it is hard to draw from the evidence any conclusion other than the one I have drawn.

Is there any way to deter the U. S. from this suicidal policy? There is, he goes on to say, that the U.S. would not engage in such a venture if its Western Allies, or, at the very least Britain, were to say something like this:

We have entered into a number of joint undertakings with you on the assumption, supported by your most solemn assurances, that your sole purpose was to prevent further armed Communist aggression. Any attempt by you to initiate or accelerate offensive war against the Communist nations we will regard as a total negation of the assumptions on which our agreements with you are based. If you attempt to liberate by the direct or indirect use of armed force, the Communist nations, in Asia or in Europe, we will consider ourselves free, and in fact obliged, to disassociate ourselves from all joint undertakings with you, including the North Atlantic Pact.

It is most unlikely, he says, that any less positive statement will have the slightest deterrent effect on the Government and people of U.S.A.

For the hope of Mr. Dulles, and many other powerful Americans, is that the "free world" can be led into a holy crusade against Russia and Communism, so gradually, so imperceptibly, that there will be no clearly defined occasion for anyone to refuse. The place to say No. 1 is the invasion of China. (It should have been the crossing of the 38th Parallel.) If you do not say No. 1 to the invasion of China, you may not have another opportunity to say it at all.

The coming year will be one of the most critical periods in Britain's history. She can, if she will, speak out with a voice of sanity, moderation and courage.

For the sake of my country and yours, for the sake of freedom, for the sake of humanity, I pray she will do it. Or she can do as she has done so far, and allow herself to be dragged, feebly protesting, into a needless war in which everything she holds most dear will be destroyed.

EUROPEAN FEDERATION CONGRESS OF THEOSOPHISTS

Dr. Jinarajadasa, President of the Theosophical Society, who attended the 21st Federation Congress at Montecatini gives an account of that Session, in his Watch Tower notes in *The Theosophist*. Montecatini is about 28 miles West of Florence and the most renowned centre for thermal baths in Italy. For some reason he says the permission given to the Congress to meet at Florence was withdrawn owing to strong Catholic influence in the city after the Elections. However there was nothing to regret in the change of venue.

The Congress gatherings began on October 3rd with the registration of members and continued till the final session on the evening of October 9th.

A large number of members, 377 in all, attended the Congress and came from 22 countries. Naturally the largest number was from Italy, as this year of 1952 commemorates the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of the Italian Section. I give details of the registrations: Argentina 2, Austria 14, Belgium 8, Denmark 2, England 53, Finland 23, France 28, Germany 24, Yugoslavia 1, Iceland 2, Ireland 1, India 4, Italy 143, Netherlands 23, Norway 1, Pakistan 1, Portugal 3, Scotland 1, Spain 2, Sweden 4, Switzerland 32, Wales 4.

The President was present in Italy not only because of the Congress of the European Federation, but because the Italian Section was celebrating its 50th Anniversary, and, his ability to speak in Italian would facilitate all activities of the Section.

As it happened, the year 1952 also signalizes my fiftieth year as an International Lecturer for the Theosophical Society, which began in Rome in February 1902. As is natural in a Congress of Theosophists, meetings were of many types, dealing with the various aspects of the problems of life in which Theosophists are interested.

The lectures delivered dealt with "The Statesman" by Mr. A. Saasi, "The Idealist" by Mr. N. Sri Ram, "The Philosopher" by Prof. E. L. Sellegger, "The Artist" by Mr. Axel von Fielitz-Coniar, "The Scientist" by Mr. C. R. Groves, "The Man of Action" by Mademoiselle Serge Brisy, and "The Teacher" by Dr. N. Lauppert.

THE MISUNDERSTOOD MESSIAH

Dr. Hermann Goetz, Curator of the Baroda Museum, writing in the *Aryan Path* for December observes that the tragedy of Jesus Christ, the tragedy of not being understood and of a heroic struggle to the bitter end against the failure of his hearers to comprehend reveals two aspects of Christ's message. One is the pure experience of the great mystic. "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." In this Jesus is in accord with all the great mystics of all religions and all nations.

Measured by this standard Buddha (notwithstanding his refusal to define Nirvana) chaitanya, Tukaram and Mira Bai, or Lao-tse and Chuang-tse, or al-Hallaj, Jalal-ud-din Rumi, Attar, Bibi Rabia, and many others are much more of his kind than many Christian or other religionists who have regarded it as their duty to harass and persecute people in the name of what they have believed to be orthodoxy.

The other aspect is Jesus's growing adjustment to the ideologies of his public:

First his paradoxes, which should be taken as no more than such; then his self-identification with the Messiah of Isaiah, the Lamb of God offered as a sacrifice for the sin of mankind; and at last with the Syrian nature god dying on the tree whose symbols had been bread and wine. It was this last adjustment which made Christ's message acceptable to the masses, which made it a world religion. But this imagery was accidental. If Jesus had been born in India, he would have been forced to speak through the traditional imagery of India. If he had been born in China, he would have found a Chinese form of expression. Fundamentally it is irrelevant.

The special imagery which Jesus at last adopted was merely a vehicle for this relationship and for his role as its prophet. What he was highly concerned with was the underlying spirit, the spirit of life, the spirit of love, the spirit of truth.

A genuine follower of the Christ, therefore, is not he who accepts the traditional imagery of Christianity, but he who, in whatever religious framework, can love God with all his heart and all his soul, and all his mind, and his neighbour as himself. And a heathen is not he who has grown up in any other religious tradition, but he who kills the true Spirit with ritualism, formalism, nationalism, institutionalism; everyone to whom exterior forms seem more important than the Spirit. He is the idolater, the heathen, and he, too, is found all the world over.

ORDERLY TRANSITION FROM TRUMAN TO IKE

At the White House, the President and President-elect, who had mercilessly castigated each other and their parties during the campaign, spent a probably uncomfortable twenty minutes in private in Mr. Truman's office, says *News Week* the popular U. S. Magazine. Their only visitor, a lone photographer selected by lot, found them "grim and determined." He asked: "Mr. President, may I have a handshake?" and reported that when they shook, they smiled, and "that seemed to break the tension."

The two leaders, we are told, then stepped into the adjacent Cabinet room for another 50 minutes with their advisers.

The President-elect left with three specially prepared books drawn up by the National Security Council at President Truman's direction before the election to brief his successor on three crucial aspects of foreign policy: A country by country summary of current U.S. policy; a survey of the principal danger spots; a report on plans to meet such emergencies as Communist offensives in Korea, Iran or Yugoslavia. Eisenhower then went to the Pentagon for another global run-down, this on the military situation around the world, especially Korea.

The only firsthand observation on Ike's reaction to all this came from the President himself. In an informal talk to government employees at the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr. Truman reported:

It was my privilege a few days ago to brief the general... and he was rather appalled at all that the President needs to know in order to reach decisions—even domestic decisions.... The President makes a decision every day that can affect anywhere from one hundred million to a billion and a half people. It is a tremendous responsibility.

For the official record, the two men issued a formal joint statement simply stating that they had "worked out a framework of liaison and exchange of information" and explaining:

Under our Constitution, the President must exercise his functions until he leaves office, and his successor cannot be asked to share or assume the responsibilities of the Presidency until he takes office.... We have made no arrangements which are inconsistent with the full spirit of our Constitution....

SOUTH INDIAN JOURNALIST

The South Indian Journalist, organ of the Southern India Journalists' Federation, has completed three years; and the occasion is marked by the publication of a special annual number which is replete with articles of sparkling interest. The history of the daily press in Madras, including the story of the rise and fall of some well known dailies, and recollections of the senior Journalists and Editors with whom writing was not a mere profession but a sacred mission irrespective of its spoils, are the theme of entertaining articles by well known Journalists of a later generation. Among the contributors are Pothan Joseph, Shelvankar, A. S. Iyengar, M. Subramanian, K. Balaraman, Arthur Moore, N. R., V. S. Venkataraman, and the Editor Khasa Subba Rao whose reminiscences of their journalistic career afford pleasant and instructive reading. The surveys of the regional press and of journalism in Indian languages round up the review of the press and its achievements in the country as a whole. The Press in India is now second to none in the world, in point of its service or usefulness though for obvious reasons it cannot surpass the press in the West in the technique of production or circulation. In fact India too can give a lesson or two to the Press in the more advanced countries of the West, as the Editor shrewdly points out:

Indian journalism, though still backward in some respects, has in certain spheres achieved a distinction second to none, judged by world standards. And even the backwardness is not perhaps without its advantages, since by taking thought the profession may be able to put up a successful fight against those undesirable influences—commercialism, sensationalism, triviality—which mar the otherwise remarkable achievement of the West.

A WHISTLER STORY

One evening, at a dinner in Paris, a lady remarked to the painter,

Whistler, that she believed that he knew King Edward VII personally.

"No, madam," replied Whistler.

"Why," said the lady, "that's very odd. I met the King at a party last year and he said that he knew you."

"Oh," scoffed Whistler, "that's just his brag."

HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as passed and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December 1948 is a document of far reaching importance. It is a landmark, says Dr. Nareschandra Roy in the *Calcutta Review*, in the history of the recognition of the status of the individual irrespective of his racial or linguistic affiliation, religious belief and economic circumstances.

Individual countries have from time to time since the 18th century declared the rights of citizens in no uncertain manner.

We may refer at once to that noble document called the Declaration of Independence adopted on behalf of the American people by their Continental Congress on the 4th Day of July, 1776, at the city of Philadelphia. By this declaration the Americans not only emphasised their own rights and privileges but surely called upon individuals everywhere to remember that they had rights to assert and privileges to enjoy. Thirteen years later the French National Assembly imitated the American Congress by adopting after a long and protracted debate the Rights of Man. Since then the example of the American and French peoples has been imitated by many other countries and the declaration of individual rights has been an important plank in democratic platform. Many have held in contempt the long discussion on fundamental rights by which the members of the Frankfurt Parliament allowed the crucial moment to slip out of their hands in 1848. But Veit Valentin characterised the document they prepared as a monument to "German longing." Practical British people either at home or in colonies have not, of course in modern days attached much importance to any declaration on paper of their basic rights as citizens. They have regarded them as woven into the texture of their life, not to be separately emphasised. But in all countries which had suffered either from foreign domination or from local despotism it has been a deliberate policy to incorporate a list of carefully elaborated fundamental rights in their respective constitutions. The Constitution of Eire, the Constitution of the German Republic (Weimar), the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitution of the Republic of India may be cited as examples.

But while a number of individual countries have declared in their fundamental law basic rights for their citizens and even made them justiciable in their courts of law, it was only four years ago in 1948 that an international institution made this declaration for the first time.

But the United Nations Charter recognises in a clear and unambiguous

manner the sovereignty of Member-States and emphasises that the organisation is not to do anything which may amount to intervention in domestic affairs.

The Universal Declaration itself, though without binding legal effect, has placed, however, an undefined responsibility upon the U. N. Organisation regarding matters which some may regard as only of domestic concern. The Covenant, as now envisaged, will make that responsibility still more direct and pointed.

It is, of course, too premature yet to speculate on the procedure to be adopted for the protection of the rights guaranteed in the Covenant. The writer suggests that the municipal courts of a country may be empowered to dispose of cases instituted by individual citizens against the violation of rights so guaranteed to them. The United Nations Organisation may then only see to it that these courts are sufficiently independent of executive and legislative control.

In that case much complication may not arise out of the operation of the Covenant. But if the United Nations Organisation either by itself or through an international court is empowered to entertain petitions in this regard from individual citizens and residents and some specified private organisations, complications will ensue. The question of national sovereignty being adversely affected will for instance certainly arise. Individuals as such may also become subjects of international law in a wider and more real sense than during the regime of the League of Nations.

Possibly at the present stage of development of the idea of one world it would have been better to avoid the complications which the adoption of the Covenant will involve.

By adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the U.N.O. has already set the standard to which governments of all Member States are expected to conform in their relations with individual citizens and residents. If any such state lags behind, the displeasure of the Organisation should be brought home to it in an unmistakable manner. It is very debatable whether the U.N.O. should take any responsibility beyond the steady exercise of this moral force.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE HAWAIIAN QUEEN

During Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations, Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii, visited the British Queen at Windsor. During the Royal tete-a-tete, the Hawaiian Queen happened to remark that she had English blood in her veins.

"How so?" asked Victoria.

"One of my ancestors ate Captain Cook," was the reply.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The world Congress of Journalists recommended the creation of a permanent world committee composed of representatives of professional bodies of journalists to safeguard freedom of expression in the Press, broadcasting and television.

This was one of the recommendations of the report by the Commission on Freedom of the Press which—with some amendments—the Congress accepted by 22 votes to five with three abstentions. The Congress decided "to promote the elimination of the following factors which restrict the freedom of the Press."

(1) Prohibition imposed on persons and political and social groups in any country to create their own organs of expression or voice their opinions in existing organs.

(2) Coercive influence by Governments on the orientation and information of private journals.

(3) Imprisonment or persecution solely for journalistic activity.

(4) Hoarding of newsprint by some States to the disadvantage of others.

(5) Obstacles and discriminations in the import and supplying of machinery and other equipment for newspapers.

(6) Governmental and other limitation to the free use of transmission channels.

(7) Coercive imposition by advertisers or Governmental political propaganda in radio broadcasts. The report condemns the confinement of journalistic expression to Governmental organs of monopoly groups of any kind. It also condemns restrictions which prevent journalists from access to national or international sources of information and pressure and sanction to reveal their sources. Similarly, obstructions to free trade unionism among journalists. It proposes creation of an international institute with adequate powers to guarantee the normal and free fulfilment of journalistic functions.

The report requested the United Nations to recommend the observance of Article 17 of the San Francisco Charter concerning the freedom of the Press and human rights. The report suggested that news agencies "need to observe the principle of reciprocity in the transmission of news considering in their true importance, events in countries where they operate."

It further suggested the organisation of an international co-operative news agency to compete "with established commercial agencies and satisfy news aspirations which are not attended to to-day."

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

On December 3, the Catholic Church commemorated the 400th anniversary of the death of Francis Xavier, Patron Saint of the Indies. Xavier became a founder member of the Company of Jesus in 1534 at the age of 28 when passing his religious studies in Paris. On his 35th birthday April 7, 1541, he sailed never to return to Europe. The first eight years, says Dr. H. G. Reissner in *India and Israel* he spent in places in India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. His reports from overseas reveal that he was painfully aware of the corruptive influence of Portuguese political and trading interests.

The Portuguese says the Editor, brought with them their religion which they spread with fire and sword.

After they lost their political stranglehold, Catholicism, nursed by the well-knit educational and missionary network of the Jesuits, continued to flourish in India's atmosphere of tolerance.

To the Catholics of the East, Francis Xavier, popularly known as the "Apostle of the Indies," is the Saint par excellence. In honour of his four hundredth death anniversary, Goa (Portuguese India), the venue of his greatest successes, held celebrations of great splendour. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims not only from India but from all over the world attended the celebrations in December.

Francis Xavier is not just another Saint. He is a "missionary" Saint and the Catholic Church's decision to make his death anniversary an international event, is not without significance. The eyes of Catholics all over the world are turned to Goa; not least of interest are the celebrations to the Catholics of Israel, a small but active minority, which enjoys the same tolerance, equality of rights, and cultural and religious autonomy, that, with the notable exception of India, Catholicism has rarely enjoyed anywhere in the past, and which, incidentally, the Church had in the past never extended to minorities in the territories over which it held undisputed sway. Today, however, members of minority religions enjoy complete equality in all Catholic countries, a sharp contrast to many Muslim States where intolerance and bigotry are still rampant.

A Farmer visited his son's college. Watching students in a chemistry class, he was told they were looking for a universal solvent. "What's that?" asked the farmer. "A liquid that will dissolve anything." "That's a great idea," agreed the farmer. "When you find it, what are you going to keep it in?"

SRI SARADA DEVI

Sri Sarada Devi—The spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna was born on 22nd December 1858. Her hundredth birth, fell on the 8th of December, the *Prabudha Bharata* for last month published more than one interesting article dealing with the life and self-effacing character of the Holy Mother. What struck every one who came in contact with her was the Mother in her. She extended her love and grace to one and all, without distinction of rank, race, caste or creed. A few instances from her life, which portray in bold relief these aspects of her magnanimity and universal love are cited by Swami Ananyananda.

"Once the Holy Mother was requested not to allow a certain young disciple to come to her presence on account of some misconduct on his part. She remarked tenderly, 'If my child gets covered with mud or dust, is it not my duty to cleanse him and take him on my lap?'"

When a woman who had not led a very chaste life went to her in a mood of sincere repentance and made an unreserved confession of her sins, the mother embraced her with great warmth of feeling uttering these words of assurance, 'Don't despair for whatever you have done. You will get over all your sinful tendencies.' She also gave initiation to that woman.

When the Mother's house at Jayrambati was being built, a number of Muslims of a neighbouring village were employed as labourers. It was known that their previous record was not good as they had turned to predatory pursuits at times. There was naturally great consternation among the villagers when these men were employed. But the Mother was unperturbed. One day, one of these Muslim employees took some bananas to her and said, 'Mother I have brought these for the Master. Would you accept them?' The Mother accepted the offering very gladly.

On another occasion, the Mother took one of these Muslims (Amjed by name) into her house for a meal. After feeding him, the Mother herself washed the place where he had taken food. Seeing this,

her orthodox niece, who was standing at a distance, exclaimed, 'O aunt, you are going to lose caste'. The Mother reproved her, saying, 'Keep quiet. Even this Amjed is my son exactly in the sense that Sarat (Swami Saradananda) is!'

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF LETTERS

The Government of India have decided to establish a National Academy of Letters.

The academy, which will be known as "Sahitya Akadami", is being established, "to work actively for the development of Indian letters and to set high literary standards, to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all the Indian languages and to promote through them all the cultural unity of the country."

The academy will have its headquarters in New Delhi, but it might be shifted to another place by a resolution supported by three-fourths of the total membership of the general council.

The "Sahitya Akadami" will, the announcement stated, be a corporate body. Its powers and functions will among others, be:

- (1) To promote co-operation between literary associations, universities and cultural organisations and to encourage the establishment and development of representative literary associations concerned with the development of language and literature;
- (2) To encourage or, if necessary, to arrange translations of literary works from one Indian language into others and also from foreign into Indian languages and vice-versa;
- (3) To assist associations and individuals in publishing literary works, including bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopaedias;
- (4) To sponsor or hold literary conferences, seminars and exhibitions;
- (5) To promote research in Indian languages and literature.
- (6) To encourage the propagation and study of literature among the masses and for that purpose the use of mass-communication media;
- (7) To promote the study and teaching of regional languages and literatures in areas where they are not used;
- (8) To improve and develop the various scripts in which the languages of the country are written, to promote the use of the Devnagri script and to encourage publication of select books in regional languages in that script;
- (9) To promote cultural exchanges with other countries and to correspond and to keep liaison with international organisations in the field of letters.

MAU MAU MOVEMENT IN KENYA

Events in the East African colony of Kenya during the past few weeks are causing grave concern. Local authorities and the colonial minority and the British press are deeply perturbed over the increasing number and violence of the incidents.

Restrictions on the freedom of press and meetings, vigorous control of all associations and movements, and deportations, fines and penalties have forged new letters on the Kenyans.

According to an official statement these measures are primarily directed against a secret Negro organisation called Mau Mau whose aim is the expulsion of Europeans from Kenya.

The scope and other main features of the Mau Mau organisation cannot be clearly established from the material published in the British and other press, observes the *Review of International Affairs* published in Yugoslavia.

While according to some official sources the Mau Mau is a terrorist anti-white organisation, it is described by others as an organisation based entirely on religious and superstitious concepts which has always been under the control of the authorities. Certain British periodicals, among which the *New Statesman* and *Nation* attribute the creation of the legend around the Mau Mau movement to a group of European colonists who wish to safeguard their domination in Kenya.

As for the increase of crime, especially attacks on property, it is explained by the miserable and extremely primitive conditions under which the African natives are forced to live after having been evicted from their land, while on the other hand vast modern agrarian estates of the white landlords are being created.

According to a statement of the member of the Commission for Law and Order of the Legislative Council, Mr. Wyatt, although cases of violation of property rose by approximately 25% during the first five months of the current year, this percent is still lower than that in the neighbouring colony of Uganda.

This state of affairs, according to Mr. Wyatt, is due to the fact that prices for a series of basic commodities rose steeply, while on the other hand, the old minimum wages were retained unchanged. Mr. Wyatt further stated that in the capital, Nairobi, about a thousand natives sleep on the streets every night, whereas, the number of unemployed and socially insecure is even higher.

MEN AS SLAVES OF WOMEN

If there is one thing that strikes you when you arrive at Orango Grande, an island lying off the coast of Portuguese Guinea in West Africa, it is the great liberty and the many privileges enjoyed by the women and girls, writes Fred Villiers in *World Digest*.

On neighbouring islands and throughout the African continent, the man is master in his own house and chooses his wife (or wives himself, but the Orango Grande males don't possess this right. They have to wait until they are chosen, and if they don't succeed in pleasing anyone—well, they must remain bachelors.

Even when a man has found favour in the eyes of a young girl, he is still not sure of having "made the grade." For if he does not come up to expectations he is ruthlessly dismissed, and the girl tries again with someone else. Nor is she obliged to give any reason for her actions.

If a man is disappointed with his wife, however, there is nothing he can do about it beyond showing himself so cold and indifferent that the woman finds him useless and so throws him out.

LINGUISTIC STATES

Swatantra views the division of the country on linguistic lines as supremely folly. Writing on the demand for a separate Andhra State which has now become irresistible, the Editor points out that National unity is alone the cohesive force that can keep our independence alive. "National unity is not impaired when the territory of the nation is divided on grounds of administrative convenience. But when States are split for cultural reasons, minor cultural loyalties will prevail over national consciousness, and each State will develop as though it were a separate country. A nation split up thus cannot resist the foreign invader, and within its own body it will be decimated by the internal feuds of the exclusive spirit. The requirements of national development lie in the direction of Andhras, Tamils, Malayalees and Kannadigas dwelling together in amity in common association under a single administration rather than in each of these breaking away from the other in a spirit of isolation. Friendship and understanding between people of different languages is not difficult. But it requires the right type of leadership in administration."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The United Nations General Assembly on December 7 decided to set up a Commission to study the racial situation in South Africa.

It approved by 35 to one, with 23 abstentions, a resolution of the special political Committee recommending this course.

This resolution came from the Special Committee, after it debated South Africa's policy of Apartheid (racial segregation) which was found to be "necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination".

After the decision, the South African delegate told the Assembly that his Government would consider it "null and void."

The three members of the Commission were not named. This was left to the President of the Assembly, Mr. Lester Pearson, of Canada.

Voting on the resolution was taken in three parts. First, the preamble was approved by a show of hands by 40 to one, South Africa, with 15 abstentions. Then the operative paragraph setting up the Commission was approved by 35 to 17 with seven abstentions.

Finally the paragraphs inviting the South African Government to extend its full co-operation to the Commission, the request to the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff, and the decision to retain the question on the agenda for the next session of the Assembly were approved together by 38 to three with 19 abstentions.

Britain

INDIANS IN BRITAIN

Indian residents in Great Britain number 137,000—the bulk of the 383,000 persons from Commonwealth countries and the Indian Republic—according to the official 1951 census, writes the U.P.A. staff correspondent.

Kenya

INDIANS IN KENYA

The faith of Asians and Africans in the good intentions of the British Conservative Party towards political evolution in Kenya, has been shaken, the Kenya Indian Congress said at Nairobi on December 14.

A statement issued by the Congress said it was greatly disappointed that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, British Colonial Secretary, had postponed consideration on the constitutional development of the Colony.

It said that in the Congress view a change in the European approach to the legitimate aspirations of Africans and Asians was urgently called for, and that a false sense of prestige should not stand in the way of such a change. The Congress stressed that it was essential to take all possible precautions against innocent people becoming victims of punishment meant for the guilty.

There was a danger of indiscriminate punishment, having a bad moral and psychological effect on the people as a whole, and of swelling the ranks of the terrorists, the statement said. The Congress reiterated unequivocally its strong opposition to violence in any shape or form as an instrument to achieve political or economic ends.

Gold Coast

GOLD COAST

Following the common struggle of the Indians and Africans in South Africa, there are signs of growing good relations between India and the various African territories. Particularly it is so in the case of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Following the visit of the Indian Commissioner in East Africa, Mr. Pant, to the Gold Coast, an invitation has been extended to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first African Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, on behalf of the Indian Prime Minister, to visit India.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

Prime Minister Nehru on Dec. 8 presented to the House of the People a copy of the Planning Commission's final report of the first Five-year Plan.

The scheme, in its final form, involves an outlay on development by public authorities of Rs. 2,069 crores over the period 1951-56.

The report represents the second phase of the Planning Commission's work since its appointment in March 1950. It embodies not only the Five-Year Plan, but an analysis of India's economy, assessment of resources, financial, economic and social policies to be followed during the period of the Plan and suggestions for strengthening and improving the public administration to meet the obligations of a Welfare State.

Of the six major items on which the expenditure is to be incurred, top priority is given to increased food production and this is brought about by the provision of Rs. 561 crores for multi-purpose irrigation projects and power development and another Rs. 360 crores on Agriculture and community development.

Next in importance comes the development of transport and communications at a cost of Rs. 497 crores, while social services which include Education, Health and Housing, have been allotted Rs. 340 crores.

The provision of Rs. 173 crores for industrial development is mainly for Government undertakings. Here the policy visualised is to leave the initiative and responsibility for securing expansion over the bulk of the field of industry to private enterprise.

An allotment of Rs. 85 crores has been made for refugee rehabilitation while another Rs. 50 crores covers a number of miscellaneous items.

The Commission anticipates that the successful implementation of the Plan would bring 50 million acres under irrigation resulting in an additional yield of seven million tons of foodgrains, thirteen lakh bales of cotton, twenty lakh bales of jute, seven lakh tons of sugarcane and five lakh tons of oilseeds.

In the field of industry, the target aimed at is an increase in the production of finished steel by five lakh tons and pig iron by three lakh tons, cement by 22 lakh tons and aluminium by nine thousand tons. Cotton yarn manufacture is expected to increase by 460 million lbs.

As regards the important question of finance on which depends, to a large extent, the successful execution of the Plan, the Commission hopes that the savings from current revenue of Central and State Governments will yield Rs. 738 crores. It is hoped that it will be possible to raise Rs. 520 crores by loans from the public. External assistance of Rs. 156 crores has already been received from the International Bank, the United States and countries participating in the Colombo Plan. It has been calculated that deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 290 crores can be resorted to without seriously jeopardising the economy of the country. There is still a balance of Rs. 365 crores to be raised through additional measures of internal taxation and borrowing.

The Plan has been in operation since April last year and the Planning Commission, while it has had a measure of the capacity of the States to raise additional revenue during this interval, lays special and repeated emphasis on the need to rouse popular enthusiasm and secure public co-operation for the implementation of the Plan and urges: "It is important that through sacrifice borne equally by all citizens, the effort and resources of the entire nation should be mobilised in support of the Plan."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

MRS. PANDIT ON INDIA'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR KASHMIR

Addressing the U. N. Security Council on India's responsibility for the security of Kashmir, Mrs. Pandit clinched her arguments against the Anglo-U. S. resolution in these words:

"The representative of the United States, has suggested that the United Nations representative must have arrived at these figures (on armed strength in Kashmir) on the basis of advice of the military adviser. But it will be admitted that the security of the State is the Government of India's responsibility. My Government must, in the discharge of that responsibility, be guided by the advice of their own military advisers. No outside advice can supersede that of those who are themselves responsible for carrying out the obligation of security and protection of the State."

Shrimathi Pandit said that while India had pledged that it would "on no account" initiate military operations, Pakistan had undertaken no such pledge and "on the contrary constant threats of holy war and Jihad have been and continue to be hurled at us from across the border."

"Only a few weeks ago," she said, "when Dr. Graham was reporting to the Council that the two sides are so agreed and that they would not resort to force or war to seek a settlement of this question, a conference of the ruling party in Pakistan—the Muslim League—at its session at Lyallpur under the chairmanship of no less a person than the Prime Minister of Pakistan passed resolutions and made statements threatening aggression and war against us...."

The Security Council has....to address itself to the central and basic complaint of aggression against us.... We cannot permit ourselves to act in disregard of the principles or to abandon agreements which already exist.

Any consideration of the problem must proceed on the clear and unequivocal recognition of authority of the Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State, of the fact that the state by virtue of its accession to India became part of the territory of the Indian Union and of the Government of India's responsibility for security of the state against external aggression.

This leads inevitably to the conclusion that all the armed forces must be removed from the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and that Pakistan should exercise no authority whatsoever over the area which it has invaded."

RAJAJI'S APPEAL TO MUSLIMS

Presiding over the Holy Prophet's birthday celebration at Madras, Rajaji pleaded that such occasions should be used to promote understanding among people professing various religions.

After dealing with the greatness of the Prophet, Rajaji said:

People now think in terms of democracy. There is, to a certain extent, a decrease in the privileges that Muslims enjoyed. There is also an unnecessary and unwanted complication in that you have another country nearby called Pakistan where Hindus have their grievances and whose feelings have been roused. The common feeling is guided not only by what we do or see here but also by what they hear as having been done elsewhere. Rightly or wrongly all that has an impact on Indian opinion. Therefore you will have to be patient. Take my word. The Government, like great leaders of India, want to be as friendly to the Muslims as you say I am. But there are difficulties which call for patience. Was not the Prophet patient? Did he not wait many years before coming back to Mecca as victor? If you follow the Prophet, I am certain you will command respect in India. If you do not follow the Prophet everything will go wrong.

TRUMAN ON PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY

President Truman said at Washington on Dec. 14 that Americans will "destroy the very thing they are struggling to preserve" if hysterical fear of Communism drives them into "suppressing liberty at home".

Mr. Truman acknowledged that "there are dangers in religious freedom and freedom of opinion" and also that "alarm is justified" about Communist threat to America's way of life. But he said it was one thing to become alarmed and another to become hysterical for "hysteria impels people to destroy the very thing they are struggling to preserve and to deny those rights (of free speech and worship) is worse than dangerous. It is absolutely fatal to liberty."

"For us to embrace methods and morals of Communism in order to defeat Communist aggression would be moral disaster worse than any physical catastrophe"; he said. "If that should come to pass, then the Constitution and Declaration would be utterly dead and what we are doing, to day, would be the gloomiest burial in the history of the world."

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

U. N. RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR

Smt. Vijayalakshmi rightly contended in the U. N. Council that India derived her status in Kashmir from the accession of the State to India on Oct. 26, 1947, by an Instrument which was accepted by the then Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten. The validity of the accession had, at the time, not been questioned by the Council or by any other authority set up or appointed by the Council.

No solution has yet been found because the root cause of the conflict, namely the unlawful occupation by Pakistan of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir State, and the creation of subversive forces and authorities therein, continues.

Until the Council is prepared, firmly and courageously, to face this central issue, no just and lasting solution can be found.

Despite India's protest that the Resolution ignored the sum total of Dr. Graham's own recommendations, and her declaration that she will not participate in any negotiations on Kashmir on the basis of the Anglo-American resolution, the Security Council adopted it after incorporating in it a Dutch amendment empowering Dr. Graham to preside over the proposed talks.

It is difficult to understand what the Governments of Britain and U.S.A. stand to gain by this frontal attack on India, while all along the U. N. policy has been to narrow the points of differences and strive for agreed solution. In fact the power blocs in the U. N. touched nothing which they did not spoil. They have done everything to widen the gap and practically nullified what little good has been done by the mediator so far.

No wonder the Prime Minister declared categorically that "we are not going to act under its compulsion."

It passes my comprehension, said Mr. Nehru,

how any person can justify parts of the Anglo-American resolution, now passed by the Security Council. As we have stated, we do not accept it, we are not going to act under its compulsion.

What next?

MAJOR GRAHAM POLE

Major David Graham Pole, who became prominent as Chairman of the Tribunals in St. Marylebone and Paddington set up under the Furnished Houses (Rent Control) Act after the war, died last month in a nursing home in London.

Quite early in life he was particularly drawn to India and spent much time here studying social and economic conditions, with the result that he amassed something of a practice in handling Indian appeals to the Privy Council. His Indian connexions also gave him a footing in journalism, and for some years he acted as correspondent in London for various Indian periodicals and published some books of a rather radical character on Indian affairs. He was a much valued contributor to the *Indian Review*.

Meanwhile, after he had been invalided from the Army he had been drawn into sympathy with the Labour Party and had been adopted as candidate for various constituencies. He did useful work for his party, especially in helping to formulate their policy on India as Secretary and Vice-Chairman of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs and after 1940 as Chairman.

PAKISTAN CONSTITUTION

A Muslim alone can be the head of the State in Pakistan according to the Basic Principles Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

The Committee, in its report presented to the Assembly by Pakistan's Prime Minister recommended among other things a bicameral legislature at the Centre and unicameral legislatures in the units, adult franchise, and separate electorates. The lower House will control money Bills.

No mention has, however been made in the report of the State language, although the Committee in its interim report, submitted in September, 1950, had recommended that "Urdu should be the national language."

The Committee's report is an 80 page printed document. It was set up under the Constituent Assembly's resolution of March 12, 1949.

RECENT CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

VISWA BHARATI UNIVERSITY

President Rajendra Prasad addressed on Dec. 23 the first Convocation of the Viswa Bharati, since it was raised to the status of a Central University.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, delivering the address, said that the best ideal that an institution could pursue was that of building up character and sound human qualities. The love of a country was a thing which Poet Rabindranath wanted to inculcate in the hearts of all people here. He was never parochial in his approach nor narrow in nationalism. He wanted to bring about a fellowship of different cultures of the world.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, M.P., delivering the Convocation Address of the Delhi University on Dec. 13 said that the need for maintaining the autonomy of the Universities must be emphasised by all well-wishers of the country.

"No external authority set up by Government" Dr. Mookerjee said, "can ever hope to secure co-ordination of work or enforce a common standard among all Universities in India. It will thus become a super University by itself, developing an extremely complex machinery, deadening the soul of all Universities in India and making them rigid and stagnant. If such an authority is to enjoy executive powers, it will lead to a regimentation of University education which even totalitarian countries and autocratic regimes dared not experiment in."

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

Dr. Radhakrishnan delivered the Convocation Address to the Allahabad University.

He asked Indian Universities to educate their young men and women for the development of "disciplined courage" and train them for that high condition of body and mind "when we can stand together and face the dangers that beset us."

If the universities produce men, who are not afraid to work for the things

they believe in, if they are not afraid of being laughed at, if they have disciplined courage, they will have justified themselves.

Courage is an individual quality but when disciplined it becomes co-operative and social. The spirit of fear and cowardice is fatal to good Government and to good society.

BENARES UNIVERSITY

Dr. Bhagwandas who delivered the Convocation address at Benares University on December 21, said there was a general feeling that a new social order was needed in the country to solve our problems successfully.

He deplored the demand made by a certain section of people that the use of English should be given up in the country. He said India's political, diplomatic, economic, commercial, educational, and scientific relations with other countries depended entirely on English. If these relations had to be developed and maintained efficiently, he said, English could not be altogether given up.

The use of Hindi should be encouraged and popularised throughout India, but it was to be done gradually, without attempting in the least to force it on an unwilling people, Dr. Bhagwandas said.

AGRA UNIVERSITY

A call to our Universities to release "an enthusiastic will to work on a nation-wide scale" was given by Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, addressing the Agra University Convocation on Dec. 5.

One point on which he laid great stress was that unless senior professors, pursuing higher knowledge and University-men dedicated to the high ideals of learning and discipline, had a determining voice in the affairs of the University, its freedom could not be maintained. "And in this atmosphere of freedom if collective action is not pursued, the University becomes a menace", he said.

PUNISHMENT FOR PERJURY

Their Lordships E. E. Mack and W. S. Krishnaswami Naidu, J J commented in the Madras High Court on Dec. 2 that they were strongly of opinion that one reason why perjury was so rife in civil suits was the knowledge that the courts before which it was committed were powerless to inflict speedy and summary punishment.

Their Lordships made these remarks when they discharged a rule they had issued earlier directing Pratti Krishnamurthi of Srikakulam, an appellant in a civil suit, to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for perjury after a stern warning.

In this connection, Their Lordships strongly recommended for the consideration of the legislature that witnesses be made to take their oaths on the sacred scriptures of their own different religions. They thought that if witnesses did so they would reflect twice before wantonly perjuring themselves as they did now in the witness box and more often than not also selling their testimony for considerations.

Their Lordships also pointed out that Mr. V. L. Ethiraj, counsel for Pratti Krishnamurthi, had further suggested and they were in entire agreement with him that civil courts be empowered to try summarily witnesses who committed perjury in their courts as a Contempt of Court and to punish them appropriately. The punishment awarded in such cases would of course be appealable.

MADRAS ESTATES

The Supreme Court ordered on Dec. 8, interim stay restraining the State of Madras from taking over possession of estates of the Zamindar of Ettayapuram and ten others under the Madras Estates Abolition Act pending the disposal of the appeal against a Madras judgment.

Their Lordships also ordered the cases to come up before the Court in Feb. 1953.

The Madras High Court by an order dated August 22, 1952, dismissed a

number of petitions filed by some of the Zamindars questioning the constitutional validity of the Madras Act. The Madras High Court granted special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court on August 28, 1952 and interim stay till December 1, 1952.

ELECTION PETITION DISMISSED

The Madras Election Tribunal dismissed the petition filed by Mr. T. Prakasam questioning the election of Dr. U. Krishna Rao, Minister for Industries, to the Madras Legislative Assembly from the Harbour constituency, on grounds of interference with voters, corrupt practices, and irregularities and non-compliance with rules during the counting of the votes.

The Tribunal, in an elaborate order, reviewing the evidence and the relevant rules, held that no interference, or corrupt practices had been proved. Sufficient evidence had not been adduced by the petitioner, it said.

The Tribunal stated that "none of the corrupt practices alleged in the list appended to the petition is proved."

CIVIL LIBERTIES CONFERENCE

The All-India Civil Liberties Conference, which concluded its two-day session at Bombay on December 21 demanded the repeal of the Preventive Detention Act, and, "as a measure of immediate relief, the release of all those who are held in detention."

The Conference was of the opinion that detention without trial ought not to be resorted to for such purposes as "public order," "relations of India with foreign Powers," and "essential supplies and service."

It asked all States concerned to withdraw the Public Safety Acts. Urging the repeal of the Press Act of 1951, the Conference felt that the system of securities which the Act established was "unknown in civilised countries."

ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, India's Minister for Commerce and Industry, told the Associated Chambers of Commerce on December 15 that, while there had been no change in the Government's policy towards foreign capital since the Prime Minister's statement in 1949, Government did not propose to allow an unlimited field for foreign capital in the trading section.

"I am rather alarmed at the increasing tendency on the part of existing concerns to build up integrated organisations which do both the manufacturing and the trading," he said.

"Government get requests now and again from countries which had formerly trading organisations in India to permit them to reopen these operations. While Government are loth to exercise their veto on such requests, I think it is only proper for me in this forum to indicate that the Government would like to see a contraction, rather than an expansion, of non-Indian concerns engaged in trading pure and simple."

The Minister said: "I hope and expect that non-Indian firms will go ahead with the Indianisation of their superior staff, both technical and administrative. I also expect them to encourage Indian firms engaged in insurance, shipping and in the manufacture of ancillary products, which can be used by the industries they control."

PAKISTAN AND INDIAN GUNNIES

The Pakistan Government have decided not to import any more hessian and gunny bags from India, according to Government sources.

These sources said this would save Pakistan foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 35 million annually.

They said the requirements were proposed to be met by increasing production in Admaji jute mills in East Bengal. In case of shortage of gunny bags and other articles Pakistan would prefer to buy them from Dundy, these sources said.

DUTY ON EXPORTS

The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, in a forthright assertion on Dec. 4 refused to be stampeded into reducing any export duty just because the trade demanded it, without regard to the country's interest.

The Minister, who was speaking at the first meeting of the reconstituted Export Advisory Council denounced what he called the tendency on the part of some sections of the trade—he particularly named Bombay textile export traders—who, he said, periodically started a "scare" and expected the Government to reduce the export duty.

"There are facts here which show", Mr. Krishnamachari said, "that we are in the hands of a group of unscrupulous, unpatriotic merchants who are prepared to force the hands of the Government to reduce the export duty to benefit some foreigner, and incidentally themselves, without any idea of the consideration of the country's interest at all."

I do not mind my export trade in textiles dying rather than allowing these speculators to make money. If the trade finds they cannot export, let them go out of it. Let the mills do the trade direct. Let Bombay understand here and now that they cannot by the weight of opinion force the Government to take a step which the Government thinks is injurious to the country's interest. This country can start State trading in exports and we propose to do it if it is necessary."

REMITTANCE FROM CEYLON

Indian and Pakistani residents at Colombo every day wait in long queues at the general post office to obtain new permit forms for remitting money to their homes.

Previously, money could be sent on production of rice ration books. Under the new system introduced since December 1, money can be sent only by producing cards given on production of passports.

Each card entitles an individual to remit Rs. 100 a month to India or Pakistan.

Mr. Victor A. Nicholas, Post Master General, said there were about 600,000 Indian and Pakistani residents in Ceylon who wanted to be registered for sending money to their countries. The rush for new cards, therefore would continue for some time, he added.

INDIAN STUDENTS AND THEIR GIRL FRIENDS

Mr. K. Subramaniam of the Indian Film Delegation to America writes in the *Sunday Times*:

Almost every Indian student whom I met in Los Angeles took pride in introducing me to his American sweetheart or girl friend as they would style them and almost every one of these girls was not only attractive but I found them intelligent, very well behaved and with a lot of understanding of the Indian way of life. They showed an ardent and innate desire to fit in themselves into an Indian happy home and some of them when they talked to me privately expressed their sincere enthusiasm and longing to go and settle down in India and their ambition to help their boy friends to build up a great career with their co-operation. It was something very touching and I had been ever praying that our Indian boys should play a fair game with these girls and the honour of the men of our country is not slandered or underrated by the American families.

Let me also hope these boys would frankly write home to their parents how exactly their affections are placed so that there would be no parental complications at a later date when these boys are coming back home ready to serve the country taking their place in the administrative or business set up for which they are getting trained. I would like to appeal to the parents who have sent out their sons to develop a broader outlook and expect such new developments. I do not want to make people imagine that our students are inattentive to their studies or that they are not conscious of their duties and obligations. There was not a single boy of whom I was not proud of having met during my stay in United States.

WOMEN IN GERMANY

The scarcity of eligible men has been the most decisive single factor in changing woman's status and character in postwar Germany, says the *United Nations World*. It has made itself felt not only in the big cities, but in every hamlet and town, in all social strata of the population. Thus, we find for the first time in modern history polygamy openly advocated not by the variety-seeking male, but by the constant female. The demand for at least two women to share a man legally is being raised not by decadent highbrows and bohemians but by respectable widows and spinsters of the most conservative middle class. They have found their leader in a

middle-aged widow, plain and homely as possible, who would be righteously indignant were anyone to ascribe to her crusade any but the highest motives.

In the meantime, millions of girls and women have decided not to wait for the outcome of this "share-a-man" plan—they are putting it into practical application.

It is doubtful that in Germany today sexual promiscuity is any more widely practised than, let us say, in the United States. The only difference is that over there adultery is accepted as a normal and inevitable fact and as a result there are fewer divorces than there are here. "Once you have caught a man, be happy and hold on to him regardless of his escapades. You will not get a better one—and very likely no man at all," *Vox feminae* declares.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

Nature knows more than the law when it comes to saying at what age a girl should marry, says Dr. Marie Stopes, Britain's best known advocate of family planning.

She wants to see the minimum age lowered from 16 to 15. "The tendency of social workers to consider the raising of the age of marriage is deplorable and based on a foolish overriding of biological conditions," she told the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce.

By refusing girls the right to marry before they are 16, she said, the law was ignoring the biological tendency to natural marriage.

"Legal marriage should be made possible," added Dr. Stopes, "in the exceptional circumstances when a girl under 15 has become pregnant and the man desires to marry her."

She agreed that most young people could not afford a home until they are 20, but emphasised that girls of less than that age often enticed boys and constituted "a fundamental difficulty" which could be solved if they were allowed to wed.

THE CYCLONE

A cyclone of terrific violence swept over the coastal areas of Tanjore and parts of Trichy District leaving in its trail marks of devastation and death that fairly stupefied the people. The extent of the damage to life and property was scarcely realised at the time owing to complete dislocation of traffic and means of communication. But subsequent investigation by authorities who were quick to realise the enormity of the tragedy showed that in Tanjore alone the toll of life was over 350 and the destruction of property was to the tune of 5 crores: Government of course lost no time in putting relief operations at work and under the Premier's immediate supervision steps were taken to bring relief to the unfortunate victims. Public bodies and Governor's Relief Fund have rushed help to the afflicted areas which are slowly recovering from the effects of this rude exhibition of nature's wrath.

The tax remissions and cash gifts to the homeless must go some way to mitigate the distress of the people in the area.

RARE EARTHS FACTORY

The Rare Earths Factory inaugurated formally by the Prime Minister last month is a result of a recommendation by the Atomic Energy Commission of the Government of India that the mineral sand, monazite, available off the Travancore-Cochin coast, should be processed in India itself. The main products will be rare earth, chlorides and carbonates. The by-products will be tri-sodium phosphate and nine hundred thousand gallons of caustic soda lye in a ten to twelve per cent solution. When all these products have been extracted, the factory which can process 1500 tons of monazite sands a year (or 2500 tons if worked in double shift) will be left with residual material which is capable of yielding about two hundred tons of thorium nitrate. The residue, as a matter of fact, will be "treated" in a factory being set up by the Atomic Energy Commission for the production of uranium and thorium compounds.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister replying to short-notice questions on the discussion, and outcome of the Conference told the House of the People that there were no commitments on the part of the Government of India at the Commonwealth Economic Conference, but three main principles were agreed to.

The principles agreed to were:

1. The Sterling Area countries should follow internal economic policies designed to curb inflation;
2. The Sterling Area countries should encourage sound economic development with the object of increasing their productive strength and competitive power; and
3. The Sterling Area countries should seek co-operation of other trading countries to create conditions in which progressive action could be taken to make Sterling convertible, and the multilateral system of trade, and payments was restored.

STALIN PEACE PRIZE

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, President, All-India Peace Council, has been awarded the International Stalin Prize for Peace.

A prominent Congressman, Dr. Kitchlew was formerly President of the undivided Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

He is in Vienna attending the Peace Congress.

The President of the Committee for the Adjudication of the International Stalin Prizes, in a cable sent from Moscow to the New Delhi residence of Dr. Kitchlew, announced the award, and praised the Indian leader's service in the cause of peace.

The cable, which was in Russian, was received on December 22. The prize consists of a sum of one lakh Roubles (nearly Rs. 1,25,000) a medal, and a Diploma for peace.

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MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

BY MR. JOHN CAULFEILD

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

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

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

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



MR. FRANK BUCHMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It's not an institution,

"It's not a point of view;

"It starts a revolution

"By starting one in you."

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

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

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

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

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

In 1949 he said:

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

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

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

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

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

MRA, he says, provides a visual education in a way that will unite our people.

(4) *What has it already done?*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5) *How is it financed?*

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

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

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

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

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

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



HEADQUARTERS OF MRA, CAUX

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

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

THE BRITISH LEGACY IN INDIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MUSIC ACADEMY, MADRAS

SILVER JUBILEE CONFERENCE AND FESTIVAL

BY DR. V. RAGHAVAN,

Secretary, Music Academy, Madras.

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

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

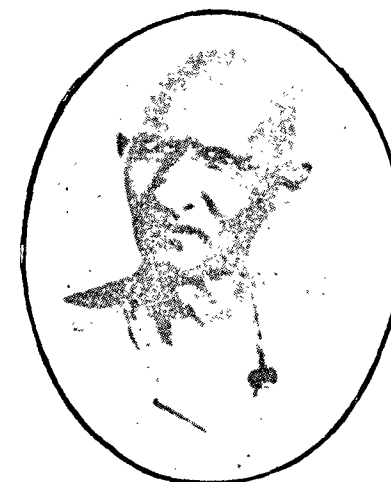
First and foremost among the achievements of the Academy stands its annual Conferences in which musicians and musicologists met together and discussed questions pertaining to the science and art of music; the most fruitful of these discussions is the codification of the *Ragalakshanas*, and time and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

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

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

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

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



KARAIKUDI SAMBASIVA IYER

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

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

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

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

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

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

POEM FOR A NEW YEAR

BY MR. F. R. STANLEY

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

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

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

ITS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

BY DR. V. S. KRISHNA

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT AID

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADVANCED STUDY OF SCIENCE

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

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

NATIONALIST REVOLT IN KENYA

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GENERAL CARIAPPA

BY SRI SHYAMA CHARAN KALA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

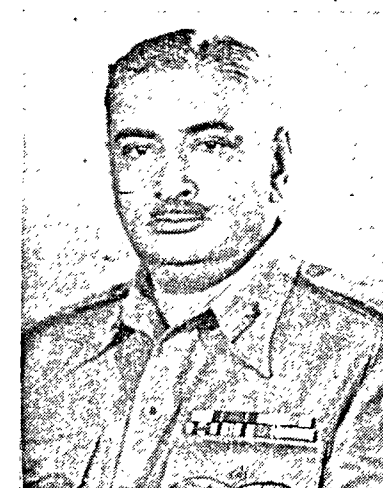
a jawan, he has the same warm open approach entirely free from pretence. He often tells his officers, "I believe in being free and frank with the men. I take them into my confidence impressing upon them the ideology of citizens in a free country. The men appreciate it and they will not let me down."

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

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



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



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

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

OF LIFE AND DEATH AND GLORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dawn was theirs
And sunset and the colours of the earth.
Those had seen movement and heard
[music; known
Slumber and walking; loved; gone
[proudly friended,

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

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

They brought us, for our dearth,
Holiness, lacked so long, and Love and
[Pain.
Honour has come back as a king to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And nobleness walks in our ways again;
And we have come into our heritage.

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

THE CHARITIES

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

—Wordsworth.

THE NOISE OF ARMS

The noise of arms deafens the voice
of the laws.

—Montaigne.

THE MOTHER OF ARTS

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

—Schopenhauer.

ANNIVERSARY

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

FEBRUARY 1953]

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

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THE POINT OF VIEW

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

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

—From A College Window.

THE APPOINTED & THE UNAPPOINTED DAY

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

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

Nor thee, on the second, the Universe
slay.

THIS WORLD

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

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

DEATH OF MEN

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

—Montaigne.

THE SPIRIT OF ENGLISHMEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRUTH

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

—Turgot.

ADVICE

Nothing is given so ungrudgingly as advice.

—La Rochefoucauld.

OLD AGE

Old age is but a second childhood.

—Aristophanes.

"THE LOVER TELLS OF THE ROSE IN HIS HEART"

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

All things uncomely and broken, all things worn out and old,

The cry of a child by the roadway, the creak of a lumbering cart,

The heavy steps of the ploughman, splashing the wintry mould,

Are wronging your image that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart.

The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told

I hunger to build them anew and sit on a green knoll apart,

With the earth and the sky and the water remade like a casket of gold,

For my dreams of your image that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart." . . .

PEACE

All men desire peace, but few men desire those things which make for peace.

—Thomas a Kempis.

LOVE OF MANKIND

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

—Helvetius.

PRAYER

Lord, make me an instrument of Thy Peace!

Where there is hatred. . . let me sow love

Where there is injury . . . pardon

Where there is doubt. . . faith

Where there is sadness . . . joy!

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek

To be consoled . . . as to console

To be understood . . . as to understand

To be loved . . . as to love, for

It is in giving . . . that we receive

pardoned

It is in dying . . . that we are born to eternal life.

—St. Francis of Assisi.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

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

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Overruling an amendment, Sri Nehru said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HINDU MAHASABHA

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

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

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

Sri Chatterjee said:

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

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

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

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

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

He added:

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

Pleading for a United India he said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WORLD SEMINAR ON GANDHIAN THOUGHT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

zones of security where minorities could retain their cultural freedom.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ASIAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PANDIT PANT'S WELCOME ADDRESS

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

GOVERNOR MUNSHI'S ADDRESS

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

NEW PRESIDENT OF SCIENCE CONGRESS

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

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD



PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

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

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Truman and Eisenhower

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Gandhian Way to Peace

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Great Public Servant

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Electro Chemical Research

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



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PURANA INDEX VOL. II.
By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,
University of Madras.

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

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

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES By Richard D. Hoffner,
(A Mentor Book.) The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York 22.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Jan. 1 Maldives made a Republic.
 Jan. 2 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates 40th Session of Indian Science Congress at Lucknow.
 Jan. 3 Mr. Attlee arrives in New Delhi.
 Jan. 4 Mr. Justice Wanchoo defines scope of enquiry re Andhra State.
 Jan. 5 Andhra University celebrates Silver Jubilee.
 —Mr. Churchill welcomed by Eisenhower in New York.
 Jan. 6 Asian Socialists' Conference meets at Rangoon.
 Jan. 7 Justice Wanchoo arrives in Madras.
 Jan. 8 Madras Govt. withdraws recognition of city constabulary association.
 Jan. 9 Rangoon conference decides to set up a separate Asian Socialistic organisation to establish liaison with Socialist International.
 Jan. 10 Maulana Azad opens new buildings housing Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in Delhi.
 Jan. 11 Nyasaland chief opposes Central African Federation.
 Jan. 12 The Pope creates 24 new Cardinals including Archbishop of Bombay.
 Jan. 13 Dr. Graham meets Indian and Pakistan representatives in Geneva.
 Jan. 14 Commander in Chief, General Cariappa lays down his office.
 Jan. 15 Gen. Maharaj Rajendrasinghi takes over charge as Commander in Chief of India.
 Jan. 16. All India Khadi Board constituted with centre at Bombay.
 Jan. 17. The 58th plenary Session of the Congress meets at Nanal Nagar, Hyderabad, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru presiding.
 Jan. 18. Premier Naguib of Egypt abolishes all political parties.
 Jan. 19. Gandhian Seminar concludes: Delegates honoured by Delhi University.
 Jan. 20 Eisenhower takes over charge of U. S. Presidentship from Truman.
 Jan. 21 French and Spanish Generals confer on Morocco.

Jan. 22 Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer accepts Vice Chancellorship of Annamalai University.
 Jan. 23 Delimitation Commission appointed with Sri N. Chandrasekara Iyer as Chairman.
 Jan. 24 Death of Col. Kailas Haksar, former Dewan of Bikaner, aged 74.
 Jan. 25 N. R. Sarkar, former member of Viceroy's Council, dead, aged 70.
 Jan. 26 Republic day celebrations.
 Jan. 27 Mr. C. P. N. Singh appointed to succeed Mr. Trivedi as Governor of Punjab.
 Jan. 28 Central Academy of Dance, Drama & Music inaugurated by President in Delhi.
 Jan. 29 Pakistan rejects Nehru's proposal for 'No war' declaration.
 Jan. 30 Seven artistes created first Fellows of the Music Academy.
 Jan. 31 Madras Cabinet decides to have separate figures for Andhra in new Budget.
 —Recall of U. S. fleet from Formosa reported.



LATE MR. N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR



READERS' DIGEST



EMERGENCE OF NEW INDIA

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

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

COST OF EXPEDITION

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

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

MIDDLE EAST DEFENCE

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

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

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

The plan has four main interdependent points.

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

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

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

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

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

NUT-SHELL MAG

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

DANGER TO INDIA'S SAFETY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Himalayan range and its mighty peaks without any difficulty.

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

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

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

BRITAIN AND EGYPT

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

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

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

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

THE ASPIRATIONS OF ASIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"TRAILER HOMES"

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

The "Trailer Home" is just like owning a house itself. A trailer is built on wheels and it is priced from \$4000 to \$40,000. Within the last two years I was told more than eleven lakhs of trailers have been sold. Even rich people instead of buying houses prefer to buy trailers and live in them. They are perfectly equipped little homes with all the conveniences of drawing room, bed room and everything provided within. Every city has got exclusively maintained areas called the trailer parks. Every park, can contain ten to fifteen thousand trailers and when once you go round into these trailer parks you feel as if you are visiting a colony or a street with several prefabricated houses on wheels. The parks are permanent commercial institutions specially catering to the trailer owners. In Los Angeles I found that people had been living in trailers for the past three and more years. They live with their families inside the trailer. They use them just as we use our home. They go out to their office, to their work and come back to the trailer. In the park there are common swimming pools, restaurants, library and such other amenities. If a workman feels like taking a holiday after 9 or 10 months' work in the office and if he decides to go about a 1000 miles off to another city he has simply to telephone to the authorities of the trailer park of the city he is visiting and that park authorities will immediately make arrangements to transport the trailer from the place to theirs and so the man goes on his holiday with his own home. Trailer homes are becoming more and more popular and trailer manufacturing companies are finding it very difficult to cope up with the demand. This is another example of the informality of American life.

UNESCO REGIONAL CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARSHAL STALIN'S GESTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tass reported the questions and answers in Russian.

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

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

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

THE MULLAHS HAVE WON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APOSTLE THOMAS'S WORK IN INDIA

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

opposition to Christianity, and finally his martyrdom.

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

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

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

SANSKRIT NOT A DEAD LANGUAGE

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

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

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

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

MORAL REARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Moral Rearmament Conference, attended by delegates from 30 countries, including 11 Asian countries, concluded its ten-day session at Delhi on January 4.

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

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

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

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

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

RELICS OF ASOKA'S SON

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

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

CIVIL BENEFITS OF ATOMIC ENERGY

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

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

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

SWISS EXPEDITION TO EVEREST

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

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

ILLUSION OF AVERAGES

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

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

PROLONGING SPAN OF HUMAN LIFE

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

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



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

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ceylon

CEYLON INDIANS' DISABILITIES

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

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

The text of the resolution runs as follows:

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

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONGRESS APPEAL TO BIG POWERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

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

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

MR. ATTLEE'S BROADCAST IN DELHI

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

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



MR. ATTLEE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LORD BOYD ORR ON THE WAY TO PEACE

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

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

REORGANISATION OF STATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

HAKSAR AND SARKER

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

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

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

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

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

DELIMITATION COMMISSION

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

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

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

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

ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

Referring to university education he said:

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

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

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

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

SECONDARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

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

LAWYERS' CONFERENCE
RESOLUTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOURNALS' RIGHT TO CRITICISE
COURTS

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

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

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

In reply however, Justice Duckworth said:

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

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

RAZVI'S PETITION DISMISSED

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

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

COMMERCE CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

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

Meeting under the Presidentship of Mr. Khanubhai Desai, the session was attended by about 1,700 delegates, representing nearly 3 lakhs of workers from all over India.

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

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

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

Regarding labour problems the resolution said:

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

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

STATUS OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY

BY MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

THAT, despite all the talk about peaceful co-existence, Democracy and Communism are fundamentally irreconcilable is no longer a debatable point. A violent hostility towards democratic principles is inherent in the very philosophy of Communism and in a more concrete form in the avowed communist objective of a world revolution. Under no circumstances can a retreat from this attitude be expected since such a step would not only be in conflict with the Marxist dogmas but prove detrimental to the survival of Communism itself. Communism thrives on intolerance and the communist powers are never lacking in zeal and determination in pursuing their proselytising mission.

Communist propaganda and fellow-travellers may endeavour to convey a different impression but there are unmistakable signs that the efforts to promote the cause of universal communism are being increasingly intensified. There is a constant search for fresh fields and pastures anew for exploitation and even such seemingly innocent undertakings like peace offensives, goodwill delegations, economic conferences and gestures of generosity, are directed towards the attainment of the same objective. The ultimate end is never lost sight of and it is in this light that Stalin's offer of help to comrades all over the world made at the recent Communist Party Congress in Moscow must be considered. The declaration, one may be sure, was not inspired by entirely peaceful motives.

In fact the myth of the peaceful intentions of the communist powers has been well and truly exploded by contemporary developments. That is of course nothing surprising, because the pursuit of peaceful aims is fundamentally incompatible with an intolerant ideology like Communism, with its trappings of dialectical materialism and class war, and its utter disregard for ethical values. The so-called peace movement is in reality no more than a device to lull into complacency the prospective victims of the aggressive designs of the Cominform and a cover to the warlike preparations going on behind the Iron Curtain. It is a cloak to hide the unsheathed sword of aggression.

In the face of these facts it is indeed inevitable that the Western Democracies should concentrate on defence with undivided attention. The intense anxiety to ensure the safety of the free world so widely manifest in the western world is only a natural reaction to the growing red menace. The threat of communist expansionism is rightly considered by the Western Democracies as a matter of life and death, demanding unfailing vigilance and perpetual readiness to face any situation. Under the circumstances rearmament by the Western Powers, although by itself a serious threat to the peace of the world and economically undesirable, is not only prudent but imperative. The alternative would be fatal.

That, however, is only one side of the picture for military preparedness is no effective bar against the advancing tide of communism. Apart from the fact that

an ideology can never be destroyed by material force, military conquest is only one of the many other methods the Communists utilise to extend their sway. Nor should it be forgotten that mere economic stability is no antidote to Communism because contrary to what is commonly believed although poverty may help the communist cause, prosperity does not necessarily hinder it. Moreover the crux of the problem facing the world is not just to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of nations or choose between conflicting socio-economic systems. The situation is much more serious than that and poses a choice between fundamentally contradictory values.

The communist challenge therefore has to be met with something more than atom bombs and dollar doles. Situations of strength, collective security and "point four" schemes, may have their role to play in the defence of democracy but the one weapon without which Communism can never be overcome is a philosophy morally and materially superior to Communism. The situation calls for a way of life which will incorporate the economic security which the Marxist Utopia promises with the human values which democracy seeks to uphold, a socio-economic system that will solve the problems created by the technical advancement of our age without trampling underfoot individual freedom and liberty. Democracy is essentially a dynamic ideal and if it is to be acceptable to the modern men, it has to guarantee not only political rights but social and economic justice as well. Faith in democracy thus built up alone can constitute an impregnable barrier against Communism.

Such a philosophy of life is all the more indispensable in view of the fact that the present social order has reached an advanced stage of disintegration. For example competitive capitalism can no longer meet the requirements of present day society, and however well it might have served mankind at a particular stage of social evolution, to give unrestricted scope for private enterprise nowadays is like mortgaging the welfare

of the people into the hands of vested interests. The conception of property rights has also undergone a fundamental change and there is a growing revolt against imperialism and colonialism and their offspring, racial discrimination. Colonialism and imperialism may not yet be dead, but their incongruity in a world that is growing increasingly conscious of the equality of all men and the principles of universal justice, is conspicuous.

These trends represent very powerful forces, which, although they have not yet reached the zenith of their influence on human affairs, cannot be trifled with. They have to be canalised to promote the greater welfare of mankind and how best to do it has been the principal problem of our times. Communism has tried to seek a short cut by imposing a solution that goes counter to these evolutionary forces with dire consequences to the progress of civilisation. Communism with its rabid materialism and its contempt for spiritual values cannot solve the problems of men, who despite Marx and Stalin, have a body and a soul to be catered for. Communism has failed to satisfy the modern man's thirst for a progressive social order and democracy can hope to survive only by effectively succeeding where Communism has failed. The important question therefore is what the free world is, or rather the western democracies, the self-appointed defenders of democracy, are doing to promote this new order the germs of which, as we have already seen, are present in our environments and need only to be tended to produce the desired results. Are the western democracies moving in the right direction?

One wishes the answer could be an emphatic assertion, as it indeed ought to be if the western powers were sincere in their professions. Looking at the way things are shaping nowadays however it is no exaggeration to say that the western bloc, under the economic and military leadership of the USA, is inclined to falter. Under the spell of negative anti-communism, which has become such a conspicuous feature of public life in some of the western

countries the democracies today are drifting away from the path of wisdom and sanity, counter to the spirit of the four freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. Today the West has practically identified itself with preservation of the status quo and the suppression of the new forces that seek to shape the pattern of human society. The anti-communist crusade is tending to become a campaign for the protection of vested interests, the revival of dying imperialism and the perpetuation of the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Instead of revitalising the democratic forces, the western democracies seem to be intent on discarding some of their democratic attributes and emulating the more deplorable practices of the communists.

For example the eclipse of democracy in Eastern Europe and the total subjugation of this section of Europe by Kremlin are the major tragedies of our times, but the charge that Western Europe has to dance to Uncle Sam's tune is not entirely unfounded. The shadow of the Capitol extends almost over every country that has received dollar aid, with perhaps the solitary exception of India, where this policy has so far not been rigidly enforced. Not only are American forces stationed in Western European countries, but by virtue of utter dependence on U. S. economic aid, these nations have to formulate their internal and external policies in accordance with the wishes of the State Department and the Pentagon. And the voice of America does not always speak on the side of progress not to say anything of the strong tendency prevalent across the Atlantic to behave as though Uncle Sam alone knows what is good and bad for the rest of the world. This may be a sound business policy from the point of view of a money-lender, but certainly there is very little democratic about it, particularly since it depicts Capitol in a role somewhat similar to that of Kremlin.

The parallel does not end there. For example the apidemic of anti-communist hysteria that widely prevails in the West is only a variation of the hate-mongering that goes on behind the Iron Curtain. Fear and suspicion are the

main props of Communism but then MacArthysm seeks to follow the same path. Executive inroads into civil liberties are growing by leaps and bounds and fundamental rights no longer command the same respect as of yore. While we rightly condemn the dictatorship of the party in the communist countries, we cannot ignore the fact that in the democratic countries too, political gangsterism and the gilded hands of vested interests, seldom allow the common people to mould their destinies. The indiscriminate red baiting going on in some of the western countries is rivalled only by the political purges and peoples' trials of the Communists. And if communism is a materialistic philosophy, can we deny that the pursuit of material wealth and comfort is the Keystone of western civilisation?

It may be good strategy to fight the communists with their own weapons but it does not reflect to the credit of democratic traditions. Similarly it may be sound diplomacy to reject Mao and his New China, but certainly it is not in keeping with democratic principles to prop up Chiang Kai Shek and his Formosa. The Korean War may be a vital factor in the defence of democracy but not so Syngman Rhee who has not been slow to show his contempt for democratic principles. Nor is support to Tito, even if it is only a reward for having the courage to defy Kremlin, compatible with democratic ideals, for Tito is as good a communist as Stalin himself. Then Ho-Chi-Min may be a Communist but Bao-Dai is no tribune of his people. But then the only consideration that seems to shape the policies of the western democracies, particularly of the USA, appears to be the acquisition of as many anti-Soviet outposts as possible, no matter what happens to democracy in the process. The tragedy of it all is that the communist threat is offered as a justification for policies that are not only weakening the fabric of democracy from within but are driving the world deeper into the widening jaws of Communism.

It has happened in Indo-China. The failure of the French authorities to move with the times has ended in the

transformation of a genuinely nationalist struggle into a side show of the Communist movement in Asia. French policies in Tunis and Morocco are calculated to fare no better while the British having followed France in their approach to the Malayan problem with identical results, have been doing a good deal to invite Communism in Iran, Egypt and Kenya. Then there is Daniel Malan, with his Hitlarian monstrosity of *apartheid*, a total negation of all democratic principles, being directly or indirectly supported by at least some of the democratic countries. In their anxiety to fight the Communists, the western powers seem to be busy creating potential communists, so much so that democracy appears to be in need of being rescued not only from its enemies but from its ardent friends as well.

In a way the more one ponders over the manner in which the Western Powers are managing their affairs or rather meddling with those of others, one is inclined to wonder whether the western democracies are really interested in the defence of democracy or merely in crushing the Soviet bloc so as to ensure their own domination over the world. The real issue at stake seems to be whether Russia or USA should rule the world in the futuro.

No wonder therefore that countries like India, although committed to the

democratic way of life, fail to be inspired by the anti-communist crusade and prefer to pursue the perilous path of neutrality. They are alive to the menace of communism but they see no safety for democracy in the policies pursued by the western bloc. It is not suggested that the two blocs are on the same level and that there is nothing to choose between the two. It is true that the failings and imperfections of the West are mere mole hills compared to the mountains of Communist crimes but they are more dangerous than the red menace because they tend to destroy the very roots of democracy. And the only foreseeable outcome of the policies today pursued by the western democracies can only be a disastrous East-West war, but whichever side wins, democracy will have been the principal casualty.

All, however is not yet lost, if only, the western democracies will without slackening their vigilance on the military front turn their gaze inwards and undertake a sincere examination of conscience. Perhaps it will be in the interest of mankind if the western countries discard their superiority complex and pay greater heed to the voice of those countries, which are still free from the prejudices of cold-war and yet preserve a refreshing independence of judgment. Given that the West may yet regain its soul and save democracy.

TURNING POINT

BY MR. BRIAN COX

Now it is done.
I was not certain until now
When sweet contrition fills my heart.
Can you forgive me my long sinful doubtings?
Can you say
You will accept my praise and my caresses?
You are so gracious and so grave, my Sweet,
You have drained strength from my steel muscles
These glorious brief years, and drenched my blood
With a reluctant and slow terror of your beauty.
But now the zenith of my courage rises.
You are mine.
This knowledge I have brought you through
the gateways of dumb sleep
And solitary thought, my Sweet.

Food Production in Relation to Population

BY DR. S. M. BOSE, M.Sc., Ph.D.

THE subject of "Food Production in relation to population in India" is of vital importance to the country, especially at this critical juncture when we are in the grip of food-crisis. The Prime Minister has repeatedly mentioned that our food problems must be tackled on a war basis. It is high time we should recognise the urgent need for a determined approach to this important problem. The present article has been objectively planned with a view to critically assessing our present position and presenting the problem in all its manifold aspects as also making useful and practical suggestions for its lasting solution.

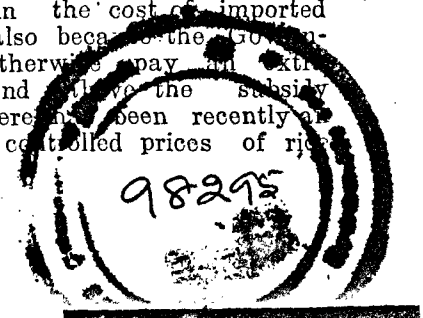
The food resources of a country and its population are intimately related subjects and the adequacy of the former cannot be determined without due consideration of the latter. One of the chief causes which have driven our country into the present food-crisis is the tremendous growth of population. According to 1951 census, the total population of India is 361.82 millions. This represents an increase of about 43 millions or about 13.5 per cent increase over the population of 1941, which was 318.86 millions (adjusted to the present area). As per the available statistics, the population of our country increased by about 50 millions in the earlier decade of 1931-41. There has been, therefore, a steady increase in the population.

The calculation of density of population, however, shows that according to 1951 census estimate, India has a population of 296 per square mile. Compared to the figures available for the density of population of Japan, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy, which are 579, 536, 506 and 397 per square mile respectively, the density of India's population is much lower. This would mean that the present food-crisis of India is due not only to the increase in population but also to the lower productivity of the country. The productivity has not kept pace with the growth of population although vast lands

are available for agricultural development. Added to this, the country has suffered from severe food losses due to droughts, floods, earth-quakes, locust invasions and such other unforeseen calamities. The effects of the last World War, and later the loss of some of the best producing regions as a result of partition and the migration of millions of refugees to India, have greatly aggravated the already existing food shortage in the Country.

The first and foremost problem before the country is, therefore, how to avert the present food-crisis and how best to produce, from year to year, the extra food for the present net increase of about 4.5 millions per annum. This means that about 5.5 lakh tons of extra food gains per year will be required even though as per the present rationing, the per capita allowance is continued to be only 12 oz. per day which is not sufficient for satisfying the hunger of the majority of our people. As contemplated in the Five-year Plan if the daily per capita allowance is raised in order to restore it to the level of pre-war availability, the figure for the additional quantity of food-grains needed will be obviously much higher. All these considerations clearly indicate the magnitude of the task that lies ahead.

The Government of India have been able temporarily to tide over the present food-crisis and have barely escaped a large-scale famine by importing lakhs of tons of food-grains worth several crores of rupees from various countries especially from the United States of America. Imports of food-grains are by no means a solution to the acute food problem of the country. This has naturally resulted in a heavy drain on our financial resources. Again, because of an increase in the cost of imported food-grains as also because the Government would otherwise pay an extra subsidy over and above the subsidy already paid, there has been recently an increase in the controlled prices of rice



and wheat. If, however, prices go on mounting, the country will have to give up all hopes of economic development. Prices must be stabilized, if not brought down. This emphasises the necessity of procuring as much food as possible internally and reduce imports to the minimum possible. The whole position thus still continues to be serious and requires the utmost effort of the people.

There is, therefore, urgent need for enhancing the productivity of our land already cultivated, as well as, for bringing additional land including fallow land under cultivation, on a steady year to year basis. The yields per acre in our country are very low compared with those in other countries, for example, the yield of rice in India is about 988 lb. per acre as against 2433 lb. in China and about 3070 lb. in Japan. The low yield per acre in respect of rice and several other food-crops in our country points out the vast possibilities of stepping up our food production through intensive cultivation. By proper scientific development reorganisation of our agriculture along sound practical lines, we can reasonably expect to increase the yields.

The provision of irrigation facilities in all forms is of primary importance in increasing agricultural production. The construction of both major and minor types of irrigation works, such as, canals, multi-purpose reservoirs, wells, tanks, installation of lift irrigation pumping sets etc., should be undertaken on a grand scale. Our National Government have already realised this and have given first priority to the great river valley projects over which crores of rupees are being spent. The major river valley projects which are already in hand or will soon be started are (i) Damodar Valley (West Bengal), (ii) Bhakra-Nangal (Punjab), (iii) Hirakud (Orissa), (iv) Kosi (Bihar) and others. Some progress has already been made in respect of these river valley projects. The completion of these multi-purpose development projects will, besides controlling floods, provide perennial irrigation facilities for several millions of acres of land and will hold out a great prospect of production of plenty of cheap electric

power for industrialisation. All these projects are of a permanent nature and will naturally ensure increased food production every year. What is needed now is speed in the execution of these projects. The principal emphasis in the Five Year Plan is on agriculture, irrigation and power schemes. This shows that the Commission has taken a serious view of the country's food problem and industrial development.

An extended use of manures and fertilizers offers a promising line for increasing our food production. The practice of using different types of manures, such as, (i) farm-yard manure, (ii) Compost made from night-soil, village and town refuse, etc., (iii) green manure, (iv) oil-cakes, (v) bone-meal, fish manure, etc., (vi) chemical fertilizers, should be encouraged in all irrigated areas. The Government of India have already started a fertilizer factory at Sindri, which is the biggest fertiliser factory in Asia. The liberal use of ammonium sulphate which will be produced in lakhs of tons by the Sindri Plant, will give a substantially increased yield of food-grains.

Land improvement and reclamation should be undertaken as one of the major projects to tackle our food problems. Many of our lands are deficient in plant nutrients. By proper scientific treatment of the soil, however, it can be made to grow food paying crops. Waste lands in various parts of India should be reclaimed to augment our food production. Intensive research both in laboratory and field, should be undertaken throughout the country to solve the problems of unproductive lands.

Mechanization of agriculture is the order of the day in all progressive countries of the World. The time-worn bullock-driven methods of tillage in India should be gradually replaced by improved mechanised methods in order to enhance our food production. Tractor-ploughing should be encouraged as far as possible. For the last few years, a somewhat steady march of machines has been making headway into our agricultural field, especially, amongst a newly

growing class of enlightened farmers. India needs more tractors, modern agricultural implements and lift irrigation pumps so as to introduce mechanised methods of agriculture in all areas where cheap electric power is available.

It should always be the practice of using improved varieties of seeds of different food-grains. Effective action should also be taken to control pests, plant diseases etc. Crop protection against wild animals is also necessary. Control of malaria and other diseases among our rural population is in general essential to the satisfactory progress of our agriculture. No less important is the improvement of the live-stock in the present agricultural set-up of the country.

The problem of Indian agriculture and its development with the application of modern techniques essentially require a good deal of land reforms in all aspects. It is urgently needed to rebuild the over-all agricultural structure of the country so as to adjust it with the modern mechanical devices of production. The small uneconomic size of the holdings, the antedated land tenure system and the financially unstable condition of the peasants are not helpful for any spectacular agricultural development of the country. With a view to consolidating fragmented holdings and creating better farming facilities so as to make agriculture really progressive, some form of co-operative cultivation should be immediately introduced and financial assistance to the farmers in the form of grants and loans from the Government should be liberally extended. The abolition of the Zamindari system and such other reforms should also be expedited throughout the country.

In pursuance of the Grow More Food Campaign which was initiated in 1942, measures have been taken to increase the production of food-grains, mainly cereals, through extension of cultivation, double cropping, diversion of land from non-food crops to cereal crops, increased irrigation, extended use of manures and fertilizers and an increase in the supply and distribution of improved seeds. Although some progress has been made

by the Grow More Food Campaign during the past few years, the results achieved have not been spectacular because of several difficulties with regard to inadequate irrigation facilities and short supply of manures and fertilizers. As we have said several big irrigation and fertilizer projects are, however, now sponsored by the Government and some of them are already in progress. It is, therefore, hoped that in future our agricultural development will not be so much handicapped. In the five-year Development Plan, the Planning Commission has made detailed proposals for rural extension service for organised intensive work at suitable areas consisting of groups of several villages.

The great river valley projects for improved irrigation, fertilizer projects, mechanization of agriculture, land reclamation, land reforms and such other schemes for harmonious development of agriculture in different spheres will, however, take time to complete, particularly in the present financial stringency of the Government. In the meantime, however, the increasing population will have to be fed. Then how else to produce enough food for them within a short period? The Government may not be prepared to import food-grains again and again except for building a reserve stock or meeting any grave unforeseen calamity.

We are particularly short of cereals and the deficit will go on increasing with the growth of population. It will be a difficult task to feed the entire population on cereals alone. There is, therefore, urgent need to search for other high yielding subsidiary food-crops which are rich in calories and can be cultivated easily and used as partial substitutes for cereals. Certain crops such as potatoes, sweet-potatoes, tapioca and plantains give higher yields of calories per unit area than cereals. Tapioca can be easily grown even on poor soils. The present average yield of tapioca and sweet-potato in India is of the order of 5-6 tons per acre, which is equivalent to about 1½ to 2 tons of dry food. Even this is about three

times the yield of cereals. By adopting improved methods of agriculture, it would be possible to get much higher yields of tapioca of the order of 10-15 tons per acre. It is, therefore, evident that one of the effective ways of meeting our present food shortage is to increase the acreage under high yielding tubers which will be used as supplementary foods and will thus minimise the pressure on cereals.

Tapioca and other tubers are, however, very poor source of protein. These tubers should, therefore, be consumed only as supplementary foods along with sufficient quantities of other foods richer in protein, such as, cereals, pulses, fish etc. Experiments conducted in the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, with experimental animals as well as with human subjects have shown that rice in our diet can be most conveniently replaced by tapioca to the extent of 25 per cent. The same Institute has also succeeded in suitably combining tapioca with specially prepared groundnut cake flour which is a rich source of proteins, vitamins and minerals and has produced synthetic grains. Good quality groundnut cake flour when prepared by suitable methods can also be consumed as a supplementary food by mixing with wheat or rice flour in suitable proportions. If the Government take up the production of the synthetic grain on a commercial scale and if these comparatively cheaper food-products are popularised, it will go a long way towards meeting our food shortage.

There is great scope for developing such other food-products which are fairly abundant but which are not normally considered as important food-sources. Such materials when suitably processed, offer great possibilities for augmenting our food resources. There is, however, a good deal of prejudice against the use of such forms of supplementary foods. This is largely sentimental and has no scientific basis. Neither prejudice nor tradition should stand in the way of changing people's food habits in times of emergency, especially when there is enough scientific evidence for utilization of these less

commonly used food materials. The use of such subsidiary foods should be popularised by practical demonstrations through special canteens. The All India Women's Food Council has been trying to popularise tapioca-flour and *Soji* and other subsidiary foods.

Again, mere satisfaction of hunger should not be the ultimate aim of a satisfactory solution of India's food-problems. Our people need adequate supply of "protective" foods and well-balanced diets in order to tide over the present state of malnutrition. The increased growing of vegetables and fruits, especially green plantains and bananas, should be encouraged by all possible means. One of the potent methods of augmenting our food-supply is to produce increasing quantities of vegetables which can be grown in a very short time and the yield of which also is quite high. The development of sea and inland fisheries is also one of the most promising means of meeting the present food scarcity and of improving the diet of the people. The Government Fisheries Departments of the states are doing useful work in order to improve the position in regard to adequate fish-supply. Additional dairies and poultries should also be started so as to supply more of protective foods at a cheap rate. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, have amply demonstrated the immense possibilities of the production and consumption of vegetable milks, such as, soya-bean and groundnut milks which are valuable substitutes for natural milk. Production of such milks on a large scale would also go a long way towards meeting the present milk shortage of the country.

A satisfactory distribution at a low price of available food materials without any sort of hoarding and black-marketing is an essential task for feeding our entire population. Rationing should be extended to all other towns so as to ensure equitable distribution of food-stuffs. Again, quite a lot of food materials undergo spoilage during storage prior to distribution. Elimination of all wastage

by adopting improved scientific methods of storage and preservation of different types of perishable food materials is, therefore, equally important for solving our present food problems. Even partly spoilt food-grains can be reclaimed by scientific methods and can be rendered suitable for human consumption. No less important is the development of several food industries on sound economic lines. These are all problems of good management.

A permanent solution of the food problems of India lies not only in augmenting our food resources but also in checking the growth of our population. The population itself should be commensurate with the food produced. If the population goes on increasing indefinitely, its growth at some stage or other will outstrip the food-supply, even though considerable success in increasing our food production could be achieved. We can, therefore, safely say that we will have to try the path of some sort of social reforms and movements in inducing people to control the number of births, if we are to be self-sufficient in food on a permanent basis. It seems,

clear, therefore, that the state must encourage the practice of birth-control or what is called family planning. The success of social reform with regard to family limitation will depend mainly on public co-operation. The State, however, should provide adequate facilities for giving the individual families the practical education and advice on such matters. Most of the leading thinkers have voiced the opinion that a rise in the standard of living is an essential preliminary to family limitation. The postponement of the age of marriage may also have some effect in reducing population growth.

From the above considerations, it is concluded that India's food problems can be permanently solved by checking the growth of our population on the one hand, and on the other, by augmenting our food resources by all available means. It is also obvious that science occupies a most prominent place in solving our food problems in all aspects. The growth of scientific knowledge and technology has opened up abundant opportunities for the development of our food resources on a permanent basis.

A TIME OF DESIRE

By MR. EDWARD A. JAMESON

Time before and time after,—

The echoes of memory:

Eyes containing laughter;

Lips addressing me.

Time then and time before;

And a World that had just begun,

With the morning sun at our door

And a love that made us one.

Time before and time after,—

A time of desire and memory;

Eyes containing laughter,—

Lips addressing me.

Time bequeaths its total sum

Of time future with all time gone,

And only the remembering drum

Stirs now the heart of one.

THE WATER PROBLEM IN INDIA:

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PERMANENT SOLUTION

BY MR. FRED W. CORBETT

THE recent scarcity of drinking water in our large cities, particularly Madras, Bombay and Calcutta due to continued drought has brought home to us the unwisdom of depending entirely on large scale water supply schemes from rivers and reservoirs through long pipe lines. At the same time, the laudable, energetic and successful efforts of the engineers of the Madras Corporation have also taught us the practicability of obtaining fairly large supplies of good water from sub-soil supplies in and around our large cities.

Dependence entirely on pipe-borne water from a central reservoir, however large, has always proved unsatisfactory. The supplies prove inadequate for the growing needs of the city every few years. There is an acute shortage if the rains hold off in the catchment area, and worse still, if the supplies are cut off at any time by accident, enemy action or civil disturbance, the entire city goes without water. This is happening in Rangoon at the moment of writing, as insurgents have cut the 12 mile long pipe-line for the 10th time in eighteen months, and water brought from the nearby lakes is being sold at Rs. 1/8 per bucket. Fortunately Rangoon has large lakes nearby. The position elsewhere where there is not this advantage may well be imagined. It is desirable—nay, very necessary therefore, that we should profit by these experiences, and arrange for two parallel sources of water for all our large cities—one from a large reservoir, and the other from a number of wells sunk at suitable intervals around the perimeters of each city. If these are located away from the more populated areas, and protected against contamination, they can prove a useful source of supply at all times and an invaluable standby in times of need.

Nor should we stop at supplies for our larger cities only. Our whole policy in this respect needs to be changed in the light of the experiences of the last few years, where successive failures of

the monsoons have led to much loss and distress and perhaps with greater loss and more distress in the rural areas and small towns than in the larger cities.

Instead therefore, of embarking on expensive water supply schemes for the smaller municipal towns which cannot afford them, we should seriously consider whether a series of wells around their perimeters, with pump sets to pump the water into small reservoirs on the surface, will not be cheaper, more convenient, and more reliable than constructing one large reservoir damming a nearby river or stream at great cost, and leading the water through long pipelines into these smaller towns for use. Instead of expensive pipe lines which these small towns cannot afford, a small reservoir at the head of each bore well, and short pipe-lines for connecting all the wells together to facilitate distribution as required would appear to be cheaper and more reliable than the present system of one central reservoir depending entirely on rainfall.

The same policy may be adopted for the agriculturist also. Too long have we depended entirely on the vagaries of the monsoon for our food crops. Too long have we gazed vainly at the cloudless skies, while copious supplies of precious water, cooled, purified, and filtered by nature, flow beneath our feet at accessible depths. While continuing to create as many small reservoirs as possible by damming our rivers and streams at suitable intervals, we should not depend entirely on them. The climate of India is too hot, and evaporation from surface waters is too excessive. The hotter the weather and the longer the drought the greater the loss from surface evaporation, and the loss of valuable water. Nor need we bother about these newfangled ideas of producing artificial rain, which have still to prove successful in India. There is plenty of water at workable depths below the surface, and we should tap it, not only to augment but to be an important source of water supply for town and countryside at all times.

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THE WATER PROBLEM IN INDIA

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According to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Eluru, there is a contiguous zone 130 miles long and 30 miles broad, or an area of 3900 square miles in the Krishna and Godavari Districts alone, where underground water is met with at depths of from 60 to 160 feet. In connection with the pilot scheme for exploiting the lignite deposits in the South Arcot District, it is reported that water was encountered at fairly shallow depths. There must therefore be scores of such extensive but undiscovered reservoirs of underground water all over the country. In the drought stricken areas of North Madras, army engineers have been successful in extracting copious supplies of much needed water from the apparently parched earth. The situation there has been somewhat eased by the recent rains, but there should be no let up, nor slackening off in our efforts to provide water from subterranean sources. Now that our eyes have been opened to the possibilities of this source of supply we should adopt a vigorous policy of locating all such sources of supply and of bringing them to the surface for use.

This does not mean that we should neglect our large and small dams and our large and small river schemes. The

construction of a large number of small reservoirs at suitable sites depending on the contour of the land should also proceed apace with the larger and more expensive schemes. At present only six per cent of the water in our rivers and streams is usefully employed, while no less than 94 per cent flows uselessly to the sea, causing at times death and devastation on the way. We should continue these river schemes until we impound at least thirty per cent of the available water for our use. Side by side, we should develop extensive parallel supplies from our underground resources, to supplement the river supplies in normal times, and to serve as a stand by in times of continued drought. The peasant then need not have to wait long months, and perhaps in vain for the elusive rains, but may proceed with this sowing, assured of sufficient supplies of water to raise two, or may be three crops a year, while everyone, whether in town or country can be assured of a sufficient supply of drinking water, whether the rains are in time or sufficient in quantity or not. This combination of rain supplies with underground supplies appears to point the way to a final and lasting solution of this eternal problem of water supply for India.



Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State (seated) with members of Foreign Affairs Department of the United States.

INDIA'S CULTURE ABROAD

BY ASHA DHAR, M.A.

THE high ideas and ideals of 'Greater India' were spread by our ancestors beyond the Himalayas and the deserts of Central Asia. Inspired with the spirit of noble adventure, they crossed the oceans to distant lands, following the ancient motto of Vedic Rishis, "Move on, move on." From the dawn of civilisation, India realised the essential oneness of the human race. With every age she made fresh advancements, both in the inner and outer fields of human activity, and what she achieved she regarded and shared as the common property of mankind.

CULTURAL AMBASSADORS

Culture is the characteristic way of life of a people which has persisted down the ages. It shapes the social institutions and gives a peculiar direction and purpose to the intellectual and aesthetic outlook of the individual in society. Reflected in the collective outlook of the people, India's culture possesses a unique continuity of tradition. Unlike that of Egypt and Greece, it never lost its vitality of fundamental values, in spite of varying civilizations and tragic vicissitudes of history. Like a tower of light India's culture of self-perfection radiated its light throughout the wide world, beckoning man on to the realisation of his highest spiritual destiny. "Like the gentle dew," said Swami Vivekananda, "that fell unseen and unheard and yet brings into blossom the fairest of roses, has been the contribution of India to the thought of the world. Silent, unperceived yet omniscient in its effect, it has revolutionised the thought of the world."

Despite geographical barriers and primitive means of communication India spread the gospel of Vedanta to distant corners of the world. From the Rishis went forth the call of the Upanishads to the whole of mankind to come and share with them the delight of their spiritual vision. In a word, the Vedanta, as the Upanishads are called, represents the highest spiritual idealism of ancient India. India had intercourse with Europe

as early as the 10th century B. C. Manned by oars and muscular power, ships launched from India, carrying cargo as well as cultural ambassadors to the distant royal courts and seats of learning of the Mediterranean region. There was a return of the compliment. This regular exchange of ideas had a mission and a purpose: a quest after realisation, a divine perfection.

Thus did ancient philosophers of Rome and Greece derive their knowledge from Indian Rishis. The University town of Taxila was the favourite haunt of Greek scholars. Many Greeks made India their home and embraced Hinduism or Buddhism. Plato, a disciple of Socrates and a great admirer of the Pythagorean school, was greatly indebted to India. While on a cultural tour in Asian countries he is said to have visited Persia and stayed in India too. His idea of the Sankhya philosophy that soul is bound to matter is Indian in origin. Says Hopkins: "Plato is full of Sankhyan thought." His thesis in *the Republic* is only a restatement of Indian ideas. His divisions of the society into guilds is nothing but the Hindu caste system. MaxMuller holds that it is sometimes startling to find similarity between Plato's language and that of the Upanishads. Likewise Plotinus was influenced greatly by the Sankhya thought. The doctrine of reincarnation of Pythagoras is undoubtedly of Indian origin.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE AND LORE

To Central Asia in the north, to Indonesia and Ceylon in the south and from Persian lands in the west to China and Japan in the East, India disseminated its rich culture, ripe religious thought and unique art and literature. In post-Vedic times Buddhism was the powerful force of India's cultural expansion. It is supposed to have influenced Christian faith considerably. Among the Greeks Plotinus was greatly influenced by the Buddhist conception of Nirvana. Ashoka, the first internationalist of history, sent out goodwill missions to different lands—Mediterranean shores in the west and

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INDIA'S CULTURE ABROAD

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Ceylon and Indonesia in the east—thereby 'conquering' the three continents with his spiritual weapon of world peace and world fellowship.

Fables and stories of India form a substantial part of the folklore of the west. The oldest folk stories and fables of India contained in the *Panchtantra* and the *Hitopadesha* spread to distant lands through sailors and merchants. These stories of the *Panchtantra*, acclaimed to be the best in the world, were later translated into almost all the languages of the world. Aesop's Fables are originally the Greek translation of the stories of the *Panchtantra*. The Arabian Nights, *Sindbad the Sailor* (filmed in Hollywood and India) have Hindu origin and many Indian references.

Not only in thought and literature, but in the exact sciences Indian influence on western thought has been remarkable. India gave to the world the place-value of the most valuable of all the numerals 'Zero.' Algebra and Geometry owe their origin to India and were carried by the Arabs to the west.

No other medium expressed the soul of India as did dancing. Classical Indian ballet and other dancing is one of the great contributions of India to the modern world art. Indian dance styles are extant in South-East Asian countries. The troupes of Uday Shankar, Menaka, Ram Gopal and Mrinalini Sarabhai, who combine the old and the new styles of Indian dancing, have won laurels abroad.

CHINA AND TIBET

The interesting epoch of India's cultural expansion began in the year 60 A.D. when the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti saw a vision of the Buddha and sent missionaries to trace out the Buddhist cult in India. Thus dawned Indo-Chinese cultural ties. The relations between India and China date back to over 2,000 years but these had never been political. The two oldest people of history have thus been united by a strong bond of cultural relationship. Chinese arts, crafts, music, painting and sciences like astronomy, pharmacy and medicine bear the impress of Indian ideas. Scholars from China studied at the Nalanda University.

Much more evidence could have been available of Indo-Chinese kinship in so many spheres but the relics of their relationship were destroyed by Muslim iconoclasts along with the famous Nalanda University. Happily, much of that material does exist in Chinese. With the present-day cultural exchange between India and China, many of those ancient priceless relics may be brought to light.

In mid-fifth century dawned the Indian influence in Tibet when a Nepalese princess married a Tibetan King—Chancellor of the University of Vikramila, Dishankar (the Buddhist saint of Bengal) founded in Tibet the 'School of Tantrik Buddhism' at the request of the King of Tibet. In the 3rd century B.C. Buddhism was carried to Ceylon by Ashoka's younger brother, Mahendra.

Literary and Archaeological evidences prove that the entire culture and civilization of Burma is of Indian origin. The art and sculpture of Burma are manifestly Indian in spirit and workmanship. In Siam Ramayana episodes are illustrated on the walls of the royal temple of Bangkok. The effect of Indian culture is very much manifest in Kambuja. Kambuja rulers followed the Kautliya Hindu policy in administering the country.

About 2nd century A. D. Indian ideas entered the provinces of Annam. Sanskrit was the court language. Various forms of dance and music in Annam were directly Indian in origin and the great Epics of India were familiar to the people. The group of islands comprising the Malaya archipelago has been another outpost of Indian culture.

In the 4th century Fa-hein found Brahmanism flourishing in Java. The art of Java is a creation of Indo-Javanese collaboration. Likewise, geological and other evidences go to show cultural influence in Borneo. Indian influence is evinced in the handicrafts and in the old names of the coins used in the Philippines.

BEYOND THE ATLANTIC

Not only in Asia and Europe, but in America also have been found traces of Indian culture. An icon discovered in Mexico shows that the Hindu god Ganesha was worshipped there. Temples

in Mexico are based on those of South India. The poetry of Peru bears the imprint of the Ramayana on each page. Says Chamanlal in his epoch-making book *Hindu America*: "The beliefs of these Americans in the four Hindu yugas (epochs), their Gurukula scheme of education, Panchayat system, worship of Indra, Ganesha and other Hindu gods, practice of Hindu religious dances, and child-birth, marriage and death ceremonies, including *Sati* prove beyond doubt that the Hindus were the first to discover America," (concluding italics mine.)

Eminent scholars like Hewitt, Mackenzie, Tod Pockocke and Mrs. Muttal have shown that America had been under the sway of Indian culture. The dancing of the people at the time of harvesting and reaping of crops and the belief of American rulers in the four yugas of the Hindus prove this thesis. The Red Indians still observe the Hindu festival of Dussehra. In the words of Hewitt, the Bengali ceremony of Charak Puja still exists in America." Perhaps this historical (cultural) background has contributed to the devotion and following that India's modern sages have had and are continuing to be in the New World.

MODERN RENAISSANCE

India has been attempting to explain to the world the truth that shines undaunted in her soul. The most important event for India to come in American thought was the voice of Swami Vivekananda as the Hindu delegate at the Parliament of Religions in 1895. Said he: "Once more the world must be conquered by India." His conquest was to be had through spirituality, philosophy and the brotherhood of man through Vedanta. Swami Ram Tirtha also preached Vedantic ideas throughout the world. Modern Ireland has had Indian ideas infused in her, ideas very much apparent in the Irish literary renaissance. Morvena Donnelly, a noted Irish writer, eulogised Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. Romain Rolland's work on Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi show the understanding reverence with which he studied them.

India's culture forms the subject of special study at many places in the east and the west. *Institut de civilisation Indienne* is a well-known institution in France which aims at promoting the study of India's life and culture. Indologists of Europe and Russia have added to the cultural heritage of the world through their researches on the evolution of India's thought and culture. Yoga Ashrams in Holland, Norway, London and different cities of the United States not only give training in India's yoga but also ideas about her ancient and still dynamic culture.

In the words of Sisir Kumar Mitra, "The rise of Rabindranath Tagore to world-wide fame is another cause of India's figuring more prominently in the intellectual horizon of humanity." This great interpreter of India's thought was fortunate to receive the world's homage during his lifetime. Visva-Bharati is a standing monument unto his noble endeavours; in the Poet's own words, "Visva-Bharati acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best." The spirit of India's culture is being imbibed here by scholars from all countries.

The brilliant expositions and works of Radhakrishnan have indeed had a stirring appeal to the mind of the modern man and raised India to eminence in the world. Aldous Huxley has interpreted this philosophy to the west. India's contributions to modern art, and science has been acknowledged in western countries.

Somerset Maugham, the great English novelist, is so much enamoured of the Indian culture that he advises prospective writers to come to India for knowledge of the higher values of life. The greatest spiritual force of the world, India nourishes fountain sources of eternal life, which are the only hope for the spiritual resurrection of humanity—badly needed in the atom-bomb age. Heralded in India, a new age may come upon mankind. This is how India will fulfil her ancient vision—manifested in her unique culture down the ages—and fulfil her peaceful and peace-giving mission.

THE KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

BY SRI J. L. K. JALALI

THE Constitution of India has recognised Kashmiri as a regional language. The Government of Kashmir has introduced Kashmiri as a medium of instruction in the Government schools upto the fifth standard. And text books have been written printed and published accordingly. But the medium of writing is not the same old Sharda script previously in vogue in the country when Sanskrit was the written and spoken language and when later Kashmiri also used to be written in private, un-official and non-Government communications. Upto the fourteenth century Sanskrit was the recognised language, and when the Government changed hands and Sultan Shamsuddin, a refugee from Swat, deposed Kota Rani and usurped the throne of Kashmir, Sanskrit began to make room for Persian and Arabic terminology till it was finally ousted from the field, and Persian became the Court language. The result was that since Kashmiri could not be conveniently written in Persian characters, even private correspondence was conducted in Persian just as it is still done in English nowadays.

It is a laudable step that the Government of Kashmir has taken in reviving Kashmiri as a written language when there is a real need for it and especially when a rank of honour has been conferred on it by the Indian Constitution. The only question is whether the script should be the Persian one or the old Sharda or some other script. The Government seems to have the consideration of the majority in adopting the Persian script. There is apparently no objection to having this script, but when one examines the script at closer quarters he finds that the alphabet for the Kashmiri language has become cumbersome and confusing. The Persian alphabet has been kept intact, and in addition fresh vowel symbols and diacritical marks have been introduced as have increased the number of vowels and consonants. Kashmiri language makes no distinction between different sounds of several letter-groups; for example, ze, zoad, zoi and zal; se, sin and soad; tui

and te; kaf and kaf; e and ye; fe and phe; he and he; de and dal; ghain and gaf. But when these letters have been retained in the script though unwanted in the Kashmiri language, naturally the objection arises. This is met by the sponsors of the script by the argument that since in Kashmiri, Persian and Arabic words are used which are written by given letters, it would be wrong to change them in the Kashmiri language and replace them by different letters which is bound to cause confusion. Apparently this has force: but when we weigh this argument in the practical balance of adaptation and infantile-brain taxation the contention falls to the ground. The point is that the Kashmiri language has to be remade and for this purpose the script should be simple and easy and not involuted and weighted to the learner's disadvantage. America is simplifying the English system of word-making: Russia has adopted the phonetic system. To think of writing a certain Persian or Arabic word with given letters and thus make the script too heavy is putting clogs on the progress of language making. If the majority consideration weighs with the Government or the Committee in charge of the Kashmiri language, the one thing that they can do to simplify it is to eliminate unnecessary letters and content themselves with as small a number of vowels and consonants as would make it easier to learn, read and write the language. The present experience is that it is very difficult to read and write the language in the script as devised by the Committee concerned. All the same they deserve to be congratulated for their ready compliance with Government's wishes.

To revive the old Sharda script and adopt it instead is a good idea. I would be the first person to do so. But a consideration, greater than all other local and cultural considerations, weighs with me. India has after regaining its independence made Hindi in Devanagiri the *lingua franca* of the country; and when there is practically no difference between the Sharda and Devanagiri so

far as their alphabetical content is concerned, it is more patriotic to adopt the Devanagari script as that would on the one hand help learning Kashmiri and on the other introduce the learner to the Rashtra Bhasha of Hindi. Sharda would become isolated and it would mean learning a third script for reading and writing of HINDI. And Sharda would have the same objection from the Government as Hindi seems to have. It is said Kashmir is a non-Hindi area but so far as the State as a whole is concerned it cannot be called so. Jammu reads and writes Hindi, in Kashmir the non-Muslims read and write Hindi though they are not averse to Persian or Urdu which is written in the same characters as Persian and in which the general correspondent writes his communications. My only justification for having Devanagari script is not that it is the script of the All India Language, but because it is far easier to write Kashmiri in this script with a little change in the vowel-symbols of the Devanagari. I have printed a Kashmiri Primer in Devanagari script and it has been appreciated by Kashmiri scholars and outside linguists. Dr. Raghu Vira, Director of the International Academy for Indian Culture has called it "simple and beautiful". I do not press the adoption of the script, in place of the Persian, but do suggest its recognition as an alternative so that in course of time the non-Hindi knowing Kashmiri may also take advantage of the script and be able to learn the Devanagari script for learning Hindi which every one in India has to and must learn; and since Kashmir has also acceded to India, every Kashmiri should learn Hindi as a citizen of India and in this the Kashmiri script in Devanagari will be helpful.

I have written two Kashmiri Dramas in Kashmiri Language in the simplified script. I have suggested to the Government to have a Drama printed in both scripts or if they publish it in their script I shall print it in the alternative script. These are the first Kashmiri Dramas for none have so far been written or even attempted. And since it

is the earnest wish of every Kashmiri to make the Kashmiri language a rich and commodious regional and feeder language, the public should not feel the fetters of script and bias hampering its mental unfoldment. It is true Persian influence has been very great in Kashmir, and Kashmiri scholars adopted Persian as their second mother-tongue. Kashmir has now rightly rejected the two-Nation theory of Pakistan, not only politically but culturally and educationally, and as such the Government should not think in terms of palatability or otherwise of a word or script, because after all Kashmiris have as components and constituents of the Great Indian Republic to become real citizens of India in the true sense of the term.

Sharda has the only commendation of being the script of the Kashmiris in the past before the advent of Islam; but after the Muslim ascendancy and conversion of Hindu masses the language itself changed from Sanskrit to Persian, and from Persian to Urdu under the Dogras; and simple Urdu is now the Court language. If for some time Urdu continues to have this privilege, in course of time it shall have to make room for the Hindi language in Devanagari script. As such the adoption of the Sharda script does not seem to fit in with the future curriculum regarded from the all-India standpoint. If the Government of Kashmir adopted the alternative Devanagari script it would prove useful to the Kashmiri in more than one ways.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

GRAY'S PROPHECY

One of the most remarkable prophecies ever recorded was made by Thomas Gray, the poet. These lines were written by him in 1737.

The time will come when thou shalt lift thine eyes

To watch a long drawn battle in the skies; While aged peasants too amazed for words Stare at the flying fleets of wondrous birds. England, so long the mistress of the sea Where winds and waves confess her sovereignty

Her ancient triumphs yet on high shall bare And reign the sovereign of the conquered air.

Students of literature are familiar with the lines in Tennyson's Locksley Hall where the poet dips far into the future and sees argosies of magic sails and the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue—till the battle flags are furl'd in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World—ideas so closely approximating to the United Nations and its General Assembly. Here are the swinging lines with the cadence of a marching song:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be:

Saw the heavens fill with commerce,
argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales:

Heard the heavens fill with shouting,
and there rain'd a ghostly dew,
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue:

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder storm:

Till the war-drums throbb'd no longer,
and the battle flags were furl'd,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

THE COMING OF SPRING

As every season seems best to us in its turn, so the coming of spring is like the creation of Cosmos out of Chaos and the realisation of the Golden Age, says Thoreau in his "Walden."

A single gentle rain makes the grass many shades greener. So our prospects brighten on the influx of better thoughts. We should be blessed if we lived in the present always and took advantage of every accident that befell us, like the grass which confesses the influence of the slightest dew that falls on it; and did not spend our time in atoning for the neglect of past opportunities, which we call doing our duty. We loiter in winter while it is already spring. In a pleasant spring morning all men's sins are forgiven. Such a day is a truce to vice. While such a sun holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return. Through our own recovered innocence we discern the innocence of our neighbours.

BRITISH ARISTOCRACY

Michelet saw in British history the success of a selfish aristocracy in keeping its power.

"England defended its aristocratic abuses," he wrote, "by finding scope outside: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in North America and the spoliation of Spain; in the eighteenth in the spoliation of France and the conquest of India; in the nineteenth in her colonial expansion."

Another aspect of the tenacity and vitality of this governing power was described in Mr. Belloc's famous satire on a modern general election:

The accursed power which stands on Privilege
(And goes with Women, and Champagne, and Bridge)
Broke—and Democracy resumed her reign:
(Which goes with Bridge, and Women, and Champagne).

ENGLAND IN 1940

Mr. Churchill made these startling revelations about conditions in 1940 :

If Hitler had invaded Britain, there would have been a terrible shambles in this country because we had hardly a weapon. . . We had lost all our equipment at Dunkirk and in France, and, indeed, we were spared an agonizing trial. Britain would have gone on fighting almost entirely without them. . . In the crisis of 1940 it was no more than sober truth to say that Britain saved the freedom of mankind. . . I have a feeling sometimes that some guiding hand has interfered. I have a feeling that we had a guardian because we serve a great cause and that we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully.

THE POET AND NIAGARA

Edward Carpenter, visited America in his twenties and received impressions which were to prove lifelong. He met Emerson, Russell, Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Whitman. "The other thing that fascinated me," he writes in his autobiography, "was Niagara.

I stayed there four days all alone, looking at the falls all the time, feeling their earth-shaking roar under my feet by day and in bed at night, and watching that strange calm sentinel, that column of white spray which, like a great spirit, exhales itself into the immense height of the sky over the roaring gulf, and which, rainbow-tinted in the sun or glistening mysterious in the moon by night, seems to overlook the land for far and wide around. It was the only thing I saw which seemed quite to match Walt Whitman in spirit."

THEMISTOCLES AND HIS SON

"My boy," Themistocles, the soldier and statesman, once said to his young son, "you are the most powerful person in all Greece."

"How can that be?" asked the lad.

"Because," answered Themistocles, "the Athenians command all of Greece; I command the Athenians; your mother commands me; and you command your mother!"

DECLARATION AND CONSTITUTION

The famous phrase "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" often mistakenly attributed to the American Constitution actually come from the Declaration of Independence of eleven years earlier (July 4, 1776.)

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," the passage begins, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

But the Constitution of 1787 also has its stirring opening:

"We, the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

The erratic capitals are those of the original texts.

THE CHINESE WAY

In the 16th century, before Japan had closed herself to foreigners, she was ruled for the Emperor by Hideyoshi, a would-be Napoleon. He had dreams of Asiatic conquest as extensive as those of Japanese militarists in the days before Pearl Harbour. After he had unified Japan, he decided that he would next take over China. Accordingly, he sent a message to the Chinese Emperor demanding submission. The answer was peculiarly Chinese.

The Emperor sent an envoy to Hideyoshi with an imposing document rolled up in a scroll. Hideyoshi was jubilant. A magnificent ceremony was arranged, and with appropriate fanfare the envoy delivered the scroll.

Imagine Hideyoshi's surprise when the scroll was unrolled and he read that the Chinese Emperor was pleased to appoint Hideyoshi "King of Japan."

CHARACTER

Character is like a tree and reputation like its shadow. The shadow is what we think of it; the tree is the real thing.

— Abraham Lincoln.

THE SANCTUARY

One of the significant points of discussion at the Gandhian Seminar at Delhi centred on what is known as the Sanctuary system. Whatever may be the modern practice there is no doubt it was in vogue in medieval England. In one of his Short Studies on Great Subjects, the historian J. A. Froude throws curious light on the habits of the times. A Bishop of the twelfth century, St. Hugo of Avalon who became Bishop of Lincoln, riding thro' St. Albans, met the Sheriff with the posse comitatus escorting a felon to the gallows. The prisoner threw himself before the bishop and claimed protection. The Bishop reined in his horse and asked who the man was:

"My Lord," said the Sheriff shortly, "it is no affair of yours; let us pass and do our duty."

"Eh!" then said Hugo. "Blessed be God; we will see about that; make over the man to me; and go back and tell the Judges that I have taken him from you."

"My Lords Judges," he said, when they came to remonstrate, "I need not remind you of the Church's privilege of Sanctuary; understand that where the bishop is, the Church is. He who can consecrate the sanctuary carries with him the sacredness of the sanctuary."

The humiliation of an English King at Becket's tomb had been a lesson too severe and too recent to be forgotten. "We may not dispute with you," the Judges replied; "if you choose to let this man go we shall not oppose you, but you must answer for it to the King's Highness."

"So be it," answered Hugo, "you have spoken well. I charge myself with your prisoner. The responsibility will be mine."

The historian adds there was probably something more in the case than appears on the surface. "The Sanctuary system worked in mitigation of a law which in itself was frightfully cruel, and there may have been good reason why the life of the poor wretch should have been spared. The Bishop set him free."

MENTAL STOCK TAKING

How can a man perform a mental stock taking, asks Arnold Bennett. How can he put a value on what he gets from books? How can he effectively test, in cold blood, whether he is receiving from literature all that literature has to give him? The test, he tells us, is not so vague nor so difficult, as might appear.

If a man is not thrilled by intimate contact with nature; with the sun, with the earth, which is his origin and the arouser of his acutest emotions—

If he is not troubled by the sight of beauty in many forms—

If he is devoid of curiosity concerning his fellowmen and his fellow animals—

If he does not have glimpses of the unity of all things in an orderly progress—

If he is chronically 'querulous, dejected, and envious'—

If he is pessimistic—

If he is of those who talk about 'this age of shams,' 'this age without ideals,' 'this hysterical age,' and this heaven-knows-what-age—

Then that man, though he reads undisputed classics for twenty hours a day, though he has a memory of steel, though he rivals Porson in scholarship and Sante Beuve in judgment, is not receiving from literature what literature has to give. Indeed, he is chiefly wasting his time.

WITH NO MALICE

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.—From Second Inaugural Lincoln's Address (1865).

Nomination of Candidates for Election

BY SRI SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.,

Director, Institute of Public Administration, Sholapur.

FOLLOWING earlier practices, the election law at present provides several stages in the emergence of candidates to fight elections. There is first the filing of nomination papers. The ranks of the candidates might be thinned at the next stage when scrutiny of nomination papers is held by the Returning Officer. He is authorized to consider objections raised by some. One having the right to do so—against either the candidates or their capacity to fill in the form correctly. The first takes the form of asserting that the candidate has attracted anyone of the 'disabilities' which destroyed his right to contest the election. The second is, of course, a reflection on his capacity to be a good legislator. If he cannot *correctly* fill even his nomination form, he could not be, it is assumed—and rightly—a fit candidate for election to a legislature. The scrutiny over, the list of the validly nominated candidates is ready. The law assumes, however, that some of the candidates might change their minds and some might have filed nomination paper just for fun and not with a view to contest the election at all. Three days are, therefore, allowed for withdrawal of candidature. When this period is over, a list of contestants for the election is published.

The conduct of the last election shows that some of these provisions were either needless or promoted undemocratic if not dishonest practices. The interval of three days between scrutiny and publication of the final list of candidates, however necessary in the *personal* interest of some candidates or *partisan* interests of some political parties, failed to make the *nomination* of candidates that *final* and decisive affair which it is in most democratic countries. Why assume that some candidates would like to withdraw after they had been validly nominated? Of course, several candidates did withdraw their candidature in the last election; that was because the law allowed them to stand even when they

had no intention to contest the election. Howsoever inconvenient it may be to some 'professional' politicians or to some political parties or groups, it is time that we stopped such frivolous if not pernicious candidature. No withdrawals need be permitted at law because political parties ought to be able to make up their minds whom they are going to set up as their candidates at the time of the nomination i.e., 10 days earlier than at present. Just as the law frowns on frivolous litigation it should frown on frivolous candidature for election as well. It should, at least, do nothing to encourage such candidature.

This brings us to another aspect of the election. Filing of nomination papers and scrutiny thereof are at present two processes seven days apart. Whatever reasons there might have been for this interval when constituencies were immensely large and when candidates needed time to look into the case histories of their rivals, there is no reason why this provision should continue to disfigure the Statute Book now that the constituencies are much smaller. At present the returning officer is entitled to consider objections raised against a nominee by persons authorized to make objections. Seven days' interval is probably intended for the purpose of giving would-be objectors' time enough for raising objections. Two types of objections have usually been raised so far. A candidate may be so ignorant or so incompetent—or the party putting him up may so lack experience—that he fails to fill in the nomination form correctly in some *essential* matter. This is a matter primarily for the returning officer to settle and there is no reason why he should not be able to decide it as soon as he receives the form. Neither need the candidate be inconvenienced in this process; he can bring his legal adviser with him to help him answer such objections as may be raised against his competency to fill the form correctly. . . .

But there remains the second type of objections against a candidate. He may

have attracted 'disabilities' under the law and may therefore be not competent to stand for election. The first thing required of a would-be maker of law should be that he knows the law as it applies to him in this first plunge in the legislative arena. The nomination form should contain a declaration by the candidate that he is competent to stand for election. The election law should provide that a *false* declaration would be a *major* electoral offence and disqualify the candidate for standing for six years. This provision would certainly lead to a candidate's looking into his own qualifications—or disqualifications—with more care. No one need then feign surprise if the law took its course. . . .

The correct thing to do is to assume now—after the first election—that no party is so barren of political talent that it would try to set up a candidate who was disqualified under the law or so lacking in political sagacity as to raise frivolous objections against other candidates. Nor is it too much to ask that if a citizen thinks himself wise enough to set himself up as an independent candidate he should *at least* know the law about his disqualifications. Even if he did not, the declaration would make him do so. And if he finds it too much for his talents, nobody need sympathise with him if the returning officer politely tells him that he is debarred from entering the political arena.

The declaration could be made as ample and as full as possible. It could set down every disqualification known to the law and make the candidate deny each in turn. It would thus put the onus of stating the law—bare law only—on the election commission and give the candidate enough help in the matter. It would also make it impossible for some of the legislatures to attempt to remove the disqualifications of some of their members by *ex-post-facto* legislation.

Of course, it would be possible to other candidates to raise objections to a candidature on matters of fact. They do not need a week for finding flaws in the qualifications of their rivals. They would have all the time they need in the prenomination period. No candidate can afford to keep his candidature secret till the last day

of the nomination. If he does, his election campaign is likely to suffer.

The scrutiny of nomination paper should see a final declaration of the candidates seeking election. The acceptance of nomination papers should be not a partisan affair but a civic function in which the administration and all the candidates should be participating. An improper rejection entails considerable public expenditure and fines all the candidates the expenses of a new election. It should be the duty of the government to appoint such persons as returning officers as may be expected to know the law. The experience of the members of the various election tribunals can be well utilized at the next general election by making some of them returning officers. It can be easily secured that public servants likely to be appointed returning officers should have at least six months' notice of their likely appointment though they need not be told where they are likely to be posted. It should be the official duty of a government advocate to be present in order to assist the returning officer in ascertaining the law. In performing this function the Government advocate should represent not the administration but the Election Commission. As has been suggested earlier, the returning officer should be called upon to scrutinize all applications on his own. This would avoid the spectacle of a returning officer accepting a nomination paper of a candidate obviously—on official records—disqualified because no objection was raised against his nomination. . . .

It may be said that this provides no guarantee against improper rejection. But nothing can provide a remedy against human frailties. All that the law need provide is that persons who are vested with the power to scrutinize nomination papers would be competent enough to do so. If a machinery for appealing against alleged improper rejection speedily is provided, it may be so inundated with application as to become incapable of functioning effectively during the period provided for the purpose. If appellate machinery is to be provided on such a large scale as to enable it to sit in

judgment on almost every rejection, the same purpose could be easily served by vesting the proposed appellate authority with power to scrutinize nominations in the first instance and dispose of them finally. This would avoid the cost of providing for and arguing an appeal and allow the elections to be held speedily, even more speedily than the last elections. Of course, it may be necessary to reconcile the judgment of the election tribunals in matters where they happen to be contradictory. This can be done effectively only at the highest level. When all the cases arising one of the first election have been decided the President may refer the varying interpretation of the law by the election tribunals to the Supreme Court for its advisory opinion. This would become the law of the land at the next election.

It is suggested therefore that the present law be modified by amending

Section 30 of the Representation of the People Act. Clauses B and C should be dropped so that there is no withdrawal of candidature and no separate date for scrutiny. The present section 35 should be repealed so that there is no publication of candidates nominated. Section 36 should follow Section 30. Sub-section (1) should be omitted and the rest of the section should become section 35. Section 37 should be omitted. Section 38 should come, with appropriate changes, at the end of the new Section 35. Similar and consequential changes will have to be made elsewhere as well. Clause (c) of Section 100 will have to be omitted so that improper acceptance or rejection will not be a ground for declaring an election to be void.

This procedure will not need any amendment of the Constitution. Only the Representation of the People Act will have to be amended. . . .

ESTATE DUTY BILL

BY SRI V. P. KRISHNAN NAMBIAR, M.A., B.L., Advocate.

HISTORICAL

THE Estate Duty Bill which was introduced in the Indian Parliament in the last November Session is a wholesome measure which had been delayed all these years for one reason or other. Recently in the February Session, the Finance Minister sought the permission of the House to extend the time for the return of the Select Committee Report till 31st March 1953. Article 269 (1) (a) of the Indian Constitution provides for the levy of duties in respect of property other than agricultural land, by the Government of the Indian Union. Under Section 137 of the Government of India Act 1935 duties in respect of succession to property other than agricultural land was to be levied and collected by the Federal Government. But there existed serious doubts as to whether the Central Government could levy an Estate Duty or Succession duty based on the English model. On a reference by the Governor-General in 1944 under Sec. 213

of the Act for opinion, the Federal Court of India by a Majority of two to one held that such a duty will not fall in any of the legislative lists. Consequently the Act of 1935 was amended to confer power on the Central Legislature to levy an estate duty in respect of properties other than agricultural land. The provision was maintained in the Government of India Act of 1935 as modified and adapted by the India (Provisional Constitutional) Order 1947. The new Indian Constitution of 1950 placed the matter beyond doubt by providing for the levy of an Estate Duty as well as Succession duty by the Union Government. Article 269 (2) lays down that such collections shall not form part of the consolidated Fund of India but shall be assigned to and distributed among those States in accordance with such principles of distribution as may be formulated by the Parliament by law.

ESTATE DUTY EXPLAINED

Though the occasion for the levy of the duty under either category is the

death of a person, the two taxes differ widely. Estate duty takes into account the value of the property constituting the estate of the deceased, and the duty is graduated with reference to total account of property so passing on the death of a person independent of the individual on whom it devolves. The succession duty on the other hand, looks not to the size of the estate left by the deceased, but to the size of the separate shares received by the beneficiaries, and as the windfall element increases with the distance of relationship to the deceased, it is often graduated further on that principle. The levy of Estate Duty has been the leading feature of all progressive countries in the world in their financial system. Such duties have found special recognition in the financial system of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The Australian and the Canadian constitutions have also provided for such duties. The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee in their Report in 1925 strongly advocated the levy of an estate duty by the Central Government who should distribute the proceeds to the respective provinces. But hardly had the Committee made its recommendation when the British Government appointed the Simon Commission in 1927 to review the entire Indian Constitution. The protracted deliberations were settled only in 1935 by the passing of the Government of India Act. The 27 years that have elapsed after the Committee first recommended an Estate Duty for India have confirmed the wisdom of the measure and the imperative need for such taxation. The main object of an Estate Duty is to assist the States to Finance their development schemes and their nation-building projects which require large capital and to lessen their disparity in their social services. The commercial and industrial magnates that have sprung up in the land in recent years, and the enormous private fortune made by individuals during World War II (1939-45) aggravating the grave inequality which already existed, have further demonstrated that the Bill is a wise measure in the right direction at the opportune moment. The Duty will go a long way to stave off the great disparity in wealth between class and

class, and will set the country moving towards the more equitable distribution of national wealth and property according to the concept of a Social State to which India is moving under the "inevitability of gradualness."

The Bill does not provide for the rate of duty or the taxable minimum above which the duty will be imposed. They are to be decided by the Annual Finance Acts. Under Clause 50 of the Bill every legal representative of a deceased person, every person to whom any interest, however small it may be is liable to pay the estate duty on the whole estate. In the event of any dispute among rival claimants to the Estate, the Controller appointed under the provisions of the Bill is to decide the dispute, and there is a right of appeal to the Central Board of Revenue at New Delhi, whose decision shall be final. The valuation of the estate left by the deceased is to be done by the Controller on the basis of the list supplied by the legal representatives with the help of valuers if necessary. In the absence of any such list the Controller may make his own investigation. The jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, including the High Court and the Supreme Court is excluded in such matters, except in a very restricted sense under Clauses 59 and 60 which permit a reference to the Superior Courts under conditions specified therein.

In the case of joint Hindu families the duty is payable to the extent to which the benefit accrues or arises on account of the ceasing of interest of a deceased member of a coparcenary. The Bill makes an exemption in the case of property which passes to the widow on the death of her husband. Duty realised in respect of agricultural land in a state shall be assigned to that state after it has passed the necessary legislation for such levy.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Much of the criticism against the Estate Duty Bill is one-sided. The Indian Constitution provides that the Estate duty shall be levied and collected by the Union Government and shall be distributed by the Centre thus guarding against possible difference in the rate of levy if left to individual States. As for the doubts as to whether

the return under the duty will be commensurate with the cost of collection, there is no conclusive data to express one way or the other. The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee who enquired into the question did recommend such a duty as a profitable source of revenue to the Government to finance their various schemes. The powers given to the Controller to decide the disputes regarding the extent of the levy and estate, and the restricted right of appeal to Civil Courts are wholesome checks, under a taxation measure where the parties should not be subjected to a prolonged and tedious course of litigation and the consequent uncertainty that hovers around. Like the Indian Income-Tax Act which provides a reference to the High Court and the Supreme Court under Sec. 66 (A) against the decision of a hierarchy of income-tax tribunals, the Estate Duty Bill also provides for a reference to the superior courts. The fact that every year the non-taxable minimum and the extent of the duty on the rest of the estate is to be determined by the annual Finance Act is an effective guarantee that the economic condition of the country will be taken into account by the Government of the day. When a new tax is imposed the general trend of administration has been to retain it for all time. But there have been instances in the past where the Government of India has granted reliefs when conditions justified the step. Soon after the World War II ended, the exemption limit under the income-tax was raised, the Excess Profits Tax was abolished, and considerable relief was granted in the matter of Super-Tax on incomes. There is no reason to doubt that in future a responsible Government impervious to a vigilant public opinion will be slow to react to their demands.

The objection that the new Bill might lead to the disruption of joint Hindu families in India and the Malabar Tarwads in the West Coast is beside the mark. The disintegration of the joint Hindu families started long ago consequent on new economic theories, mode of life and calling, English education and the impact of western

ideas have further contributed to such disruption. In Malabar the Madras Marumakkattayam Act of 1933 permitted individual partition among members of a joint family, except when the mother was alive. In the latter case the mother and her descendants could claim division in one separate group. The Hindu Code Bill introduced in the Union Parliament has further accelerated the pace of disruption of the joint Hindu families.

Hostility to the Bill has been expressed on the ground that the economy of the country even after five years' of independence is in a fluid state which cannot stand such a bold taxation measure. But it has to be said that hardly any country with one or two notable exceptions can at the present day claim a stable economy. No new tax is welcomed by the public, the more so on agricultural land. The criticism that the Estate Duty on movables like jewellery of a deceased person in the absence of documentary evidence or inventory taken on the spot may prove a hardship on the beneficiaries are matters capable of easy adjustment and satisfactory solution by appropriate modification of the provisions. It does not affect the principle of the Bill. Yet another fear has been expressed that the Bill might affect private enterprise. It is true that the State cannot dispense with private enterprise for a long time to come, but the state has a right to expect every citizen to contribute his mite to the national exchequer by way of tax without demur. The possibility of evasion of new tax or the secreting of assets by beneficiaries are matters which would come into grip with the officers of the Union Government. These are objections which hardly justify the suspension of the Estate Duty Bill, much less, the plea for dropping the Bill altogether. Once the salutary principle underlying the Bill is conceded, much of the criticism against it or the difficulties in its actual working appear to be unsustainable. Individual cases of hardship which the tax in collecting might bring in its trail do not weaken the policy underlying it or the economic barrier among people which it seeks to displace.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Third Bloc or Third Area

IN a forthright speech in Delhi, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the Labour leader, discoursed on the familiar thesis of the third bloc to strengthen the common front against tyranny. He advocated the creation of a third great bloc of nations to hold the world's balance of power, so as to compel the two great giants, the Soviet and the Western bloc "to listen to what they have to do." Russia is rigid and America is unstable, he said, and both are dominated by fear. "If India belonged to any one bloc she would merely become the creature of one of these and would cease to have any influence whatever." Pandit Nehru, speaking in the Council of States pointed out with a sense of realism that it is not only undesirable but impossible for any Third Force of relatively impoverished nations to match the military power or economic and financial resources of either the United States or the Soviet Union.

What can a country like India do? We cannot influence others by force of arms or money. We cannot deal with international affairs by expressing strong views.

We cannot shatter and remould the world as we desire, but we can help create a climate of peace.

Nor has India any ambition to play the role of leader in the international arena. We have troubles enough nearer home to engage our full time energy. It would be presumptuous for us to meddle with any sense of fitness in a wider sphere with so many of our more urgent problems unsettled and crying for prompt solution. Mr. Nehru said:

There has been some mention of a third world force. I am not able to understand what exactly it means. If it means something like a power bloc or a military bloc, then I just do not think it possible, apart from the fact that I do not think it desirable. Even the biggest countries are small today compared with the two giants and for a number of countries of Asia to club together and call themselves a third force, or bloc, in the military sense, has no meaning whatsoever.

Thus India's Prime Minister summarily dismissed Mr. Aneurin Bevan's suggestion.

Yet free India is not altogether unfit to engage in more modest undertakings.

We may have failed, but at least we have not added to the illness of the world.

Every action India had taken, he said, was subject to this test: Does it lessen the existing tensions or added to them? Deprecating demands for strong language on the international situation Sri Nehru said: "India is a mature nation. We should not shout. It is not a sign of maturity."

Yes, we can help create a climate of peace. By persuasion and example India can bring about a change in the atmosphere charged with hate and fear. It is possible to draw peace-loving and peace-seeking nations together in what he called a "third area." Witness the new *entente* consisting predominantly of the Asian and Arab nations. Mr. Bevan, of course, thinks that his own "third bloc" is not different from the Prime Minister's "third area." But there is a fundamental difference. The "third area" completely eschews force. But then we can have no quick results from the operation of this new force in world politics bereft of modern weapons of offence or defence.

The Central Budget

As we go to press the Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, presenting his budget for the coming year, made the welcome announcement that there would be no major changes in taxation, but only some "readjustments" converting the revenue deficit of Rs. 1.05 crores into a small surplus of Rs. 45 lakhs. Indeed there are few surprises in Mr. Deshmukh's budget. The final estimates are as under:

Revised Budget 1952-53 Budget 1953-54 (including fresh proposals)			
	Lakhs		Lakhs
Revenue	Rs. 4,18,64		Rs. 4,39,26
Expenditure Rs.	Rs. 4,22,43		Rs. 4,38,81
Deficit	Rs. 3,79		Surplus 45

Increase in expenditure in 1953-54 is mainly for development purposes. The Capital budget for 1953-54 provides for

Rs. 77 crores as capital outlay and Rs. 131 crores as loans to the States. The Capital budget follows broadly the pattern laid down by the Planning Commission and takes into consideration the need for increasing the tempo of development expenditure.

Mr. Deshmukh reported a marked improvement in the economic condition of the country as evidenced by the fact that prices on the whole remained steady at lower levels, and industrial as well as agricultural production showed an increase facilitating a slightly more favourable balance of payment provision than that of the preceding year.

A welcome feature of the proposals is the raising of the exemption limit for personal income-tax from Rs. 3,600 to Rs. 4,700 for individuals, and from Rs. 7,200 to Rs. 8,400 for Hindu undivided families. This is a greatly needed relief to the much suffering middle class who have been hard hit by the alarming rise in the cost of living in recent years. A second "relief proposal" was to reduce the export duty on the jute sacking from Rs. 175 to Rs. 80 per ton.

While these proposals have given general satisfaction to the middle classes and have been welcomed as steps in the right direction, they are more than offset by the increased rates in postal charges for parcels, book packets, registration and insured covers which will adversely affect the small trader and the business community at large. The increase in the import duties on toilet requirements, textiles, crockery, motor cars, and precious stones and diamonds will doubtless affect the importers of foreign goods and the fashionable strata of society. But some one must pay. And if the alternative is between motor cars and daily bread, the Finance Minister could have only one choice!

There will always be this difficulty until the mounting expenditure on Defence services is brought to reasonable proportions. Rs. 200 crores or nearly half the revenues are swallowed up in military expenditure. Perhaps this was inevitable in the first uncertain and critical years following Independence.

Now that we have turned the corner and are comparatively free from the pressing demands for rehabilitation of refugees and food subsidies every effort must be made to cut it down to the requirements of a poor country. That is one way to find the necessary resources for development schemes.

An "important announcement" made by the Finance Minister was the constitution of a Taxation Enquiry Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. John Matthai. He expressed the hope that the labours of the Commission would lay the foundations of "a taxation system best fitted for the development of the economy of the country on a firm and sound basis."

Finance Commission's Recommendations

The recommendations of the Finance Commission, which have been accepted by the Government envisage the transfer of a sum of the order of Rs. 86 crores annually to the States by way of Central grants and devolution of revenue. This represents an increase of Rs. 20 crores over what the States have been getting in recent years. Allocation to States of a share in Central Excise duties like tobacco, matches and vegetable products and an increase in the percentage, from 50 to 55 of the net proceeds of income-tax to be assigned to the States, form the main features of the report which was presented to Parliament by Finance Minister Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh.

The main recommendations of the Finance Commission are:—

- (a) Increase in the percentage, from 50 to 55, of the net proceeds of Income-tax to be assigned to the States;
- (b) Increase in the grants-in-aid by the Centre to the four States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in lieu of their share of the export duty on jute and jute products;
- (c) Allocation to the States of a share in certain Union excise duties, viz., tobacco, matches and vegetable products;
- (d) Increased and additional grants to certain States which are considered by the Commission to be in need of assistance; and
- (e) Grants to certain less developed States for expansion of primary education.

The Commission have also laid down certain general principles to regulate grants-in-aid to States by the Centre.

The President's Advice

Speaking at a public reception by the citizens of Madras, President Rajendra Prasad made a reference to the prospect of division of Madras, State and earnestly appealed to the people to divide in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and trust and without bitterness.

Those charged with the responsibility, the President said, were thinking furiously how to solve the difficulties they saw and if any advice was given from the Centre in this connection, he added, people should not get impatient, but take it as "advice coming from a party which is neutral and which wishes well of everyone."

The strength of India depends on the strength of every link and every unit that goes to constitute it. We cannot afford to allow any unit to get disturbed by its own weakness. We have to do our best. I know there are difficulties, great difficulties. I know that the people who are charged with the responsibility are busy thinking furiously about the difficulties and the ways and means of overcoming them. And, therefore, do not be impatient also. If any advice comes from the Centre, please take it as advice coming from a party which is neutral and which wishes well to everyone.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya

Like the late Gopalaswamy Ayyangar whom we lost only the other day, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya who has passed away in his 78th year was a well-known civil servant of Madras, who distinguished himself in a wider sphere as diplomat and statesman in later years. A veteran of varied interests he was perhaps best known for his services as Dewan of Udaipur for eight difficult years. His record in Madras was no less distinguished. Always kindly and helpful to the young, this ripe old man with the coloured turban was a picturesque figure in the city. There was a lightness of touch in his talk as in his writing which endeared him to many. His geniality and social graces won and retained for him many friends whom he seldom failed to entertain with reminiscences and recollections of the giants of an earlier generation. Sir T. V. was a valued contributor to this *Review* while his later efforts in the regional language marked him out as a man of wide culture and genial temperament.

The New President of the Theosophical Society.

We offer our felicitations to Mr. Sri Ram on his election as the fifth President of the Theosophical Society. The Society is an international organisation with branches practically all over the world. During the 77 years since its foundation in New York, there have been four Presidents—Col. Olcott, Dr. Besant, Dr. Arundale and Mr. Jinarajadasa—all distinguished for their learning and integrity and imbued with deep love for India. By electing an Indian to this high office in an international brotherhood, the members have shown due regard not only to one who has served the cause with unflagging zeal and devotion but to a country which in its new role, as free India, is doing its best to further those ideals and principles for which the Society stands. That ideal is the brotherhood of man and the fellowship of Faiths in the pursuit of truth through study and research in ancient wisdom.

In a competitive world where even the highest offices in service as in power are sought by contentious elections, Mr. Sri Ram's method of approach was singularly happy. There was no rough and tumble fight for the place, no boisterous assertion of superiority, no decrying of other contestants, but a quiet and dignified appeal to the members' sense of fitness. Mr. Sri Ram truly said in his statement:

He who seeks wisdom and the service of wisdom can seek no lesser things, neither position nor praise. In a society constituted for the purest brotherhood, there can be no electioneering, even of the sort considered legitimate in the world. I ask no one for his vote, I shall be happy if each one votes in absolute freedom according to his own individual and uninfluenced freedom.

What a contrast to the hectoring tone usually adopted in electioneering! Nevertheless, he has been elected president by a 70 per cent vote of the society's members.

A fellow worker with Besant and Arundale and Jinarajadasa, Mr. Sri Ram is well known in the Theosophical world as a student of Theosophy and an international lecturer.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



SOVIET CIVILIZATION. By Corliss Lamont. Philosophical Library, 15, East 40th St., New York 16.

The truth about Soviet Russia is becoming more and more difficult to know. It was said that an impenetrable iron curtain shuts out Russia from the rest of the world. The fact, however, is that there is such a plethora of literature for and against Russia that one is at a loss to know what is true and what is false. Propaganda and counter propaganda have flooded the world with a mass of literature steeped in prejudice and wanton malice. Soviet propaganda makes it appear that life in Communist Russia is all that one could desire, while foreign propaganda decries it as the veritable hell on earth. Strangely enough, even those who have visited the country are equally divided in their opinion. Some who hailed it as a paradise on earth have now changed their view and have not words enough to condemn it as worse than perdition. An objective study of Soviet conditions seems impossible as every one brings to it a bit of his own prejudice or preconceived notions.

Dr. Lamont has been in close touch with Russian affairs for over a score of years and his studies have been fortified by two extensive visits to Russia. Calmly and objectively he discusses the position in Russia—social, economic and political—and he stresses a middle course avoiding both extremes. He finds much in Russian society and the Soviet plan that is altogether admirable and praiseworthy. But there are some distressing features in Soviet dictatorship which are frankly over-emphasised in our estimate of things Russian. It is a mistake, he says, to think of communism in the same terms as fascism, as the two are poles apart. There is much in common between the democracies of U. S. and Britain and the Communism of Russia which it would be wise to foster. Dr. Lamont discusses controversial issues like the American—Soviet relations and discloses

that the fault is not all on one side. Indeed he avers that Stalin is genuinely anxious to bridge the gap between the East and the West; and his efforts at disarmament and world peace, far from being merely tactical, are in truth inspired by excellent intentions. He shows how on a dozen occasions his attempts to prove his goodwill and friendliness, and the efforts of his deputies in the U. N. to foster good relations have been thwarted by suspicious diplomats on this side. Dr. Lamont is frankly critical of certain aspects of Soviet life and institutions but he laments the wholesale condemnation of Communist Russia "based on onesided overemphasis of its negative points. The complete and many-sided story is what is needed for a just evaluation." He discounts the common notion that communist China is under the leading strings of the Soviet. She is, in his opinion, big enough and strong enough to go her own way. Typical chapters that throw light on Soviet thought are "Contrasts between Socialism and Fascism," "Soviet Foreign Policy" and "co-existence or Co-destruction." Dr. Lamont shows that with clearer understanding and sympathetic approach there is every feasibility of lasting peace between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. which will help solve disarmament problems and restore normal trade relations grounded on mutual self-interest between the two great nations.

THE STATE. By K. P. Mukerji. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 383 Pp. Rs. 7-8.

This is a critical study of the conceptions of the State through the eyes of a philosopher steeped and believing in Hindu tradition. Prof. Mukerji defines the State as an "evolving legal order working in subservience to and reflecting the value-sense of an expanding moral order (or Community)." His book is an attempt to justify this definition.

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TOBACCO ROAD. A Three Act Play by Jack Kirkland (A Signet Book). The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York 22, N. Y.

Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* has had an extraordinary audience as a novel, a motion picture and a play. The story is about a group of persons whose destiny it was "to be born where they were born, to live where they lived and to do what they did." Such a theme seems to have universal appeal, for all its coarseness, as is evidenced by the fact that in one form or another it has appeared in 21 countries and has been widely popular. The play, dramatized by Jack Kirkland, had a precarious beginning; but it has since established a record number of performances throughout America and translated versions of the play have appeared in several countries of Europe. This complete and unabridged Edition is illustrated with scenes from the American, British, French, Finnish and Italian productions. We are told that wellnigh 4 million copies of this book in different Editions and languages have been sold.

NEW WORLD WRITING. (Second Mentor Selections) The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York 22.

The first Mentor Selection of New World Writing published in April last had such a resounding success that the publishers have followed it up with a second volume of equal interest. They took the cue from John Lehman's New Writing in the Penguin Series and produced a volume, richer and more varied in its scope. The New World Writing is now a truly international literary journal—an unusual blend of book and "little magazine." The present volume includes twenty-eight writers from the U. S., four from the British Isles, two from France, two from Italy, four from Greece and one each from the Philippines, West Indies, India, Pakistan, Australia, Denmark and Poland. Poetry, fiction, drama, criticism—there is every kind of literary fare to satisfy different tastes. We have no doubt that this second series will be as welcome to readers and critics as the first one.

GUPTA POLITY. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., General Editor, The Madras Historical Series. University of Madras.

Yet another volume of interest to students of History is the latest addition to the Madras University Historical Series which has covered different regions and periods of Indian history. The XX volume before us deals with the Gupta Polity which might be taken as a fitting companion volume to the author's well-known book on the Mauryan Polity.

After the Mauryas the Gupta rulers established a vast empire covering large portions of North India. Chandragupta I the first Imperial ruler of the dynasty ruled over a comparatively small area around Pataliputra but it was given to Samudragupta his son and heir to expand the small kingdom into an Empire of considerable dimensions. It was Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, the third and greatest of the Guptas who added more territories to his heritage and consolidated the Gupta Empire.

Prof. Dikshitar, as might be expected of such a seasoned student of research, has availed himself of all material, historical and archeological, in his coverage of this important period though it cannot compare with the Mauryan period in the wealth of available source material. He has drawn light from the Kamandakiya Nitisara, the inscriptions and coins of the Gupta rulers, and the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien for a knowledge of the Gupta polity. In the chapter devoted to the examination of the extent of the Gupta Empire, Prof. Dikshitar shows that it included not only portions in the Deccan and South India but certain colonies in the Far East as well. And then there are special chapters devoted to the study of the Central administration, Military organisation and Provincial Government besides a close examination of the religious conditions in the Empire. "It is my firm conviction," says Dikshitar, "that the Imperial Guptas were not really Vaishnavas as they are usually taken to be but are Smarthas by religion worshipping different Gods like Siva, Vishnu, Karthikeya and Devi."

MAHADEV DESAI'S EARLY LIFE. By Narahari D. Parekh. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Mahadev Desai lived so completely in and for Gandhiji that it is impossible to think of one without being reminded of the other. He was what Crito was to Socrates. For wellnigh thirty years he was Gandhiji's faithful and very competent secretary.

In the 23 chapters that make up this book Mr. Narahari, a close friend and schoolmate of Mahadev, tells the story of his early life with intimate knowledge and understanding. Mr. Narahari was engaged in editing Mahadev's letters and had ample material at his disposal for writing this interesting life of his friend till the time of his joining Gandhiji. We have in this book Gandhiji's own testimony to Mahadev's character and competence. Mr. Narahari reveals how anxious Gandhiji was to have Mahadev as his *Chela* and how invaluable he was during the most eventful period of the Master's life.

COMBINATION MOVEMENT IN INDIAN INDUSTRY. By Dr. M. M. Mehta. Friends' Book Depot, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

This book is a fact-finding essay. It does not indulge in commenting but describes the movement trends concentration in Indian Industry. It is seen that a small group of Managing Agency Firms control and manage more than 600 industrial establishments in India. Of these more than 250 are controlled by 9 British Agencies. These agencies do not control only particular industries or complementary industries to them. The Dalmia-Jain group controls every variety of industrial undertaking—from tiny glass, soap and oil mills to gigantic engineering works. Another feature is the amalgamation of big trusts with vast resources. The system of "multiple Directorship" has led to industries being controlled by a handful of magnates. The Managing Agents practically nominate the Directors of all their companies and they nominate one another. A corollary is the development of

"interlocking Directorships." Saddest of all, the leadership of industry is in the hands of financiers, who with control of Banks, insurance companies and investment trusts achieve great control of public resources.

There is no doubt about the evils of this concentration. A horizontal or vertical combination in industrial units is itself fraught with social dangers but they are at least justifiable on the basis of production economy. But mere financial and managerial control through Trusts and Managing Agencies introduces an element of indifference towards long range benefits as opposed to quick returns and offers scope for balancing the losses from one firm from the income of another so far as the Managing Agent himself is concerned. The public have to be content with watching this show and parties in power never seriously interfere with big business which is an election purse. Altogether all that makes for the steady concentration of control in the hands of a few financiers (to whom any industry that pays 5 per cent is better than any industry that pays 4 per cent) is present in India. One is perturbed and helpless.

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN BOMBAY: J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Bombay-314 pp.

Mr. Jeejeebhoy's sense of history and nemesis is strong; hence this book. Here is a catalogue, couched in flowery language, of the baser side of human nature, from the earliest known periods of Indian history upto current times. The account is amusing, but one cannot help wondering whether this amazing scholarship could not have been put to better use.

BE STRONGER, LIVE LONGER: V. W. Goyle, Careers Institute, New Delhi—186 pp. Rs. 5.

The title savours of Gaylord Hauser's "Look Younger, Live Longer"; the contents are a hotch-potch of his dietetic recipes and various exercises and incomprehensible fads.

THE GOSPEL OF GURU-GRANTH SAHEB. By Duncan Greenlees. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

This is the eighth volume in the World Gospel Series which includes appropriately the Gospel of Islam, of Jesus, of Buddha and Zarathushtra. It is very appropriate too that the Series should have emanated from the Theosophical Society which recognizes truth in every religion and seeks to understand and interpret ancient scriptures in the light of modern knowledge and research.

The series being planned to present the essence of each of the world's great scriptures the present volume offers at once a detailed and inspiring interpretation of the religion founded by Guru Nanak and built up and fostered by the devotion, energy and self-sacrifice of successive Gurus. Apart from a pleasing and very readable English translation of

the jappi and important portions of the Guru-Granth of the Sikhs the author has given an elaborate introduction dealing with the lives of the Sikh Gurus, and detailing the way the blood of the martyrs cemented a nation of strong, self-reliant and heroic people. Mr. Duncan Greenlees, of course, writes with deep knowledge and sympathy for the tenets and teachings of Sikhism. The historical background of the lives and achievements of the Sikh gurus is furnished with proper perspective.

Not only are the religion and the scripture of the Sikhs interpreted with sympathy and understanding but the heroes of Sikh history and the effect of their resounding deeds are appropriately portrayed.

It is a valuable cyclopædia of Sikh history and Sikhism which the followers of Guru Nanak and people of other faiths as well will equally value.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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RELIGION AND POETRY. By K. Chandrasekharan. Copies can be had of Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4. Price 8 as.

DILWARA TEMPLES. Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, New Delhi.

1. **BRAGAVADGITA FOR STUDENTS.** By Swami Venkatesananda.

2. **GITA MEDITATIONS.** By Swami Sivananda.

3. **GITA FOR THE YOUNG** By Dr. Lakshmi Mirchandani.

All the above Three Publications are Published by the Divine Life Society, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh Himalayas.

VOICE OF SUPPRESSED KASHMIR. Kashmir Democratic Union, 30 Fairly Bazar, Delhi.

REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES. By M. K. Gandhi. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

HYMNS TO THE GODDESS. Translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd.

INTRODUCTION TO TANTRA SHASTRA. By Sir John Woodroffe. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd.

THE OCCULT TRAINING OF THE HINDUS. By Ernest Wood. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd.

INDIA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA. The Publications Division, Govt. of India, Delhi.

1. **TRIPLE YOGA: 2. DIVINE STORIES.** By Swami Sivananda, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

SHAKESPEAREAN COMEDY. By C. N. Desai, M.A., Ph.D. The Agra University Press, Agra.

SABAJI'S MASTER KEY TO ALL ILLS. By V. T. Neelakantan & S. A. A. Ramiah M.A. 1-1, Arulananda Mudali Street, San Thome, Madras 4.

JUNGLE CHILD. By Caroline Davis, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

VEDANTA FOR MODERN MAN. Edited by Christopher Sherwood—George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN COINS. Part II, by C. R. Singhal. Numismatic Society of India, Bombay.

SOUTH AFRICA ON THE NAZI PATH: Indian Overseas Central Association, New Delhi.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE: The United States Information Service, Madras.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Feb. 1 Indo-Pak travel made easier by Passport Conference at Delhi.

Feb. 2 Ike orders removal of U. S. Fleet guarding Formosa.

Feb. 3 Malaya Government settles Malaya Indians on land.

Feb. 4 Governors and Rajpramukhs meet in Delhi.

—A fourteen-man team of World Medical Scientists arrive in Madras.

Feb. 5 All-India Handicrafts Conference meets at Trivandrum.

Feb. 6 C. C. Desai appointed India's envoy to Ceylon.

Feb. 7 Justice Vanchoo submits to Govt. his report on Andhra separation.

Feb. 8 Mao-Tse-tung of China challenges U.S. to fight to the finish.

Feb. 9 Death of N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Defence Minister, at Madras.

Feb. 10 Concessions under Smuts-Gandhi Agreement in S. A. withdrawn.

Feb. 11 Parliament's Budget Session opens with President's address.

Feb. 12 Self-Govt. for Sudan: Pact signed by U. K. and Egypt.

Feb. 13 Finance Commission's report presented to Parliament.

Feb. 14 S. African Govt. bans entry of Indian wives.

Feb. 15 President on tour of South India arrives in Vizagapatam.

Feb. 16 Aneurin Bevan addresses members of Parliament in Delhi.

—Mr. Sri Ram elected fifth President of Theosophical Society.

Feb. 17 S. A. Assembly passes Public Safety Bill.

Feb. 18 Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri presents Railway Budget.

Feb. 19 President lays foundation stone of Engineering College at Karaikudi.

—Mr. Dulles, in his first Press Conference explains U. S. policy in Far East.

Feb. 20 A Supreme Court judgment in Pretoria gives legal right to Indians to own lands in Transvaal.

—Australian Press delegation in Madras.

Feb. 21 Prime Minister opens Tilaiya Dam, first stage in Damodar project.

Feb. 22 The President in Madras urges Tamils and Andhras to trust the Centre.

Feb. 23 Nahas, former Premier of Egypt charged of profiteering.

Feb. 24 U. N. Assembly meets in New York and debates Indian plan for Korea.

—Master Tara Singh and nine Akali leaders arrested at Amritsar.

Feb. 25 U. S. cruiser bombs North Korean coast.

Feb. 26 President back in Delhi from Madras.

—Indians to boycott Racial Zone sites in South Africa.

Feb. 27 Finance Minister Deshmukh presents a balanced budget for 1953-54.

—Mr. George V. Allen nominated U.S. Ambassador to India.

Feb. 28 Pro-Shah riots in Teheran.

—10th All India Textile Conference inaugurated by Dr. C. V. Raman at Coimbatore.



THE LATE SIR T. V. ACHARYA



READERS' DIGEST



POPULATION PLANNING

Summing up his exhaustive study of Population Planning in India, in the course of an article in the *Modern Review*, Prof. C. B. Marmoria observes in conclusion that ideally, in order to maximise real income, the population policy of India should include at least three measures: a programme of strategic emigration, a sustained and vigorous birth-control campaign, and a scheme for rapid industrialisation, because no one of these complex measures can be a substitute for other measures or promise the maximum effect if pursued alone. Emigration, he says, should be encouraged

with a view to losing as little as possible in terms of skill and capital and gaining as much as possible in terms of remittances. Birth control should be diffused with the help of films, radio, ambulatory clinics, and free services and materials; aided by research on both the techniques of contraception and the methods of mass persuasion; and linked clearly to the public health and child-welfare movements. Industrialisation should be pushed up by central planning and control, by forced capital formation, by intensive training programmes, by sweeping agricultural reforms, and by subsidies to heavy industry. The skilful and vigorous pursuit of such a broad policy would probably shorten the rapid growth. It will mean that control has been deliberately extended to fertility as well as to mortality that the demographic transition has quickly achieved by planning. It would also mean a higher standard of living and a more abundant life for future generations.

But there is little likelihood that such a comprehensive policy will be adopted, for our means are limited and the family behaviour is too intertwined with religion and more to be manipulated in a purely instrumental way.

But rapid industrialisation would not result in slackening the population pressure unless the conditions for the individual should be of such a type as to give a powerful personal incentive for limiting births. The birth rate should then drop and a modern demographic balance be achieved. To check this birth rate, we must necessarily incorporate planned parenthood as an essential element in any programme that actually raises the standard of living to the maximum possible limit and gives us the greatest national strength. Our unwillingness to do it will necessarily result in perpetual poverty or in absolute catastrophes.

A THREAT TO INDIA

It is customary for a cautious job-hunter to deny that he is after a job or it has been offered him until he has actually bagged it. This is precisely what Pakistan is doing in respect of her bid for membership in the projected Middle East Defence Organization, says Mr. G. P. Jain.

All that emerges from the statements made either by the Pakistan authorities or the British or the Americans is that no formal invitation has so far been extended to Pakistan. It does not, however, mean that behind-the-scenes talks are not going on between the parties concerned, nor that the parties are least interested in it, nor that the event will not be consummated at a future date.

Pakistan is eager to get into the big league, which is perhaps natural from her standpoint, considering her neighbour India's rising stock in the international field.

When an individual—this is true also of a nation—is down and out, but the fires of ambition still burn within him, the most logical thing for him to do is to secure a rich and powerful patron in whose reflected glory he can bask. As a partner of the Anglo-American powers, even though her role may not be more than that of a supplier of cannon fodder and a few clods of grounds for air bases, Pakistan would have something to brag of.

Were the MEDO partnership aimed only to provide Pakistan a poultice for her wounded pride, India would have no quarrel with that.

But it is bound to have wider ramifications. MEDO is not a cultural organisation, but it will be a military body, its object being to erect "edifices of strength" for future use against Soviet Russia. Russia's valuable Baku oil-fields are but a couple of hours' flight from points in Pakistan.

If the Anglo-American bloc is successful in making Pakistan the base of its military operations, the cold war will have come that much closer to India's borders, and her chances of keeping out of a shooting war, when it takes place, that much remoter.

A more immediate consequence of Pakistan's alignment with America and Britain and of her vastly increased rearmament under Anglo-American auspices would be that greater pressure would be put upon India to let Kashmir go to Pakistan. At any rate, there will henceforth be more reality to Pakistan's talk of "Jehad" against us,

JAPANESE METHOD OF RICE CULTIVATION

The February issue of *Indian Farming* has a very instructive article on Rice Cultivation as practised in Japan. The method has many advantages and has practical value for Indian farmers who are struggling in vain to reap the best out of their land.

In the Japanese method of growing paddy you must:

A. Grow stronger seedlings for transplanting.

B. Grow a better main crop.

The first part must be done right or the second part will suffer.

The second part must be done right or grain yields will be no more than you now produce.

If both are done right your yields can be doubled or tripled!

As it is a matter of vital interest to us in India we have no hesitation in presenting it in extenso:

1. Plan for fewer seedlings per acre:

Most farmers in India sow too many seeds. The amount sown depends in part on custom. A farmer today will plant his seed as his father did before him. But by this new method he can save seed which means, he can save money. Many good farmers plant only 20 pounds of seed for each acre to be put in paddy. Amount of seed sown will be different for different parts of India. Ask your local agricultural officer how much seed to sow on your land.

2. Make a raised seed-bed:

You should plough paddy land right after the harvest. If ploughing is not done after harvest, the land should be dug up and clods broken.

Your nursery seed-bed should be four feet wide and three inches above the level of the ground. A space one foot wide should be left between the beds. This allows you to work and weed the seed-bed without injuring the plants.

For each acre you plant in paddy 1/20th of an acre must be sown for seedlings.

You sow 20 pounds of paddy seed for each acre planted to the crop. This many pounds of seed should be sown in a seed-bed of 1/20th of an acre. The seedlings grown in this area will be enough to plant 1 acre of land in paddy.

Stir into the soil one basket (30 pounds) of compost or cowdung manure for each eight feet of bed.

For each eight feet of bed sprinkle a double handful (half pound) manure mixture. This mixture

is made of equal parts of superphosphate and ammonium sulphate.

Smooth the soil, and then cover it with fine compost manure about 1/8 inch thick. Then cover the bed with a thin layer of ashes.

The bed is ready for the seed.

GOOD SEED NEEDED

3. Selecting good seed:

Get the best seed. Ask your agricultural officer what seed you should use. Put these seeds into a bucket of salt water. The poor seeds will come to the top. Skim these off and save only the heavy seeds in the bottom of the bucket for planting.

After the seeds have been selected place them into perenox mixed with water. Leave them in this mixture for 20 minutes.

4. Planting the seed in the Nursery:

Two or three days before the rains, plant the seed.

Cover the seed with 1/8th inch of fine earth.

If rains do not come in time, water the bed by water cans.

Where there is canal and tank irrigation, this is not done and planting may be earlier.

5. Caring for the seedlings:

Seven or eight days after your seedlings come up, go through the beds and carefully remove all weeds. This is important and must be done. If proper amount of water is given, and weeding done, strong seedlings will be ready early. Your seedlings will be ready to transplant when the sixth leaf has formed. The plant will be 6 to 8 inches high at this time. In no case should your seedlings be left in the bed after they are ready. Late transplanting lowers yields. It is better to transplant early than late.

GROWING THE PADDY

1. Preparing the field:

You should plough your paddy fields right after the harvest. Following the first monsoon rains the field should be ploughed again. Your yields will be higher if a green manure crop is grown for turning under before transplanting.

Be sure to fill at cracks in the bunds. Pack these well to stop rats and crabs.

To get more out of the land, you have to put more in Manure. It must be used to get larger yields. Fifteen to twenty cartloads of compost or cowdung manure is needed for each acre. This manure should be ploughed into the land before puddling. One hundred pounds of ammonium sulphate mixed with 100 pounds of superphosphate (or bonemeal) may be used on each acre, but local officers should be asked about this.

2. Transplanting seedlings:—

The Japanese treat each seedling as a baby. They pull them out one at a time and are careful not to bruise the stem or break the roots. If the soil they are pulled from is hard, it must be broken with some tool so that the roots can be saved. You should not jerk or hammer plants to remove soil.

When pulling up the seedlings, weeds must be removed. Weeds transplanted in the fields grow faster than rice and lower the yields of grain.

The Japanese have shown that planting 15 to 20 seedlings to a hole is a waste. Four is the most that should be planted. In Bombay where the method is yielding twice as much as the local method, farmers using the Japanese method never plant more than four seedlings to the hole.

By this method the seedlings are planted straight up rather than at an angle. You hold your fingers along the side of the plants and push them into the soil ahead of the seedlings. This way your fingers make way for the tender roots. The more roots you save the stronger your plants will be.

TEN BY TEN

Your plants should be set in 10 inches squares. This is done by planting them in straight lines 10 inches apart in the line. There is 10 inches between each line.

To speed up planting have two workers hold a long string in a straight line, and on this string put markers 10 inches apart. The seedlings are placed in the soil at the markers. Then the string is moved over 10 inches and the planting at the markers is done again.

3. Caring for the crop:

No weeds should be allowed to grow in the crop. After the crop has grown for two weeks the farmer must go through and remove all foreign growth. To get the highest yield, you may use 100 pounds of ammonium sulphate mixed with 100 pounds of superphosphate one month after transplanting (get local recommendations.) You should work this manure into the soil around the roots of the plant. Working around the roots increases yields.

From time to time you should move a soil scratching tool between the plants. About two weeks before flowering, field work should stop. Any more cultivation will lower yields.

U.S. AID TO FORMOSA

Credits opened by the Mutual Security Agency included \$26,000 for China (Formosa) including \$23,000 for aviation equipment, military bases and the remainder for technical assistance.

Other credits were: \$1,657,000 for Indo-China including \$1,497,000 for lubricating products and fats from U.S. and \$150,000 for farm equipment from U.S. and Europe and the remainder for technical assistance; and \$15,000 for Thailand for electrical supplies, motors and turbines, industrial equipment and scientific instruments from U.S. and Japan.

HOW ARE U.S. LAWS PASSED?

Before a legislative draft, or bill, becomes a law in the U.S., it must be passed by both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, and signed by the President.

Any member of Congress may introduce a bill on almost any subject which he believes affects the nation's interest. His proposal often is introduced jointly in the House and the Senate. It is promptly referred to an appropriate Congressional or Senate Committee which holds hearings to obtain the views of Government officials, interested organizations and individuals and the public.

The committee then acts on the bill by majority vote. Members may pass it without any changes, make minor revisions, or even rewrite it completely. In any case, they attach a report explaining the measure and their reasons for their approval. Printed copies of the bill and the text of its hearings are made available to all members of Congress and to the public.

The bill is then placed on a list of pending business, called a "calendar," in each house where it waits its turn before coming up for debate. If the bill is important enough, it is given priority consideration.

During debates members may offer amendments before the bill itself is put to a vote. If the two houses do not adopt the same version of a bill, it goes to a conference committee which draws up a compromise bill.

The final version is then submitted to both houses for approval. If they accept it, the bill is sent to the President for his signature or veto. A two-thirds majority vote in each chamber is necessary to override the President's veto. But if he does not sign a bill within ten days after it reaches him (excluding Sundays), it automatically becomes law without his signature.

THE INDIAN PRESS

India has more than 5,000 periodicals published in fifteen languages. Of these about 450 are dailies, 1,800 weeklies and 1,900 monthlies. Nearly one-fifth of them are published in Hindi, India's national language understood by over 160 million Indians. English comes next. One-fifth of the total are published in Madras closely followed by Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bombay. Fourteen newspapers have a circulation of more than 50,000. The *Times of India*, one of the oldest dailies of India, reached in 1952, a circulation of over 100,000.

The history of the Indian Press shows vitality and nationalism. Within seven years of 1773, when the Act creating the Governor-Generalship and the Supreme Court in Bengal was passed, the first modern newspaper appeared in Calcutta called the *Bengal Gazette*. Other newspapers such as the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier* soon followed. Although these pioneers were foreign enterprises, Indian-owned newspapers in English as well as in the Indian languages were not long in making their appearance. In 1818 the first newspaper in an Indian language appeared.

The revolution of 1857 spread the newspapers to other cities in the interior like Delhi, Agra and Gwalior. The growth in the number, in the influence and in the contents of Indian newspapers and periodicals reflected the pace of development of nationalism, steady in the later half of nineteenth century and leaping ahead in the twentieth.

It was during this period of struggle for national independence that the great national dailies achieved their fame. *Hindu of Madras* (1878), *Amrit Bazaar Patrika* (1868) from Calcutta, *Hindustan Times* (1923) from New Delhi, the *Times of India* (1838) and the *Free Press Journal* (1930) from Bombay, *Hitavada* (1911) from Nagpur, *Swadesamitran* (Tamil, 1882), *Kesari* (Marathi, 1888), *Dnyan Prakash* (Marathi, 1849), *Bandemataram* (Urdu, 1920) are today household names in the world of journalism. The *Statesman* of Calcutta (1873) was the spokesman of British interests, influenced both by Government

and financial circles. Mention must also be made of weeklies of the *Harijan* group, and of a few monthlies which by their missionary zeal and the high standard have become institutions by themselves. Mahatma Gandhi's *Harijan* set the moral tone to the Indian Press and was in this respect unique in the world of journalism.

Some of the most eminent public men and leaders of modern India rose to their high status through the school of practical journalism. Gokhale, Tilak, Gandhi, Bose, Ramanand Chatterjee, Brelvi and Lala Lajpat Rai took to journalism to popularise their ideas.

The freedom of the Press is the jealously guarded birthright of Indian journalism since its early days.

There has been a tremendous growth in recent times of periodicals, monthlies and weeklies devoted to non-political subjects.

The influence of the Indian Press and its international significance is shown by the Press Trust of India merging with Reuters. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has become a body whose co-operation and goodwill is sought by all.

INDIAN AUTHOR'S NOVEL

The Michigan State College Press will embark on an unusual publishing venture on April 1 when it introduces to American readers a novel by the distinguished Indian author, R. K. Narayan.

It is almost unprecedented for a collegiate press in the United States to publish a fiction work, particularly by a foreign writer. But the editors of the Michigan State College Press are publishing Narayan's novel, "The Financial Expert", because they were impressed by its high calibre and want to give Americans an opportunity to read it. They are planning to publish another Narayan's book, "The Bachelor of Arts," later this year.

For the past 36 years, Narayan's works have been widely read in England and other countries, but they have never appeared in the United States.

RESURGENT NATIONALISM IN ASIA

When the Japanese took "Asia for the Asians" as their slogan, in their declared intent to establish the "new order in East Asia," they submitted in four words a case against the white man in the East whose psychological potency could not have been exceeded in four thousand, says Marc T. Greene, Asia for the Asians rather than for the European—an end of his long dominance, material if not cultural, and an Eastern world as opposed to the Western and freed for all from its influence!

All this and more was comprehended in the slogan, Asia for the Asians. It took hold upon the Asian peoples, from Mukden to Mandalay and from Canton to Colombo. True, not all were happy in envisaging an implementation of the slogan under Japanese dominance. But even then the picture of an Asia for, by and of Asians could not but stir every Asian heart.

One of the many Japanese blunders was the promptness with which they impressed upon every part of the East that came under their sway in the early months of the war that what was really meant was "Asia for the Japanese."

It very soon became clear that this was the real objective and that no method, however harsh, would be neglected to achieve this.

Yet here the Japanese had a slogan of incredible potency. They had but to implement it with tact, wisdom, and, above all, sympathy, to put the West on the defensive everywhere and make its task immeasurably more difficult than it was indeed, perhaps impossible.

The mistake much of the Western world is making today, and a very dangerous mistake it is, is to conclude that with Japan's defeat "Asia for the Asians" lost its potency as a slogan and as an ideal with the majority of the Asian peoples.

In fact, that potency has been increasing ever since the Chinese revolution of 1926-27 when it first began to be openly enunciated on a wide scale.

Its psychological force was strongest during the first flushes of the Japanese victorious campaigns. Yet with the end of those victories, and with the final downfall of Japan, that force was little diminished. With the adoption of much the same position by the Chinese Communists and other revolutionary movements throughout the East, the potency of "Asia for the Asians" becomes more than ever a power with which the west must reckon. Not a few informed people, neither alarmists nor pessimists, hold that the "White man's day is done" in the East.

That is what Asia for the Asians in the final analysis actually means.

CONTROL OF INFLUENZA

According to experts of the World Health Organisation, medical science is on the point of mastering influenza whose annual winter outbreaks have serious economic consequences in many countries. This progress, they state, has been made possible through the co-ordinated efforts of a network of 55 "influenza centres" in 44 different countries working under the overall guidance of W.H.O. in conjunction with World Influenza Centre in London.

In India the three W.H.O. influenza centres are situated at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay; the King Institute, Guindy, Madras, and the Pasteur Institute of Southern India at Coonoor.

The rapidity with which exchange of information has taken place since the first signs of the present epidemic has made it possible to determine with certainty that the virus concerned in 1953 is the A-prime virus. This, in turn, has made possible the immediate use of vaccines prepared from it and the carrying-out of large scale vaccination, whose results will be of immense value in the prevention of influenza. Thus, in Holland, workers and employees in large works and factories have been vaccinated. In the United States, Canada and Great Britain mass vaccination has been carried out mainly in barracks and hospitals, ideal places for the transmission of the infection.

According to the report of the first W. H. O. Expert Committee on Influenza, the main difficulty slowing up advance in this field is the variety of influenza viruses, which comprise an extensive range of antigenic variants. Thus, at the present time, research workers are confronted with three groups of viruses—A, B and C, each of which includes several sub-categories.

In their report, the W.H.O. experts express serious doubts as to the value of quarantine measures against influenza, stating that

the isolation of groups within a community has not been shown to limit the spread of infection. Quarantine at a national level would only be likely to be effective in the case of islands and geographically isolated communities. There is no evidence that in the case of large areas quarantine could be applied effectively.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND IDEOLOGY

Should a political party have an ideology? And what sort of ideology should it be? Discussing this Mr. Philip spratt says in *Freedom First* that "where liberalism and Marxism appealed to self-interest, Gandhism appealed to the sentiment in favour of national freedom, and proved to be so closely bound up with this, that on its attainment the Gandhian movement quickly declined almost to insignificance. But again the ideal element in both object and method retains its appeal.

In these instances of great movements the principle is perhaps unusually clear, but probably the ideas of any party can be analysed in the same way into ideals, including ideally valid methods; appeals, open or disguised, to self-interest; and economic, political or sociological theory, which guides political practice, but is controversial and gets out of date, and contains hidden appeals to sectional interests.

From the party point of view the most important function of theory in ideology is this function of disguising appeals to self-interest, and thus maintaining the appearance of consistency in what the party says.

India, newly starting a free political existence, needs to make her abstract principles explicit.

If I can judge her people's temperament, I should say that her educated class are more interested in theory than Englishmen, but less intoxicated by it than Germans or Russians, while the uneducated are of course indifferent to it. All, however, educated and uneducated, are strongly attracted by high ideals, and still more by men who live up to them. (But it is not unfair to say that they are not much worried by a political practice which departs widely from the ideal).

It follows, if this is true, that an Indian political party which wants to get anywhere must stress the abstract, ethical or utopian element in its ideology. And if it can get an authentic saint for a leader, its fortune is made."

It should give second place to theory, political, economic or sociological, but it should take care that any theory it does profess is not too difficult to reconcile with its professed ideals. Will it not then fail of popular appeal? Has not Gandhism collapsed for lack of open or covert appeal to self-interest?

It is not certain. It may be, says the writer, that Gandhism has collapsed since Independence rather because its ideal is not wholly acceptable.

The way for an Indian party may be to proclaim an ideal which is worthy, and yet is free from elements which are merely idiosyncratic and out of date, and for the rest to stand not on theory but on truth; the truth that progress towards any ideal must be slow, and must involve hard work, hard thinking, and honest administration; and to promise that effort and honesty (relying upon the Indian public's merciful indulgence towards normal lapses from the ideal) would be rewarded.

The stress on theory in political ideologies is dubious both morally and intellectually. Priority for the ideal aim is logically sounder, and would raise Indian politics to a higher moral level.

SMOKING AND LUNG CANCER

Professor R. D. Passey, of Leeds University, claims there is no proof that cigarette smoking can be blamed for the big increase in lung cancer.

About two months ago, writing in the *British Medical Journal* Mr. Horace Jones, Medical Director, Central Middlesex Hospital, said:

Unless, action is taken quickly, by 1965 as many as 25,000 people a year will die from cancer of the lung caused by smoking. A correlation between the rising curve of tobacco consumption with that of deaths from lung cancer over the last 25 years suggests that the annual increase of approximately 1,000 deaths will continue.

Writing in the same *Journal*, Prof. Passey points out that the recorded death figures have increased hand-in-hand with cigarette smoking, but he says, if there is any agent in tobacco to cause cancer it has still to be proved. Possibly the increase in the figures can be explained by the doctors' ability to recognise the disease.

Prof. Passey adds:

In the early days of the present century it was taught and it was in the students' text books that breast cancer might be related to the bone and metal supports of the corsets of the Edwardian days.

But in the intervening 45 years the incidence of mammary cancer has not fallen.

Let us be sure of our evidence before we scare our public.

COONOR PASTEUR INSTITUTE

Working with one of the most dread diseases known to man—hydrophobia—the doctors and scientists at South India's famous Pasteur Institute, in the Nilgiri Hills at Coonoor, are making the vaccine which ensures safety from this fatal disease to some 24,000 persons each year.

It is one disease villagers need not be warned about. They know it and fear it—as does anyone who has ever heard its symptoms described, from the first choking terror at the sight of water to the final madness.

People with scarcely a pie to their names come from distances anywhere from 50 to 250 miles away to be treated after a bite from a dog or a monkey or a jackal.

They know that the Pasteur Institute's clinic is open 24 hours every day in the year, and that whether they arrive at midnight or on a holiday they will be given the first of the life-saving inoculations immediately, and without cost.

Although dispensaries, hospitals and most registered practitioners throughout South India are now authorized to receive the Institute's anti-rabic vaccine and to give the courses of treatment, there are still many who believe in coming to the calm, sure men at Coonoor who have been studying rabies for most of their professional lives.

Nor is the reputation of the Coonoor Pasteur Institute bounded by the village of the Nilgiris. It is, in fact, world-wide.

Its almost 50 years of solid research, and its advanced practical application of it, places the Coonoor Institute high in international medical circles. It was chosen by the World Health Organization as the meeting place for its first International Anti-Rabies Conference, in July of last year, which was attended by specialists from 23 countries. It was also chosen by the World Health Organization in 1950 as a centre for making the first Indian studies of another virus disease—influenza.

NEEDS OF ASIAN COUNTRIES

The U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which ended its plenary session, at Bandung on February 15, expressed the hope that the United States would consider the needs of Asian countries as well as her own "enlightened self-interest" in laying down her economic policy.

In a report issued by the Commission "it welcomed the United States policy of promoting an expanding economy" in which are inherent greater opportunities for the development of the ECAFE region."

The report said the Commission laid greater stress on the need to increase external financial aid to the region.

Difficulties of food-importing countries had been aggravated by increased rice prices, the report added.

It said Commission members were generally agreed on the need for measures to stabilise commodity prices, and to create conditions in which prices of capital goods, and manufactured goods—which the area needs—bore a "just" relation to primary commodity prices.

The next session of ECAFE is to be held at Nuwara Eliya, a Ceylon mountain resort next February.

POINT FOUR AID

The Point-Four concept of foreign aid celebrated its fourth anniversary on January 20, with hundreds of projects under way in 35 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is estimated that \$276,614,422 in U.S. tax-payers' funds will have been spent on all projects for the two fiscal years 1951-53 ending on June 30. Almost 2,445 U.S. technicians are working with some 18,000 specialists in these countries in the attack on hunger, poverty, and disease.

NEW METHOD OF RICE CULTIVATION

A new improved method of rice cultivation, successfully introduced in Bombay State, has increased yields by 800 per cent. The Japanese method of rice sowing, which does not involve any costly foreign equipment and could be followed by any farmer, has raised 8,000 lb. of paddy per acre in Thana District, Bombay State, as compared to the present normal yield of 1,000 lb.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

PUBLIC SAFETY BILL

The South African House of Assembly passed the Public Safety Bill on Feb. 16 giving the Government wide powers to deal with resistance to its apartheid (racial segregation) laws.

Only nine members voted against the third and final reading of the Bill which empowers the Government to declare a State of emergency and to legislate by proclamation.

A Labour Party amendment that the Bill should be read in six months' time—tantamount to killing it—was rejected.

The United Party, the main Opposition group, supported the Bill in principle because it was "essential there should be peace and security" in the country.

Dr. Colin Steyn, Leader of the Orange Free State United (opposition) Party, suggested that non-Europeans should be consulted about the Government's Safety Bill.

He associated himself with the policy of the United Party (Opposition) in supporting the Government. But, he added, in the debate on the third reading: "The Government should try to gain the support and goodwill of non-Europeans." The reason why his party supported the Bill in principle was that it was essential that there should be peace and security in South Africa. He added, "It would be a great pity if non-Europeans got the impression that the Bill is directed against them or their development. The Bill is directed only against law-breakers."

Mr. John Christie leader of the Labour Party which opposes the Bill, said it would make iniquitous inroads into the rights of the citizens and nobody could feel safe.

The Government is unfit to govern a free people if it has to pass legislation of this kind, Mr. Christie said.

The Bill has since become law, having received the Governor-General's assent.

Malaya

MALAYAN INDIANS

Contributions from Indians in Malaya, particularly from South Indians, to the Tamil Nad Cyclone Relief Fund opened by the *Tamilnesan*, Indian-owned Tamil daily of Kuala Lumpur, continue to flow in and might easily reach a lakh of rupees shortly. This was revealed by Mr. S. Natarajan, manager of the *Tamilnesan* who arrived in Madras last month from Malaya on a brief visit.

They had already remitted Rs. 50,000 in two instalments to Madras to the Tamil Nad Congress Committee and they hoped to collect an equal amount in the next few months, he said.

Mr. Natarajan denied reports in a section of the Press that Indian immigration was causing concern to the Malayan Government and said there was a growing demand for skilled Indian labour in the Federation. The Malayan Government had also sought India's help for supplying them with qualified teachers, doctors and engineers, he said.

Ceylon

INDIAN LABOUR IN INDIA

There was no question of the repatriation of about 50,000 Indian labourers in Ceylon to India, as a result of the Ceylon Government's actions, said Sri Nehru, Prime Minister, intervening during question time in the Council of States on February 6.

He added: "But it may be that those of them who, an account of the steps taken by the Ceylon Government, have got into difficulties will have a tendency to come to India. It will be for us to consider what we should do."

Replying to further supplementaries, the Prime Minister said that the real issue was not about the illegal immigrants and others, but about those who considered themselves nationals of Ceylon, but who, for the moment, were not recognised as citizens there. They were not Indian citizens and hence became Stateless as a result of the Ceylon Government's actions

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

STATES' SHARE OF CENTRAL REVENUES

Under all the recommendations made by the Finance Commission, this is what each State might expect to receive annually (figures in brackets showing average amounts received under the Deshmukh Award, which was in force till the end of 1951-52):

Assam Rs. 3.45 crores (Rs. 2.21 crores);
Bihar Rs. 8.55 crores (Rs. 6.55 crores);
Bombay Rs. 11.25 crores (Rs. 11.60 crores);
Hyderabad Rs. 3.59 crores (Rs. 1.25 crore);
Madhya Bharat Rs. 1.46 crores (Rs. 6 lakhs);
Madhya Pradesh Rs. 4.20 crores (Rs. 3.35 crores);
Madras Rs. 11.10 crores (Rs. 8.56 crores);
Mysore Rs. 3.68 crores (Rs. 3.45 crores);
Orissa Rs. Rs. 3.74 crores (Rs. 2.01 crores);
Peppu Rs. 65 lakhs (Rs. 16 lakhs);
Punjab Rs. 3.82 crores (Rs. 3.43 crores);
Rajasthan Rs. 2.89 crores (Rs. 10 lakhs);
Saurashtra Rs. 3.02 crores (Rs. 2.75 crores);
Travancore-Cochin Rs. 3.23 crores (Rs. 3.22 crores);
Uttar Pradesh Rs. 11.70 crores (Rs. 8.88 crores);
West Bengal Rs. 9.60 crores (Rs. 7.54 crores);
Total Rs. 85.93 crores (Rs. 65.12 crores);

The amounts received till 1951-52 are average for three years in the case of Part A States and for two years in the case of Part B States.

The actual amount accruing by way of devolution of revenue will obviously vary from year to year.

I.T. ARREARS

In addition to the share of revenues under the Commission's scheme the States will also receive the outstanding arrears of their share of income-tax in respect of the period before Apr. 1, 1952. The budget for 1952-53 assumes that these arrears will be Rs. 5 crores, and if the actual amount is of this order, Madras will receive Rs. 87 lakhs, Bombay Rs. 105 lakhs, West Bengal Rs. 68 lakhs, U. P. Rs. 90 lakhs, Punjab Rs. 27 lakhs, Bihar Rs. 63 lakhs, Madhya Pradesh Rs. 30 lakhs, Assam Rs. 15 lakhs and Orissa Rs. 15 lakhs.

MIDDLE EAST DEFENCE

Replying to a question of Mr. A. C. Guha in the House of the People, the Prime Minister said the Government of India viewed "any developments connected with the proposed Middle Eastern Defence plan with concern."

Mr. Nehru said that

in the event of the establishment of MEDO, certain consequences will naturally follow and certain existing balances in the Middle East might be affected. The Government of India are, therefore, naturally interested in this matter. He, however, added that the Government of India had not sent any formal communication to the other parties concerned "as it directly concerns the relations of other countries; but naturally our viewpoint is made clear to other countries whenever the need arises."

The Prime Minister added that Government had received no official information about MEDO, nor had they been invited or approached by any other Government to join this organisation. "It has been stated on behalf of the Pakistan Government that certain discussions have taken place or are taking place, but no final decision has been reached."

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Prime Minister Nehru, expressed in an interview with the UPA his willingness to meet the Pakistan Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, to discuss problems between India and Pakistan, including the Kashmir issue.

Earlier Mr. Nazimuddin had told the UPA that he was willing to talk face to face with Mr. Nehru if an agenda could be worked out.

"Why fix an agenda?" Mr. Nehru asked in the interview on February 13:

An agenda is used for the United Nations or other meetings but when two men sit down, they talk about matters of common interest. I would be willing to meet to discuss any matter of common interest,

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Addressing the joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament on February 11, President Prasad reviewed the events during the nine months since he addressed Parliament last and said that internally, advances had been made on many fronts, industrial and agricultural.

In the international field, the President expressed "grave concern" over some of the recent developments in regard to Korea. "Certain statements recently made and the consequences that might flow from them in extending the war in Korea," he...said, "have caused considerable apprehension in the minds of people all over the world."

Referring to the movement against racial discrimination in South Africa, and the racial conflict in East Africa, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

There are many people still who do not realise that racial domination and discrimination cannot be tolerated in the world today, and any attempt to perpetuate them can only lead to disaster.

The President noted that India's relations with her neighbouring countries in Western and South-Eastern Asia continued to be close and friendly, and that there was an "increasing measure of co-operation between us."

Other points dealt with by the President included the following:

New Andhra State: I hope that there will be no great delay in establishing the new Andhra State. Any such change, as the establishment of a new State, demands the fullest co-operation of all those concerned with it, and I trust that this will be forthcoming.

Agitation in Jammu: I trust that this misguided agitation will cease, and the people of Jammu and Kashmir will co-operate for the progress and advancement of the State in the larger union of India. Where there are legitimate grievances, they will undoubtedly be inquired into and every effort made to remove them.

Five-Year Plan: I am glad to find that this plan, and the 55 community projects that have been started in the country are evoking a considerable degree of enthusiasm among our people.

Finance Commission: The Commission's recommendations have been accepted by my Government, and necessary action will be taken to implement them.

MR. BEVAN ON INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The need for a third bloc of nations to hold the world's balance of power was advocated by Mr. Aneurin Bevan on Feb. 16 while addressing members of Parliament. Mr. Bevan paid a tribute to India's achievements during the last few years both in the domestic sphere and in the field of foreign affairs. Referring to India's foreign policy, Mr. Bevan said:

During the last few years, not only have you very many domestic accomplishments to your credit but the voice of India in the councils of the nations has recently been of the utmost importance. When I read in the Indian newspapers of the fact that India does not have any influence in world affairs because she does not belong to this or that bloc of nations, I do not believe that. If India belongs to any one of the blocs of nations, she would merely become a creature of one of the two blocs and have no influence on them. (Cheers.)

The fact is the world at the moment is divided between two great giants, neither of whom appears to be able to influence the policy of the other. Russia and the whole Soviet mass is suffering from rigidity and the United States of America is suffering from instability. Both are hag-ridden by fear and both are so powerful that they think they can afford to dispense with wisdom, because only the weak need wisdom. Therefore it is from the weaker nations that the most sense is being spoken at the present time.

I believe not only for you but for mankind it is necessary that there should be a realignment of the forces of the world, that there should emerge a third bloc of nations holding a world balance of power and compelling these two giants to listen to what they have to say.

In the course of the last few months India has taken the initiative in the United Nations and though her advice has not always been accepted, do not make the mistake of supposing it has not had its influence. Though perhaps the change of policy may come from another nation, initiative in changing the direction of forces can often come from nations like India leading the others in the United Nations.

Mr. Bevan added:

Therefore for those of us who were members of the British Cabinet when India realised her independence, we have a deep sense of pride not only in what India is doing inside India but when we open our newspapers and read that the Indian Prime Minister, or the delegate of India at the United Nations has been moving this resolution or presenting some formula in some crisis in mankind's destiny at the present time, we feel a deep sense of pride that perhaps what we did may yet be fateful in the history of mankind.

EVACUEE PROPERTY

The House of the People passed on February 20, the Administration of Evacuee Property (Amendment) Bill which among other things, will abolish at one stroke all the clauses in the Act dealing with intending evacuees. There will be no more intending evacuees and all those who have been declared to be such in the past will be freed from all restrictions.

The Rehabilitation Minister, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, said that the Bill left untouched the position of those who could be declared evacuees straight off.

During the debate some of the members expressed doubt whether Government intended to carry out their promises of compensation to refugees. Mr. Jain assured them that Government stood by all their promises. The scheme of compensation, he said, was under consideration. He hoped it would be placed before the House and the public in no distant future.

The Evacuee Property Bill also seeks to amend the relevant portions of the Evacuee Property Law to provide that any transfer for valuable consideration of any property the value of which is less than Rs. 3,000 need not, in future, be liable to confirmation by the Custodian.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO U.N.

The Indian delegation to the second part of the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which met in New York on February 24, 1953, is composed of the following:

Representatives: Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit (Leader), Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

Alternate representative: Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, New York.

Advisers: Mr. T. J. Natarajan, Mr. B. Rajan, Mr. Avtar Singh and Mr. P. K. Banerjee.

Mr. G. H. Jansen will be the Public Relations Officer to the delegation.

GURKHA SOLDIERS ON TRANSIT

Prime Minister Nehru said in Parliament that the Government of India had made it clear to the U.K. Government as well as the Nepal Government that India could not indefinitely allow the transit facilities even on individual basis for the Gurkha recruits to the British army across India.

The Prime Minister stated this in reply to Prof. H. N. Mukerjee, in the House of the People.

The position taken up by the Government of India in regard to the closing of the British camps in the territory of the Indian Union for the recruitment of Gurkhas, said Mr. Nehru, had been accepted by the U.K. Government. The matter was under discussion between the Governments of Nepal and the U.K. Under the tripartite agreement signed in 1947 between the Governments of the U.K., Nepal and India, the Government of India agreed to give transport facilities through India to Gurkhas from Nepal. This agreement continued and no fresh assurance had been given.

POWER SUPPLY TO W. PUNJAB

India and Pakistan have signed a fresh agreement to continue supply of electricity from East Punjab to West Punjab for another one year. The present agreement expires by the end of March.

It is stated that under the existing agreement West Punjab is getting 6,000 kilowatts at the rate of 1.35 pies (Indian currency) per unit.

CONCESSION TO SMALL PRODUCERS

The Government of India has agreed to the representation of State Governments to exempt small producers from the provisions of the Food-grains (Licensing and Procurement) Order 1952. This order prescribes a limit of 15 maunds of food-grains which a person can store without a licence.

SOCIAL EDUCATION ORGANISERS

A detailed programme of the training or Social Education Organisers, who will work in the Community Project areas, was finalised at a two-day Conference of Directors or Training Centres of Social Education Organisers, in Delhi.

Sri S. K. Dey, Administrator, Community Projects, presided. Those who attended were Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, and Srimans K. Roy, K. P. Chowdhury, T. A. Koshy, G. G. Ramachandran, and P. H. Patwardhan.

The Conference decided that the Community Projects Administration should make an appeal to the public to bring to the fore suitable folk literature, which might already exist, or which is being currently produced in the upsurge of freedom but has not yet come into popular use. Such material would be screened by a Special Committee to be set up for the purpose.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

Referring to the role universities played in moulding character and behaviour of young men on the right lines, Dr. Radhakrishnan emphasised the need for universities playing their part well now at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Andhra University:

If we wish to avoid totalitarianism of the right or left variety and make democracy a live thing and again if we do not want to compromise with social evils which were undemocratic which in their turn would lead to development of other undesirable "isms", a university should do its function truly and well, namely to produce leaders, who will be endowed with abiding faith and conviction in what they think and do and we will work not for the world which is dying but for the world which is struggling to be born. And this in my view is the main function of a university.

It is very essential for the greatness of any civilisation to emphasise the freedom of the human mind. Look at the magnificent achievements in art and science and literature. They are products of personal vision and work in many cases. If they stifle the human mind they kill the very spirit behind individual initiative and make at all individuals duplicates of one another with the result that society will stagnate.

In our country, we are uncertain, we are afraid, we are confused and we do not know what

is the type of society to which we have to train our youth. This position is being exploited to our disadvantage. Fortunately for us, we have in our Constitution, a social philosophy, a truly social democratic philosophy, which believes in justice, political, economic and social, believes in liberty of society and association as long as we do not interfere with the interests of others. We believe in equal opportunity to all; we believe in fraternity. Here is the very essence of democratic faith. This is in consistence with the ideas of our civilisation.

Man high or low has in him the possibility of rising to divine stature. All religions have accepted this truth that the individual is precious, and they should preserve his dignity and sanctity. If this is not preserved, the civil State would go down. Democracy is on trial now. At present, the democracies are facing a very critical situation. It is now that the democracies will have to put forth leaders of faith, character and courage.

GOVT. SCHOLARSHIPS IN ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

The Central Government have sanctioned 33 senior scholarships in the Andhra University, out of which 18 carry Rs. 206 each for a month, and 15 Rs. 100 a month.



DR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR
The New Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.

ELECTION LAW TO BE AMENDED

The Law Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas, told the House of the People on Feb. 19 that upto February 1, ten election petitions were disposed of in respect of the House of the People, 72 in respect of State Legislative Assemblies, three in respect of State Councils and one in respect of the Council of States. The number of elections declared void by the Election Commissioner upto February 1 was 38. The reasons for declaring the elections void were improper rejection or acceptance of nomination papers, corruption and illegal practices.

With a view to preventing elections being set aside in future on the ground of improper rejection or of improper acceptance of nomination papers, Government intended introducing a Bill to amend the law, providing for a summary appeal from the returning officer's orders at an early stage and giving absolute finality to the list of validly nominated candidates. It was not, however, proposed to take any action to prevent elections being set aside in future on the grounds of corrupt and illegal practices.

PROVISION OF DIVORCE FOR HINDUS

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, suggests that a plebiscite on the question of divorce for which provision was to be made in the Hindu Code would be very profitable.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar, who was Observer in a mock-Parliament held under the auspices of the General Council of Associations of University, said that any provision for divorce in the Code must also provide economic securities for the divorced wife and her children. He praised the Islamic law of marriage which insisted on the return of the mahr (dowry) in divorce cases. He hoped that the framers of the Hindu Code would consider this point.

INDIA'S PRISON SYSTEM

Recommendations which would drastically revise India's prison administration and penal code, have been made by a United Nations expert.

The expert, Dr. Walter C. Reckless, a Criminologist at Ohio State University on loan to the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration, has completed a survey of the entire administration and has suggested new legislation which may be proposed to the Indian Parliament.

Dr. Reckless stated that the first step to be taken should be a revision of the Gaol Manual and the Indian Penal Code. He also strongly recommended the introduction and application of the probation system and urged that prison administrators change their concept of the purpose of imprisonment.

He said they must regard confinement as a period of social rehabilitation and training for good citizenship and not as a custodial, punitive experience. In order to accomplish this, he said, it must be assumed that a majority of prisoners could be improved and that only a minority was incorrigible.

Dr. Reckless said that the present Gaol Manual and Penal Code used the custodial concept of long punitive sentence and rigorous commitment. He suggested a Government commission to draft revisions.

HINDU MARRIAGE & DIVORCE BILL

The Madras Bar Council at a recent meeting expressed its general approval of the terms of the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, but pointed out that there was no justification for retaining the provisions relating to judicial separation; and that with regard to Clause 19 read with the definition in Clause 3 (b) the jurisdiction should be vested in courts like the City Civil Courts in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, so that the cases need not be filed in the High Court. Mr. V. K. Tiruvenkatachari, Advocate-General and Chairman of the Council presided.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

The Railway estimates presented to Parliament on Feb. 18 by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri anticipate a net surplus of Rs. 9.31 crores for 1953-54. Gross traffic receipts and working expenses are estimated at Rs. 272.28 crores and Rs. 191.20 crores respectively. The dividend to General Revenues will be Rs. 34.77 crores.

The revised estimate for 1952-53 reveals a net surplus of only Rs. 9.48 crores as against the Budget estimate of Rs. 23.47 crores, representing a fall of Rs. 13.99 crores.

The Railway Minister announced no variations either in the freight charges or in passenger fares. The abolition of Class I in all trains would be completed by October this year and travel concessions for teachers and volunteers working in community projects would be introduced, he declared.

Mr. Shastri named 12 new lines to be constructed or surveyed during the forthcoming year. Survey would be undertaken in respect of seven other projects.

Class I accommodation will be withdrawn from all trains with effect from April 1, 1953, except on some of the express and mail trains and completely by October next.

"TRAVEL AS YOU LIKE" TICKETS

Mr. Shastri announced travel concessions to parties of teachers of recognised schools, concession tickets to volunteers working on community projects and introduction of "Travel-as-you-like" tickets for Class III passengers for a fortnight in the first half of April.

ERADICATION OF CORRUPTION

The Railway Minister announced the setting up of a committee which would include Members of Parliament to investigate the problem of corruption in railways and suggest remedial measures, both administrative and legal.

PASSENGER AMENITIES

A sum of Rs. 3 crores has, as usual, been provided in the next year for passenger amenities. The Minister said that a substantial portion of this allotment would be devoted towards improving passenger amenities at comparatively smaller stations also.

The drop in the surplus for 1952-53 is mainly due to a decrease of Rs. 10.14 crores under passenger earnings, of which Rs. 2.19 crores is due to upper class traffic and the balance under Class III traffic. The fall in goods traffic earnings is put at Rs. 1.10 crores.

The final accounts of 1951-52 has resulted in a net surplus of Rs. 22.06 crores which is Rs. 6.28 crores more than the revised estimate for that year.

INDIANISATION IN FOREIGN FIRMS

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, informed Mr. K. K. Basu in the House of the People on February 20 that 75 per cent. of the foreign controlled firms and companies in India had sent returns in response to Government's questionnaire on the subject of employment of Indians.

"It is the declared policy of the Government," he said, "to encourage the employment of Indians in an increasing measure in such foreign concerns. The Government will certainly do all that is possible and use such influence as it possesses to make these concerns employ as many Indians as possible."

LOANS FROM WORLD BANK

The Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, gave details of the two loans recently received from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The first loan amounting to 31.5 million dollars to the Indian Iron and Steel Company would carry an interest of 4½ per cent. and was repayable in 30 half-yearly instalments. The loan was given for the expansion programme of the company and the Government of India had guaranteed the loan. The amount represented the foreign currency cost of plant and machinery to be obtained by the company.

The other loan of a sum of 19.5 million dollars to the Damodar Valley Corporation carried an interest of 4-7/8 per cent. and was repayable in half-yearly instalments over a period of 25 years.

WOMAN SAINT TO FORM PARTY

Shraddhamata a revered woman saint, announced at a recent Press Conference in Delhi her intention to form a new party to be known as the "Lokatma Sangh." She said the aim of the new party would be the establishment of economic and social equality.

She regretted that religion was being made a tool of exploitation of the masses. In her opinion true religion meant the absence of social and economic inequality. The new party would try to bring about a change in the present social order through peaceful and non-violent means, she said.

Shraddhamata hails from a princely family of Uttar Pradesh. She renounced the world at the age of 25 a decade ago and came back recently from the Kailash mountains where she had gone for meditation.

7,200 FOREIGN WOMEN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

In the last academic year a total of 30,476 foreign students, nearly 7,200 of them women, were enrolled in more than 1,400 American colleges and universities, according to the Institute of International Education, New York (U.S.A.)

India alone had 1,133 students, and along with China, Mexico, Germany and Canada lead in foreign student enrolment.

GIRL GRADUATES IN OXFORD

Oxford University girl students are worse dressed than the ordinary shop assistant, complains *Isis*, the undergraduates' official magazine.

It declares that fluffy pullovers, wind-swept hair and sack like skirts "are sufficient indication of the tepid, sluggish flowing of their blood."

The University's women are accused of being divided into two classes: those who go there after a degree and a husband—and those who go there after a husband.

12 WOMEN TO SERVE IN NEW U.S. CONGRESS

A record number of women members will serve in the new 83rd U.S. Congress, according to the latest election returns reported in Washington.

There will be 12 women holding seats in the House and the Senate, if final returns confirm the present election reports. This is one more than the number serving in the outgoing 82nd Congress. Only once before—in the 79th Congress—had there been 11 women members.

Nine women Representatives were re-elected and two new-comers were elected. The only woman member of the upper chamber of the U.S. Congress Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, was not required to run for re-election this year.

INCREASED RIGHTS TO WOMEN

Women in 23 countries have been granted full or limited political rights since the U.N. Charter was signed in 1945 according to the latest U.N. annual report. There are now 57 nations that grant women equal voting rights with men.



Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, wife of the President of the United States.

WORLD CHURCH LEADERS IN CONFERENCE

More than 150 World Church leaders, who had gathered at Lucknow in January last condemned with one voice the cult of Master Race practised in any part of the world. In a five-point resolution on the racial problem in South Africa, the Governing Body of the Central Committee of World Council of Churches affirmed that all discriminations based on race, whether political, social or economic, were contrary to the "will of God as expressed in the Christian gospel."

The resolution which was carried unanimously concluded with a call to all member churches to do "all in their power" to end racial discrimination wherever it existed.

The five points of the resolution are:

1. The Central Committee "is glad to recognise that constructive conversation has begun between the South African member churches and the World Council concerning the Christian attitude to problems of relationships between races and lays stress on the desirability of asking representative non-European Christians in South Africa to share in these deliberations.

2. The Central Committee "desires that conversation with South African churches should be continued and considers that for this purpose full participation of South African churches in the Commission on inter-group relations, set up in preparation for the Second Assembly, is essential.

3. The Central Committee gives encouragement to all those in South Africa and elsewhere who are labouring for a solution of the racial problem in keeping with the Christian gospel and calls upon all Christians to uphold them in thought and prayer and in acts of reconciliation.

4. The Central Committee would use the opportunity to express its strong conviction that the first and foremost contribution which churches everywhere can and must make to a solution of the race problem is to manifest in their own life that in Christ all racial division is overcome and that any policy of enforced segregation in any aspect of church life is incompatible with the very nature of the Church of Christ.

5. The Central Committee holding strongly convictions expressed by the First Assembly affirms that all political, social and economic discriminations based on groups of race wherever they may exist are contrary to the will of God as expressed in the Christian gospel. Recognising that the existing racial discrimination is increasing the tension and bitterness in various parts of the world, the Committee calls upon member churches to engage in Christian Ministry of reconciliation and to all in their power to end such discrimination wherever it exists,

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

A special function was held on Feb. 17 at the Headquarters of the Society in Adyar, when the retiring President, Mr. Jinarajadasa, declared Mr. N. Sri Ram elected President of the Society for seven years. After garlanding him, he conferred on Mr. Sri Ram the Ring of Madame H. P. Blavatsky, the President-co-Founder, which has been in custody of successive Presidents since the time of Dr. Besant.

In a brief speech, Mr. Sri Ram laid emphasis on the importance of the work before them.

PLASTIC LENS FOR EYES

Plastic lenses are being put into human eyes, Dr. Harold Ridley, Ophthalmic Surgeon of London, told the International College of Surgeons' Congress at Chicago.

The plastic lens replaces the eye's natural lens lost through cataract, which often causes blindness.

The eye specialist takes out the clouded lens and substitutes a little disc of clear, pure plastic, said Dr. Ridley who in three years has done 65 such operations.



DR. FELIX BLOCH

Professor of physics at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, has been awarded a Nobel Prize for 1952 for his work in nuclear physics.

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EDUCATE OUR MASTERS

SPOTLIGHT ON RURAL EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY PROF. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

ASIA is at the crossroads of history. India, no less. Sandwiched between the two power-blocs, the Soviet and the Democratic, India's position is unique on the world map. Nehru's India is neutral; here is an unarmed neutrality. India has 15 per cent of the world's population but only 2 per cent of the world's area. The problem of relative over-population in the Far East has drawn many nations into the Communist orbit. On the other hand, major democratic countries have smaller populations with greater space for population spill-over; hence, they are prosperous and wealthy. Nations having a smaller share of the world's area and a larger share of the world's population are faced with the problem of more mouths and less food to go round. In India, poverty and starvation, illiteracy and ignorance and sub-human standard of living, sharpened and accentuated by fast-increasing numbers, thwart popular welfare and social security. Communism has nearly succeeded in solving these problems. Despite chronic statism, regimentation of thought and lack of intellectual freedom, the Reds have given almost every citizen creature comforts—food, clothing and shelter—and basic amenities of civilised existence. But India refuses to go the Red way, as China did.

While recognising the merits of Communism and Democracy, India rejects their defects. She is prepared to meet both half way. To-day, the government is at pains to make India a 'welfare state'. Years back, Nehru himself said that Purna-Swaraj meant "filling every

belly and the wiping of every tear from every eye". The government have already blue-printed a socialistic programme for achieving a very high standard of individual and social welfare through the democratic method.

Democracy for its prolonged existence depends upon the personality of the individual. The thinking and responsible citizens choose their own representatives to the parliament by secret ballot. The parliament is the nation's sovereign law-making body. The majority party inside the parliament forms the government. The opposition, by censure and criticism, throws light on the government's mistakes and corrects its ways. The people agitate through the press and platform for safeguarding their sacred rights and freedoms. Theoretically, every little man can make his voice heard by the government. In a democracy the people are sovereign. The ultimate authority resides in them. India enjoys universal adult franchise. Universal franchise and universal education go hand in hand, for democracy becomes a mockery in a nation of illiterates. Therefore, educate our masters, we must.

Of the 170 millions who went to the polls in the last elections, 90 per cent were illiterate. USSR wiped out adult illiteracy within a few decades. Today USSR has 198,000 primary and secondary schools and 36 million school-going children. While India, having double the population of USSR, has only 171,000 schools and 14 million school-going children. In all the major countries of the world, the literacy figure ranges from

90 per cent to 95 per cent. Liquidation of illiteracy is the urgent need today. We are sick of hearing the vigorous loud-mouthed, something-should-be-done speeches of do-nothing provincial ministers. Speed is the essence of our time. Delay spells danger. In the meanwhile, our jails bulge with criminals, thieves, pickpockets. Irresponsible, mischievous street-boys and juvenile delinquents increase by leaps and bounds; lepers and syphilitics among children haunt our streets, shops and bazars; policemen are busy holding back the grave annoyances that plague the citizenry. Education and knowledge will lead our illiterate millions from darkness to light. They will be happy to see the golden era emerge, in which they can advance on their own merits. It shall be the effort of our national government to give point and substance to an otherwise empty life of our citizens and teach them to cherish freedom.

PROBLEMS CROWD IN

In many modern countries, education is urban in character, suiting to town conditions. Industrial revolution has led to the rise of towns in large numbers.

India lives in her 700,000 villages. She is predominantly rural. 70 per cent of the population rely on agriculture for livelihood. Therefore, education in India has to be ruralised in a big way.

When education, essentially urban, was extended to suburban and rural areas in modern countries, the results were unhappy, for effective education should be suited to the socio-economic milieu. In India too education designed for town conditions was extended to the countryside; it made the rural child a social misfit. He (the child) loved the towns, not the countryside; his dreams centred around motor cars and electric trains, not bullock carts and cattle-raising. Thus in India, the best brains and talents of rural areas left their village homes in search of petty jobs in towns. Further, the High school-educated and College-educated have nursed up already a deep hatred for the ways and means of country life. They looked down upon the dress of their parents, their primitive furniture, their table manners, their way of life.

Their contempt for village life deepened as they enjoyed more and more of the conveniences in the city. Such a negative attitude towards the villages has done us tremendous harm. Hence, progressive countries in Europe like Denmark and Holland have started of late a vigorous campaign for ruralising education. America and England, highly industrialised nations themselves, have already realised the harm rural depopulation has brought on them. The countryside thrown into careless neglect threaten today the very security of their national economy. They have embarked already on a programme of industrial and educational decentralisation. It is high time for India to ruralise her educational system in order to meet her specific requirements.

In India the problem assumes threatening proportions. 90 per cent of India's 356 millions are villagers. They are the most uncreative and backward section of mankind. But in fact they form the very backbone of India. In them lies the destiny of India. They mould the India of tomorrow. Therefore the type of education given them has very much to do with the future of free India.

Indian peasants are honest, hard-working, but are ignorant, reactionary. They stand stout against change. Sometimes wasteful extravagance marks their ceremonies. They are largely undernourished and live in the most insanitary surroundings. The zamindar, the money-lender, the middle-men and the petty local officer exploit them. They are poor victims of circumstances.

Abysmal poverty is the lot of the Indian peasant. A sample survey spotlighted the mess in which he is. The yearly income of an average 5-member family totalled Rs. 455 and expenditure Rs. 675. Oftener than often, the families incur debts at usurious rates of interest. Most of the low-income bracket families require the labour of small children of school-going age to make ends meet. Many parents think that the larger the number of children, the better for the family's income-earning capacity. Rural education shall be such as to free these children from the tyranny of labour and

attract them to school. Rural education, properly planned, will release forces culminating in a socio-economic revolution. Rural education will give them and their successors the knowledge necessary to improve their resources, to improve their lot. Then, their standard of living will spiral its way up and life will have its fill of happiness.

Next to poverty, comes wastage of time and resources. Our primitive modes of agriculture are wasteful. Spoilage and waste of resources apart, the average peasant vegetates from 5 to 7 months. This idle period offers an opportunity and poses a challenge. Hidden natural riches and superfluous labour energy at hand can be exploited to the full by introducing suitable subsidiary and cottage industries on the one hand and organised social work units on the other. For this, the peasants shall be in the know of social and economic problems and the means of solving them. Here, social education comes into a greater destiny than mere literacy.

Aside poverty and idleness, the socio-religious set-up is at fault. The law of *karma* and concepts of *mun-janma* and pre-destination, nurse up a kind of soulless fatalism. The joint family, caste system, the purdah, taboo on intermarriage—these stumbling blocks have hindered India's march forward. Religion enforcing customs and practices, preaches individual salvation, hampering social and collective spirit. Lack of co-operative endeavour brought isolation in every sphere of village life. Sub-division and fragmentation of land is a typical example. Only the right type of rural education can reverse the process. It can alter the rural conservative psychology, better personal habits and social standards and can change the face of rural India beyond recognition.

Today, our land is free. We rule ourselves. Our literacy figure stands at 18 per cent a rock bottom figure, indeed. In 1950-51, UK spent £ 31½ million on education, USA \$ 125 million and India only Rs. 4 million. The amount spent by India on education forms just 5 per cent

of the country's total income, a negligible fraction. When the average expenditure on education in Britain is £2½ per head, India spends not more than 9 annas. These statistics cannot silence the alarm-bell ringing inside the heads of educationists and statesmen. Colossal idleness and criminal waste of potential resources expose our giant weakness. Only Rural education can help us remedy the situation. Once the majority of people are capable of amassing knowledge, understanding, the know-how of things, they can harvest fresh knowledge by careful reading, keen observation and independent thinking.

RURALISING EDUCATION

India's rural education must aim at rural reconstruction. Brayne, the American expert, prescribes self-help as the only way towards a permanently happy state. In this country we require much more than self-help. Rural education shall bring us: (1) Ability to read and write. The emphasis shall be on reading books, journals, newspapers. Reading brings knowledge of the world we live in and opens fresh vistas of utilisable knowledge. Moreover, wide reading is an instrument of general criticism and self-criticism as well. (2) Ability to absorb sponge-like socio-economic facts, that help better community life. These coupled with the on-rush of burning democratic ideas sparkplug the revolution, rational and iconoclastic. The concept of liberty implies both equality and fraternity. This democratic revolution will break up the traditional socio-religious set up that has outlived its usefulness. It will help us build society afresh from bottom upwards. (3) Rural education shall be designed to make the child born in the rural area a first-rate citizen. Teach the child in the light of modern psychological findings, he will grow up into a responsible adult citizen, free from psychoses and neuroses. Education shall be practical and shall centre around a craft. It shall instil in the growing child a sense of pride for being born where he is. He shall help his parents at home and in the farm. At present, the college-educated boy turns away from his native village. That

way the very cream of rural citizenry is drained away to the town. The village is thus starved of the best leadership. (4) Rural education shall also concentrate on social education. When socio-economic ideas spread among the masses and sink into their hearts, illiteracy statistics will take a nosedive. Educated parents, brothers and sisters simplify child education. Audio-visual aids, library and travelling library services, rural information bureaux, village culture centres, clubs promoting art, literature, drama, dance etc—all these will quicken the broadcast of social and political ideas. It isn't easy to make a true welfare state.

THE NEW EDUCATION

Gandhiji was the first revolutionary in the sphere of Indian education. He fired the first shot on the British-sponsored urban educational system for the rural child. He offered an alternative. Modern educational principles and techniques, he adapted in such a way as to suit Indian conditions, to help the Indian child in his rural milieu. He threw overboard the talk-and-chalk method along with its traditional ballast, an act to head off disaster. He blueprinted an educational system with a craft as its core symbolising the work-a-day world. The rural bias of the Wardha scheme has made it dynamic, progressive. The products of the child's labour and workmanship can be sold and the amount gained thereby can help further the child's education or improve the finances of the institution or both. The insistence on the vocational and self-supporting nature of rural education is the essence of the Gandhian scheme. It is Gandhiji's contribution to educational thought.

With modifications in keeping with the lofty ideals of Gandhian thought, the Wardha scheme was elaborated into 'Nai Talim' or New Education in 1949. Gandhiji himself wanted 'Basic education' to be an education for life, for equipping the child for full-fledged citizenship, to effect "the all-round drawing of the best in the child and man—"body, mind and spirit."

Leading Indian educationists accept the broad principles underlying 'Nai Talim'. Modern methods, new syllabuses and trained teaching staff have made it almost a success. Basic education spreads over 4 stages—(1) Pre-Basic 2nd to 7th year of age. (2) Basic 7-14. (3) Post-Basic 14-18. The Sargeant scheme of education too has accepted the best from Gandhian principles of education. (4) The Rural universities, partially modelled on Denmark's folk High schools will extend the scope and application of Nai Talim principles to rural adult education.

Education for life through life, inspired by Gandhian ideals, requires modernisation. As the child grows up, education shall become self-supporting. He must feel that labour is dignified, divine. Then he will not laugh at the labouring village folk. Every child or pupil, rich or poor, shall work to earn his keeping. Actual work shall replace craft as his interests widen; later, his activities may shift to the workshop, laboratory and library and then to fine arts and literature. The new education shall be a cradle-to-grave process as the 1944 British education Act stresses. The accent shall be less on "books and books only" and more on tangible, practical present-day problems. Instead of making the child a never-failing memorising machine, the New education shall stir his thirst for knowledge, encourage his eagerness to experiment and do things himself. The teachers need then issue directions only and offer help, while the pupils will put the workshop, the laboratory and the library to the best use unguided by any. Moreover, the schools and colleges can do signal service to the nation by canalising the surplus energy of youth reinforced by extra-strong sentiments and emotions to sports and games, fine arts, variety entertainments, oratorical and academic competitions, journalism, social work etc. University education shall grow out of the four walls of the college to the wide open world. The university undergraduates coming from villages shall assume leadership of the village during

holidays and give the village youth the best in them.

Pre-Basic education shall be free, compulsory and universal. So also Basic and post-Basic. As the educational process climbs up to the higher rungs, the curriculum shall outgrow the rural environment to embrace the broad sweep of life, to feed the emotions and sentiments that make life worth living. LEARN THROUGH DOING, LEARN THROUGH READING, LEARN THROUGH THINKING—these shall be the three guiding stars of rural education.

ADULTS SEEK LIGHT

The urgent need of India is to educate her illiterate adults. Night schools, clubs, libraries, drama, folk songs and dances, Radio and films, maps, charts and posters—all these shall be pressed into service. University extension lectures and anti-illiteracy drives shall be organised. Mild mannered gentle college-students formed into batches shall go to villages, live with the village folk, freely talking and mixing with them. This is good for the spread of important social, economic and political facts, vital to collective, community life. Ideas have legs. Ideas sparkplug social changes in village communities. The people shall be equipped with the best information and knowledge to enable them to live out their life fully and intensely.

Age-old proverbs masquerading as wisdom, meaningless customs and moribund practices have assumed tremendous moral authority in this land. These are largely responsible for the disappearance of the active voice from a large part of our daily lives. Certain centuries-old religious beliefs have eaten into the vitals of the nation. These evils shall go root and branch, if India is not to go under. Solutions for problems of the 17th and 18th centuries can never solve the problems of the 20th. The feudal setting in which we live and the cultural fascism holding us in its grips have to be uprooted. Our crusade against these corroding evils that spread their tentacles all around shall be vigorous, forceful and effective. In a ruthless war against the

rising tide of ignorance, Reason with a capital R is the strongest weapon ever forged. Armed with Reason, the common man will throw his bombs of criticism at everything suspect.

The Nehru government has spared no effort to quicken the process of education. 32 universities, over a hundred technical institutions, 33 educational, cultural, scientific and humanistic learned societies, a few scientific research centres, a revived Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan and Nadhubai Damodar Thackersay's Indian Woman's University and a thousand odd Basic education centres have touched but the fringe of the problem. The 450 summer camps, 300 radio-listening centres, 400 women's welfare centres and many rural colleges in Madhya Pradesh, rehabilitation institutes for physically handicapped children in West Bengal, Kindergarten schools in Hyderabad, 570 Social education centres in Madhya Bharat, educational exhibitions in Rajasthan village library weeks in Ajmer-Merwara, Agricultural training (for pupils and teachers) in Bhopal, physical education in Coorg and schools for defective children in Delhi are no doubt turning out excellent work. The UNESCO-inspired Rural, adult education centre in Delhi and Janata college at Alipur, both under the expert guidance of Dr. Spencer Hatch and the Pilot Library project under UN-Aid scheme served India well. Audio-visual aids too are largely employed by adult education centres. So long, our government has been doing its best. But its best is not enough. We are to travel a long way along the road at break-neck speed to catch up with other progressive nations.

In an anti-illiteracy drive, as in a war, victory goes to those who seize the initiative and press the assault. With literacy steadily pulled uphill, our literature too will take rapid strides and our young men will stop going over sentimental pornographic novels and magazines, like a vacuum-cleaner, picking up the dirt. Our standards shall be upgraded. And our citizens shall have to feel proud of being Indians.

The spotlight turned on colossal ignorance has illuminated many dark corners. Ours is a nation of paradoxes, of puzzling problems. Our culture has withstood many a foreign assault. Surviving them all, India is strong today, having an unfailing vitality. Socio-economic literacy and political consciousness will

no doubt brush aside the prevailing falsehood of bogus values. The dark shadows that seem to lengthen slowly over the foreground of India's socio-political life will, when the night comes, be chased away by the yet unrisen moon of universal literacy.

MARSHAL STALIN

WITH the death a few weeks ago of Stalin, as a result of a cerebral haemorrhage, a most extraordinary career came to a most undramatic close. The close was not without a touch even of anti-climax. Tass news bulletins on the progress of the final critical illness of the greatest Russian since Peter the Great, were couched in language which depressed people by their singular naivete. They seemed addressed to a body of mere children. There was a note of undisguised alarm, not of grave concern or anxiety but of alarm. This may or may not point to something in the current political climate of Russia. Outside Russia too there was acute anxiety and concern. Countries mature enough to realize the tremendous issues that hung on the maintenance of internal stability and peace in a Russia suddenly deprived of a captain of exceptional resource and resolution were moved to dignified expressions of sympathy not unmixed with concern. The United States alone, among the great countries of the world, seemed to be sullenly indifferent, tendering but official and formal condolence to the Russian State. The profound awareness of the working of historical forces that is so unique a feature of India's present Prime Minister, made him mark the occasion by a truly unprecedented and extravagant gesture, by the adjournment of Parliament in memory of the great dead! When Napoleon died at St. Helena, the world heaved a sigh of relief. When Mussolini was butchered to death a

short while after his disgraceful exit from power in an Italy he had needlessly dragged into defeat, it was just one item of news among many. Hitler's death or disappearance was for a time a subject of interesting speculation and mystery-mongering but it roused no great concern. It led to one rather interesting book, Mr. Trevor-Roper's *Last Days of Hitler*. Stalin's death has passed off altogether too quietly. The solitary attempt to invest it with ridicule and mystery by an obscure English Sunday newspaper which said that the real Stalin had died long ago and that it was Stalin's double who died on March 6, and that the person whom the Indian ambassador had interviewed was not Stalin at all, throws light only on a certain type of English Sunday journalism and the public for which it caters. In spite of the peaceful and undramatic suddenness of the event, Stalin's death may have tremendous repercussions on the course of world events. And though journalists earning a penny a line may ridicule the man and his country, students of history cannot pass the occasion by without realizing that one of the most formidable figures in world history has walked off the stage. More than was the case with any other national or historical figure excepting Hitler, Stalin's career and the history of Soviet Russia since the death of Lenin, have been so closely intertwined as to be practically inseparable. Everything relating to the one was significant to the other. The story of the man and the history

of his time are one, and not merely as far as Soviet Russia is concerned. The whole world today has felt the touch of Stalin's personality and policy. In every country in the world Stalinism is the principal political enemy or is in power. The story, for all its final quietude, is too important to be brushed aside. Yet we are too near the event to be able to judge of the ultimate effect of Stalin's impact on the modern world. We are not doctors, we are the disease, said Herzen once. We know too little of the things that the future historian will take into his estimate of the man and his achievement.

Everything about Stalin is highly controversial. A biography of Stalin—though it has been often attempted and especially by his critics, by Trotsky, Isaac Deustcher, Souvarine, and most recently by Louis Fischer—seems almost impossible. The documents and facts are not now available and may never be! But one thing is indisputable—and that is, that for over a quarter of a century, Stalin dominated Russia and that Russia during this period survived, fighting almost alone, a terrible invasion and that to-day, it is one of the two greatest Powers of the world. Other questions may arise and keep controversy alive. Was Stalin a Marxist or just a modern version of Chengiz-Khan? Did he seek to fulfil or to repudiate the Leninist Revolution? Was he right in seeking to build Socialism but in one country? Did he, thereby imperil the fortunes of Socialism all over the world? Is Russia now more European than Asiatic or more Asiatic than European? These questions used to be the subject of debate a few years ago. Today, there is the fact of a Stalinist Empire over a great many countries of the world and though the curtain separating those countries from the rest of the world be, an "iron" curtain in as far as it keeps out ideas and persons of the free world from penetrating to those behind it, it seems to facilitate a limitless flow to the outside world of ideas and techniques of social and political subversion which defy resistance. The Stalinist Revolution is still on—

whether we regard it as the continuation of the earlier Leninist Revolution or as something altogether different and even reactionary. And history does not stand still. The world is at the moment too deeply and too pathetically involved in the play of the Stalinist forces and the counter-Stalinist forces to see clearly or correctly ahead.

The early Bolsheviks were, though only according to their intensely Marxist lights, too conscious of the workings of historical forces to be blind to the inevitability of a Thermidor to their revolution. They perceived the danger to lie in the possibility of a military dictatorship under Trotsky. This facile misreading of the position rendered Stalin's march to power against Trotsky extraordinarily easy. The 'Revolution' had to be checked, disciplined directed and indeed adapted to suit the needs of a changing world. Marxist ends always justify any and every means. Even the repudiation of the Revolution could be presented as indispensable to its eventual triumph! Political and ideological unorthodoxy itself was orthodox. Socialism in one country, wedded to tremendous national power, would enforce socialism in the world. So far from fighting shy of the techniques of capitalism, we should take them over for fighting capitalism itself. Stalin perhaps just stumbled on this new goal of Socialism in one country as a means to the larger goal. But it led to Stalingrad, to the triumph over Hitler, and to the greater part of the map being painted 'red' in a new sense. The Stalinist empire is expanding. The Iron curtain seems moving forward embracing more and more territory. That sleeping giant of the world, China, has woken up, to find himself Stalin's ardent and enthusiastic disciple and lieutenant! The world outside the curtain is feverishly arming its body—while Stalinism is insidiously attacking its mind and heart and seeking to render the new western rearmament drive futile except against the remnants of the capitalist world itself! Stalin has perfected a technique of expansion and conquest by internal coups which Hitler employed clumsily

and fumblingly. Stalin's stooges are not Quislings—though they are hard put to it to remain orthodox in an atmosphere in which one person alone knows what the latest version of the one true doctrine is. (By the way, how extraordinarily intriguing is the basic similarity in techniques and modes of operation between the Stalinist Church and the Roman Catholic Church.) The Communist Inquisition is in continuous session and *autos-da-fe* are performed on an impressive scale with a view to stabilizing the faith of the vast Stalinist multitudes all over the world. Stalinism is, as was religion in the Middle Ages, quite literally a burning question. The Communist Jehovah will not suffer other Gods or other commandments. Opposition to the latest or lightest whim of the one and only Stalin is manifest treason to the proletariat—which is at once immanent and transcendent in Stalin.

All that was mortal in this so immortal Stalin is now, however dead. Stalinist orthodoxy may undergo Malenkovite mutilations or Berian adaptations—all in perfect accord with the dynamic orthodoxy preached by the

father in heaven, Marx and his prophet on earth Stalin. We can only wait and see.

Western optimism deludes itself into the fond belief that the multitudes now groaning under the tyranny of the false and foul Church of Communism and its falser prophets and priesthood will gladly exchange their present lot for the fumbling and feeble inefficiencies of Western capitalism! They may well demand something fundamentally different. They may demand that economic inequalities should go, that the world should become truly one, that the barriers based on race, colour, birth and wealth should go down and that religion should be no longer the servant of capitalism but of the spirit of God for the regeneration of mankind and that science should serve to realize God's plenty for all instead of allowing itself to be suborned to the service and enrichment of a few. The spirit in man may reassert itself, reaffirm faith in values which far transcend those that keep the body alone alive. But whatever happens, the world can never forget that Stalin, more than any other figure in history has brought the world to the crossroads of human destiny.

THE ATOM BOMB

BY SRI G. SOUNDARARAJ

You roused me from my age-long slumber, Man,
Sealed me in vulnerable steel. With slow
But steady steps you have proposed to mow
All things your brain has shaped since earth began,
And giv'n me life, and multiplied my clan.
With pow'r-drunk creed, triumphantly you crow
Your war-cry: "Tremble and bow down. I know
The missile which within a moment's span
Can level boundless kingdoms, countless men
Destroy." Poor fool! Your labours are in vain.
What restless madness drives you now? Say then,
"The state of things bespeaks a grave disaster:
The Atom is my foul Slave and feared Master."

HIS OLD FOLK : A SHORT STORY

BY MR. L. D. CLANFIELD

THE old couple stood on the quay watching the great liner almost imperceptibly edge into her berth. Gangs of men, who had been lounging around the bollards, now sprang into activity. The first of the mooring ropes was drawn up the quay side and made fast. It hummed and vibrated like a gigantic violin string as the winches on the ship started chattering. But the old couple noticed none of this. Their aged eyes were fixed on the rows of passengers who crowded the decks and rails of the liner.

"Can you spot him, Joe?" asked the old lady shading her eyes from the glare of the sun. Her husband replied:

"No, Mother. Eyes not as good as they used to be and he may have changed a lot since he—."

"Move back there, please," interrupted a policeman. "You're in the way of the ropes. Back, please."

"We're waiting for our son Abel," said the old lady proudly, "haven't seen him for years. Went over to the States to make his fortune."

"And has too," chipped in the Father.

"Well then, he'll be glad to see you, I bet," answered the policeman kindly as he shepherded them away from the twanging ropes and rumbling cranes.

On the ship Abel B. Haws looked once more upon the land of his birth with mixed feelings. In his mind he contrasted the luxurious saloon passage he had just made with the cattle-boat jump of twenty years ago. Well, he had made the grade. He would set the old people up comfortably and then get back to the States. The only live place left in the world where brains and grit got you somewhere. Abel scanned the crowd on the quayside but could not see his folk. He breathed a little sigh of relief. Dear old things they were, but he had come a long way from North London and fried fish and chips.

Besides, there was Lady Kay Sutton and he must have her. True, he didn't love her like they do in books but she would do his business a lot of good.

But if she saw his parents with their funny clothes and uncouth manners and speech it would be off in a minute. Blue blood, she was, and meant to keep it so as far as possible for which he did not blame her. A soft cultured voice spoke in his ear and a firm hand grasped his arm;

"Anybody you know on the quay, Abel?"

He shook his head and she spoke again:

"Good. Then you can travel up in the car with me to London and I'll drop you off at your hotel. Meet me at the gangway, Abel, and we'll touch the soil of dear old England together."

Twenty minutes later Abel stood at the head of the gangway waiting for Lady Kay. On the quay he could see the Sutton car and its uniformed chauffeur. He knew it was Kay's because of the arms emblazoned on the panels. He puffed out his chest. He—Abel Bertram Haws—wood soon be riding in it. At his side would be one of the ancient nobility and he—Abel B. Haws—would be an equal. He rubbed his hands together. Ah, here she came. Looked good too. Lady Kay Sutton put a foot on the gangway which sloped steeply and then cried in alarm:

"Oh, I'm slipping. Hold me, hold me, Abel."

As his strong hand steadied her he cried daringly: "Forever, Kay?"

She laughed and murmured back: "Maybe, my dear."

And they started down together. Catching sight of his mistress the burly Sutton chauffeur began pushing his way through the crowd. Now they were half-way down. Then Abel's heart gave a leap for he had just caught a glimpse of the old people. Heavens, he was sure it was them. They stood near the end of the gangway and there would be no chance of slipping past them un-noticed. What should he do? They were looking straight at him now. Another second and he would hear his Father's raucous Cockney voice raised in welcome. But no, their gaze swept past him and on. They had

not recognised him after so many years. Now he would slip quietly past them and once in the car.—

His thoughts were distracted by the sound of angry voices. The Sutton chauffeur, in shouldering his way through the jam, had bumped heavily into Abel's Father and almost knocked his Mother off her feet:

"Look where yer going, can't yer," yelled the old man angrily.

"Get out of the way then," retorted the chauffeur rudely.

"I've as much right here as you have."

"Garn. This is the first class gangway. You and the old woman ought to be the other end where the steerage is. Quality this end: see?"

A powerful hand caught the young driver by the shoulder and sent him staggering back. Tripping over a rope he sat down with a bump. Abel squared his shoulders as an angry voice behind him said: "Good Lord, Abel, what on earth did you do that for? He's Robins my driver. He was only telling this old pair to go where they belonged."

Abel drew a cigar from his pocket and snapped off the end. Waving it airily he retorted: "The old pair, Kay, are my Mother and Father. Hiya, Dad, how's tricks? Mums, Mums, you do look lovely. See you later, Kay."

With the old lady on his right and his Father on his left Mr. Abel B. Haws walked slowly into the Customs shed.

Recommendations of the Finance Commission

BY DR. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE Finance Commission was appointed under Article 280 of the Constitution on December 1, 1951 to make recommendations to the President as to (a) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be, or may be divided, between them and the allocation between the States of the respective shares of such proceeds; (b) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States out of the Consolidated Fund of India; (c) the continuance or modifications of the terms of Agreement entered into between the Government of India and Part B States; and (d) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President. The Commission submitted its report to the President on December 31, 1952.

After the constitution of the Finance Commission, the President has to take into consideration their recommendations before prescribing the grants-in-aid to the States and in the allocation of revenue between the Centre and the States. The Commission, therefore, made an interim recommendation in December, 1951, endorsing the continuance of the then existing

arrangements for 1952-53 pending the formulation of their final recommendations.

In making their recommendations, the Commission have taken a liberal view of their functions. In fact, they have brought the whole field of federal finance within their purview. They have not confined their enquiry only to those questions on which the President is empowered to act without reference to Parliament. They have made recommendations on all the questions arising out of the present state of affairs. For instance, distribution of Union excise duties was not specifically included in the Commission's terms of reference; but as some State Governments had raised this claim before the Commission, the latter was convinced that it was open to it to suggest such distribution as part of the plan of assisting the States. The Commission have made recommendations in respect of all the allied questions, 'leaving it to the President to pass orders where he is empowered to pass orders and to seek legislation where the relevant Section makes Parliamentary authority necessary.' The Commission has also suggested the

setting up of a statistical organisation as a part of the secretariat of the President to make a continuous study of the finances of State Governments so as to make sufficient material available for future finance commissions. This organisation is to work in close liaison with the Finance Ministry.

When the Constitution was framed, it was assumed that the Finance Commission would give final shape to the allocation of revenues under the divisible heads; but the broad scope which the Finance Commission has now given to its functions was not clearly envisaged then. This is evident from the relative importance which the subjects of enquiry, namely, income tax, excise duties, compensatory grants, grants-in-aid and special grants bear to the Finance Commission's enquiry. The Commission took the whole field of federal finance as envisaged by the Constitution as its legitimate field of enquiry. On the basis of the available material, the Commission came to the conclusion that there is "imperative need for a substantial augmentation of the revenues now available" to the States. In spite of the need of a strong Centre in our country and in spite of the responsibility of the Centre for successfully piloting the Five-Year Plan, particularly in the matter of obtaining the necessary finance therefor, the fact remains that the responsibility for progress, developmental and social service expenditure rests very largely on the States.

In India, however, the States have in a great measure the inelastic sources of revenue like the land revenue, etc., while the elastic sources are with the Centre. The reason lies in the historical background in that in our country, the trend was one of devolution from the Centre to the States. The Commission has made the best of the historical background and made its recommendations consistent with the provisions of the Constitution. The basic conditions of the distribution of taxable capacity and sources of revenue do not allow the problem of federal finance to be solved by a mere allocation of tax heads. The Centre has, therefore, to collect

taxes and distribute the same to the States. The Commission has given effect to this basic assumption in the case of income-tax yield.

In making their recommendations for augmenting the revenues of the States, the Commission have taken into account the needs of the States and the ability of the Centre to assist the States by transferring a large portion of its revenue. The considerations kept in view by the Commission are: *firstly*, the additional transfer of resources from the Centre must be such as the Centre could bear without undue strain on its resources, taking into account its responsibility for such vital matters as the defence of the country and the stability of its economy. *Secondly*, the principles for the distribution of grants-in-aid must be uniformly applied to all the States. *Lastly*, the scheme of distribution should attempt to lessen the inequalities between States.

The Commission refers to the almost unanimous demand from the States for increasing their share of income tax, and it rightly observes that while it is undesirable to concentrate on income tax as a balancing factor in the adjustment of resources between the Centre and the Units, none-the-less the States' share of the net income tax proceeds is recommended to be increased from 50 to 55. The Commission rejected the demand for a higher share of income tax for the divisible pool and also the demand for higher percentage shares advanced by the industrial States of Bombay and West Bengal. It pointed out that the high collections of income tax in Bombay and Calcutta are due to the fact that these cities are the distributive centres for the foreign trade of the country and also because the head offices of companies and concerns which operate all over the country are concentrated in them. The following observation of the Commission is very pertinent in this connection: "A study of the information collected by us from some of the larger concerns indicates that the bases of income creation are far more diversified and widely spread over the country than the facts of collection would seem

to suggest." It further points out that in any case 'incomes which are earned in different States in India cannot be put in the same category as incomes earned in different sovereign States.' Hence the basis of collection is rejected as being inequitable for distributing the net proceeds of income tax among the States. It has recommended to raise the percentage attributable to Part C States from 1 per cent. to 2.75 per cent.

On a broad view of the position, the Commission proposes that 20 per cent. of the States' share of the divisible pool of income tax should be distributed among the States on the basis of the relative collections of States and 80 per cent. on the basis of their relative population according to the census of 1951. The population and collections of the merged areas have been taken into account in determining the share of Part A States.

The Commission has suggested that 40 per cent. of the net proceeds of the excise duties on tobacco, matches and vegetable products should be distributed among the States in proportion to their population.

The following table shows the distribution of the net proceeds of income tax and excises among the States.

STATE.	INCOME-TAX.	EXCISES.	IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.
Assam ..	2.25	2.61	Assam .. 100
Bihar ..	9.75	11.60	Mysore .. 40
Bombay ..	17.50	10.37	Orissa .. 75
Hyderabad ..	4.50	5.39	Punjab .. 125
Madhya Bharat ..	1.75	2.29	Saurashtra .. 40
Madhya Pradesh ..	5.25	6.13	Travancore-Cochin .. 45
Madras ..	15.25	16.64	West Bengal .. 80
Mysore ..	2.25	2.62	
Orissa ..	2.50	4.22	
P. E. P. S. U. ..	6.75	1.00	
Punjab ..	3.25	3.66	
Rajasthan ..	3.50	4.41	
Saurashtra ..	1.00	1.19	
Travancore-Cochin ..	2.50	2.68	
Uttar Pradesh ..	15.75	18.23	
West Bengal ..	11.25	7.16	

Three categories of grants have been recommended by the Commission, namely,

compensatory grants, grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State and special grants. In respect of the Compensatory grants, it may be said that the division of a part of the excise duties puts an end to the small payments which Bombay, Madras and Madhya Pradesh had been deriving from these sources. These grants have now been recommended to be stopped; but these States are free to levy taxes on tobacco, if they like.

Under Article 273 of the Constitution, the jute growing States are entitled to grants for a transitional period, because the proceeds of the jute export duty went over to the Centre. The following are the grants-in-aid for these States:

STATE.	GRANT-IN-AID UNDER DESHMUKH AWARD.	COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.
	RUPEES	IN LAKHS
Assam ..	40	75
Bihar ..	35	75
Orissa ..	5	15
West Bengal ..	105	150

The grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States recommended by the Commission are given below:—

STATE.	IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.
Assam ..	100
Mysore ..	40
Orissa ..	75
Punjab ..	125
Saurashtra ..	40
Travancore-Cochin ..	45
West Bengal ..	80

These grants-in-aid of revenues have been given to make up the deficiency of States' resources, to provide finance for augmenting welfare services and development projects. Historically, the most important factor governing grants-in-aid has been the deficiency of the States' resources 'at a time when the impact of a rapidly changing economic situation created large and insistent demands for new governmental services.'

In the past, grants were made when a new Province was created, *viz.*, Sind and Orissa. They were made when the Centre took up a source beforehand exploited by some of the States. Recently, they had to be given to the Partitioned Provinces and to some of the old princely States on their accession. In such conditions of chaotic evolution of grants, simplification becomes a matter of great difficulty and even bickering among the interests that might be adversely affected by simplification cannot be avoided. The Finance Commission must, therefore, be given due credit for having tackled a difficult task in a manner satisfactory to the States and consistent with principles of sound finance.

The most important criterion prescribed by the Commission is the extent of self-help practised by a State. This determines the eligibility for and the extent of help from the Centre. *Secondly*, the method of help should avoid any suggestion that the Central Government takes up the responsibility for helping the States to balance their budgets from year to year. If the grants-in-aid were made in proportion to the financial plight of a State, a direct premium might be placed on impecunious policy and a penalty imposed on financial prudence. Further, if a State is eligible for grant on other grounds, it should not be precluded from receiving it 'merely because its budget is in order as a result of its sound financial management.' Economy in expenditure is another test recommended by the Commission.

Some of the other principles suggested by the Commission are: equalisation of standards of basic social services, the need of meeting special burden or obligations of national concern even though they might arise within the States' sphere, *viz.*, the strain caused by partition and the need of meeting beneficent services of primary importance for which assistance is necessary in the national interest.

Special grants have been recommended for the spread of primary education for the following States as shown below:—

STATE.	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Bihar ..	41	56	69	83
Hyderabad ..	20	27	33	40
Madhya Bharat ..	9	12	15	18
Madhya Pradesh ..	25	33	42	50
Orissa ..	16	22	27	32
P. E. P. S. U. ..	5	6	8	9
Punjab ..	14	19	23	28
Rajasthan ..	20	26	33	40

As a result of all the recommendations, the States will get additional resources of about Rs. 21 crores as compared with the average of the past three years. In other words, the financial help to the States will increase from an annual average of Rs. 65.12 crores to Rs. 85.93 crores.

It is not possible to avoid complaints completely. For instance, the share of Bombay from the divisible pool of income tax has been slightly reduced; but that State is in no need of external assistance. Many thorny problems have been thrashed out by the Commission. The Pre-Meston Award practice of divided heads of revenue, re-introduced under the Neimeyer Award, has been endorsed by the Commission, and that is the right practice for India where financial devolution has taken place under conditions different from those in U. S. A. and other Federations. The principle of lessening the inequalities between the States in distributing the resources benefits the poorer States. Hence in many respects the problems of federal finance have been satisfactorily solved by Commission.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

INDIA'S TOURIST INDUSTRY

BY SRI G. P. GUPTA

Birla College of Commerce and Science, Pilani (Rajsthan)

FINANCE is a serious headache to India's planners. The limit of taxation having been reached the State is now casting its eyes to find out ways and means of financing the Five Year Plan. 'One way to get a substantial part of external finance is to encourage Tourism', thus observed the Union Finance Minister addressing the Madhya Bharat Chamber of Commerce. In the Economic Survey for the year 1950 the ECAFE had also suggested to India to frame a wholesome plan to develop her tourist trade'. The Commission recommended this measure to foster feelings of friendship and goodwill with great nations like the U. S. and also to earn the much-needed foreign exchange particularly Dollars from the tourist travellers visiting India.

TOURISM IN THE WEST

In some of the Western countries tourism has been a good source of earning foreign exchange. According to an information received from the office of U. S. I. S., the U. S. tourists visiting various parts of the world have been spending \$ 1,100 millions every year. In 1949 the U. S. Tourist expenditure abroad was nearly \$ 695 Million. American payments on account of tourism show a progressive trend and the total expenditure in 1949 marked an all-time, exceeding the 1948 figure by \$100 Millions. Canada, Mexico, Europe and the Mediterranean region have so far offered the greatest attractions to American tourists.* During 1951 nearly 7,00,000 visitors from overseas spent over £73,000,000 in the United Kingdom.

The total expenditure of dollars in the U.K. by visitors during 1951 is put at \$69,000,000. For Italy the estimated tourist expenditure in 1951 covered more than 40 per cent of trade deficit—the earnings have been growing from year to year—from 40 billion lire in 1948 to 116 billion lire in 1950 and 128 billion lire in

1951. The number of visitors reached a new high figure of 54,00,000 in 1951 as against only 15,00,000 in 1948. Switzerland is another Western country which earns an appreciable portion of her National Income through Tourism. Ceylon, our neighbour has been earning Rs. 60,00,000 every year out of her tourist industry. There is no reason to presume why this pattern will not change radically in favour of our country.

INDIA'S PROSPECTS

India offers ample attractions to foreign tourists. The snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas, the Kashmere Valley and Water springs, the historical forts of Rajputana and the ancient seats of religion and culture can easily divert the tourist traffic from abroad to this land of great heritage. To the discerning traveller India of today affords a unique peep into the mystic and the unknown past-history written in stone and marble dating back to thousands of years. The Ajantas, the Elloras and the Elephantas, where the patient and brave Captains of our culture, who working without modern conveniences, left for us sagas depicting national character, its aspirations and heights in colour and curve, can be the unique wonders to attract foreign tourists in our country. Historically speaking, tourism is not a novel idea for our country. In the good old days, there was a time when India's great Universities at Takshila, Nalanda and Pataliputra attracted philosophers, scholars and savants from all over the world. But never was tourism treated in a business-like manner. It is only now that tourism will be taken up on an industrial basis. To say the least, the money value of India's tourist industry may approximate to Rs. 30 crores remitted abroad every year on account of foreign investments in India. The most distinguishing feature of this industry is that its development does not need setting up any capital plant, elaborate factories, sky-touching chimneys, scientific

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INDIA'S TOURIST INDUSTRY

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laboratories or any material of any processing of finished products. It operates on the excellence of travel interests in the country. Attempts should therefore be made to attract globe-trotters and travellers who seek the comforts of temperate winter, plenty of sunshine and the unrivalled scenic splendours of peninsular landscapes.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

Systematic attempts to organise and stimulate tourist industry, which has come to assume increasing importance as a source of invisible exports were not made in our country till 1948 when the Transport Ministry took up the problem in real earnest and tackled it in a business-like manner. In that year a Tourist Traffic Committee consisting of the representatives of the Ministries and of the hotel industry, travel agencies and transport organisations, was constituted. An informal Tourist Promotion Group had also been set up consisting of the representatives of the American Express Company, Transworld Airways, Pan-American Airways and Thomas Cook and Sons. The Group has made successful attempts to persuade the authorities to relax restrictions relating to registration, Visas, passports, availability of exchanges and customs clearances. The Group has also impressed upon the Government the need for providing facilities of special tourist cars and luxury cruises. On the railways, air-conditioned coaches have been placed at the disposal of travel agencies for the convenience of foreign tourists at short notice. The Local Transport Authority in the Capital have started weekly bus-service to the tourists who may like to visit the important places near about Delhi. The Transport Ministry has also opened under its direct control a Tourist Traffic Branch which supervises all matters connected with the problem. Regional Tourist offices have been opened at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Hyderabad, Darjeeling, Agra, Simla and Jaipur to look after the comforts and conveniences of the sight-seers and also to supervise the functioning of travel agencies. Besides, a sustained attempt is being made to make the foreign

visitor feel at home by relieving him of any possible embarrassments. Tourists are issued introduction cards which facilitate access to Government officials for prompt attention, early customs clearances, drink permits and the issue of sufficient quantities of petroleum. Guides and escorts have been recruited by the Government and provision has been made to impart them necessary training. Besides the Government efforts non-official agencies like the Travellers' Club of India are doing much useful work by affording facilities of transport, residence, guides and escorts. As a result, during 1951 nearly 20,000 foreign tourists visited India of whom 4,000 were Americans and 6,000 were from Britain. During the first nine months of 1952, 16,278 tourists came from abroad of whom 4,300 were from the U. K. and 3,000 from the U. S. It is estimated that in 1951 the foreign exchange earnings from American tourists amounted to a crore of rupees. That the Government has accelerated its attempts to develop this industry can be judged from the eight point plan drawn up by the Ministry of Transport, involving an expenditure of Rs. 7,00,000. But internal publicity alone will not achieve very substantial results.

FUTURE STEPS

It is said by Connoisseurs that the shortest cut to man's affections is through his stomach. India's cookery RECIPES should be adapted to suit the tastes of the tourists who hail from different climes. The basic problem, therefore relates to the provision of adequate hotel accommodation in the most up-to-date Western style to cater for the requirements of the majority of the tourists who are expected to be drawn mostly from these countries. At present there is a real shortage of good hotels except in a few cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. Not even the city of Taj which attracts tourists invariably from all parts of the globe, has got a first rate hotel to suit the requirements of those tourists. The Government should without much delay establish first rate hotels and restaurants at important places in the country. It is gratifying to note that the Tourist Traffic Committee had rightly

* Board of Trade Journal. 1952 Ed. Pp. 32-33.

assigned high priority to this problem and had induced the Tatas, Spencers and Associated Hotels of India to form an All-India Hotel Association with the express object of raising the standard of catering services. Plans for better accommodation should be made. Western style catering arrangements must be made more perfect than at present on important train services and the railway administration should consider the pros and cons of setting up their own hotels at important tourist centres where for lack of continuous demand, private enterprise is likely to hesitate to step forward. State-guest houses should be brought up to modern levels by the introduction of higher standards of equipment and upkeep. Dak bungalows and guest-houses should be thrown open to the foreign travellers at moderate rates.

But all this will be of little use if an extensive publicity of "Indian Wonders" is not given in foreign lands. For this a Tourist Publicity Corporation on the lines of the South African Tourists Corporation should be set up. Similarly a National Guides Club should be started on the lines of the Tourist Association of Ireland to arrange for the facilities of the incoming tourists. It is time that the Government of India in co-operation with the States should study the position carefully and lay down a co-ordinated policy to develop our Tourist Industry, which besides setting up an ideal of ONE WORLD will help to correct adverse trends in the foreign trade of India. It will also help in the development of our banks, insurance companies and cottage industries.



These five men will direct the Armed Forces of the United States in the Administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Pictured during a recent conference at the Pentagon in Washington, D. C., are left to right (seated) Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, and Rodger M. Kyes, Deputy Secretary of Defense; (standing) Robert T. B. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Navy, and Harold E. Talbot, Secretary of the Air Force.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

REMEMBER ME

The itch to be remembered by posterity is as instinctive as any other ambition in life, and quite as fruitful or futile. We are familiar with the records of men who do absurd things and even atrocious things to make themselves talked about while alive. But seldom do we hear of people who say in earnest "Forget me when I die." Yet an Australian poet would have it in Nature's own way.

Forget me when I die. The violets
Above my rest will blossom just as blue
Nor miss thy tears—E'n Nature's self
But while I live be true. [forgets]

That is excellent. But Christina Rossetti added a rider to this thought which, to say the least, is beautiful and tender.

Remember me when I am gone away,
Gone far away into the silent land;
When you can no more hold me by
the hand,
Nor I half turn to go yet turning stay.
Remember me when no more day by day
You tell me of our future that you
planned:

Only remember me; you understand
It will be late to counsel then or pray.
Yet if you should forget me far a while
And afterwards remember, do not grieve:
For if the darkness and corruption leave
A vestige of the thoughts that once I had,
Better by far you should forget and smile
Than that you should remember and be sad.

THE DOCTOR WHO SAVED HIS LIFE

Chatting with the proprietor of a curio shop in San Francisco's China town, a tourist asked if China had good doctors.

"We got plenty good doctors in China," the saffron sage replied. "Hang Chang is best. He save my life."

"How was that?" asked the tourist.

"Me Velly sick, call Dr. Hang Kin. He give Medicine, make me sicker. Call Dr. San Sing. Give more medicine, make me more sick. I feel I gonna die. Bimeby call Dr. Hang Chang. He gone somewhere else. No come. Save my life."

—Reader's Digest.

GANDHI ON HINDUISM

"I can no more describe my feeling for Hinduism than for my wife. She moves me as no other woman in the world can. Not that she has no faults. I dare say she has many more than I see myself. But the feeling of an indissoluble bond is there. Even so I feel about Hinduism with all its faults and limitations. Nothing elates me so much as the music of the Gita or the Ramayana of Tulsidas, the only two books in Hinduism I may be said to know. I know the vice that is going on today in all the great Hindu shrines, but I love them in spite of their unspeakable failings. I am a reformer through and through. But my zeal never takes me to the rejection of any of the essential things in Hinduism."

THE PATH OF DESIRE

Such are the vicissitudes of the world, through all its parts that day and night, labour and rest, hurry and retirement, endear each other. Such are the changes that keep the mind in action; we desire, we pursue, we obtain, we are satiated; we desire something else and begin a new pursuit.

—Johnson.

BAFFLING THOUGHT

If you strike upon a thought that baffles you, break off from that entanglement and try another. So shall your wits be fresh to start again.

—Aristophanes.

HONESTY

In a speech on honesty, Mark Twain said, that as a boy, he saw a cart of melons which sorely tempted him: "I sneaked up to the cart and stole a melon, I went into the alley to devour it, but I no sooner set my teeth into it than I paused, a strange feeling came over me. I came to a quick conclusion. Firmly I walked up to that cart, replaced that melon—and took a ripe one."

QUIET MOMENT

Deliver me from my own shadows,
 my Lord, from the wrecks and
 confusion of my days,
 For the night is dark and Thy
 pilgrim is blinded ;
 Hold Thou my hand,
 Deliver me from despair.
 Touch with Thy flame the lightless lamp
 [of my sorrow.
 Waken my tired strength from its sleep.
 Do not let me linger behind
 counting my losses.
 For the night is dark and Thy
 pilgrim is blinded ;
 Hold Thou my hand.—TAGORE.

NEWTON'S DISCOVERY

Here is the story of how Newton
 informed Halley of one of his most
 fundamental discoveries of planetary
 motion :

"Yes," replied Halley, "but how do
 you know that? Have you proved it?"
 Newton was taken aback, "Why, I've
 known it for years," he replied. "If
 you'll give me a few days, I'll certainly
 find you a proof of it" as in due
 course he did.

COW AS INTRUDER

Thanks to the War (writes "K. H."
 in the *Manchester Guardian*) the only
 orange juice my grandson had tasted
 since his birth had come out of a bottle.
 Some months ago, when offered some juice
 squeezed out of an orange before his
 eyes, he inquired: Why can't I have
 some real orange juice?"

I told this story to my sister in New
 South Wales and she has capped it
 with one that is worthy of your column.
 Some children living "out back" had
 been brought up on condensed milk and
 were some years old when their parents
 bought a cow. Imagine the parents' dis-
 may when the first glass of fresh milk
 was indignantly refused with "Not after
 the cow's had it!"

GIVING AND TAKING

Blessed are those who can give without
 remembering, and take without forgetting.

GOETHE ON LIMITATION

"Only in limitation is the hand of the
 master seen," said Goethe the many-sided
 genius in 1876:—

It remains true forever, to confine
 oneself, to need a few things truly and
 thus to love them truly, to be attached to
 them, to turn all their sides round, to
 identify oneself with them, that it is that
 makes the poet, the artist, the man.

THE WAY OF KNOWLEDGE

Wise men are instructed by reason;
 men of less understanding by experience;
 the most ignorant by necessity; and
 beasts by nature.

—Cicero.

TEMPERANCE

The following unpublished poem by Lord
 Bridgeman will be of interest to us
 in India where prohibition is very much
 a live subject in these days. It was quoted
 by "Peterborough" in *The Daily Telegraph*,
 and was used by Lord Bridgeman in
 a debate in the House of Commons on
 beer. The poem runs:—

Pure water is the best of drinks,
 The Temperance party sing,
 But who am I that I should have
 The best of everything?

Let statesmen revel at the pump,
 Peers with the pond make free;
 Whisky or beer, or even wine,
 Is good enough for me.

THE SUPERIOR MAN

The way of a superior man is three-
 fold: virtuous, he is free from anxieties;
 wise, he is free from perplexities; bold,
 he is free from fear. —Confucius.

EPITAPH TO HIS DOG

Near this spot
 Are deposited the Remains of one,
 Who possessed Beauty without Vanity
 Strength without Insolence
 Courage without Ferocity
 And all the Virtues of Man without
 his Vices.

—Lord Byron.

A PRESS COUNCIL FOR BRITAIN

IMPLEMENTING ROYAL COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATION

BY MR. ERNEST ATKINSON,

Parliamentary Correspondent.

ORGANISATIONS of the British Press
 are presently considering the draft
 of a constitution for a General Council
 of the Press. It would be a voluntary
 organisation, created, manned and main-
 tained by the British Press itself, and
 subject to self-dissolution if its members
 felt that its voluntary nature and
 independence were threatened.

If current discussions in the various
 constituent bodies are successful, the
 Council will be set up on July 1, 1953.

And so a long story would be ended.
 It began nearly seven years ago. When
 the House of Commons decided on
 October 30, 1946, to call for the setting
 up of a Royal Commission to inquire
 into the finance, control, management
 and ownership of the Press it was after
 a very lively period of public controversy
 in which some very sharp things had
 been said.

COMMISSION'S APPOINTMENT

The Royal Commission was appointed
 in March 1947 "with the object", as its
 charge ran, "of furthering the free
 expression of opinion through the press
 and the greatest practicable accuracy
 in the presentation of news, to inquire
 into the control, management and owner-
 ship of the newspaper and periodical
 Press and the news agencies, including
 the financial structure and the monopolis-
 tic tendencies in control, and to make
 recommendations thereon."

The Commission reported in a little
 more than two years on June 29, 1949.
 It said that it had turned down many
 ideas put before it; for example, the
 prohibition of individual or joint stock
 ownership of newspapers in favour of
 Government licensed corporations; the
 limitation of profits in newspaper
 companies; the limitation of newspaper
 circulations; the notion of favourable
 rates of taxation for newspapers carried
 on under trust deeds; the establishment
 of public printing corporations; the grant

of favourable taxation rates for new
 newspaper enterprises; the deferment
 of death duties on private newspaper
 concerns; and the establishment of
 differential prices for newsprint.

It recommended, "as a means of
 preventing the abuse of chain ownership
 and of limiting unfair methods of
 competition", certain new powers of
 public inquiry to make the facts of
 ownership and control of newspapers
 more readily available—indications given
 on their front pages of the chain owner-
 ship of newspapers; the subjection of
 newspapers to inquiry, in certain circum-
 stances, by the Monopolies Commission;
 and the permanent abandonment by the
 Press of non-journalistic form of com-
 petition (such as the free gift schemes
 and the life, which were features of the
 circulation wars of the 1920s and '30s.)

PRESS COUNCIL'S OBJECTS

Further, the Royal Commission recom-
 mended that the Press itself should set
 up a General Council of the Press "to
 encourage the growth of the sense of
 public responsibility and public service
 amongst all engaged in the profession
 of journalism—that is, the editorial
 production of newspapers—whether as
 directors, editors or other journalists and
 to further the efficiency of the profession
 and the well-being of those who
 practise it."

Its objects were to be "to keep under
 review any developments likely to
 restrict the flow of information of public
 interest and importance to improve the
 methods of recruitment, education and
 training for the profession; and "by
 censuring undesirable types of profes-
 sional conduct...to build up a code in
 accordance with the highest professional
 standards".

It would consider complaints about the
 conduct of the Press or of any persons
 towards the Press and would have duties

with regard to the promotion of a pensions scheme for journalists, the establishment of common services and the promotion of technical research. And it would study tendencies towards monopoly, would represent the Press in discussions with the Government, the United Nations and Press organisations abroad, and would enshrine its work and decisions in published reports.

Getting agreement on a constitution for a voluntary body of this kind proved to be an unexpectedly long business. It has taken from 1949 until now to get a draft for submission to the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, representing the national, or London-published, Press; the Newspaper Society which represents the daily and other provincial Press; the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society; the Scottish Newspaper Proprietors' Association; the Institute of Journalists which includes a trades union section; the National Union of Journalists, which was most active in the original demand for a Royal Commission; and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors.

PRESENT POSITION

What these bodies are now being asked to approve is a constitution to embody a council with the objects of preserving "the established freedom of the British Press", of maintaining its character "in accordance with the highest professional and commercial standards", of keeping "under review any developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance" and, in brief, of doing the other things suggested by the Royal Commission.

The Royal Commission had suggested that 20 per cent of the members of the proposed Council should be laymen. The Press bodies which have drafted the proposed constitution would have no lay members; on this point there has been some criticism, from within and without the Press. Moreover, the Council would hear representations only "from complainants actually affected", whether about the conduct of the Press or of any persons towards the Press. That provision also has been criticised.

A third line of criticism is that of the eight objects listed for the Council, some six serve the interests of the industry rather than those of the public, though indeed it has to be owned that many of those that would better the industry would better its service to the public in consequence.

The likelihood is that the proposed Council will come into being. Parliament has shown its view of the urgency of setting up some such body—the most recent occasion being last November when the House of Commons narrowly avoided giving a second reading to a Bill intended to set up a council of a kind that a good part of the Press would have disliked pretty strongly.

There may be a debate on the adequacy of the proposed Council now that at last the Press has got round to devising its constitution. But the will of Parliament that there should be a Press Council is being carried out. There has been a natural nervousness among the Press that what is being done may lead to "a kind of Fleet Street bureaucracy". But here is a body that may well come to command respect for the quality of its work. [*British Information Service.*]

SYLVAN DREAM

By MR. BRIAN COX

You of the faunlike pointed ears,
nourished at life's native source
with inexhaustible secret force,
through your green eyes a satyr peers.

I hear young nymphs with flowing hair
crying in terror of pursuit;
maddened with horror's panic flute
yet eager to be ravished there.

Their breathless moans of amorousness
sound in the darkness of the wood.
Then they fall silent. Solitude
encompasses them, pitiless.

Prohibition : As A Philosopher Looks At It

By DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

University of Tehran (Iran)

EVER since "Independence" in India, I have been reading much about "Prohibition". Till that time it was an article of faith and no one questioned it. The idea was in the air for the last thirty years and more, as an actual State Policy in Madras, and it had to wait till the strong hand of Rajaji became available to put it into practice a little over fifteen years ago.

After "Independence", idealism had to give way to practical needs, and by practical needs, a politician means only economic considerations. The State in the modern world is a political unit dominated by economics. Although the policy of "prohibition" has been introduced into the Constitution as a Guiding principle, as section 47, explicitly for health reasons, and although the great Premier of Madras who is the first administrator to transfer the ideal into practice, has definitely said recently that the foreigners will have to return if prohibition is to be scraped, the Central Government has always been very diffident about the wisdom of proceeding too fast with the ideal of prohibition in the face of pressing economic difficulties in the States. Even the States have had to face some opposition and also had serious advice from responsible quarters regarding a revision of the prohibition policy, as in the Madhya Pradesh. Recently there was some such advice given to the Bombay State, and there was a report that when the Andhra State is formed prohibition may not be continued, so that there would be the needed funds available to cover the possible deficits. In Madras also I have read reports about representations for repealing the prohibition so that the funds may be made available for improving the lot of the poorly paid teachers.

The fact is that important State policies were decided upon at a time of unrest in the country which could not be propitious for such formulation of high State policies. That is why now

difficulties have arisen regarding the actual working up of ideological principles like National Language, linguistic provinces and prohibition. The fundamentals of the principle of prohibition have not been properly examined. There were statements that prohibition helps the poor workers to retain their wages in their pockets, that homes become happier in so far as the husbands do not return to a home where there is no food, drunk and insane, and create domestic troubles, that religion prohibits drink and that various other things like that recommend the policy. The only authoritative statement is what is contained in section 47 of the Constitution. If drink is "injurious to health" the matter has to be decided by a competent authority, and at present the really competent authority is the WHO of the United Nations. If the WHO decides that drink is not in itself "injurious to health", the question has to be decided whether the provision in the Constitution is still binding on the State absolutely, and for this purpose the Supreme Court is the proper authority.

Here I am concerned only with the philosophic aspect of prohibition. In the Old Testament, the ten commandments are of the nature of prohibitions. The five vows of the Buddhists are of the nature of abstentions. There is no religion which has not its store of prohibitions meant for the welfare and salvation of humanity. But such prohibitions have not been examined in the light of reason (*i.e.*, philosophically) and also in the light of the actualities of the world in which we live (*i.e.*, scientifically). Religion has been mainly in opposition to philosophy and science.

But in India, the matter had to be considered philosophically and scientifically. Reason and experiment dominated the life in India in ancient times as much as, perhaps more than, even modern life. Mathematics and physics accompanying astronomy, and chemistry and biology accompanying medicine had a

stable position in the intellectual life of the nation, to such an extent that no religious doctrine and no ethical precept could find favour with the leaders of the nation unless they could satisfy the philosopher and the scientist. It is in the Mimamsa that we find the problem of prohibition treated in a rational way, in Indian thought. And the Mimamsa is more a system of State Law than a system of religion and a lawyer is the most difficult person to satisfy on such matters.

The basic texts contain statements like "Thou Shalt" and "Thou Shalt not"; they are respectively prescriptions and prohibitions. Who has the authority to prescribe or to prohibit and who has also the sanction to apply such prescriptions and prohibitions? Where did they derive the authority and how will they apply the sanction? These questions must be answered.

If God made the Law and if God gave the authority, the further question arises why God made such a law and when did He make it and what was the state of the world prior to the introduction of such law into human society through a "Teacher"? Why did he not create conditions in the world favourable to a perfect system of happiness without the need to follow the prescriptions and to avoid the prohibited things for happiness? In India there was no question that was not open for discussion, not even the question of God and Teacher and Scripture. One can believe in God and in Teacher and in Scripture: but no one can convince another rationally about such matters.

The result was that the question had to be considered rationally and some rational explanation had to be given for such scriptural statements if they had to be accepted. The only alternatives were (1) no religion and (2) a rational religion. Indians chose the latter alternative.

The world is a reality without a beginning and an end. There is no Creator. The Law was there in the world as a physical factor. Man was

always there as man is there, and will ever continue in the world. There is no escape from it and there is no place to which man can escape; there is no need also to escape from this world with its "Natural, Moral Law". The world is dynamic and man always works. There is no cessation. Man is free "to do" or "not to do" or "to do in any other way"; the Law is just there and it is for man to decide what he will choose among the three alternatives of "doing" or "not doing" or "doing in any other way". There is no Creator of the Law; there is no Administrator of the Law. It is just a Law of Nature which the scientists handle.

Then what is the meaning of statements like "Thou Shalt" and "Thou Shalt not"? Ultimately, according to Indian interpretation, they are reduced to mere statements of a Law, that for such and such a result such and such is the means. It is just like science.

Even in "Thou Shalt", there are two varieties. In some there is a positive result, which is realised by doing according to the "Thou Shalt", in some cases there may not be a positive result from doing what is contained in the "Thou Shalt"; but their performances create the proper conditions for realising the results of other actions with a positive fruit. To this extent their neglect will produce an adverse result. Here again, some such prescriptions may be absolute and others may be conditional. There are different views on such prescriptions. But I am concerned with the interpretation of "Thou Shalt not".

Here also there are two kinds. In some cases, the abstention will produce a positive result, and in such cases there must be an effort to abstain from that prohibited act. But there are others, (and the majority of prohibitions are of this nature) in which the act will produce adverse results, while abstention results in a state of indifference, without any result either favourable or adverse. In such cases, there shall be no effort from abstention, by way of a volition. The mind must be in a neutral state in regard to the prohibited actions. If

there is volitional effort to abstain, the evil that is prohibited will remain in the minds, and in course of time, it may take root again; the only way to avoid the evil completely is to eradicate it from the minds. And this can be done only by helping the mind to assume that state of neutrality in respect of prohibited actions. Man is always in a state of work, mentally and bodily. If he has enough work to engage him in actions that are prescribed, then the mind will not wander towards prohibited actions. This can be done only by a process of developing virtues (i.e., actions that are prescribed), and virtue is of a positive nature that cannot be attained through abstentions. The abstention must come about naturally through neutrality towards prohibited actions produced by the presence of positive actions of a virtuous nature. Thus, according to Mimamsa, action of what is prohibited brings about adverse effects, while abstinence in itself does not bring about any positive result of a beneficial nature. Beneficial results come only from positive actions that are prescribed.

There is a school of thought among the Mimamsa school itself, that does not accept anything called an adverse result. There is a beneficial result from doing what are prescribed. But there is no result of an adverse and of a positive nature by doing what is prohibited, just as there is no fruit from abstentions. Then, is there no notion of "sin" in this school of Mimamsa? The notion of sin is something that is novel and may be, startling. The "sin" is only to this extent that one has done what has no fruit by doing. This school of thought does not accept any reality called non-existence or void. The universe is "full" and is dynamic and man is always functioning, producing positive, beneficial results. This is the nature of the universe and of man. An action that is prohibited has no result. And it is against nature to do such actions. It is only a semblance of action and not an action at all. Action must produce results. It is only this opposition to nature that is called a "sin." To this school, an adverse result is a contra-

diction in terms and a beneficial result is a repetition of a single idea in two words.

This school also accepts prescriptions that do not have a result, as in the other school. Their true explanation is that whether an action is to be done or not is not determined by the result. Has it been prescribed? If it is prescribed, then it is what has to be done. Has it been prohibited? Then it is what is not to be done. Thus, prescription and prohibition are the only tests about what is to be done, and what is not to be done.

The only thing is that what has been prescribed or prohibited, must be a statement of the Law of Nature. If the statement is of a *fact of nature* and not of an *opinion*, and if we are satisfied on that point; then we accept and obey.

Those who make the statement know whether it is a fact or an opinion. This is just the position in natural science also. We are satisfied that the scientist is stating a fact and not merely his opinion. We trust the scientist and we obey him. Even in science, the definite effect is not stated in all the cases, and still we do according to the statements in science.

In what is commonly known as "Prohibition", we have to see if it is a statement of a fact of nature. The Constitution says that it is "injurious to health." This must be verified and there is the WHO to give a decision, to state a fact and not merely to express an opinion. If it is "injurious to health," then the application of the prohibition must be through a positive process, and not through a process of enforced abstention. The citizens must be provided with ample opportunities to engage themselves in actions of a positive nature with results that their minds will not wander into what is prohibited. This is what a philosopher has to say about the basic principle and the mode of application.

ARAB STATES AND MEDO

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

IN the month of April 1949, the North Atlantic Pact was concluded for the defence of that particular area. Since the conclusion of this pact the talk of pacts for other regions has been in the air. Attempts have been made to bring under various defence organisations, all the States which border communist China, North Korea, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European States allied to her. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Middle East Defence Organisation, the ANZUS, the Pacific and the Eastern Mediterranean pacts—all aim at strengthening the defences of the respective areas. Western Political commentators point out that as a result of the Second World War the Soviet Union has become very powerful in Europe and appears to upset there the balance of power. According to them the balance of power can be restored only by negotiating through strength and developing a counter-weight.

It appears from the United Nations Charter that the pacts meant for the defence of particular regions should be completely regional, registered with the United Nations, and should ensure promotion of peace. Considered strictly from this standpoint the North Atlantic Pact cannot be called regional. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has been stretched to incorporate in it the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Besides the sponsors of the NATO are trying to extend it to the Baltic.

It has already been stated that the Middle East Defence Organisation is an organisation for the defence of this region. Proposals have been made to include in the organisation the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, Turkey and Egypt as the main members and Syria, Saudi-Arabia, Lebanon, Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Yemen and Israel as its associate members. Not only that. It is even proposed to have in the second category South Africa, Australia, New Zealand as members of the M. E. D. O. Besides it is reported recently that Pakistan is

also its prospective member. A journalist observes "the Middle East may extend to the Indian Ocean and Oceania besides itself and the Atlantic".

There is no doubt that the reported intentions of Pakistan to join the Middle East Defence Organisation have perturbed the Government of India. India used to look upon Pakistan as a very useful member of the Asian Block. But Pakistan's intentions to join the M. E. D. O. indicate that she is taking unilateral steps which are likely to have very serious repercussions on the future of Asia and the policies of the Government of India. It is interesting to note that the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, two important British papers seem to confirm the news that Pakistan is eager to join the Middle East Defence Organisation. According to these two papers Pakistan has every right to enter any such Pact and to take interest in the affairs of the Muslim States of the world. The result is that India is faced with a very complex situation.

The despatches sent by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, one of India's ablest diplomats reveal to the Government of India the reactions of the Middle East people to such pacts and plans. It seems that all these pacts have no popular backing and are treated in the countries of the Middle and Far East and South-East Asia as new bonds of slavery and new steps to war. Though the resolutions passed by the Hyderabad session of the Indian National Congress on foreign pockets in India, South Africa, recognition of Communist China, disarmament, colonial questions, cultural and economic exchange are valuable for promoting world peace and stabilising world situation, yet Pakistan's intentions to join the M. E. D. O. make us realise how dangerously near we all are to the third world War. Here one is naturally tempted to ask why Pakistan thinks of joining the Middle East Defence Organisation,

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Events of the last five years will furnish answer to this question. The division of India hurts Pakistan grievously. Besides she is weaker than India socially, politically, and economically. Without war stunts and foreign support on a large scale her feudal structure will not be able to survive. Because she is economically backward the Western Block gives her diplomatic, military and financial aid on the condition that she will grant bases. It seems that Pakistan may even be tempted to seek support from the Western Block in her quarrel with Afghanistan and in putting demands on India. Not only that. According to some political commentators the Western Block will also try to use her to bring recalcitrant Arabs and other Muslim States in the Middle East Defence Organisation, and to make the

Pacific Pact a reality. Here it may be recalled that Sri Nehru, the Prime Minister said in the summer session of the Indian Parliament that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was being used for colonial purposes. For a long time this has also been the feeling of the Arab States. According to the Arabs the Middle East Defence Organisation is a continuation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation policy. Moreover they seem to think that the Western Powers are trying through this organisation to multiply their troops of occupation and to create more bases. Hence virtually all the Arab States rejected the MEDO plan and have not accepted it to this day, though the United Kingdom, France, Turkey and the United States of America want the Arab countries to agree to it.



Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, greets Adlai E. Stevenson, his Democratic opponent in the recent presidential election, at the White House in Washington, D.C. The President invited Mr. Stevenson for a private talk at which they discussed Mr. Stevenson's planned trip around the world.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

A New State is Born

SO the Andhras will have a state of their own from October. In offering them our best wishes for a healthy and prosperous future we congratulate them on the success that has attended their efforts for the last two decades. It is true they have not had all their desires fulfilled, but as shrewd and practical men, and fundamentally patriotic, they know that in transactions which affect more than one party some sort of adjustment and compromise is inevitable. They will acquiesce cheerfully in what has been gained and will now look forward to the building up of their infant state on the solid foundations of unity and concord.

They put up a determined fight and succeeded in their main object. There have been regrettable controversies over the city of Madras—controversies unfortunately not free from bitterness and recriminations, which with some tact and understanding on either side, might perhaps have been avoided. But this is wisdom after the event. And now the question has been settled in a way it is up to us all, Telugus or Tamils—as citizens of the same country—to forget the bitterness of the past and go ahead with our common task in nation-building. Let us profit by the example of the older democracies. In the General Elections in England as in the U. S. Presidential campaign the rival candidates were unsparing in their wordy assaults. But when the results were known they smiled, and shook hands, and settled down to business.

Tremendous work has to be done before the new state is fairly launched, but Andhra talent will doubtless shoulder the new responsibilities with characteristic energy and enthusiasm. If one may say so, it is just possible, that, denied Madras, they may yet build a capital far outshining this city in splendour and resource. Who knows? In friendly rivalry they can shape their state yet in a way which may prove a shining

example to the older states. The main and immediate task before them is to knit the varying groups with divergent policies into one solid phalanx of a strong united body inspired by the sole aim of making the new State worthy of its heritage. There is danger in too many groups each trying to capture power instead of working together for a common end. With 48 Congressmen, 41 Communists, 20 K. M. P. men, 19 Independents, 6 Socialists, and 15 of the K. L. P. party among the Andhra Legislators, there is great need for patience and statesmanship among the top men to bring about a stable and strong Government to start with. Patriotic Andhras will not fail to rise to the height of the occasion and the opportunity.

The Raman Effect

It was on the 16th March 1928 that Prof C. V. Raman, addressing the South Indian Science Association at Bangalore, announced the discovery of a new type of radiation, since known as the Raman Effect. Actually the discovery was made a little earlier on the night of Feb. 28, and it was done alone by him, with his Technical Assistant Ashu Babu to whom Dr. Raman characteristically enough paid a warm tribute at Hyderabad the other day. Scientists all the world over have acclaimed the Raman Effect as a fundamental and far reaching contribution to knowledge which has found wide application in both Science and Technology. It was a discovery of such profound significance that he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1930.

Narrating the story of his discovery at a function in the Osmania University Dr. Raman said that on the evening of Feb. 23, 1928, he asked Mr. Ashutosh Dey, to set up a very powerful quartz mercury arc used for optical investigation, a large condenser to focus the light on the mercury arc, a screen to protect his eyes from the direct light of the arc, and a holder for the various

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substances so placed so that the image of the mercury would be focussed within them.

I also told Mr. Dev that I wanted to be able to place different optical filters as needed between the condenser and the material under study and a chair where I could sit and view the scattered light through a hand spectroscope. Mr. Dey, alias Ashu Babu, was perfect at this kind of a job. The only difficulty was that no good spectroscope suitable for such work was available and a make-shift arrangement had to be made. Nevertheless, the experiment succeeded and almost immediately revealed the phenomenon I was looking for, I worked till late hours examining every material I could get hold of and Ashu Babu was with me the whole time.

Dr. Raman added:

It was immediately evident that I had made a discovery of extraordinary importance. The realisation of this had the effect of sweeping away the habitual reticence and caution of a scientific man.

I made the mistake of telling the Associated Press of India and now Press Trust of India the next day that I had found something wonderful overnight. I should have of course, waited until I had obtained a good pocket spectroscope and got all the details of the phenomenon perfectly clear before making any public announcement. Fortunately, however, I was able to purchase a satisfactory instrument soon afterwards and within the next few days all the details had been worked out. On March 16 when I gave my lecture at Bangalore the whole picture was clear in my mind in all its details.

Dr. Raman has the gift of lucid speech. Like the great T. H. Huxley he could unravel the profoundest mysteries of Science with a clarity and brilliance of exposition rare among the Scientists. Dr. Raman's versatility of interests, his patience in research, his generosity to his colleagues and the love and respect he inspires among students are gifts of incomparable value. 'His simplicity and informality,' says Dr. R. S. Krishnan, 'are best seen in his discussions with Students. Some penetrating remark made by him at such discussions has been the starting point as some of his pupils have confessed, of a complete line of investigation undertaken by them later.' Science, he holds, is the highest form of creative art, and his enthusiasm for Science is infectious. No wonder that this shining light of Science continues to be a living source of inspiration to the younger generation of Scientists.

Behind the Iron Curtain

Whether Stalin was an angel of peace or a devil incarnate will continue to be debated. Much will depend on the mood of the historian even after the dust of contemporary controversies has settled down. But the fact remains that he was one of the three or four great figures whose impact on history was decisive and the one supreme master who shaped his nation's destiny during the crucial years of the last three decades. If Lenin was the Mazzini of the Russian Revolution Stalin was undoubtedly its Garibaldi and Cavour in one. For all his ruthlessness and egoism he will be remembered as the man who, with skilful diplomacy and an iron will, made his country what it is—a strong, self-reliant and energetic nation able to hold its own among the big powers.

Speculation as to what his successor will be like is still rife. As none but the top man in Soviet counted in that regime M. Malenkov was comparatively a dark horse till his nomination. Molotov and Vishinsky basked in the limelight for a time but, from what we learn now it was Malenkov who held the key to the Kremlin. Till the other day Malenkov was indulging in the same usual trade which we have learnt to expect of Soviet leaders—that the Western powers are a menace to peace and freedom and that the Soviet should arm itself effectively to deal with the aggressors. In October last, addressing the 15th Communist Party Congress he said:

American imperialism acts now not only as an international exploiter and enslaver of peoples but as a force disorganising the economy of the backward capitalist countries. 'The bosses of the U.S.A. knew of course that domination over other nations cannot be won by peaceful means....So they decided to breach the peace to prepare a new war....' 'The U.S. attack on the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked the shift of the American-British bloc from preparation of aggressive war to outright acts of aggression.' 'In connection with the mounting threat of war a movement of all peoples in defence is developing.' 'The Soviet Union is strengthening and will go on strengthening its defence capacity'. 'There is every reason to believe that a third world war would cause the collapse of the world capitalist system'.

That was precisely the refrain.

But to judge a politician by the tone and language of other days in the context of a fast moving world would be wrong. Malenkov, in his new position has adopted a graver and more responsible tone. Witness his address to the Supreme Soviet on assumption of power. There is a marked change, and nothing could be more welcome to a war weary world than his call for international peace. Russia, he said, wanted peace,

that we are interested in the policy of 'peace', that we shall continue to formulate a foreign policy aimed at preserving peace' that 'we want to have friendly relations with 'everyone' that there were no real problems that could not be solved by peaceful means, and that 'any country in the world which has 'the interests of peace at 'heart, including the United States, can rest 'assured of the firm policy of Soviet Union.

These are admirable sentiments and if only they could be given effect to there is no reason why the world should still be racked by the fear of war, cold or hot. And the time is propitious. A new Government in U. S. A. with a peace loving General as its Chief is anxious to settle down to the ways of peace—wearied and almost detesting a wasting war far away from home. At his Weekly Press Conference on March 19 President Eisenhower expressed his readiness to forget the past and discuss U.S. differences with Russia and made repeated offers to meet the Soviet rulers half way both geographically and politically in any practical effort to bring about an honourable Settlement of the East-West cold war. Indeed from the persistence with which Mr. Eisenhower has volunteered references to seeking peace jointly with the Soviet Union, both in speeches and at press conferences, one must assume that he positively wishes some sort of negotiation with the Soviet Union.

This attitude of President Eisenhower differs considerably from that taken up by President Truman during the three years which have elapsed since the last high-level conference of the Soviet Government with the western powers.

It will therefore not be difficult with an effort of will, to put a stop to this unwanted war in Korea.

External Affairs

Winding up the two day debate in Parliament on the External Affairs Ministry, the Prime Minister explained his foreign policy and the stand his Government had taken in regard to the foreign pockets in India and our relations with South Africa, Pakistan, Ceylon and the Commonwealth.

He referred with painful surprise and concern that so far France and Portugal had given no heed to India's repeated demand for withdrawal from their occupied locations in India. All that could be done short of war had been done—but to no avail. Instead of following the excellent example of Britain in India they have chosen to be intransigent. The Prime Minister took the occasion however to give a plain warning to foreign powers that

if any part of the foreign pockets in India are treated as a base of operations which we consider are against our policy, we have to consider it an unfriendly act.

The Prime Minister added, that it was "unthinkable for us for any foreign pocket to continue in India."

In regard to South Africa Mr. Nehru said that the half-hearted attitude of some of the important countries did not do any "credit to them. The time might come when other countries of the world would have to choose definitely as to what policy they were to adopt in regard to a country like South Africa where

this policy of racial inequality, discrimination and suppression is applied in the way it is done.

He also warned that if the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation emerged as a defender and protector of colonialism, those interested in putting an end to colonialism would react strongly against the Nato.

As regards Ceylon, the Prime Minister said while India was deeply interested in the fate of the large numbers of people of Indian descent there, she had absolutely no desire to interfere in Ceylon in the slightest.

He appealed to critics of Governments' policy towards Pakistan not to be swayed by the passions of the moment but to think of the future.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. Edited by Edward C. Lindeman.

THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF BOOKS. Edited by Alfred Stefferud. The American Library, 501, Madison Ave., New York 22.

Here are two additions to the Mentor Books of the New American Library of World Literature which, at the risk of being trite, one might say that no library could be without. "Plutarch's Lives" is as old as ancient Rome or Athens but the life stories of the men who shaped history are classics of enduring value. Plutarch was essentially a philosopher and moralist but he was too sensitive to the demands of accuracy to miss characteristic incidents and anecdotes connected with the lives of the heroes he wrote about. It is not always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned, says Plutarch in his study of Alexander, but very often "an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour over the likeness in the face and particularly in the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears and run over the rest with a more careless hand, so we may be permitted to strike off the features of the soul in order to give a real likeness of this great man and leave to others the circumstantial detail of his labours and achievements." Plutarch resorted to a curious method, namely that of selecting one Roman character, in his biographical studies, and then a Grecian one to match. Thus the Greek orator Demosthenes is compared with the Roman orator Cicero. In the book under review we have the selected *Lives* of types of ancient heroes: Licurgus the Dictator, Solon—the Lawgiver, Pericles—the Patriot, Alcibiades—the Traitor, Cicero—the People's Advocate and Alexander—the Conqueror.

There is all the joy and flavour of Plutarch in this edition of selected Lives.

The second book is a friendly guide to the pleasures of reading—opening the doors to the treasures of knowledge, inspiration and enlightenment. Sixty seven experts—authorities in education and publishing, scholars, authors, critics, share their reading experiences in this unusual forum. There is rich variety of fare in the seventy two chapters that comprise this miscellany, treating with every aspect of reading and the making of books. The sections indicate roughly the wide scope covered by the book. The main purpose of the book, according to the publishers, is twofold: To encourage people—all of us to read more; and to encourage efforts to make books more easily available to more people. There are therefore sections on The Pleasures of Reading, Reading among Friends, Reading more Effectively, Reading for Citizens, Choosing and using Books. Writers and Publishers, Books for Everyone, Libraries are for You and so on. It is altogether a fine guide to the rewards of reading, and every lover of books will find something appropriate to his taste and enlightenment.

LILIES IN THE LAKE. -Selected Poems of Mahamahopadhyaya S. Krishnamoorthy Sastry, Post-laureate in Telugu, Translated by R. M. Challa (Published by the author, Bhimalapuram, West Godavari District Pp. 49. Price Re. 1-4.

Here are nineteen poems in the original with the translations, each appearing on the page facing the original. As the author states this must serve to acquaint a larger world with the work of the Telugu poet, distinguished for his lyrics, which reflect the frankness as well as ingenuity of old Indian poets. Though betraying no serious blemishes, the English verse form does not succeed. The translator may be well advised to write only prose, making it "poetic prose" as far as possible.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION:

By V. S. KRISHNA—University of Madras, 146 Pp. Rs. 10.

This collection of the Sir William Meyer lectures delivered early in 1951 contains the author's reflections on International Economic Problems of the war and post-war periods. After commenting on the free enterprise system of the last century and the building up of "Internal economics," Mr. Krishna proceeds to show how, between the two wars, attempts were made to restore the pre-war economic order through international institutions and *ad hoc* conferences. They failed because national aspirations over-rode international policies and the depression forced everyone to look after himself. The war gave birth to lend-lease and promises of post-war co-operation. But again international policies were dictated by the most powerful of the victors, the U. S. A., who had earlier been devoted to isolationism and high tariff walls and later ardently advocated a liberal world economy. Mainly as a political weapon directed against Russia, America developed the Marshall Aid plan which, in the economic field, maintained high internal production and helped the rehabilitation of war-devastated Europe. Mr. Krishna examines various facets of post-war world economic development and international technical and financial assistance schemes and agencies. The final lecture deals with measures to achieve fundamental equilibria in international commerce and the provisions of the United Nations Charter relating to international trade. These lectures give valuable reference material to the student of international economics.

JOURNEY TO THE FAR PACIFIC. By Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, Odhams Press Ltd., Long Acre, London.

Late in 1951 Governor Dewey of New York, twice candidate for U.S. Presidency,

began a comprehensive tour of the Far East—Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia—which were at the time seething with civil wars and Communist revolts. He also visited such vital links in the chain of Far-Pacific strategy as Japan, Hongkong, Formosa and Okinawa. Doubtless a man of such eminence in the public life of America was afforded every facility to come into close personal touch with the civil and military personnel in the respective areas. The Governor's object was to see things for himself and form his own impressions of the peoples and nations "who stand between Communism and the American continent". How well he succeeded in this attempt is evident in the pages of this fine record of his travels and observations.

A distinguished lawyer by profession Governor Dewey has marshalled a great volume of facts and figures, opinions and impressions and welded them all with an immensely readable narrative. That is not to say that his views and opinions, frankly expressed and vigorously advocated, will be accepted by all readers with equal conviction. His defence of French colonialism in Indo-China and his espousal of Chiang in Formosa, for all his arguments, will be challenged by many thoughtful observers in the East. But the Governor, like so many of his countrymen, is convinced that only thus could Communism be checked—a plea that is not shared by many who are no less anxious to save the East from the Red menace. For one cannot ignore the reality of the new regime in China and the natural desire of the infant Republics around to keep on good terms with their neighbours. Nor can one ignore the strong sentiment against foreign imperialism—whether of the French or Dutch brand—in the new awakened Asian countries. The Governor's story of his travels shows his undoubted sympathy and understanding of the peoples and problems of the Pacific area and bears evidence of growing American interest in the Far East and the eclipse of isolationism, once and for all.

(1) INTRODUCTION TO TANTRA SHAstra. By Sir John Woodroffe. Price Rs. 5 Second Edn. 1952 P.p. 152. Published by Ganesh and Co. (Madras) Ltd. Madras 17.

(2) HYMNS TO THE GODDESS. By Arthur Ellen Avalon. Price Rs. 6, Pp 222. 2nd Ed. 1952.

(3) THE OCCULT TRAINING OF THE HINDUS. By Ernest Wood. Madras. Rs. 4. 2nd Edn. 1952. 2 & 3 also Published by Ganesh & Co.

In recent days there has been an energetic revival of the study of ancient Hindu treatises. The name of the authors Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) and Prof. Ernest Wood are not new to students of Indian occultism. All the three are second editions of earlier Publications.

The Introduction to Tantra Shastra, it is stated, is intended to serve as a preliminary study to the Mahanirvana Tantra. In actual fact, however the volume is far more than a mere introduction to the Mahanirvana Tantra. It is on the other hand a precise epitome of the entire Tantra Shastra. A study of this volume will in itself be complete. Not only is the reader introduced to the complete terminology of the Shaktha School but the entire range of Shaktha philosophy and the accompanying yogic practice have been presented in an incomparable manner.

Hymns to the Goddess is a volume of versified English translations of a number of well known Sanskrit poems. A number of them have been taken from Sri Sankara's Works while many others are from the "Brihatstotraratnakara." Among the several hymns are such well known ones as the "Kalabhairavashtaka" of Sankara, the "Bhairavistotra" from the Tantrasara, "Annapurnistotra" and the "Anandalahari" of Sri Sankara.

Professor Earnest Wood in his volume deals entirely with the Yoga systems. He divides the Yoga system into seven branches as under:

1. Raja Yoga of Patanjali.

2. Karma and Bhuddhi Yogas of Sri Krishna.

3. The Jnana Yoga of Sri Sankaracharya

4. Hatha Yoga.

5. Laya Yoga.

6. Bhakthi Yoga

7. Mantra Yoga.

Perhaps to orthodox students of Indian religious literature the names of Sri Krishna and Sri Sankara and even Patanjali as authors of Yoga systems would come as a shock. None of the three great Avatars has ever advanced such claim. All the systems are traced to the Vedas and the Upanishads and Patanjali. Sri Krishna and Sankara are only exponents of particular systems. It is also doubtful if the three great personalities exclusively advocated the particular system ascribed to them by the author. The volume however is a very useful one.

THEY CAME TO A MOUNTAIN. By Pat Miles, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

To begin with, it is a fine title for a novel, with Kashmir and its snow clad mountains for its background. The writer who had travelled extensively in America and the Soviet Union found herself in the heart of the beautiful valley during the winter of 1947-48 soon after the transfer of power in India and shortly after the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan tribesmen which led to the subsequent and prolonged dispute between India and Pakistan. The Maharaja had fled to Jammu and Sheikh Abdullah, just released from prison, and his national conference supported by Indian troops were successfully defending the Valley from the invaders. The story revolves round a number of people who set out from Jammu to Srinagar. The central figures are Maya typifying the new Indian Woman, Simon, an English writer and Laura, a diverting American with a romantic passion for India. The interplay provides a fascinating theme for the writer whose sympathy and understanding of the people are evident in every page of her fine story.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 1 Praja-Socialists meet in Delhi to discuss co-operation with Govt.
—Pepsu Cabinet resigns.
- March 2 Commonwealth Defence Scientists meet in Conference at Delhi.
- March 3 Rajaji, made Rector of Madura College, stresses need for retention of English.
- Anti-Ahmediya agitation leads to Police opening fire in Lahore.
- March 4 Marshal Stalin reported dangerously ill.
- March 5 President takes over Government of Pepsu by Proclamation dissolving Legislative Assembly under Article 356 of the Constitution.
- March 6 Marshal Stalin is dead.
—M. George Melankov becomes Prime Minister of Russia.
- March 7 Nehru opens Railways' Centenary Exhibition.
- March 8 Congress Working Committee in Delhi discusses Andhra State question.
- March 9 Premier Malenkov at Stalin's funeral, declares that Soviet will pursue policy of peace.
- March 10 M. Trygve Lie, explaining resignation, accuses Russia of existing crudest form of pressure.
- March 11 Ceylon reduces remittances to India by 50 per cent.
- March 12 Supreme Court orders release of Dr. Mukherjee and three others, allowing *habeas corpus* petition.
- March 13 Chief Minister C. R. explains in Assembly his stand against "guest capital."
- Immigration Amendment Bill passed by Ceylon's House of Representatives.
- March 14 Madras Budget presents separate figures of revenue and expenditure for Tamil and Telugu districts.
- Fall of Yoshida Government in Japan.
- March 15 Malenkov, Stalin's successor, announces his peace aims to Supreme Soviet.
- Marshal Tito arrives in Britain.
- March 16 Silver Jubilee celebration of the discovery of Raman Effect.
- March 17 Soviet vetoes Pearson's nomination to U.N. Secretary Generalship.
—Merger of 50 per cent. D. A. with pay of Government servants announced.
- March 18 Break down of Nehru—J. P. talks.
- March 19 Indo-Pak, three year Trade pact signed in Delhi.
—Three new Catholic Bishops ordained in Madras.
- March 20 Iran rejects U. K.—U. S. oil plan.
—C. R. Clarifies his stand on Andhra State formation.
- March 21 Nationalisation of Airways Bill introduced in Parliament.
- March 22 Gen. Neguib demands total withdrawal of U. K. troops from Egypt.
- March 23 Hundreds of troops and police sweep on the town of Ponuwani in Kenya and arrest more than 2500 Kikiyus.
- March 24 Queen Mary, grandmother of Queen Elizabeth dead.
- March 25 Prime Minister Nehru announces in Parliament that Andhra State will be inaugurated on Oct. 1.
—Wanchoo report placed on table of the House.
- March 26 U. S. Secretary Dulles and French Premier Rene Meyer discuss aid to French forces in Indo China.
- March 27 Indo—U.S. pacts for Survey of ground water sources and Locust Control signed at Delhi.
- March 28 India supports Burma in its complaint to U.N. against K. M. T. attacks.
- March 29 Prime Minister Nehru and U.Nu meet at Imphal for joint tour of Indo-Burma border tribal area.
- March 30 Chinese Premier Chou En-lai offers compromise solution to end deadlock on Korean prisoners.
- March 31 Dr. Graham reports failure of Geneva talks on Kashmir dispute to Security Council.



READERS' DIGEST



WAR AND PEACE

In his article on "War and Peace" in the *Aryan Path*, Mr. R. M. Fox puts forward a powerful plea for basing the peace effort on the futility of war rather than on dwelling on War's horrors.

Much of the ineffectiveness of the anti-war movement can be traced back to the emphasis on the horror—rather than the futility—of war. In the intervals between the wars, soldiers and war correspondents have done their best to bring home to us the agony of war. But the psychological effect of this "horror" propaganda is simply to rally most of the people behind the bellicose elements on the assumption (quite a false one) that by so doing they are protecting themselves and their country from all these horrors.

The only alternative to War is Peace, just as the alternative to disease is health. "Is this practical?" ask those statesmen who are proceeding with their plans for atomic annihilation which they dare not carry out.

It is quite practical. Immediately after the war Germany was being demilitarized very rapidly, so rapidly, indeed that when the Allies wanted to remilitarize the Germans, they met with widespread opposition from the German people. If the world was demilitarised in the same way as the Allies began to demilitarize Germany, enthusiasm for peace would soon be generated.

A demilitarized world would have millions to spend on social progress and the nightmare of war would be banished.

People would welcome the change. It is rational to prefer better houses, more food, more leisure and a higher standard of life to more atom bombs.

To implement this policy on a world scale we need to get back to the concept of "One World"—a world we must share and may enjoy.

For nobody with a knowledge of world forces believes that America is going to dominate Russia or that Russia will dominate America, though the world may be laid waste by the warriors before this simple truth is accepted. In Europe the desire for peace is universal. It could not be otherwise when the scars of war are not yet healed.

FACTS ABOUT THE ANDHRA STATE

The Andhra State, when it is formed will be the crown and culmination of 39 years' agitation, says *Praja Patrika*. The New State will be a contiguous geographical unit. The total area of the undisputed territory will be about 67,284 square miles, which compares favourably with that of Bombay or Bihar. It will be bigger than the size of Assam or Orissa. The population will be over two crores. Fed by the rivers Godavari, Krishna and Pennar, it has a rich canal system running into 1,255 miles. It has also 13,184 miles of trunk roads and 1,647 miles of railways.

The New State will have 154,62,715 acres of land under cultivation and 72,87,774 under forest. Its irrigational possibilities are immense. It is the nursery of a number of raw materials, including antimony, asbestos, barytes, copper, graphite, gypsum, lead and silver. There are at present 565 factories functioning in Andhra areas. Forty-six per cent. of the revenues of Madras are derived from Andhra districts. Even then, the State will start with a huge deficit. The Dhar Commission estimates it at Rs. 6½ crores.

The duplication of overhead expenditure and the duplication of administrative personnel will throw a heavy burden on this projected State. Moreover, in the context of the linguistic confusion in India, an undue emphasis on language as the basis for political grouping is fraught with as much danger as the religious basis. The use of the State language for official business will leave large masses of people untouched by the democratic process through which we have to build national unity.

Another big political factor is the possibility of the Communists capturing power in the State-to-be. If the Communists form a Ministry in Andhra, they will create a big headache for the Union.

DATE OF THE MAHABHARATA WAR

In the course of an article contributed to the *Divine Life*, Aldo Lavagnini, who is well versed in Indian scriptures and who is conducting an institute of yoga philosophy in Mexico, makes an attempt to settle some dates in Hindu chronology, particularly those relating to Sri Rama and the Bharata War.

The matter of Hindu chronology is a very important and controversial one since there are no known authentic documents to settle it definitely and satisfactorily.

Just as it is difficult to accept wholly at their face value, the many Puranic records where symbolic mythology and real history are thoroughly mixed, it is equally impossible to agree with the conclusions of modern historians who place the Bharata war between 1400 and 1000 B. C.

As to the personages of the ancient Indian history, its chief events and their succession, we may rely on the two great epics and some Vedic insertions. But their exact or even approximate time, still remains unknown and can only be guessed.

We cannot deduce from them how many years (or thousands of years) before our age did Rama and Krishna really live, and neither the identity of the king mentioned in the Mahabharata with the pastoral god or hero who may perhaps have pertained to yet another age and race.

Although not left unsafe from the critical attacks of modern historians, we should accept the only existing landmark of the pre-Buddhist age at its traditional record, i. e., the Bharata war, as having really taken place about 3000 years B. C., on the grounds of the astronomical fact that the then beginning Kali Yuga must have coincided with the Equinox taking place at or very near the great star Aldebaran or Rohini, in the middle point of the Taurus constellation. Also from a purely linguistic viewpoint, considering the 25 centuries of distance from the advent of Pali to the modern Hindu dialects, we should double them to reach the stage when classical Sanskrit must have been the chief spoken dialect.

We are further told that Rama lived at the very end of the Treta Yuga, when the Dvapara was about to begin, and similarly King Sagara had flourished at the middle point between the Krita and the Treta Yugas.

So the age of Manu must be placed at the beginning of a Satya Yuga so reckoned either coinciding with the descent of the Aryans into India, or preceding it.

Of course, we must take these Yugas with a strictly historical value, very different to the reckoning of from 432,000 to 1,728,000 years which should be referred to still greater astronomical periods. The intervening generations counted between them, even if taken with a purely symbolical value of 72 (one degree of precession) or 120 years (the acknowledged full life of the Vedas), cannot leave any doubt about it.

The first computation would make the roughly 30 intervening generations equal to a precessional month of about 2160 years. The second would give some 3600 years for each age, so very near to the 3250 or thereabout years of just one-eighths of the whole precessional or Great Solar Year of some 26,000 years each.

Since eight is a characteristically Indian divisor and the reckoned generations are between 25 and 40 for each age, they should be rather equal than unequal ages, each consisting of one half of a precessional quadrant, and their succession to the half of the great Solar Year, the other half preceding in inverse order. In this way, says the writer, both Krita and Kali Yuga come to be naturally doubled.

So, a little less of 13,000 years B. C., or a little more than 14,000 years ago, was the beginning (or the middle point) of the Satya Yuga, when the equinoctial point gamma coincided with the great star Spica or Chitra, and the Manu age. Equally, some 9700 B. C. when the same equinoctial point was between the stars Zosma and Regulus of Leo or between the Magha and Purva Phalguni asterisms, must have been the transition between Satya and Treta Yuga.

The age of Ramachandra should have been some 6400 years B. C. with the end of Treta and the beginning of Dvapara Yuga, when the equinoctial point was at or near the twin Gemini stars (Punarvasu). This one is a very sober reasonable computation which, while justifying the Hindu claim to an antiquity supported by the traditional records, carefully eschews the two extremes to either shortening or lengthening it beyond any justifiable reason.

The middle or dividing point between the two Kali ages must have been with the equinoctial point in Revati, when both the tropical and constellational zodiac nearly coincided, between 200 and 300 A. D. So the end of the second Kali Yuga period should be about 3500 of our age, when another Dvapara Yuga shall begin, followed by the Treta and Satya periods, until some 10,000 years hence, the equinoctial point shall come anew nearest to the Chitra star,

MR. GADGIL'S PLAN FOR HINDI

A plan for the adoption of Hindi in the next 13 years by the end of which Hindi has to be the language of the Union under the Constitution was outlined in a statement on March 22 by Mr. N. V. Gadgil.

The plan embraces Central Government employees and also makes suggestions for the propagation of Hindi all over the country.

Mr. Gadgil's suggestions which he had first made in a recent speech as President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi branch, are as follows:

(1) From June 1, 1953, six months' time should be given to Central Government employees to learn the Devanagari alphabet. At the end of that period, they should be able to read the Devanagari script.

(2) In three years thereafter, Central Government employees should pick up as much Hindi as is necessary for the entrance examination.

(3) In the next five years, these employees should acquire proficiency in Hindi so that they may be able to transact all business in Hindi.

(4) Implementation of the Hindi programme having thus been made possible in eight and a half years, the remaining four and a half years can be utilised to improve the quality of Hindi in all Central Government services.

(5) From June 1, 1953, every person entering Central Government service Class III, II and I will have to pass a qualifying test in Hindi before he is confirmed.

(6) Every person entering Class IV service will have also to pass an examination in Primary IV of Hindi before he is confirmed.

Any Central Government servant who fails to act up to the above requirements will not be entitled to promotion.

As regards the general question of propagation of Hindi all over the country, Mr. Gadgil suggested: (1) Primary education in all States must be in the mother tongue of the child. (2) The medium of instruction throughout the primary, middle and secondary stages should be the language of the region. (3) From Standard V to Standard XI, i. e., for a period of seven years, every boy or girl should be taught Hindi compulsory. (4) In the secondary stage of education, a student should choose one of the two languages either Sanskrit or English, in addition. (5) In the university, the medium of instruction should be the language of the region, but a compulsory paper either in Hindi or English should be prescribed.

The above scheme, Mr. Gadgil said, is expected to secure a fair measure of acquaintance with the national language,

PROHIBITION

Anti-prohibition newspapers seem to gloat over the fact that there was a raid on a still here and a still there. They appear to want to suggest that people are taking to illicit manufacture of liquor because of prohibition, and that therefore the way to put an end to such malpractices is to scrap prohibition, says Sri Bharatan Kumarappa in *Harijan*. Quite an easy solution, no doubt, he says sarcastically. "Make what is now illicit licit, and then there will be nothing to worry about! Law will not be held in disrespect for there will be no prohibition law any more to violate!"

But the matter is not as simple as all that if we may judge from the experience of America. In that country, we are told that illicit distillation has actually increased since repeal of prohibition. The liquor manufacturer there finds that he can make enormous profits if he evades the taxes which the man with the licence has to pay; so he manufactures illicitly.

Here is evidence in this connection from Mr. Squires, Research Counsel for the National W.C.T.U. of America:

"Bootlegging has apparently reached a new peak of competition with licensed liquor dealers. According to a brewery weekly bulletin, there are more bootleggers, moonshiners and illicit whisky distilleries in the United States than in prohibition days. According to the *Washington Post* August 1951, Federal State and local authorities in 1950 seized 19,644 stills with a daily production of 677,179 gallons. According to the F.B.I. this compares with legal production in 1950 of 477,986 daily." (*Union Signal*).

It seems incredible, he says, that more liquor was produced in the U. S. illicitly than licitly, and more incredible still that even the illicit liquor seized by the police was more than what was legally produced, for it would mean that in addition to what was seized there was much more illicit liquor produced but not detected or seized.

If this is the state of affairs in a non-prohibition country like America, it is obvious that getting rid of prohibition is no solution to the problem of illicit distillation. Indeed, it would seem that the illicit manufacturer of liquor thrives even more where there is no prohibition, for then he can make huge profits by tax evasion. Let us not, therefore, be deceived by the suggestion that if it were not for prohibition, there would be no illicit distillation.

COMMUNISM AND HINDUISM

In the course of an article on the above subject in the March number of the *Vedanta Kesari* Prof. D. S. Sarma points out how radically opposed Hinduism is to communism of the present day.

The fundamental opposition lies in the fact that, while Hinduism exalts moral and spiritual values above material and biological values, Communism reverses the process and exalts the material and biological values above moral and spiritual values. From this basic opposition arise many other points of difference, which may be categorically stated thus.

The Communists regard man as only a member of an organization, we regard him first and foremost as a spiritual being. They believe in the cult of violence, we believe in the gospel of non-violence. They believe that the end justifies the means. We believe that the means are really our ends. To them the state is everything and the individual nothing, to us the individual is everything and the state is nothing but the means to the development of the individual. They believe in economic determinism. We believe in spiritual freedom. They have faith in dialectic materialism. We have faith in evolutionary idealism. In short, their goal is an earthly Paradise, our goal is the Paradise of the soul.

But how are we going to meet the challenge of Communism at the present day? The greatest appeal of Communism, says the writer, lies in its programme of economic reform and social justice, with the object of promoting the happiness of the common man. Hinduism, with its belief in the inherent divinity of every man, can make the same appeal with far greater conviction.

To level up all classes of society, to equalize their incomes as far as possible, to set limits to the acquisition of private property in the interests of the community as a whole and to devise ways and means of securing a more equitable distribution of wealth—there is nothing repugnant to Hinduism or any other religion in such a programme of reform. On the other hand, the implementation of the teachings of all religions demands measures of this kind. It is because most of the followers of the established religions have not put into practice the truths they were taught that Communism has gained ground so far.

The mistake of Communism lies not so much in its programme of economic re-

form as in its attempt to carry it out through ruthless violence and the suppression of all individual freedom by most unscrupulous means.

But when an established religion sets out with a similar programme for improving the lot of the common man it must first stipulate that injustice should not be met with injustice, but with persuasion and enactments of law. Its method should be to educate public opinion at first and then to induce representative legislatures to pass suitable laws for bringing about the necessary economic and social changes. It is in this way that Mahatma Gandhi has removed the age-long blot of untouchability from Hindu society. He did not ask the depressed classes to go and kill the other classes or destroy their homes and temples. If he had done so, the reform would have been postponed by another hundred years.

RUSSIA'S LIKELY MOVES

An unusually challenging article from the pen of the well known writer on military affairs—Capt. Lidden Hart—is featured in the February number of the *United Nations World*. Analysing the mind of the Soviet General in his study, "If I am Russia's Chief of Staff" the writer assesses Soviet strategy in the event of war. "Perhaps there is no better way than to place ourselves imaginatively in their place" he says and goes on to unravel the Soviet mind. Doubtless the article is provocative of thought. On the question of Russian strategy in the East, Capt. Lidden Hart goes on to reflect the mind of the Soviet Chief of Staff working this way:

"The only thing against our starting another 'Korean' move in the Middle East is that, now, it would probably mean war—a full-scale world war. So I have been considering where we might try a move with less certain risk of American intervention. It seems to me that the Indian area might be a favourable place. It should not be too difficult to get India and Pakistan fighting over Kashmir, and once the Pakistanis were in dire straits they might be induced to accept our 'aid.' It would be far more difficult for the Americans and British to support India in a fight started on that issue, and thus we might get well established. Our 'aid' would, of course, go by air. The advent of the air has much helped to transform the 'Indian' dreams of Tsarist Russia into a realizable proposition for the USSR.

A move to Pakistan's "rescue" could pave the way for us to succeed the British, who succeeded the Moguls, as the rulers of India. It would also enable us to get into Southeast Asia before our present useful but potentially dangerous allies, the Chinese.

There are such good chances of gain in various directions without a full-scale war that I would rather pursue these, in a careful way, as long as possible. That doesn't mean being timorously careful. Indeed, if I were quite sure that the Americans were going to force a showdown when their rearmament has gone further, and face us with a choice between retreat and war, I would favor striking first. For I'm not unduly worried about the outcome.

It is astonishing how Americans assume that in such a war they are bound to win in the long run because their output of oil and steel is much greater than ours. They don't seem to realize that, with our much more limited civilian consumption, we have got an ample margin for our armaments—large as these are. Furthermore, it seems absurd to picture a long war carried on by atomic bombing. A mere two such bombs of elementary type crumpled up Japan, an exceptionally tough nation.

Thus, on balance, very favorable conclusions can be drawn from a survey of our situation in comparison with that of our opponents. Nevertheless, I would not care to advise that an attack should be undertaken. There are too many incalculables in present weapon development. We cannot be sure enough, by Stalin's standards, of fulfilling the two basic conditions that I specified at the outset. It would therefore be wiser to pursue our "camouflaged warfare" policy and strategy—what our opponents call "the cold war"—which shows many signs of continued and increasing success.

As a Soviet soldier, I am profoundly conscious of the fundamental truth of Lenin's maxim, so masterfully applied by Stalin, that "the soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the mortal blow both possible and easy."

ANDAMANS COLONISATION SCHEME

A five-year scheme for the development and colonisation of the Andamans has been sanctioned by the Government of India. A note giving the features of the scheme was placed on the table of the Council of States by the Home Minister.

The scheme envisages the clearing of 20,000 acres of forest land in the Andamans, which will be made fit for cultivation. This work, which began in December 1952, is reported to be progressing satisfactorily.

This cleared land will be made available for paddy cultivation to about 4,000 agriculturists' families (consisting of about 20,000 persons) from India during the next five years or so. In addition to these 20,000 acres, an equivalent extent of hilly land will be made available to the settlers for being utilised as homestead land, for growing fruits and vegetables and as pasture for cattle. (Each family will thus be allotted about ten acres of land, made up of five acres for paddy cultivation and five acres of hilly land for horticultural operations, etc.)

Each family selected for settlement under the scheme, will be granted a recoverable loan Rs. 2,000 to enable them to meet the expenditure on house-building, purchase of bullocks, agricultural implements, seeds and manure, maintenance till the first crop is harvested and cost of passage to the Andamans. Land revenue may not be collected during the initial period of the working of the scheme. Thereafter, land revenue will be levied at the rate of Rs. 3 an acre.

The scheme also envisages building of roads, schools and dispensaries, augmenting of police and revenue staff and provision of other administrative facilities. The total cost of the scheme, i.e., for both disafforestation and development, is expected to be Rs. 403 lakhs and the anticipated revenue (from sale of timber) Rs. 380 lakhs, thus entailing a net outlay of Rs. 23 lakhs over five years.

It is expected that the scheme will result in increase of food production by two lakhs maunds of rice a year.

INDIA—PAKISTAN CANAL DISPUTE

A spokesman of the Indian High Commission in London, deplored the criticism appearing in the Conservative *Daily Express* on India's attitude to the canal waters dispute with Pakistan.

The editorial, which the spokesman described as based on the newspaper's ancient hostility to India, said:

The shadow of famine hangs over the Dominion of Pakistan. Across the border, to the northeast of the fertile wheat and cotton growing Punjab, the Indians are building huge dams and digging long deep canals. When they are completed, they will divert, at the rate of many thousands of cubic feet per second, river waters which now flow into the Punjab irrigation system.

The paper also criticised the attitude of the British Government on the question saying:

Once again this country (Britain) seems to stand by indifferently while loyal Pakistanis are savagely wronged by their neighbours who barely pay lip service to the Empire. The paper suggested: The countries of the Empire led by Britain, should act, fast and firmly, to show Mr. Nehru that they will not tolerate diversion of the waters which carry life to Pakistan.

The spokesman recalled that the agreement of May 4, 1948 between India and Pakistan which laid down that the Governments of East and West Punjab were anxious to approach the problem in a practical spirit on the basis of the East Punjab Government progressively diminishing its supply to the central Bari, Doab and Depalpur canals in West Punjab in order to give reasonable time to enable the West Punjab Government to tap alternative sources.

The agreement said:

The West Punjab Government on its part recognise the natural anxiety of the East Punjab Government to discharge its obligation to develop areas where water is scarce and which were under-developed in relation to parts of West Punjab.

The spokesman said the agreement also provided for payment to the East Punjab Government of certain charges and for deposit with the Reserve Bank of India of charges which were considered to be in dispute.

While the Government of India fully abided by this agreement, the Government of Pakistan, since July 1, 1950, failed to deposit the disputed charges in the Reserve Bank, he added.

Referring to the *Daily Express* point that "Indians are building huge dams and digging long deep canals", the spokesman said:

New engineering works were under construction in the Indus Basin both in India and in Pakistan. India's Bakhra Nangal Project is not likely to make any reduction in irrigation supplies now available to Pakistan except to a small extent in the early part of summer and towards late September. This could be made up easily by Pakistan from waters which now run waste from the Chenab, Jhelum and the Indus.

The spokesman said that in spite of new irrigation projects which will be executed in Pakistan "with feverish activity" the Pakistan Press and politicians were charging India with vague allegations of cutting off water supplies to Pakistan.

Whether the alleged shortage of food in Pakistan is due to continued drought, low rivers, inefficient cultivators or changes introduced by agrarian reforms, the fault is always laid at the door of India for having cut off supplies. Little heed is paid to the fact that India has but little control over a large number of canals in Pakistan and this fact the *Daily Express* must understand before criticising India.

The spokesman quoted recent speeches of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, President of the Jinnah Awami Muslim League at Karachi accusing the Pakistan Government of "bungling the canal waters issue with India."

NIZAM AS LAND OWNER

The Nizam, the Rajpramukh, who owns about 10,000 to 12,000 acres of land is the biggest land owner in the State, it was officially stated in Hyderabad.

Asked whether the Nizam would be dispossessed of all his surplus lands above the maximum holding fixed under the Bill to amend the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950 the Chief Minister, Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, told pressmen that the Bill, when passed, would apply to every individual in the State unless he was specially exempted. The Bill, as it stands, does not exempt anyone from its purview, he added.

The Nizam recently gave about 8,730 acres of land to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna.

COTTON RESEARCH IN INDIA

Money spent today for cotton research will bring India a rich return in self-sufficiency for her cotton industry. Moreover India can look ahead to becoming a cotton exporter, thereby increasing national income and raising the general level of prosperity.

These are the views of Dr. C. Nanjundayya, Director of the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee. The laboratory, located at Bombay, has for 28 years played a key role in the development of cotton as India's premier cash crop.

Working with modern fibre and yarn testing apparatus as well as ginning and spinning equipment, Dr. Nanjundayya and the laboratory staff of 40 scientists and technologists give technical assistance to cotton growers, textile mills and merchants.

India stands next to the United States in cotton production, yet annually India has imported 15 lakh bales to feed its nearly 400 textile mills at a cost of more than Rs. 150 crores. It is encouraging, however, that during the past five years Indian cotton production has risen from 21 to 36 lakh bales annually.

India's many varieties of cotton possess a wide range of fibre properties and spinning qualities, and it is the laboratory's function to test samples for each. Many samples are submitted by state agriculture departments whose 30 experiment stations are evolving new and improved varieties through selection, hybridization, and other techniques. The Technological Laboratory then tests each new variety before recommending it to farmers for general cultivation.

Cotton plants of higher yield and quality mean greater income for cotton growers and better quality fibre for the processing mills. The estimated additional income earned by growers alone from improved varieties has steadily increased from Rs. 5 crores in 1947-48 to Rs. 7 crores in 1950-51.

Besides testing samples, the laboratory studies the results of fertilizers, irrigation, rotation and spacing on the fibre and spinning properties of cotton.

COLONIAL PEOPLES ON THE MARCH

Mr. James Griffiths, Colonial Secretary in the former Labour Government, said in a party political broadcast from London that the uprising of the colonial peoples was the "greatest challenge" of the twentieth century to the Western world.

Mr. Griffiths said: "There are 1,600 million people in the world whose skins are a different colour from ours. That is twice as many as the whole of the white population of the globe, and all of them, one after the other, are demanding the right to order their own lives in their own way".

Mr. Griffiths said that never before in history had there been a movement of this kind or on this scale.

"Nothing can stop it, and it would be folly for us to try. What we have to do is first to find ways of helping and guiding it and, second, to show all these peoples who are on the move that we are on their side."

All their efforts would be in vain, Mr. Griffiths said, "unless these people feel that we think of them as brothers, whose fate is our concern."

MUSICIANS OF THE YEAR

At an impressive ceremony at Rashtrapati Bhavan on March 15 Dr. Rajendra Prasad honoured India's most outstanding musicians of the year and presented to them the annual awards for music.

The recipients of the awards were: Srimati Kesarbai Kerkar (for vocal music of the Hindustani school), Ustad Hafiz Ali Khan (for instrumental music of the Hindustani school), Sri Semmangudi Srinivasa Aiyar (for vocal music of the Karnatak school), and Sri Dwaram Venkataswamy Naidu (for instrumental music, of the Karnatak school).

After the citation was read out in each case, giving salient details of the life-long service to music of each recipient and his or her pre-eminence in the field of music, the President awarded to each one of them a purse, a shawl and a sanad.

The Presidential awards for music were instituted last year on the initiative of the Ministry of Education.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

REMITTANCES TO INDIA

The Ceylon Government has cut down from March 11 personal remittances to India by 50 per cent.

The Exchange Control announced reduction in the monthly basic rations allowed for remittances to India by non-citizens from Rs. 100 to Rs. 50.

Income Tax paying Ceylon residents, who hold bank accounts, will be permitted to remit for personal purposes Rs. 100 per mensem to India. The present amount allowed is Rs. 200.

However, basic rations granted to travellers to places in India other than South India, including Portuguese and French India, have been increased to Rs. 1,000 per adult and Rs. 500 per child per year, as against Rs. 500 and Rs. 250 now allowed.

The basic travel ration to South India will be Rs. 400 per adult, and Rs. 200 per child.

Travellers can now take out of Ceylon without permit Rs. 100 in Ceylon currency. Indian currency up to Rs. 100 will be allowed to travellers proceeding to India.

THE AMENDING BILL

Ceylon's House of Representatives passed Premier Senanayake's Bill amending the Immigration and Emigration Act on March 13.

When the Bill becomes law, persons, whose residence permits expire will fall into the category of illegal immigrants. They will, therefore, be liable to bear the full brunt of the law giving wide powers to the police because section 4 (sub-section 2) (C) makes it an offence for any person to conceal or harbour anybody or transport or cause to be transported such persons who had entered Ceylon or "remain" in Ceylon in contravention of any provision of this Act or any order or regulation made thereunder.

The amending Bill provides wide powers for police to launch prosecution against suspected illicit immigrants and those aiding and abetting them.

South Africa

S. AFRICAN GROUP AREAS ACT

The Government of India have sent a special report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointing out the gravity of the situation created by the South African Government's attempt to implement the Group Areas Act in the different parts of the Union.

The action recently taken by the Union Government in connection with the proclamation of the Group Areas Act is in flagrant and complete disregard of the resolutions passed by the United Nations in 1950, 1951 and 1952.

In these resolutions, the U. N. urged the Government of South Africa to suspend the implementation of the Group Areas Act pending further negotiations between the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa.

Trinidad

MISSIONARIES FROM INDIA

The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Trinidad (Inc.) (84 St. Clements Junction, Ste Madeleine Post Office, Trinidad B.W.I.) has decided that in the interest of the work a Vedic Missionary for Trinidad is absolutely necessary and accordingly solicits India's aid in getting a proper person. The terms are as follows:—

(a) He should be between twenty five (25) and forty five (45) years of age.

(b) He must possess a University Degree and must speak English in a Scholarly way.

(c) He must be prepared to stay for five years with option to renew the contract.

(d) In case of a single person the Salary will be 2400-3600 Rupees; for a married man 4000-6000 Rupees per year with an allowance of 300 Rupees for each child in addition to Salary.

(e) This Sabha will assist in procuring a house and furniture; but he will have to pay monthly rent. We pay his, or their passage to Trinidad and guarantee his return passage after five years of faithful duty.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE ANDHRA STATE

NEHRU'S STATEMENT

Prime Minister Nehru announced in the House of the People on March 25 that the new Andhra State will be inaugurated on Oct. 1 next. He said:

The Andhra State will consist of the following eleven districts:—(1) Srikakulam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) East Godavari, (4) West Godavari, (5) Krishna, (6) Guntur, (7) Nellore, (8) Kurnool, (9) Anantapur, (10) Cuddapah and (11) Chittoor. It will also consist of a part of Bellary district as I shall indicate later.

The Government of India were of opinion that the temporary Capital of the new State should be located in Andhra territory. The residuary State of Madras would make every effort to accommodate some offices of the Andhra State which might be located in Madras.

The decision as to the site of a temporary Capital should be left to the Andhras themselves and might be taken by the Andhra members of the Legislature.

This decision should be indicated to the Government of India by the beginning of July, 1953.

Any decision about the Capital or any other matter involving financial assistance would require the approval of the Central Government in so far as financial assistance was concerned.

Mr. Nehru said the present Madras High Court would continue to function also as the High Court of the Andhra State till the Andhra Legislature decided upon the location within the New State itself.

A Boundary Commission or Commissions would be appointed some time after the establishment of the new State to determine the exact boundaries of that State and to recommend such adjustments as might be considered necessary in regard to the boundaries of that State with the residuary State of Madras and Mysore State.

In regard to Bellary district the Prime Minister said

that six taluks which are predominantly Kannada-speaking should go to Mysore State. Three taluks would go to Andhra. In regard to Bellary taluk proper, the Government proposed to consider the matter further and come to a decision later.

ii THE WANCHOO REPORT

A copy of the report of Mr. Justice Wanchoo on the formation of the Andhra State was placed on the table of the House of the People on March 25.

The report includes over a dozen annexures on financial and other statistical details of the implications of the formation of the new State.

It deals exhaustively with such questions as the location of the Capital, Public Service Commission, educational facilities for Andhras in the residuary State, division of services, special protection rules for State and subordinate services and division of assets and liabilities.

On the question of the Capital of the new State, the report says that the best solution would be to allow the temporary Capital to be located in the City of Madras for a period of three to five years.

It should be clearly understood that the jurisdiction over the City of Madras would in all matters rest in the residuary State and the Government of the new State would merely be in the nature of guests or tenants in Madras City.

The fear that the Andhra Government will not leave Madras City after the period of three to five years is perhaps exaggerated, for the Andhra Government would have no powers in the City of Madras and one would normally expect that such a Government would like to go to its own territory where it can exercise all the powers of government as early as possible. In any case, if the temporary Capital of the new State is located in Madras City, it will be for the Government of India to make it clear that the location is only temporary for a fixed period and to see that the Andhra Government gets out after the period is over.

On the assumption that it would not be possible, even temporarily, to locate the capital in Madras, Mr. Wanchoo proceeds to discuss alternatives.

As an "inferior alternative", Mr. Wanchoo recommends temporary location of Government, Legislature, Secretariat and important heads of Departments in Waltair-Vishakapatnam.

DR. PRASAD ON THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing the annual Convocation of Patna University on March 11 said:

Education should be a process by which a new generation is familiarised with the cumulative knowledge and experience of previous generations thus evolving the mental faculties of the younger generation.

The second aim of education," he said is to create in man discipline of the senses so that he can meet his bodily needs and other requirements. Discipline of the sense requires, besides knowledge some practice also. One may have attained intellectual development, but he need not necessarily have self-discipline unless he has given his senses the necessary training and practice.

"The third aim of education, in my opinion," said Dr. Prasad

is to evolve social virtue in man so that the may work and live with others. Whether he likes it or not, he has to carry on with other people like him. No one can cut himself adrift from society, such solitary life has no existence in actual fact. One might enjoy moments of solitude for a while, but no one can lead a solitary life for all time. Collective life being thus an inevitable reality, it is only proper that everyone should be trained in the art of living together.

The President continued;

We must consider and decide how many thinkers and efficient workers we require. It is evident that in every country and in every age both thinkers as well as workers are necessary. But the situation in which our country is to-day efficient workers are of far greater importance for as than mere thinkers. To meet the needs of the teeming millions of our country, we have to step up our production. The inalienable condition is that, while production increases the health of our people should also improve and they should be fully familiar with modern economic and industrial trends.

To achieve these ends we require hundreds of thousands of workers. But these workers must understand that mere efficiency would not necessarily entitle them to a higher remuneration as compared to other people. As a matter of fact, they have to increase the country's wealth in the interest of posterity.

My view therefore is that our education should lay greater emphasis on this kind of efficiency and should train our students from a strictly practical angle. If every city or district becomes a nucleus for imparting this kind of practical training and if the other educational institutions also adapt themselves to this need, I think the defects of the present system can be remedied to a large extent.

I also believe, Dr. Prasad said, that our educational institutions should provide for initiating students into social virtues. Collective collaboration should

not remain confined to the playground but also touch the other spheres of life. One of the ways of doing, it is to organise teams of social workers, who should compete with one another in the actual work of community welfare. They would thus not only become familiar with the stream of common life but also themselves become a part of it.

There can be no difference of opinion as to the functions of the Universities. They ought to be the centres of ideas, of life-giving thought. They should have provision for conducting every kind of research, particularly such research as can be of use in tackling the peculiar problems of that region. Although it is necessary for a university to be away from the din and buzz of common life, it does not mean that it should lose all contact with the common man and his way of living. In actual fact, the success of a university consists in becoming the leading light of its region so that it can express an opinion on every problem that crops up there and help the people in finding out a solution. Our universities have not yet attained this position, but without doing so they cannot be successful nor fulfil their purpose.

In olden days, Dr. Prasad added, when the sphere of social life was restricted and when economic life was not centralised, no special necessity was felt to achieve these three aims with a constant eye on balancing or harmonising them. But to-day, the sphere of social life is world-wide and economic trends tend to become more and more centralised. It has therefore, become very necessary that each individual should not merely familiarise himself with these three aims of education, but also make a special effort to adopt them in practice in his actual life.

That is why in the past people have felt the need for remodelling the system of education as the earlier generations left it. Changes in the educational system have thus been made by different countries in their own way. It would not be too much to say that, just like politics and economics, education has also been facing a revolution in recent years. Unfortunately, that revolution in the sphere of education has not yet touched our country, particularly the State of Bihar. Popular attention has been drawn to this need, but so far, it has not yielded any tangible results.

It should be admitted, he said, that educational institutions fulfilled the first of the three aims.

Those studying in these institutions did get the benefit of the cumulative knowledge of the past generations to some extent, but the real object of developing the individual's intellectual capacities is not being achieved. Young men and women of the coming generation are not able to develop fully their thinking power. It is true that now and then these institutions produce a few individuals whose mental capacities are mature and fully developed, but these do rather exceptional cases, which do not constitute a justification of the present system of education.

CONGRESS—P.S.P. NEGOTIATIONS

The Congress President, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his letter to the Praja Socialist leader, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, recording the termination of the talks on Congress-Socialist co-operation, said that to each one of the items in the draft programme which the PSP leader had sent, he had little objection and would be happy to give thought to them.

"But surely," said Mr. Nehru, "it is beyond me both as Prime Minister and as the President of the Congress to deal with such vital matters and give assurances in regard to them. Many of these may be logically justifiable and yet there may be other reasons which come in the way. One can hardly take all these things in a bunch."

Agreeing with Mr. Narain that for the present they should drop this idea in its more precise forms, Mr. Nehru hoped that they would meet frequently to discuss common problems and try to help each other to understand them fully.

The following is the draft programme which Mr. Narain submitted to the Prime Minister on behalf of the PSP to enable the party to extend "co-operation at all levels".

(1) Constitutional amendment: (a) To remove obstacles in the way of social change, (b) Abolition of constitutional guarantees to princes, civil servants, etc., (c) Abolition of second chambers.

(2) (a) Administrative reforms at all levels, including decentralisation of political power and administrative authority, (b) Reform of law and legal procedure, (c) Summary and effective machinery to deal with corruption.

(3) (a) Redrawing the administrative map of India on the basis of linguistic, economic and administrative considerations. Appointment of a Commission by Parliament to work out the details on the basis of the above-mentioned principles, (b) Reduction of administrative costs by having regional (multi-State) Governors, High Courts, and other top-level tribunals and Public Services Commissions.

(4) (A) Redistribution of land to remove economic inequality and exploitation. Preference to be given in all such schemes to landless labour and poor peasants, (B) Immediate stoppage of all evictions, (C) Suitable legislation to prevent fragmentation, bring about consolidation of holdings, (D) Abolition of the remaining forms of landlordism, (E) Rural economy to be transformed into a co-operative economy through

compulsory multi-purpose societies, (F) State assistance in providing credit and other facilities to agriculturists; such assistance to be given through multi-purpose societies, (G) The State, as far as possible, to deal not with individual peasants but through a group of them organised in a co-operative or panchayat. This should include collection of land revenue, a part of which is to remain with the village as organised in the multi-purpose society or panchayat.

(5) Reclamation of waste land and settlement of landless labour on them through village collectives. No wastelands to be allotted for capitalist farmings.

BANKING AND INSURANCE

(6) Nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.

(7) Progressive development of State trading.

(8) Selected number of plants in different industries to be owned and run by the State or co-operatives of autonomous corporations or workers' councils; Fostering organisations of technicians and managers to provide expert advice and administrative personnel for State enterprises.

(9) Unified trade union movement organised on the basis of the union shop. This will enable the unions to become socially responsible agencies.

(10) Nationalisation of coal and other mines producing important minerals.

(11) Association of workers in the management of State enterprises.

(12) Democratisation of spheres of large and small-scale industries and establishing, encouraging and protecting small-scale industries.

(13) As a first step towards achieving economic equality in the country, higher salaries and emoluments in Government services shall be scaled down.

(14) The spirit of Swadeshi to be promoted and made to pervade all walks of life.

COLONISATION OF ANDAMANS

Mr. B. N. Datar, Deputy Home Minister, informed the House of the People at question-time on March 10 that the Government of India had sanctioned a scheme for settlement of some 4,000 families of Indian peasants in the Andamans during the next five years.

Each family, selected for settlement under this scheme, would be given an allotment of five acres of cleared land for paddy cultivation. Another five acres of uncleared hilly land would be allotted to be utilised for building a hutment for growing fruit and vegetables and as pasture for cattle.

A recoverable loan of Rs. 2,000 would be given to meet expenditure on passage from the main land of India to the Andamans.

Dr. Murray Fowler, Professor of Comparative Philology and Linguistics in the Wisconsin University, U. S. A., delivering the valedictory address of the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College, Madras, observed that a study of Sanskrit literature was indispensable for understanding India.

Referring to the study of Sanskrit in America, Dr. Fowler said in the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins, there were chairs for Sanskrit. The Professors in these universities were generally required to teach Sanskrit and to direct graduate students in Sanskrit studies. There were perhaps a dozen other universities where Sanskrit was regularly taught every year but with no separate professors.

Dr. Fowler said in the U. S., there were a few great Sanskrit scholars like William Dwight Whitney of Yale, Maurice Bloomfield of Johns Hopkins University, Edgerton of Yale, Emeneau of California and Prof. Ingals of Harvard University.

The Mysore Educational Reforms Committee submitted comprehensive proposals for reform in various stages of school, collegiate and technical education in the State. Among the recommendations of the Committee on primary education are those suggesting increase in the duration of the primary course from 4 to 6 years with the object of producing permanent literacy and imparting minimum content of general education, and preference for women while recruiting teachers of primary schools.

The Committee has also suggested that mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in the primary stage, and that a Primary Education Board should be set up.

Craft should be introduced in all primary schools, utilising the services of local persons experienced in craft works. Every primary school should be given land at the rate of half an acre per teacher.

To safeguard and advance the interests of teachers working in primary, secondary, higher and special schools in India and to secure for them their "legitimate place in the national life of the country", the All-India Federation of Educational Associations has prepared a "Teachers' Charter for India".

In its preamble the Charter emphasises the right of the teachers to be heard in the shaping of educational policies, administration and control of institutions run by the educational departments of either the State or the Central Governments or by universities, through their elected representatives.

The Federation has called upon the State and Union Governments to provide the "requisite machinery for securing such representations either by an act of legislation or by any other accredited procedure". It has also outlined in the preamble the "rights and responsibilities" of teachers. It has stated that every teacher has a right to decent salary that will keep him from want give him security of service and protect him during sickness, old age and accident without distinction of caste, colour or creed.

The Federation has emphasised the right of the teacher to appeal in case of dismissal from services or of ill-treatment, to an Arbitration Board which the Central and State Governments should constitute and whose decisions on such cases should be final and binding.

A detailed programme for training of social education organisers who will work in the community project areas was considered and finalised at a two-day conference of the Directors of the training centres of social education organisers, which concluded its session in New Delhi on February 13, Mr. S. K. Dey, Community Projects Administrator, presided over the meeting.

The syllabus of training at these centres includes both theoretical studies and field work. It covers social sciences, rural economics, civics, etc.

LEGAL

In a rejoinder to the speech made by Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, on March 21 defending the advertisement ban on the *Times of India*, Mr. A. D. Mani, President of the AINEC, said a reference had been made therein to the views of the AINEC on this subject. "The Chief Minister poses the question whether a newspaper which seeks to establish that the State Government is foolish, and bad in every way should be given advertisements, as that would mean Government money would be misused to support a paper whose policy is directed towards throwing out this Government. Mr. Desai must be able to appreciate the point that 'throwing out' the Government is not a heinous crime in a democracy and that change of Governments through democratic processes by the creation of public opinion is vital to a free society and that it is not fair to stigmatise Opposition criticism by formidable phrases like 'throwing out' the Government."

like 'throwing out' the Government.

It is the essence of democracy that persons in action should be able to tolerate and even welcome the existence of opinion which seeks to effect improvement in administration and in the last resort a change of Government or overthrow it, to use Mr. Desai's phrase. This is the basis of the party system. It will be interesting to pursue the logic of Mr. Desai's argument. According to him, those who are engaged in seeking the overthrow of Government by constitutional means do not deserve support of the kind which they are entitled to receive on ground of equality. Arguing on this line, would it be permissible for the Bombay Government to deny the amenities of citizenship and the protection of the law to members of Opposition parties just because they are engaged, to use Mr. Desai's phrase again, in overthrowing the Government through normal democratic processes? Mr. Desai knows that this cannot be done because there are the High Courts and the Supreme Court to defend the fundamental rights of citizens. He knows that he is in a position to take punitive action against the *Times* group of publications as his discretionary administrative powers cannot be challenged in a court of law. Financial penalisation of the kind which has been inflicted on the *Times* of India is worse than action under the Press Act, because under the Press Act there is the judicial remedy of appeal and in this case there is no remedy of appeal except to the good sense of the Bombay Government.

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court ordered on March 12 the release forthwith of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Sri N. C. Chatterjee, Pundit Nandalal Sharma, and Pundit Guru Datt Vaid, allowing a habeas corpus petition filed on their behalf.

Dr. Mukherjee and three others were arrested on March 6 at Delhi for the alleged defiance of a ban on processions and meetings.

The Chief Justice, Sri M. Patanjali Sastri, giving the order before a crowded Court said the detention of the arrested persons was illegal, as there was no proper remand order on record to justify their detention after 24 hours of detention, thus contravening Article 22 of the constitution.

Article 22 of the Constitution says :
No person who is arrested shall be
detained in custody without being
informed, as soon as may be, of
the grounds for such arrest, nor shall
he be denied the right to consult and
be defended by, a legal practitioner of
his choice.

Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest Magistrate within a period of 24 hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the Court of the Magistrate, and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of the Magistrate.

The Legal Aid Committee constituted by the Provincial Bar Federation met in Madras and expressed its view that a Society on the lines of the Bombay Legal Aid Society should be constituted and registered under the Societies Act for taking up the affording of free legal aid to poor litigants. It resolved that till such a Society is duly formed and constituted the Bar Federation itself in the first instance should start a Central Committee for legal aid.

INDO-PAKISTAN TRADE

The Indian and Pakistani trade delegations, after four days of parleys, in Delhi last month agreed that neither country should discriminate against the other as far as trade in raw jute, coal and cinema films is concerned.

This agreement, embodied in a joint Press communique issued by the leaders of the two delegations is regarded as paving the way to a long-term trade agreement between the two countries, probably for three years.

Pakistan has agreed to remove the licence fee on jute exports to India and to bring down her export duty on *kutch* bales to the same level as that on *pucca* bales. India on her part agreed to abolish the surcharge levied on coal exports to Pakistan.

Pakistan also agreed to reduce from March 25 the import duty per foot on Hindustani and Bengali films from four annas to one anna as levied on other foreign films.

A joint Press communique issued by the leaders of the Indian and Pakistan trade delegations states:

"As a result of discussions held between the delegations of India and Pakistan, it has been agreed that:

(a) The Government of Pakistan will, with effect from March 25, 1953, remove the licence fee of Rs. 2-8 a maund on exports of raw jute to India and reduce the export duty on loose jute or *kutch* bales to the same level as the export duty on *pucca* bales.

(b) As from the same date, the Government of India have agreed that the prices of coal supplies to Pakistan—which have hitherto been higher than the prices charged to Indian consumers—shall be reduced so as to bring the two on a par.

The Government of Pakistan have also agreed, with effect from the same date to levy the same effective rate of import duty per foot of exposed cinematograph film imported into Pakistan from India as may be leviable on imports from other countries."

LOANS BY FINANCE CORPORATION

The Committee set up to enquire into the working of the Industrial Finance Corporation will have the following terms of reference:

(1) To scrutinise the loan transactions of the Corporation with reference to the allegations about nepotism and favouritism made during the discussion of the Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill in Parliament;

(2) To verify whether in general due care has been exercised in the grant of loans;

(3) To review generally the policy followed by the Corporation in the grant of loans with due regard to the objectives of the Act and the directions issued by the Government;

(4) To make recommendations, if necessary, for improvement in the working of the Corporation.

The Committee has been asked to submit its report within two months.

INDIA'S TRADE BALANCE

India registered an adverse trade balance in nine months ending December, 1952, to the extent to Rs. 77.56 crores, according to Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Minister of Commerce and Industry.

The imports amounted to Rs. 523.08 crores and exports and re-exports to Rs. 445.52 crores.

India's balance of payments on current account for the period April-December, was plus Rs. 87 crores. The total invisible receipts during April-September, 1952, amounted to Rs. 97 crores.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN INDIA

Foreign investments in India since 1948, amounted to Rs. 803 crores, according to a statement made by the Finance Minister in the House of the people.

The figure excluded foreign investment in the shape of goods and reinvestment of profits of existing investments. Investment by the United Kingdom amounted to Rs. 6.7 crores.

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY

Queen Mary, the 85-year old Dowager Queen of Britain, died on March 24, with the wish that the Coronation of her grand-daughter, Queen Elizabeth, should go on as planned on June 2 next.

The old Queen's life spanned a momentous period of history, which she helped to create. She was buried in Windsor castle beside her husband King George V and the son she outlived, George VI.

Queen Mary died peacefully in her sleep. At 11-15 p.m., after a day of mounting anxiety, a final bulletin was posted outside the gates of Marlborough House, her London home. The bulletin said: "While sleeping peacefully, Queen Mary died at 20 minutes past 10 o'clock."

The aged Queen's only daughter, the Princess Royal was with her mother when the end came. The Duke of Windsor, who had called twice during the day, was summoned a third time but arrived ten minutes after his mother's death.

The first news to the nation—even fractionally before the official bulletin—was given by Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister, to a hushed and packed House of Commons. Mr. Churchill told the House with a break in his voice, "Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the adjournment of the House. I have with great regret to make the announcement that Queen Mary has died."

UNITED COUNCIL FOR RELIEF

Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, Member of the Planning Commission, has been appointed Vice-Chairman (Executive) of the United Council for Relief and Welfare by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Most of the voluntary social welfare associations in India are affiliated to the Council, which started its work in 1947 with a financial contribution received from the Punjab Relief Fund.

President Prasad is the President and Chairman of the Council, and the Prime Minister is its Vice-President.

AMERICAN WOMAN ARTIST TO VISIT INDIA

Jade Snow Wong, an American woman artist and writer of Chinese descent, will shortly visit India during her three-month tour which includes visits to Pakistan, Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya and Hong Kong.

Miss Wong's art work is included in the permanent exhibitions of the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the International Ceramics Museum of Faenza, Italy. She is now engaged in designing and manufacturing handmade ceramics, textiles, copperware and jewellery.

Miss Wong is widely known for her autobiography, *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, published in 1950. The book has attained "best-seller" status in the United States. It has been published in London and is being translated into several other languages.

MALAYAN MAIDS' PREFERENCE

Young girls in Malaya today prefer to choose their own husbands instead of having the "so-called arranged matches" made for them, Miss D. E. Blake, Welfare Officer of Kedah State, has stated.

She agrees that exploitation of women and girls still exists in the country. But the position was worse during the Japanese occupation. Since then, matters have improved.

Meanwhile, representatives of guilds, associations and schools meeting at a convention of the Perak Chinese Association have decided to encourage mass marriages and to give all facilities for members of the Chinese community in Perak State.

WOMEN PILOTS

The U. S. Civil Aeronautics Board reports that in 1950 there were approximately 7,000 women among the nation's 550,000 certified air pilots. Most women pilots hold private flying licences. Commercial planes are flown by men.

CORONATION OATH

Countries of the British Commonwealth will be named specifically, for the first time, in the Oath which Queen Elizabeth will take at her Coronation on June 2. India, a Republic has been omitted.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, said the first part of the Oath will be worded as follows: "Will you solemnly promise, and swear, to govern the peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon, and of your possessions and the other territories to any of them belonging or pertaining according to their respective laws and customs."

NEW CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Three new Bishops of the Catholic Church were consecrated by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. L. Mathias, the Archbishop of Madras, at the S. I. A. A. grounds, Madras.

The solemn and impressive function was witnessed by a crowd of nearly 50,000. It was a historic occasion in the history of the Catholic Church in India as it marked the creation of two new dioceses these of Vellore and Tanjore and it was also the first time that three new Bishops were being consecrated simultaneously at the same place.

Another unique feature was that the function was not held inside a Cathedral but in the open which enabled tens of thousands to witness the consecration.

The three Bishops consecrated were The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Francis Carvalho Bishop-Auxiliary of Madras-Mylapore; the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Paul Mariaselvam Bishop of Vellore; and the Rt. Rev. Mgr. R. Sundaram, Bishop of Tanjore.

NEWSPRINT REQUIREMENTS

The estimated requirement of newsprint for India for 1953-54 was between 60,000 and 70,000 tons. This information was given at question-time in the House of the people by Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Minister for Commerce.

NATIONAL ACADEMY

President Rajendra Prasad inaugurated the Indian Academy of Dance, Drama and Music at Delhi on January 28. This is the first of three National Academies envisaged by the Central Government. The other two are an Academy of Letters and an Academy of Arts.

Wishing the Academy success, Dr. Prasad expressed the hope that it would give the "fullest and widest opportunity possible to the people who are actually interested in it and not in any way be limited by what people call bureaucratic red-tape". He cautioned the Academy against regimentation of art and said, "if there can be anything ugly it can be art made to order".

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, at the age of 80, has taken to fiction, and has brought out his maiden effort in this field, a collection of stories entitled "Satan in the Suburbs". He says he enjoyed writing these stories and hopes someone else will like reading them.

They are certainly ingenious in construction, with their plots and sub-plots, and Russell of course writes a cultivated prose of clarity and decorum, but the general view among the critics seems to be that there is something "dehydrated" and "cerebral" about the stories.

STALIN PEACE PRIZE

The Rev. James Endicott, Canadian Representative on the Council of the World Peace Movement was presented on March 28 with the Stalin Peace Prize, the official Soviet news agency Tass reported.

He was also given a gold medal bearing the head of Marshal Stalin.

The ceremony took place in the Sverdlovsky Hall of the Kremlin. Mr. Endicott is the Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress and member of the World Presidium of the Peace Congress.

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CHINESE CULTURE IN CULTURAL TRENDS

BY CHIEN MU

Translated from the original Chinese by L. Mee.

GENERALLY, the terms culture and civilisation have often been confused, both of which originated in the West, and it is felt that there should be a differentiation between these terms in their use. Culture and civilisation both denote the organised human life. But civilisation is outward, belonging to the material, while culture is inward and of the sphere of the spiritual. Thus, civilisation is propagable outwardly, can be assimilated from the outside, but culture must be born in the inner spiritual history of a community. To take an instance, machines employed in modern industry are mostly invented by people of the West, but these same machines are being used everywhere, for is it not true that industrialisation has spread to all parts of the world? Yet, though these machines express the cultural spirit of the modern West, it can only be said that modern industrial civilisation has spread, or even that the world has accepted this industrial civilisation, but not that Western culture has been propagated and accepted everywhere. The moving force causing the birth of technical knowledge is culture, but conditions resulting from utilisation of the knowledge constitute civilisation. Culture can give rise to civilisation but civilisation does not necessarily cause the birth of a culture. The new industrial age has its cause in the scientific spirit of the West, but employment of the machines of the age does not necessarily produce the scientific spirit. To take another instance, the film industry is material, but the contents of a picture, the acting and story all depend on taste of

the inner spirit and that depends on cultural tradition. From the viewpoint of technology, the film industry is common to all nations of the world, but from the standpoint of interest in art and literature the film industry does differ from land to land, and in this difference lies the difference between culture and civilisation.

What causes the difference in cultural spirit? Working into the origin of the difference we find that it ultimately came from the difference in natural situation that affected the way of life of the people and through the way of life influenced the cultural spirit. Cultural trends from this standpoint can be divided into three main kinds,—nomadic, agricultural and commercial. Nomadic culture originated in the high steppes, agricultural culture in the rich river valleys, while commercial culture has its roots in the coastal regions and the islands. Three kinds of surroundings determined three ways of life, and these in turn built up three cultural trends. These can in turn be merged into two, nomadic-commercial and agricultural. Nomadic-commercial culture originates in self-insufficiency, which leads to an outward search; its characteristics are instability and progressiveness. Agriculture is self-sufficient; it not only does not require outward aggression, but it must be continued in one place, it is reluctant to change; this culture is stable and conservative. The limited means of production in the steppes and coastal lands not only give rise to the feeling of insufficiency, but also a feeling of prevention, and these feelings give rise to a strong

desire for conquest and aggression. For the satisfaction of these instincts the mere human body is insufficient; for this reason tools had to be used. The earliest tool of the steppe people is the horse, the ship being that of the coastal people. Without the horse or the ship there can be no conquest of nature and assertion of the right to exist. These people adopted an antagonistic attitude towards outward things. It is their attitude towards nature too; these people whether in their philosophy of life or of the universe always entertained a feeling of opposites. In nature, it is the opposition of man and the elementary forces; in life, it is that of the enemy and myself. The logical outcome of this tendency in philosophy is the theory of opposition of the outward and the inward. Struggle for freedom and independence is in keeping with the spirit of conquest and aggressiveness. The characteristic feature of this culture is aggressiveness. The mainstays of agriculture are weather, rain and soil; of the three none is within the power of Man to determine, it is as if in the great void there is some person who has them within his control, and he only awaits the faith and patience of man to smooth out things, thus there is none to conquer. The deepest instinct of the agricultural culture is that of unity between the objective world and the ego, a co-operation between Man and the Elementary forces, of harmony, and of maintaining the status through self-discipline. The characteristic feature of this culture is peacefulness.

Nomadic-commercial peoples' struggle for outward gain, following their unstable instinct of conquest, makes for expansion towards the spaces and unceasing progress. Agricultural peoples are closely knitted with the land they till; they are born and bred and die on the land. They do not crave for expansion towards the spaces, but rather hope for the continuation of time. They never crave for unceasing progress but rather that the satisfying present should be continued. They crave and desire eternal time and unceasing happiness.

Nomadic-commercial races possess a clear idea of wealth. Sheep and cattle are increased in geometrical progression, one gives birth to two, two to four, four to eight and eight to sixteen. Wealth of this type has thus two distinctions, the more you have the more you will get, and the more you get the less the satisfaction. In the commercial stage the idea of wealth is even stronger. Wealth can be turned into gold and stored, it can be counted and turned into numbers. From material it becomes spiritual, and this in turn provokes the people to be still more active in their speculative psychology. The farmer cannot understand saving, he only knows production. Production has fixed periods and limitations, an acre of land can yield only a fixed harvest every year; this does not provide much stimulation. There is no end to the productivity of land so the farmer is never quite willing to accumulate. Besides grain, cloth and silk can never be hoarded indefinitely. Agriculture gives a feeling of satisfaction though there is no surplus wealth to be had. From the above it can be seen nomadic-commercial peoples are rich and powerful in most cases, while agricultural nations are stable ones. But the rich are never satisfied and the powerful are always uneasy; the contented people on the other hand are neither rich nor powerful; when the weak meet the discontented, then the contented become discontented, and in this way the culture of the human race is eternally moving, always progressing.

A culture needs stimulus just as the human body needs nourishment; the human body cannot grow without nourishment, in the same way a culture cannot develop and continue without stimulus. The stimulus of a culture depends on the nature of the culture. A culture based on onward progress must have progress as its stimulus, an aggressive culture must have aggression as stimulus, a culture based on material wealth must have material wealth as stimulus. Progress piles upon progress, aggression upon aggression, material wealth upon material wealth, the stimulus impels the culture to develop at a geometrical

progression; in this way the limit is easily reached, the limit of material development is all that this culture can attain. And that is the reason why the nomadic people of ancient times rose so quickly and as quickly went down. The commercial culture of modern times, though differing widely with nomadic culture in outward appearances, is akin in spirit to it; there lies the root of the feeling of instability in this culture.

A still and content object has its greatest enemy in progress for material wealth. The nomadic peoples were the greatest enemies of the old agricultural societies. The greatest enemy of agricultural peoples today are the commercial races. The life of human society finally rests on agriculture, and culture of the human race must have peace as its basis; thus it came about that the real cradles of ancient culture were in the irrigated agricultural lands; the main trend of culture for the future will inevitably have self sufficiency and peace as its goals. Agricultural culture can be divided into major and minor types, also into old and new agricultural. What are the major and minor types? Ancient Babylon and Egypt are of the minor agricultural type. The inner development of this type reaches the height easily, while it is unable to resist aggressive forces from the outside, and so unfortunately, cultural life of the minor agriculturals faded out. Our China is an example of the major agricultural type; her cultural development has been continued for four or five thousand years, and is still alive today, a very remarkable specimen of development of agricultural culture and peaceful culture of the world. But though China is a major agricultural nation, and could resist the aggressive nomadic culture in her own continual development, yet today with the rise of commercial culture, with scientific and technical knowledge as its characteristics, China seems to lag behind in comparison. Then the content turns discontent, and cultural life seems everyday at the end of its tether. But this situation does not mean that agricultural culture is not a fitting opponent to commercial

culture. On the contrary, the new agricultural countries if they are equipped with scientific and technical knowledge, and if they are major agricultural countries, can continue to preserve the feeling of contentment. And the leaders of peace in the modern world, will and must be from this kind of country. The countries with these qualifications to-day are the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are both newly turned major agricultural nations, and are both equipped with the new machinery and scientific knowledge, but their traditional culture is not agricultural, in other words not necessarily peaceful. While China is a fine example of agricultural and peaceful culture, what she lacks is modern scientific and technical equipment. If China can be overhauled into a new major agricultural country, preserving her traditional feeling of contentment, then it will not only be a boon to China but a boon to peace craved by the whole world too, besides contributing greatly to the future of the culture of the Human Race.

But to overhaul China is not an easy task. To make the Chinese people look back and understand the truth of culture is one of the important items on the programme. The question of Chinese culture in recent years is not only discussed among the Chinese but is also a question much noticed all over the world by people concerned over the culture of the Human Race in the future. This question is not a mere philosophical question, but is also a historical question. Chinese culture is revealed in the past history of China; exclude that history and no talk of culture is possible. We must look at the whole history objectively to find out the truth about Chinese culture. First of all we must recognize the complex nature of culture and not rivet our attention on minor sections; we must throw the gates of our minds wide open, and take it in as a complex whole. Secondly we must understand the unified wholeness of culture, the varied life of man in society must ultimately be harmonised into a unity, before onward progress is possible. The culture of the East and the West

are systematised, broadly speaking; physical life, like food, clothing, and shelter; organised social life, like society, political organisation; and the inner life, like literature, art, religious belief and philosophical thought, all differ: but between them there is a subtle connection. If one part is referred to the whole must come into view also; to change one part means to change the whole. We must understand this unity that runs beneath all the apparent diversity. Thirdly, we must understand the developing nature of culture.

Culture is like life continually growing: if we try to take out a portion arbitrarily and try to measure the meaning and value of a certain culture from that portion, it would be like trying to judge a man from one of his limbs. We must, from the whole field of development in history, find the divisions and search for the trends, to see how culture is formed and organised, to see how it grows and develops; and then we shall be able to have a comparatively objective and unbiassed understanding of the entire cultural spirit.

NATIONALISM VERSUS COMMUNISM

BY PROF. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.

Midnapur College.

THE Capitalistic countries of the world have become highly alarmed at the rising tide of Communism and have been adopting all sorts of means to stem it but unfortunately the means adopted are not at all likely to serve the desired purpose. It seems to be really strange that these countries with long past experience will fail to detect the futility of these measures which become apparent even to a novice in politics. Perhaps their self-interest has blinded them for the time being or they have been the victims of self-delusion and mere wishful thinking. The most important of these countries trying to suppress Communism are undoubtedly the U.S.A., the U.K. and France. They have been pouring blood and money like water but all to no purpose.

The ideology of Communism is entirely different from that of Nationalism though for the time being we find a pact, a sort of workable arrangement arrived at, between the two, in some of the countries struggling for independence or freeing themselves from the tentacles of imperialism. Communism is characterised by extra-territorial allegiance, a thing repugnant to Nationalism, which wants to preserve its individuality and revels in the glorification of national

culture and civilization, of social institutions, manners and customs, the former trying to reduce all to drab uniformity. The economic doctrines of Communism also, particularly its attitude towards vested interests and private property may not be acceptable to many staunch nationalists. But the most objectionable feature of Communism which educated and cultured people can never accept is its determined attempt to suppress all expression of individual opinion if it goes against the interests of the state or those who guide its destinies for the time being and the harsh and cruel methods adopted for its suppression. The four freedoms are quite unknown in communistic countries except perhaps the freedom from want and destitution and the fear of unemployment. It must be conceded that the latter forms no mean achievement of Communism if this has been really brought about as loudly claimed by the communists but other freedoms like the freedom of expression and action and most of all freedom from fear are wholly unknown there. Life becomes not worth living and the strain is too heavy for one to bear if one cannot take into confidence even his nearest and dearest ones and if one has to live in constant fear of being hauled up one

day by the emissaries of the secret police and to be condemned to death or to a long term of hard labour in some remote part of the country after a mock trial conducted by a frenzied mob worked up to the highest state of nervous tension and excitement.

If such be the state of things in communistic countries, it may be asked why is it that Communism has been fast spreading particularly in these countries where the stirrings of nationalism are distinctly discernible. It is undoubtedly due to a sense of frustration born of despair in working out their own salvation through their own efforts and to free themselves from the octopus of Imperialism or Capitalism. This is the state of things in Malay, Indo-China, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia and in many other countries. The Malaysians and the Indo-Chinese want to assert their independence but the patriots who have been fighting freedom's battles are being branded as 'bandits' and the harshest and sometimes the most inhuman methods are being adopted to reduce them to submission. There is no doubt about the fact that they enjoy a large measure of popular support otherwise they would not have been able to carry on their efforts so long. It is regrettable that France which once proclaimed the message of liberty, equality and fraternity should have been making determined efforts to suppress nationalism in this part of Asia as also in Tunisia and Morocco by setting up puppet regimes and that America should try to bolster up this tottering French power. Persia wants to be the mistress in her own house and to end the exploitation of the country by a foreign capitalistic concern and finds herself baffled. She has also brought forward the charge that the British embassy was guilty of interfering in the internal administration of the country with a view to perpetuating British exploitation of her and to keep her in perpetual economic bondage. Egypt also highly resents the occupation of the canal zone, an integral part of the country by a foreign army of occupation and the continued occupation of the Sudan under the pretext of

safeguarding the country's interests but really for her exploitation. Egypt knows her utter dependence on the Sudan and so she wants the independence of the Nile Valley and its unification under her as it is a question of life and death to her. She has certainly no right to lord it over her neighbour but she has undoubtedly greater right to do so than Britain: for certainly the Nile is not the latter's lifeline and there are certainly many more things in common between the Egyptians and the Sudanese than between the latter and the British.

The native Africans also in many of the Colonies are realising how they have been reduced to mutual slavery in their own native preserves and have been trying to assert themselves and wherever possible, making common cause with the domiciled Indian Community to get their legitimate rights. Russia has not been idle to take advantage of this situation to gain new converts to Communism and thus extend her sphere of influence. The Indo-Chinese have been getting active support from their Chinese neighbours across the border evidently under directions from the Kremlin. Russia too has been effusive in her expression of sympathy with the Colonial peoples fighting for their rights and privileges. The persecution of the Jews which is now going on in Russia and her European satellites was surely motivated by her anxiety to exploit the present resentment felt by Egypt and Iran against Britain and to enlist the sympathy of the Arab nations of the Middle East who have been exasperated by the material help rendered to Israel by America which is a menace to their continued existence.

Britain and America ought to realise that none of these peoples and nations now fighting for their political or economic independence will willingly throw themselves into the arms of Communism unless compelled to do so by force of circumstances. But if they find, as the Indo-Chinese are now doing that it is not possible for them to work out their own salvation without making common cause with Russia, they will not hesitate to do so, as a last resort.

No tinkering with the problem will do. Point Four Aid or the implementation of the Colombo Plan will not go far enough. They will have to probe deeper. The exploiting nations ought to realise that the days of exploitation and colonialism are gone forever. That must have been the impression carried away by Mr. Attlee from the Socialist Conference in Rangoon. All dependent nations will assert themselves and make themselves free, sooner or later, with the help and blessings of Britain and America, if possible or without or in spite of them and with Russian help if need be. But a greater danger looms on the horizon. The present strife in which Britain and America are now engaged is also alienating the sympathies of many of her Asian friends like the Indians and driving a large number of young men of this country to speak approvingly of Communism and to be more and more vocal and determined in their resolve to put a stop to further exploitation of this country's resources by British firms long established here. The note of complaisance struck by Mr. Innes, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry in his annual report that they can face

future with confidence seems to be delusive. The rumblings of discontent among the educated middle class youths, in Bengal at least, are becoming more and more menacing, vocal and insistent. They are fast losing their faith in British fairness and justice through a sense of sheer frustration and noticing also the present activities of Britain in Asia and Africa to perpetuate her domination over the Colonial people against all canons of justice and morality. It is expected that she will calmly and dispassionately ponder over the situation and be content with half a loaf when the whole of it cannot be retained. By persevering in her present course she stands to lose all and not the least, her tried friends and well-wishers. Statesmanship lies in reading the handwriting on the wall which is all too clear. If Britain yields with a good grace and before it is too late, the present bitterness in her relationship with these countries may disappear and cordiality and mutual co-operation may once more be established to the mutual benefit of both, as it has been in India just at present after her withdrawal. But too much greed and dogged persistence may spell disaster. But will sanity prevail?

TRANSFORMATION

By TEMPORAU

A distant call beckoned me
From this earth-bound existence;
An infinite Grace descended
Into this living cup of space and time.
From the depths of the inconscient
The secret caverns of the heart
The silenced peaks of the mind
Echoed the being's supernal surrender.
The quietened mental realm
Was lit by the transcendental beam,
The unruffled vital ocean
Upsoared in mute devotion.
The fateful ages rolled by
When God played the mortal,
The fateless millenniums dawned
When man would live the immortal.

BEYOND MIND

BY SRI RISHABHCHAND

(Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry)

It does not take a prophet or a philosopher to declare that the world is out of joint today and that humanity is passing through one of the worst crises of its cultural life. At no time in its history was it torn with such universal conflicts within it and without,— conflict of the basic concepts and values of life, conflict of desires and interests and endeavours, and conflict of mutual relations, individual and collective, national and international. All these conflicts are yielding a bitter crop of wide-spread misery and unhappiness, a rankling discontent and sense of frustration and a searing, forlorn cynicism. From Spengler to Joad,* many acute thinkers have drawn our attention to the unmistakable signs of decadence in the modern culture and civilisation and tried to find out their root causes. They have laid particular stress upon a great degeneracy in the moral make-up of mankind and an unprecedented resurgence of the brute instincts and impulses which it is thought to have transcended. But why this degeneracy and this dark resurgence, is the moot problem.

Many and various are the causes to which the present state is attributed. Some attribute it to an excessive development of scientific technology, which is fast reducing man to a machine, stunting and sterilising his personality. Others ascribe it to an inordinate preoccupation of man with material pursuits. Others, again, to the bankruptcy of religion as a living light and force in life. There are some who think that an increasing power-lust in individual and collective life is responsible for the universal clash and confusion of today. Those who do not believe in God or any benign Providence governing the ebb and flow of human life, but are yet imbued with a high idealism, trace the present degradation to a complete wreckage of all ethical values, and fervently advocate a moral rearmament, pacifism,

etc. as the sole means of restoring mankind to its health and happiness. All these diagnoses are true so far as they go, severally and all together; but they do not touch the root of the malady. If we ask, why this religious bankruptcy or moral wreckage or this infatuated obsession with Matter, a blank silence would be the only answer. Nor do anthropological hypotheses seem to offer any satisfactory solution to the problem. We have to go deeper, follow the large lines of evolution and look for a clue to the solution in the next crucial step Nature is preparing to take on her onward march.

Evolution, starting from Inconscience or involved consciousness, and passing through Matter and Life, has arrived at the stage of Mind. It has released the latent consciousness in the form of the human mind, which is a mind of ignorance, aware only of the sense-world and its outer laws, and vainly striving to arrive at knowledge by a haphazard amalgam of sense impressions, reasoning, conjecture and imagination. Evidently, evolution cannot stop here, for the progressive trend in the emergence of the evolutionary consciousness points to a certain completeness and fulness as its crown and consummation. The ineradicable urge for an unbarred knowledge which almost every developed human being feels, either clearly and constantly, or obscurely and intermittently, is no blind goad, but a most powerful incentive to a greater and greater evolution of consciousness. And the accumulated evidence of super-sensory perceptions, of the visitations of intuition and inspiration in the saints and poets and prophets, and of the attainment of the cosmic and the transcendental consciousness and knowledge in advanced yogis and mystics opens up boundless horizons of evolutionary possibilities. The human mind is not the last limit of the mental development. Beyond it stretches a whole hierarchy of higher mental planes where

* Dr. C. E. M. Joad passed away on April 9.

the consciousness, embracing infinity, is neither tied to the senses nor dependent upon their impressions for knowledge. And beyond these spiritual mind-planes, there are the native planes of the spirit, luminous and illimitable. If evolution is a progressive emergence of all that is involved and if what is involved is Sachchidananda, then the emergence of Sachchidananda, of the infinite Existence, Consciousness-force, and Bliss of the Supreme Superconscious, is the inevitable culmination of the evolutionary process. To ask man to remain content with his present half-knowledge and his blundering way of life and stifle all the yearnings that make him sometimes lift up his eyes to heaven, is to miss altogether the meaning of his life and deny the destiny of his soul.

And that is exactly what is being done to-day. Materialistic science dubs as superstition all faith in the attainment of a higher than mental knowledge. It does ask man to use his senses and his short-sighted reason as the only reliable instruments for the discovery of Truth and the guidance of his life. It bans all attempt and discourages all aspiration to transcend the limitations of the human mind.

In this irrational enthronement of mental reason as the sole discoverer and arbiter of Truth and the dogmatic refusal to explore the higher reaches of our consciousness, lies the crux of the whole problem. It spells a fatal arrest of evolution. The mind, baulked of its higher purpose, and debarred from its natural and legitimate ascent, recoils upon the lower levels of life and lavishes all its powers upon material pursuits. Denied the heights, it woos the sombre bases of life; hindered from the service of the Divine, it serves the demon and the brute in man, and induces an irruption of the dark energies that afflict the existence of humanity with chaos and anarchy.

Those who, like H. G. Wells, have studied the development of the modern human mind and the extent of its capabilities, assert that it is "at the end of its tether." It has been developed overmuch at the expense of the other

parts of human nature. What it has achieved is of course prodigious and wonderful, but the use it is making of its achievements is tragically unworthy of its dignity and stature. Instead of adventuring upon the undiscovered realms of the Infinite and opening into the glories of the Spirit, it is completely engrossed in the service of the inferior parts of man's nature and in heaping up mountains of material expedients in the blind hope of being thus able to lead man to harmony and happiness. Hypertrophied human reason, harnessed exclusively to the exploitation of the material nature for the gratification of vital desires, can only end in grief and frenzied unrest; for, the desires being endless and insatiable, the pursuit has necessarily to be continuous and without end, which entails untold strife and struggle; while the inner being, the source and sustenance of real happiness, is left to starve and languish. Modern philosophy, poetry, art, music, every department of human creation, betrays a woeful lack of any lofty idealism,—no gleaming peaks anywhere, no star-smile or rainbow splendour, no beaming purity of angelic faces, but dry, rugged plains and fetid marshes and dark, bottomless pits, convulsed with the clamour of the elemental forces. Indeed, the mind of man is today verily at the end of its tether. It can go on analysing, dissecting and vivisectioning everything, and combining and separating physical elements and energies to produce marvels of its scientific ingenuity, but unless it transcends itself, the truths of life and Nature, the timeless realities behind the flux of appearances will always remain inaccessible to it. A prisoner of its own inventions and discoveries, and impotent to cope with the enormous energiss it has unloosed from Nature, it will always lie shrunk in its tormented helplessness and torn by its own conflicts, inner and outer. Self-transcendence is its only salvation.

Breaking the present deadlock in evolution, human consciousness has, therefore, to travel beyond the confines of the rational mind, as it has already travelled beyond the cramping hold of the sense-mind and the vital mind in some of its

highest individual representatives. This transcendence will come, not as an outcome of the slow evolutionary progress of Nature, but as the fruition of a conscious revolutionary endeavour of man himself; for, when man attains to the level of the reason and becomes conscious of himself and his essential life-urge, Nature reverses in him her normal process of sub-conscious growth and equips him to be a conscious agent and participant in her higher labours. He has now to will and achieve his transcendence of the reasoning mind and ascend to the radiant ranges of the spiritual mind, and farther beyond. For, as a pilgrim of eternity, he can have no rest till he rests in his immortal infinity. Transcendence is the central elan of his being—transcendence of the divisions and dualities the desires and discords, the struggles and sufferings which beset him in the Ignorance. To repress this elan would be to forfeit his higher powers and possibilities and sink down into the chaos and gloom of the sub-human levels.

There is an interesting paradox in the present impasse. On one side, there is an intensification of conflicts and a thickening of the gloom; and on the other, an emergence of ideals which, if realised, would make of our earth a veritable heaven and of our life a carnival of light. Humanity has never sought unity and liberty and equality so universally as it seeks today, and at the same time, it has never thwarted its own seeking so wilfully and perversely as it does today by the promptings of its baser self, supported and justified by its reasoning mind. The ideals spring from its deeper being or flash down from its unknown heights in spite of the chilling scepticism of its reason. There seems to be a force in them that presses forward through all opposition towards their fulfilment. But the reasoning mind of man dilutes and distorts these ideals. By liberty it understands licence, by unity a dead uniformity, and by equality a levelling down of all heights. True liberty, which never clashes with the liberty of others, true unity which delights in diversity without losing itself

in the least, and true equality which sees the identical Self in all beings, belong to the soul and Self of man and not to his dividing mind. It is only when the mind surpasses itself and unites with the higher and deeper consciousness, that these shining ideals can find a favourable soil for growth and flowering.

The cry of arrested evolution is, therefore, a cry for an ascent beyond mind. But how to achieve this ascent? First of all by a firm faith—it will one day turn into knowledge—in the soul's inevitable destiny of an immortal existence of infinite consciousness and power and bliss and an ardent aspiration to realise it. Next, by the practice of Yoga, that superart and superscience of self-transcendence which has been the most treasured possession of Indian culture since the dawn of history. Once mankind opens to the Infinite and begins this willed ascent, it will find developing in itself powers and faculties whose existence it does not even suspect today, and its journey being aided at every step by spiritual forces intervening from above. The ideals which tantalise and baffle its mind, will be naturally realised in the spiritual unity and harmony of the higher consciousness. The divine alchemy of Para Prakriti (the supreme Supernature) will transmute into gold the base metal of the Apara Prakriti (the lower nature) in which it wallows to-day. Sorokin is perfectly right when he says, "In the superconscious lies our main hope, the road to humanity's 'promised land' of peace, wisdom, beauty and goodness." But his prescription of altruism sounds a little too naive, for that would be nothing but a conceded perpetuation of the sway of the mental ego,—though a moral or sattwic ego it may be,—and, to that extent, a bar to man's self-transcendence. Not in altruism or humanitarianism or any such ethical rules and principles, however exalted they may be, but in a determined ascent to the higher consciousness by a total and dynamic self-surrender to the Supreme Being, lies the secret of transcending all human limitations, and infirmities and being born anew into the blissful unity and harmony of the Spirit.

HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

BY DR. CORNEILLE HEYMANS, & DR. P. RATNASWAMI

[Dr. Corneille Heymans, member of the visiting W.H.O. team of Medical Scientists, participating in a dialogue on High Blood Pressure with Dr. P. Ratnaswami, Professor of Therapeutics and social medicine, Madras, observed that arterial hyper-tension or high blood pressure, as it is more commonly known had become one of the major killing diseases in the Western countries. He added that the disease was generally associated with the emotional stresses and anxieties of modern living. The recorded discussion was broadcast by the A. I. R. Madras on March 18. Melancholy interest attaches to this radio discussion as Dr. Ratnaswami has since passed away.—ED. J.R.]

DR. HEYMANS: Dr. Ratnaswami and I are going to tell you something about the disease generally known as high blood pressure. Medical men give it a more scientific name, arterial hyper-tension. This hypertension, or high blood pressure may be associated with various diseases, or it may be present as a serious disease by itself. When it is present by itself we may call it essential hypertension, and it is this so-called "essential" form of arterial hypertension that we are going to tell you about.

Persistent or chronic high blood pressure may be a very dangerous disease which can bring heart failure, kidney insufficiency, and other serious results. Thousands die from this cause all over the world, and in our modern conditions of living it is becoming more and more widespread.

Dr. Ratnaswami will tell about some of the factors which may contribute to persistent or chronic blood pressure.

Dr. Ratnaswami: We recognise three main predisposing factors leading to essential arterial hypertension, or what is usually called high blood pressure. One of these factors we call the familiar factor. This does not necessarily mean that a tendency toward high blood pressure is inherited—but we do notice that the disease tends to run in the same family.

Secondly, we notice that sometimes the tendency towards high blood pressure is constitutional. Some people seem to have a natural predisposition towards this disease.

The tendency to exhibit temporary Hypertension in response to mental or other stimuli may be taken to indicate a physiological make-up which is likely to show itself in daily life by abnor-

mally high and frequent blood pressure elevations. These if sufficiently frequent or prolonged predispose the subjects towards the development of hypertension. During the examination of hundreds of candidates for fitness for the various Government services, I have found a definite percentage in each group which show a tendency to shoot up the blood pressure temporarily. These candidates when put in Hospital and observed under ordinary conditions, show a normal blood pressure. In the United States Army during the World War, 1914-18, some recruits showed an abnormal blood pressure under excitement. A large number of these showed 20-25 years later a persistently elevated high blood pressure. This illustrates the point I have mentioned above.

Thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, it is a disease of adaptation. But before I say any more about high blood pressure as a disease of adaptation, I shall ask Dr. Heymans to explain how the body normally regulates the blood pressure.

Dr. Heymans: Experimental physiology has established very clearly how the body regulates the pressure of the blood and normally keeps any variation or fluctuation of the pressure within narrow limits. This is done through reflex nerve actions, so that any increase or decrease in blood stimulates the nerve endings in certain special areas of the arteries, causing them to expand or contract to compensate for fluctuations in blood pressure. This is a kind of buffering or moderating mechanism which, in normal conditions, operates quite automatically through the nervous system.

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It is when disturbances of one kind or another upset this buffering or regulating mechanism, that arterial hypertension, or high blood pressure manifests itself. We very often find that such disturbances of the regulating mechanism are caused by conditions of emotional stress.

Do you agree with this very rough outline, Dr. Ratnaswami?

Dr. Ratnaswami: Yes, and this question of emotional stress as a cause of high blood pressure brings me back to the third factor which I mentioned before, the factor operating when high blood pressure appears as a disease of adaptation. Under the impact of various kinds of stressors for example, anxiety, emotion, occupational strain, etc. the blood pressure rises for the duration of the stress and for a little time after; this is a physiological adaptation. Only when health is impaired by a derailment of this response and persistent hypertension ensues as indicated before, can we speak of this disease as a disease of adaptation. We know that anxiety, over-work and occupational stress, if they act on the mind for prolonged periods, have an effect on certain parts of the brain which in turn stimulate certain organs of the body known as endocrine glands. In particular these stresses stimulate the adrenal gland to secrete certain hormones. These adrenal hormones in turn dislocate the mechanism which ought to regulate the blood pressure as Dr. Heymans has just described.

Dr. Heymans: Ordinarily this interference with the regulating mechanism causes high blood pressure only when a person is continuously exposed to emotional disturbance and stress over a rather long period. Under the rather rapidly changing conditions of life to which most of us are exposed, the risk of arterial hypertension is much more serious.

Dr. Ratnaswami: High blood pressure is thus the price which rich industrialists often pay for their directorships, and the penalty which worried salesmen forfeit for their high commissions. It is also an added burden to the clerk who feels that he cannot hold down his job or the farmer

who is worried about the failure of his crops and his rising tide of debt.

This is true even in India, where such emotional stresses are perhaps less severe among the people as a whole than they are in some other countries.

Dr. Heymans: It is certainly true everywhere in Europe and America that high blood pressure has become one of the major killing diseases, and that this disease is generally associated with the emotional stresses and anxieties of modern living.

However we must not forget that other factors may favourise the development of high blood pressure. Among these other factors are an unbalanced diet and over-indulgence in certain foods. Then certain diseases of the heart and kidneys may bring on high blood pressure as an effect rather than a cause.

Now I am afraid that our listeners may be getting very worried themselves about the danger of high blood pressure, and I think that Dr. Ratnaswami should reassure them by telling them how this danger may be avoided.

Dr. Ratnaswami: I think that Dr. Heymans will agree that the best remedy is in an adjustment of life and the patient's outlook on life so that he or she may escape the persistent emotional stresses and anxieties which, as we have said, are the main causes of dangerously high blood pressure. A reasonable amount of relaxation is essential, taking real holidays from the worries of business or profession or other occupation. It is also necessary to observe moderation in diet. Summed up, we must try to attain a certain degree of calm and equanimity of outlook.

Dr. Heymans: High blood pressure is dangerous not only to the middle-aged and elderly, but also to young people. Then, as Dr. Ratnaswami told us earlier, some people come from families which seem particularly predisposed to this condition. Other people again seem to have a natural weakness which makes them liable to develop high blood pressure under conditions which other people could endure without harm.

In some cases too the condition becomes too serious for simple rest and relaxation to produce sufficient improvement. For these serious cases medical science also has remedies. There are certain drugs which act on the nervous system, and help it to establish equilibrium in the mechanism which controls blood pressure.

In very severe cases it is even possible to perform a surgical operation on part of what is called the sympathetic nervous system. By surgical removal of sympathetic ganglia, the blood vessels are relieved from contraction, and the blood pressure is brought down and kept down to a safe level.

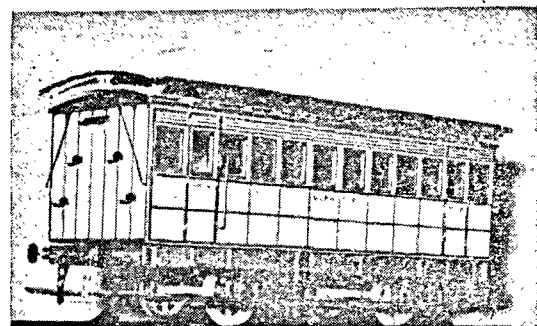
Dr. Ratnaswami: So we see that, if suitable remedies are applied in time, there is no need for undue worry about this dreaded disease of high blood pressure. It is a subject on which medical researchers and Scientists are working the world over, and improved knowledge is bringing improved methods of treatment.

We are deeply thankful to Dr. Heymans and the other members of the Visiting Team who have put their entire time at our disposal to clarify our thoughts and enabled us to learn many new things. We have been greatly benefitted by their visit. We are also thankful to the W. H. O. and the Unitarian Service Committee who sponsored their visit to Madras.

INDIAN RAILWAYS

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS AND EXPANSION

EXACTLY a hundred years ago—on April 16, 1853—the first train in India steamed out from Bori Bunder (Bombay) to Thana a distance of about 12 miles. From this small beginning,



The First and Second Class composite carriage built in 1858 (G. I. P. Railway).

The Railway construction has developed steadily, radiating inland from the principal ports and connecting most of the important centres in the country. Today the Indian Government Railways constitute the biggest single nationalised enterprise in India. With the capital at charge of Rs. 850 crores and the route mileage of about 33,300 spread over

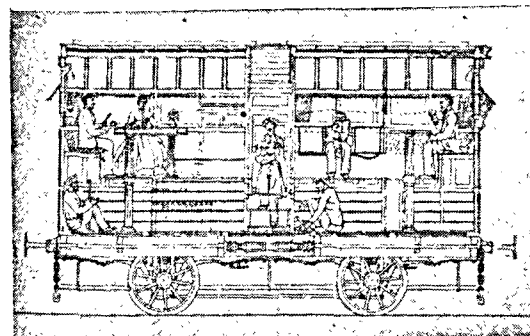
the whole country, the magnitude of operation of the Railways is by all standards one of the biggest ever brought under one single administrative authority. The gross earnings of the Indian Railways amounted in 1951-52 to nearly Rs. 292 crores and the total working expenses Rs. 236 crores. About 1200 million passengers were carried by them as also 96 million tons of goods over a total of 188 million train miles. The total number of staff employed for achieving these results was 925,000. In fact, in certain respects the Indian Government Railways form the second largest nationalised undertaking in the world.

Within twenty years of the opening of the Stockton-Darlington Railway in England contracts for the construction of short experimental lines were entered into by the Court of Directors of the East India Company with the East India Railway Co., for a line from Howrah to Ranigunj (120 miles), with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company for a line from Bombay to Kalyan (33 miles), and with the Madras Railway Company for a line from Madras to Arakonam (39 miles).

The growing popularity of railways in the West indicated some advantages, in planning construction on a larger scale and Lord Dalhousie, who was then the Governor-General, urged the importance of the speedy and wide introduction of railway communication throughout India. By the end of 1859 eight Railway Companies had been formed with a capital under guarantee of £. 52½ million sterling for the construction of nearly 5,000 miles of lines.

FIRST PHASE: 1849-1869

The first phase of Railway development in India may be said to extend from 1849 to 1869. During this period the original guaranteed Railway Companies proceeded with the construction of the main trunk line. By the end of 1859, the eight railway companies had an authorised capital of £34.13 million of which £27.08 million were actually raised. The amount of guarantee paid by the Government to the companies by January 1, 1860 amounted to £3.84 million. The earnings of the Railways during this period amounted merely to a little over half a million pounds.



Double-Decker saloon built for the Governor of Bombay in 1863.

SECOND PHASE: CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS BY GOVERNMENT

This financial drain on Government made a change in the Railway development policy imperative. Lord Lawrence, who was Governor-General in 1869 recommended that it would be more economical if the Government were to construct railways through its own

engineers with money directly borrowed from the people for the purpose. In accordance with this policy, the guarantee system was discontinued and State agencies were used for new constructions. A number of new constructions *e.g.*, the Indus Valley and the Rajaputana Railways were undertaken by the Government.

The policy of State construction continued until 1881, after which the limited ways and means position of Government made it necessary to turn again to companies for the construction of Railways under some form of guarantee. The new guarantee system, however, differed from the old one and the lines promoted under the new system were termed "State Railway lines worked by the companies."

FORMATION OF THE RAILWAY BOARD

The commencement of construction of railways by the State created the need for a separate State Railway Directorate as distinct from the Public Works Department. This directorate was formed in 1874 and placed, first under one Central Director, later under three Territorial Directors with a Central Director of Railway Stores; and after further experience again under a Central Director-General of Railways. In 1897, this post was replaced by that of a full Secretary to the Government of India. Accepting the recommendations of Sir Thomas Robertson, who was appointed in October 1901 to enquire into and report on the general administration and working of Indian Railways, the Railway Board was formed in 1905 and to it was transferred control of all matters pertaining to Railways in India.

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT 1900-1914

In 1907, the Government appointed the Mackay Committee to examine the country's requirements of new Railways and explore means for financing such new constructions. The Mackay Committee recommended that £100 million should be spent on new constructions and development in the next eight years. New railway constructions, however, continued to progress at a much more modest rate and during the period

1900-14 only about 10,000 route miles were added.

TOWARDS STATE MANAGEMENT

A Committee was set up in 1920 with Sir William Acworth as Chairman, to undertake a comprehensive enquiry into questions relating to the management, finance, and the future control and organisation of railways. The Committee recommended the termination of the contract with the companies as they fell due. It also recommended the separation of the Railway Budget from the General Budget of the country. The Acworth Committee's recommendations were accepted by the Government in September 1924 and Railway Finance was separated from General Finance of the country.

The first six years after the adoption of the Convention instituting a separate budget for Railways witnessed the introduction of far-reaching changes in finance and organisation. New lines of 5,360 route miles at a capital expenditure of about £30 million were constructed during this period.

During World War II Indian Railways were called upon, despite their accumulated deficiencies and difficulties, to release locomotives, wagons and track material for the Middle East, the defence responsibility of which had been allotted to the Indian command. Over 8 per cent. of metre gauge locomotives and 15 per cent. of metre gauge wagons of Indian Railways as well as 4,000 miles of track and 4 million sleepers were released for use for military purposes. This necessitated the dismantling of 26 branch lines as well as curtailment of services on many others. Later, India had become the base for mounting a major offensive against Japan and the load on Railways increased still further. A large number of Railway workshops were diverted to the manufacture of munitions while the maintenance and renewal of Railway equipment received little attention.

RE-GROUPING OF RAILWAYS

The re-grouping of Indian Railways on a rational and geographical basis which had been the subject of consideration for

nearly a quarter century had by then reached a stage when it could no longer be postponed. The federal financial integration of the Indian States had just been completed and by April 1, 1950 the Railways belonging to these States, varying from the four miles route mileage of the Sangli State to the 1,400 miles of Hyderabad State, had become parts of the Indian Government Railway System. The re-organisation of all these lines to form a smaller number of larger and more resourceful system became imperative and a scheme was finalised by the Railway Board for dividing the now integrated Indian Railway System into six administrative and operative zones. The first regrouped Railway to be formed was the Southern Railway on 14th April 1951. The Central and the Western Railways were formed on November 5, 1951 with separate headquarters at Bombay. The final phase of the programme of re-grouping was completed on April 14, 1952 when the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern Railways were formed.

REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES AND FUTURE PLANS

The Indian Railways have had to plan their programme of rehabilitation, improvements and new construction within limitations of finance and indigenous resources. The Assam Rail Link and the connection from Deesa to the new Port of Kandla, each about 180 miles in length but traversing widely differing country were the only new lines that were undertaken during the recent years. Most of the lines dismantled during the war are being restored, however, and many new constructions are being considered in order to provide the additional carrying capacity that the Five Year Plan demands. Major projects selected for construction during the next three years include the rail-road bridge across the Ganga in Bihar, new lines and doublings for expansions in the steel, coal and cement industries, a 200-mile connection between the Northern and Southern Metroguage systems, electrifications of certain steam-traction sections etc. The rate of progress on

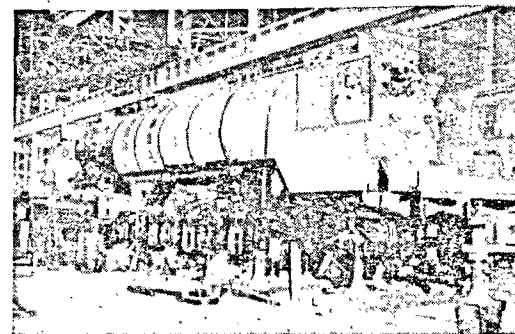
these projects must necessarily depend upon the resources made available from year to year.

PASSENGER AMENITIES

Within the last five years increasingly more amenities have been provided to make lower class travel on Indian Railways appreciably more comfortable. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore has successfully evolved a new design of all-steel third class bogie carriage and is now regularly producing passenger carriages for railways at the rate of about 180 per year. A factory equipped with the latest machinery is under construction at Perambur, Madras which will produce 350 such carriages annually making India almost self-sufficient in her carriage requirements. This factory will cost about Rs. 4 crores.

CHITTARANJAN FACTORY

In the matter of supply of locomotives to Indian Railways, efforts are being made to make the country self-sufficient

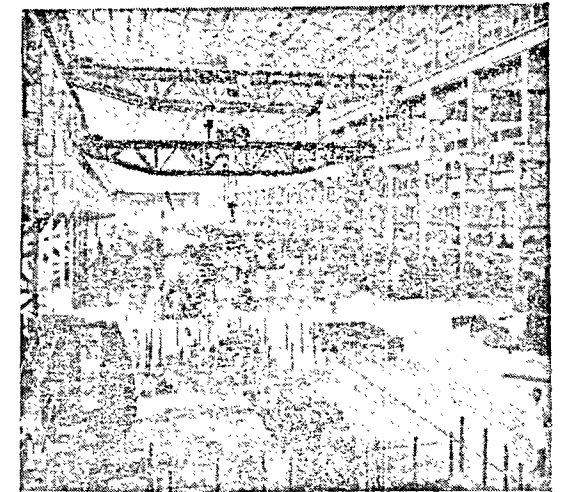


Chittaranjan Locomotive Works Boiler on the Frames.

in as short a time as possible. A modern locomotive manufacturing factory has been set up at Chittaranjan. This factory, which is designed for an output of 120 engines per annum plus spare boilers and other components has already produced its first 50 engines. The Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company, a private company in which Government

has shares, is also producing boilers and locomotives now.

With so heartening a record during the past hundred years, Indian Railways will enter their second century of public



A general view of one of the assembly shops at the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshops. The workshops and offices cover over 1,000 items of machinery and plant. According to present schedule roughly about a locomotive a week will come off the assembly lines in 1953.

service with every confidence and hope. The fortitude and success with which they have faced the many formidable difficulties of two wars and the partition of the country, when they were far less self-sufficient than at present, augurs well for their ability to deal with future emergencies and to provide India with a transport life line through which her future prosperity can be built.

RAILWAY EARNINGS

Out of every rupee earned by the Indian Railways in 1951-52, eleven annas went in the actual working of the railways, 2 annas were contributed to the General Revenues, and the remaining 3 annas were divided equally between net surplus and depreciation.

U.S.A. AND CONTEMPORARY INDIA

BY MR. WILLIAM D. ALLEN

Editor, *World in Brief*, New York

ONE could safely say that U.S.A. has "excellent library material on India." Dr. John Haynes Holmes and a distinguished American expert on libraries, from relatively recent contact with India's libraries, have confirmed my own impression that "generally speaking, you can study India with more copious collections available here in U.S.A. than in India."

Having boasted of my country's fine libraries and their rich India collections, I began to explore further. I then discovered the amazing fact that America's fine collections deal with ancient and British-ruled India but not with independent India.

Is our world primarily one composed of antiquarians? Is the past more important than the present to Americans? Is understanding dead Indians more valuable a study than appreciation of living Indians?

SUBJECT	COLUMBIA U. INDIA TOTAL 1947—		LIBRARY NEW YORK U. TOTAL 1947—		N. Y. PUBLIC. REFERENCE TOTAL 1947—		N. Y. CIRCULATING TOTAL 1947—	
			(Grand total 535)				(Grand total 630)	
Commerce,	80	8						
comm. policy								
Constitution,								
const. law	54	7						
Description,								
travel	200	3						
Economic								
conditions	200	6	40	15			25	3
Education (Teacher's College)			40	6				
Emigration,								
immigr.	6	4						
Fiction.....							125	25
Foreign								
relations	13	4						
History.....					(of 175 since 1919,		70	14
Industry,					20 are 1947—)			
ind'trial	50	16						
Laws, legislature	60	3						
Politics, gov't	360	10	100	13	(of 260 since 1929,		75	11
					10 are 1947—)			
Population	9	1	8	2	31 6			
Religion.....							35	4
Social condi-								
tions	180	18			(of 59 re 20th century,		117	25
					9 are 1947—)			

(Notes; These figures include many duplications as study was of card files. Periodicals are included. Date may indicate reprint of earlier work. Gaps do not necessarily mean a library does not have books under a subject—this study does not pretend to do more than "spot check.")

I am sure the young people of U.S.A. would want to know about the Indians of their own age group and to find out the facts of current India's life, preparing for to-morrow.

I have made a tentative study of four of our most "important" libraries to find out what proportion of attention we give to the India of to-day, the India from independence onward.

My findings suggest an amazing scarcity of books about India dated 1947 or later, as compared to books of earlier date. This is not serious for the student of religion, art, history. But the American surely is not primarily concerned with the past rather than the present when anxious to learn about India under the following headings: Commerce; Constitution; Constitutional Law; Economic Conditions; Foreign Relations; Industry; Laws, Statutes, Legislature; Politics and Government; Population; Social Conditions. Here are my results, in approximate figures:

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U.S.A. AND CONTEMPORARY INDIA

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The defect of such a superficial study cannot obscure the striking difference in quantity of study material on Old and on New India available in U.S.A. With the one exception of the marvellous Library of Congress in Washington, I venture safely to say that the above is typical of U.S.A.

Personally I trace the scarcity of India-since-1947 books to lack of energetic publicizing by India's publishers. I personally feel they should co-ordinate their efforts and make a serious joint effort to gain the attention of U.S. librarians.

The India Government could encourage this but since selling books to U.S. for dollars should be profit-making, there is no reason to blame government too severely for not doing all the work. The task is of course a difficult one. For India has to reckon with survival in U.S. of old-time distrust of reliability of authorship other than Anglo-Saxon, German or Franch.

The U.S.A. official agencies should help bring all the English-language civilizations closer together including India. So should UNESCO (which spends so much on creating new data instead of on distributing of existing literature). But, fundamentally, here is a field of endeavour for Indian private enterprise, with reasonable chances of profit as well as patriotic accomplishment.

While I consider his views unfair to India's publishers, the high prestige of Dr. Bruno Lasker, his integrity, and his devotion to the cause of understanding between India and U.S.A. lead to my quoting here from a recent letter. Dr. Lasker says:

Books published in India still are for the most part poor in typography, proofreading, paper, general make-up. American librarians prefer to purchase any but English books through a dealer; and dealers are even more averse than librarians to trading in books that are so perishable, or so short of established standards in material respects.

The question is how the general level can be raised without adding too greatly to costs of production. Indian authors and publishers could perhaps make (greater) use of Commonwealth or U.S. American professional services to give works intended largely for export more of that final polish which we expect from our own publications. This might contribute greatly to give Indian

books abroad a larger and more appreciative reception.

My own indebtedness to India's contemporary publications is so great that, to me, technical details are of no importance. In fact I have come to accept the lack of "polish," the poor quality paper of much India book publishing, as inevitable characteristics of intellectual freedom. When something is too too beautiful and smooth, I suspect heavy financial burdens and these in turn suggest profit-greedy intervention. On the other hand, I fear Dr. Bruno Lasker is expressing the thinking of our American librarians.

I am at present trying to prepare a travelling exhibit of "100 contemporary Indian books that every U.S.A. library should own." Possibly such a selection of the more important books published on Indian affairs since 1947 will educate U.S.A. librarians to look beyond appearances to the wonderful spirit and the tremendous significance of what is being done and written in India to-day.



George V. Allen who, on March 23, 1953, took the oath of office as United States Ambassador to India has arrived in New Delhi,

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

ALEXANDER AND THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS

We know that Alexander found in Porus a foeman worthy of his steel. But his further march down the Indus found him face to face with the tribes who harassed him in every way. In the course of his expedition therefore he took ten of the Gymnosophists (Indian Sannyasis) who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabhas (King Sambhas) to revolt and had brought numerous other troubles on the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of and at the same time declared he would put the first person to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest among them was to be the judge. Here are the questions and answers according to Plutarch's version:

He demanded of the first: "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered: "The living, for the dead no longer exist."

The second was asked: "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered: "The earth, for the sea is part of it."

The third: "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That", said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted."

The fourth: "What was his reason for persuading Sabhas to revolt?" "Because," he said, "I wished either to live with honour or to die as a coward deserves."

The fifth had this question put to him: "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered: "The day, by one day." As the King appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher said to him: "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded: "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered: "If possessed of great power, not to make himself feared."

The seventh was asked: "How might man become a God?" He answered: "By doing what is impossible for man to do?"

The eighth: "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," he said, "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was: "How long is it good for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

For once the world conquerer felt that he had met more than his match when he was confronted by men who baffled him by their dialectical skill.

Alexander was so deeply impressed by the wisdom and sagacity of the answers that he loaded them with presents and dismissed them.

THE AGEING MAN

Modern medicine has done something to make the last years of a long life a little more comfortable, and pension plans have relieved the aged of a dependence upon charity of their children. Nevertheless, says Aldous Huxley:

In spite of vitamins and social security, old age is still essentially what it was for our ancestors—a period of experienced decline and regression, to which the facts of contemporary history, the social and economic movements of the day, are more or less completely irrelevant. The ageing man of the middle twentieth century lives, not in the public world of atomic physics and conflicting ideologies, of welfare states and supersonic speed, but in his strictly private universe of physical weakness and mental decay.

GOD AND MAN

Do you know how God dwells in man? He dwells in the same way as ladies of wealthy families do behind a latticed screen. They can see everybody, but no one can see them. God abides in all in an exactly similar way.

—Sri Ramakrishna.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

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WILL YOU LIVE IT ALL OVER AGAIN?

As one who admits gratefully to having enjoyed more than average fortune and happiness in his life so far, Prof. Thomas Bodkin, in a BBC talk poses the question if he would welcome an opportunity of being allowed to live it all over again, fortified by the knowledge he has acquired in the past. The answer to that question, he says, is an emphatic No.

For, though I might manage, in the light of experience, to avoid many past sins and follies, I would have no guarantee to keep me from committing worse ones in different circumstances. I might easily choose other paths than those which I have already taken, and find that they led to disastrous results. So I ask now for nothing more than the grace to be helped to finish my course in the knowledge that pleasure and happiness are two very distinct things, and that life is, in essence a trial on which supremely important issues depend, a test in which no one can afford to relax, a race in which no one should take the risk of running loose for an instant.

TO A BEREAVED MOTHER

Among Lincoln's letters, perhaps the most impressive is that written to Mrs. Bixby, the mother of five sons who had died fighting for the Union in the armies of the North.

Executive Mansion, Washington.

November 21, 1854.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to

you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
Abraham Lincoln.

AMBITION

Why did the light go out?
Too great was the care with which
[I guarded it,
Watching through my wedding night
So the light went out.

Why did the flower wither?
Too close I clutched it to my breast.
Anxious lest it wilt.
So the flower withered.

Why did the river dry up?
I wished to have it and built a dam
To hold it ever more.
So the river dried up.

Why did the string of my instrument
[break?
Too strong was the pressure of my passion
As I played upon it.
So the string broke.

—Visvabharati Quarterly—Rabindranath Tagore. Translated from the original Bengali poem by Lila Ray.

LANDOR AND THE VIOLETS

Landor's tenderness for flowers has left many traces in his works, especially his poems. A story is told of them by the Italians round Ficsole, where he lived for many years.

One day, it is said, in a fit of anger, he threw his cook out of the window; immediately after he was seen at the window beneath which the injured man lay: "Good God! I forgot the violets."

BRITAIN'S NATIONAL DAILIES

BY MR. WILLIAM CLARK

[In this review of the ten daily newspapers with a national circulation in Britain, Mr. William Clark answers the question "Who is responsible for the attitude of the Press?"—ED. I. R.]

AS a journalist, I believe that most people do not turn to newspapers primarily for news but for comment and for entertainment, and to see how their familiar paper treats the news. That is why there is plenty of room for the ten national papers which are all equally available in every corner of Britain.

The importance of this comment and play of the news is reflected in the regular review of the Press on the BBC's Overseas Service which deals mostly with the comment of the newspapers, or the way in which they treat the news. Who decides this? Who is responsible for the attitude of the Press? What does it mean when foreign journalists in London cable home that "public opinion as reflected in the Press" takes this or that view? Is there any relation between public opinion and Press opinion?

Perhaps it would be best if I tried to answer these questions by taking up the papers one by one, as I do each morning. I normally begin the day with *The Times*. This is the oldest London paper, the most famous, and, I believe, by far the most influential. Yet its circulation is only a little more than a quarter of a million in a field where there are papers with circulations of four million. But *The Times* is the national paper of record; it attempts to give a thorough survey of all the news, giving weight to those items that are of serious national importance. People read *The Times* because they want the news fully reported, and as a result of this high-level readership the editorials in *The Times* can carry great weight. Often the editorials are explanatory rather than giving a lead, but when *The Times* decides to be really definite it can exert the greatest influence. Who decides that?

In fact one must say it is almost entirely the Editor and his numerous

able and expert assistants. The power behind the Editor's chair is the chief proprietors, the two men who actually own the property of *The Times*. They are Colonel John Astor, who bought the control in 1922 from the estate of the late Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. John Walter, whose great-great-grandfather founded *The Times*.

These two men, with the directors of *The Times* Publishing Company, are responsible for appointing the Editor—a very important decision indeed—but in practice they do not interfere with him once he is appointed. The ownership of *The Times* in a financial sense is separated from the editorial control by custom, and in fact a special arrangement has been made to try to ensure that the financial control will never pass into hands which will use *The Times* as an instrument of personal policy.

OUTSPOKEN AND LIBERAL

The second paper I pick up is the *Manchester Guardian*, and you may very well ask why I include a "provincial paper"? But the "M. G." as it is familiarly known, undoubtedly ranks as one of the national papers. I read it for two reasons; it has a small but brilliant foreign staff, and it is famous for its outspoken and liberal editorials—I mean liberal in a broader sense than the Liberal Party, though the *Guardian* is generally regarded as pro-Liberal Party. Who controls the editorials of the "M. G."?

Again the answer is the Editor, because the financial control and ownership of the paper has been placed in a trust, which appoints the Editor but then leaves him free to run the paper. I say "leaves him free," but it would be unreal to pretend that an Editor is really free to make just what he likes of the paper. A great paper like the *Guardian* has a tradition which it cannot ignore

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if it was suddenly to change its entire policy or to put on a new character it might very easily lose the respect and ultimately the support of its readers.

The third "quality" paper—that is, papers designed to suit the more serious-minded—is the *Daily Telegraph*, which has a circulation of about a million. This paper is owned by Lord Camrose, a brother of Lord Kemsley who owns a chain of provincial dailies, and Lord Camrose also has the title of Editor-in-Chief. As owner he is a majority stockholder in a joint stock company and so he can control the financial actions which lie behind newspaper production. As Editor-in-Chief he can, and does, control the policy of the paper.

On the whole the policy of the *Daily Telegraph* is fairly predictable: politically it favours the Conservative Party, and in foreign affairs favours a strong Britain in close association with the United States. That basic policy is personally laid down by the Editor-in-Chief, but the Editor who looks after the paper day after day can, of course, exercise control within limits. So in this case we have an example of the financial owner being also the editorial controller of the comment and the tone of his paper.

FAMILY PROPERTIES

A fairly similar case is the *Daily Mail*. This is also a paper with right-wing tendencies but it is more designed for the man in the street, it is more "popular" than the *Daily Telegraph*, it costs less, and it has a circulation of about two million. In fact the *Daily Mail* was the pioneer of all popular journalism at the turn of the century, when it was built up by Alfred Harmsworth, who later became Lord Northcliffe.

It is still owned by the Harmsworth family to-day, and that perhaps illustrates rather well a feature of the British newspaper world. Many newspapers are family properties: *The Times*, as I mentioned, has been partly in the hands of the Walter family since its foundation in the eighteenth century; the *Manchester Guardian* has been closely associated in ownership with the Scott

family; the *Daily Mail* is a Harmsworth property.

Lord Rothermere controls the financial side of the *Daily Mail* and its associated papers, the *Evening News* and *Sunday Dispatch*. But Lord Rothermere also has considerable editorial control of his papers. He told the Press Commission in 1947 that the policy pursued by his London papers was entirely in his hands. He has an office in the newspaper building and he talks to the Editor of the *Daily Mail* almost every day; he talks to the Editor of the *Evening News* and the *Sunday Dispatch* at least once a week, and whenever a matter of importance comes up.

What that means in fact is that ultimately the policy and editorial line of the *Daily Mail*—and the other papers—depends on Lord Rothermere, but he receives advice, which must count very highly, from his Editor, and other members of his staff.

ONE-MAN CONTROL

Perhaps the paper which is most completely controlled by one man is the *Daily Express*, which is "owned" by Lord Beaverbrook in the sense that he has the controlling interest in the shares of the company. Lord Beaverbrook is not the managing director of his company (as Lord Rothermere is of his); he is not a director at all; he is not Editor-in-Chief (as Lord Camrose is of the *Daily Telegraph*); in fact, he has never had an office in that big, glass building in Fleet Street that houses the *Daily Express*. He has very little formal connection with the paper. Yet the chairman of the company once summed it up by saying "undoubtedly Lord Beaverbrook is the paper." This shows, I think, what is true of all newspapers; that you cannot tell who runs it by looking at its financial statement or at its editorial board.

Because Lord Beaverbrook's control is so personal it is hard to give an exact description of the policy of his papers; it is definitely anti-Socialist; it is less definitely pro-Conservative, since it holds

that those Tory M.P.s who do not favour Empire trade are heretics.

It is a good deal easier to know the policy of the *Daily Herald*. It is laid down in the articles of association of the Daily Herald Company that the policy of the paper shall be that directed by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The ownership of the *Herald* is a complicated business, but briefly I would say that for all policy matter the control is in Labour Party hands; for all business matters it is in the hands of Odhams Press. But a board of directors cannot edit a newspaper, and in fact the *Daily Herald* produces a fairly independent paper, because its editor is given considerable latitude. For instance, recently it strongly attacked Aneurin Bevan, which shows that it can be independent even of members of the party executive. But the *Herald* is the organ of the Labour Party, and it is tied to that point of view.

AT OPPOSITE POLES

One of the papers I always glance at with interest is the *Daily Worker*. It gives me simply and without fuss the Communist Party line. It does not waver, it does not doubt, though it sometimes is a day or two late in making the sharp turns demanded of loyal party members. The *Worker* is owned by a co-operative society called the Peoples' Printing Society. Policy is laid down by the Communist Party.

At the other pole, I would put the *News Chronicle*, which is a Liberal Party paper, but because of the smallness of that Parliamentary party it maintains a very detached attitude to most party politics. The ownership of this paper is again really vested in a family, the Quaker Cadbury family, but they have made a trust out of their ownership, and financial control seems to be exerted by the Cadburys' nominee, Lord Layton.

I am now left at the bottom of my pile with the two picture papers, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*. The *Mirror* is a very popular paper with a circulation of about four million, and a slightly left-of-centre viewpoint. It is

owned by a public company, and it is very hard to know where the financial control is really centred; I believe the control of the *Daily Mirror* is exerted mainly from the editorial office. Finally, the *Daily Sketch*, which has changed hands in the last month: it has been sold by Kemsley newspapers and bought by the *Daily Mail* company. It is too early to say what its policy will settle down to, but it seems possible it will be a slightly right-of-centre version of the *Daily Mirror*.

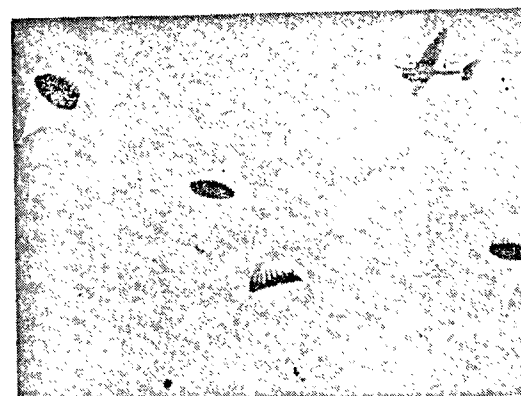
As I finish my last paper each morning, what I often reflect is that in Britain the reader has a very free and very wide choice. No one need be bored or ill-informed.



Dag Hammarskjöld, of Sweden, was nominated by the Security Council of the United Nations to succeed Trygve Lie as U. N. Secretary General. He has since been elected unanimously.

THE GROWTH OF I. A. F.

THE story of the genesis and growth of the I. A. F. from small beginnings to the balanced force of to-day, is of great interest. The recommendations of the Skeene Committee were followed by six years of suspense before the I. A. F. assumed a tangible shape on April 1, 1933, by legislative enactment. But on account of the financial slump of the thirties, its progress in the



Members of the newly formed IAF Para Medical Flight, being air-dropped from a formation of IAF Dakotas as part of the air display at the Air Force Station, Racecourse Camp, New Delhi which was the venue of Air Force Day celebrations in the capital on April 1.

initial years was slow. It commenced its career with a low strength of six officers, 19 men (then designated "Hawai Sepoys") and four WESTLAND WAPITIS, comprising the first I. A. F. flight stationed at Karachi.

The following represents a brief history of the Force:—

1st April 1933. The first flight of the Indian Air Force is formed at Karachi with 4 Westland Wapitis.

1936. Move to Peshawar for Frontier operations.

1937 'A' Flight is moved to Miranshah, a fort in the interior of the tribal territory.

1938. Two more flights are raised and the three flights form No. 1 Squadron of the I. A. F.

1939. War breaks out. Five volunteer Reserve flights are raised at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi and Cochin. A sixth coastal flight is formed sometime later at Vizagapatam.

1941. Two more Squadrons are formed.

1942. No. 1 Squadron, Karachi and Calcutta flights arrive in Burma.

1943. Nine Squadrons are formed, seven with Hurricanes and two with Vengeance Dive Bombers.

1944-45. Arakan and Imphal campaigns. Indian Air Force becomes Royal Indian Air Force.

1946. No. 4 R. I. A. F. Squadron goes to Japan as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation forces.

1947. Partition of India: The R. I. A. F. becomes an independent Service with its own Commander-in-Chief. The strength of R. I. A. F. is reduced to seven Fighter and one Transport Squadrons. Evacuation of refugees and the Kashmir Campaign.

1948. Formation of Heavy Bomber Squadron and Aircraft Testing Unit. Arrival of Vampire aircraft.

1949. Formation of Commands. Air Force Academies, Navigation Training School and Technical Training College. Introduction of the All-Through Training Scheme.

1950. The designation of Air Force is changed from R. I. A. F. to I. A. F. on the birth of the Republic. Changes of Air Force ensign, crest, symbols on uniform and gallantry awards are announced. Formation of No. 1 I. A. F. Hospital at Jodhpur. Aero Medical Unit and Nos. 1 and 2 Air Squadrons of the National Cadet Corps.

1951. I. A. F. goes again on rescue mission to Assam. Setting up of Armament Training Wing. Addition of

Sea-Reconnaissance Squadron, No. 2 I. A. F. Hospital at Jalahalli, No. 3 Air Squadron of N. C. C. Formation of I. A. F. Examining Unit and Flight Signaller's School.

1952. Parliament passes the Indian Air Force Reserve and Auxiliary Bill. Formation of Nos. 4, 5 and 6 Air Squadrons of National Cadet Corps and I. A. F. Survey Flight.

MODERNISATION

During the past five years I. A. F. has been undergoing as much modernisation as the resources of the country would permit. The arrival of the first batch of Jet Vampires in 1948 symbolised a significant advance in the modernisation of the force. The year 1949 registered organisational changes of far-reaching consequences. The re-orientation of the organisational set-up of Air HQ, the establishment of the functional Commands—Operational and Training—replacing the Groups, and the inception of the "all through" training scheme did much to place the old fabric of the Service on a new, firm footing. With the opening of the Navigation Training School and the Technical Training School and the Technical Training College further links were forged in the chain of I. A. F. training institutions. The latter—a "technician's Nursery"—signifies a vital step forward in the direction of making the Service self-sufficient in the matter of technical training, of officers, as well as airmen.

The relatively recent feature of I. A. F.'s progress has been an exchange of goodwill missions with the Air Forces of India's neighbours. The presentation to it last year of a solid silver trophy by the Burma Government on behalf of the Burmese Air Force as a token of friendship, is a measure of the esteem in which the I. A. F. has come to be held. The recent passing out of the first batch of Burmese trainees from the I. A. F. Ground Training School at Tambaram is symbolic of the new status our country and our Air Force have come to acquire among Asian Nations.

To-day, the I. A. F., though small, is a compact and homogeneous force. It

has journeyed far from the outmoded WAPITIS to the modern jet-propelled Vampires. It now possesses a functionally sound net-work of training centres and equipment and maintenance depots. The full-fledged Air Academies—the best of their kind in the East—a Ground Academy, a Technical College on modern lines, are some of the more vital links in the chain of its training establishments. The assets of the Service now include two of its own hospitals and two up-to-date Service Bands.

Significant attainments have undoubtedly been made but much still remains to be done. The Indian Air Force is still small in size, nowhere commensurate with the vastness of its homeland. While the degree of its growth will necessarily be proportionate to the expansion of the country's financial and industrial resources, its share of responsibilities within the defence commitments, must continue to increase. This is in view of the supreme place which is now universally given to air power in defence mechanism. With the public support which the Service enjoys, the Indian Air Force is destined to be a constantly growing Service with a bigger status, greater functional scope and a brighter future.

THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN

BY

DR. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A., PH.D.

"Prof. Radhakrishnan presents to the Western World in his own inimitable language all that is truest, noblest and best in Hindu religion and thought."

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Peace in the Making

WORLD Events in the last few weeks have shown a marked change for the better. Every body seems to feel the new climate of peace that has suddenly descended on earth. We do not know if the initiative was taken by the great Stalin but since his death Moscow has taken a new line of action, totally unexpected and at variance with the old sterile formula of negation. Addressing the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. M. Malenkov promised a continuance of the "tested policy of maintenance and consolidation of peace," and declared that there was no litigious or unsolved question that could not be solved by peaceful, mutual agreement. "This concerns our relations with all States," he added, "including the United States of America." Since then the signing of the Korean agreement on the P. O. Ws., doubtless with Soviet approval, and the unanimous election of the new Secretary General of the U. N. (Russia for once refrained from exercising her veto)—all these betoken a new spirit in Soviet outlook which has gone a great way to ease the tension. Nor can we forget the unexpected reprieve of the condemned doctors or the cordiality shown to the visiting journalists who have been impressed by the turn in the tide. The new American President, for all his insistence on preparedness, is quick to respond to a gesture of peace if only Soviet professions were reflected in their practice. The President has appealed to the Soviet Union to work with the U. S. A. in redeeming the "near lost hopes" of world peace by disarmament and international co-operation. Mr. Churchill has also welcomed the new breeze that has begun to blow from the Far East. He said that the Kremlin's recent moves have brought "sudden hopes" to the whole world, and "we must not throw away a single hope or repulse a single friendly signal." Is there a new breeze blowing on the tormented world, he asked.

It is true that there is still some scepticism and suspicion of real Soviet intentions—as evidenced by the appraisal of the 14 Atlantic powers who feel that Russian peace gestures since Stalin's death are only a change in tactics and that the basic aim of the communist world remains the same. The successful exchange of P. O. Ws. paving the way for armistice must in due course convince the sceptics that the communists are as sincere as the democrats in their desire for peace. If this gesture of goodwill and determination to face the issues squarely and together should continue there is no doubt that we shall witness a complete and welcome change in the atmosphere, and the world will be ready and ripe for the next step in international fellowship.

Prof. C. E. M. Joad

Since the death of Shaw there had been no more vigorous or versatile public figure in England than Prof. Joad of the British Brains Trust. Indeed Joad claimed himself a disciple of Shaw on whom he wrote a book which is as much about himself as about his hero. His death at the age of 61 removes one of the most challenging of British philosophers who made himself felt as much by the vigour and pertinacity of his talks and writings as by the breadth of his outlook.

Joad was not quite a philosopher in the sense that Russell is one but he was undoubtedly a great populariser of knowledge who made a tremendous impression on the English reading public by the alertness of his mind and the clarity of his exposition. After sixteen years in the Home Civil Service he discovered his mistake in the choice of a career, and turned to literature and journalism. Indeed his main contribution to contemporary thought lay in his capacity to expound philosophical ideas in such a way as to make them understood by the average man. He loved India and Indian civilization and

proved himself a friend of Indian freedom as indeed of all liberal thought that made for human progress and culture. He claimed to be a liberal (in the sense in which to be a liberal does not preclude one from being a socialist) and a democrat. He was an individualist *par excellence* who believed that the individual is an end in himself.

I believe the individual to be an end, and the State a means to the fulfilment of that end. It is an unsatisfactory and often a formidable means, and apt to display a Frankenstein-like tendency to destroy its creator, but it is a necessary one. I am in sympathy, therefore, with that attitude to the State which regards it as a necessary nuisance. I believe the object of government to be the good of the governed and, with certain qualifications, I believed that that good is to be found in the happiness of the governed. I do not hold in ethics the view that happiness is the sole end of life, but I do believe that it is the only one of which politics can presume to take account. The business of government then is, if I am right, to promote the happiness of the governed.

A prolific writer and skilful dilectician, Joad was an institution in himself. The English reading world will sorely miss this genial "philosopher with a pipe who confronted Society with a full beard"—the beard which was the symbol of his emancipation from the uncongenial career in the Civil Service.

New Cabinet in Pakistan

For some time past there has been a spate of violence and fury in the Pakistan press. Kashmir and the canal questions were ostensible grounds for a fresh outbreak of anti-Indian propaganda. It was evident that Pak politicians were trying to divert people's attention from the deep distress and frustration caused by the food crisis. But even so we were not prepared for the sensational announcement that Khwaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister of Pakistan, was relieved of his office by the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed. An official Communique issued on April 17 said that the Governor-General took this step as he found Khwaja Nazimuddin incapable of grappling with the task facing the country at present.

I have watched with growing uneasiness the exceedingly difficult conditions with which Pakistan is faced. There is the very grave food situation. The general economic outlook presents several features which must be dealt with vigorously. The law and order situation needs firm

handling. There has been most serious criticism of Government measures and even more of the lack of measures to meet the situation.

I have been driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet of Khwaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country. In the emergency which has arisen I have felt it incumbent upon me to ask the Cabinet to relinquish office so that a new Cabinet better fitted to discharge its obligations towards Pakistan may be formed.

I have, therefore, in exercise of my powers under Section 10 of the Government of India Act as adapted, relieved Khwaja Nazimuddin's cabinet of its responsibilities as my Council of Ministers.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to U. S. (on a short visit to Karachi) has been appointed the new Prime Minister of Pakistan. The personnel of his Cabinet has also been announced.

Khwaja Nazimuddin, however, told a press conference that he was still *de jure* Prime Minister of Pakistan although he may not be *de facto* Prime Minister. As a shrewd contemporary points out:

Indeed the suddenness with which the Governor-General of Pakistan removed his Prime Minister, recalls the unexpected manner in which Nazimuddin himself assumed office.

The means Khwaja Nazimuddin employed to put himself into office have now been used by Ghulam Mahomed to put him out. He cannot now protest that he is still *de facto* if not *de jure* Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Whatever the legal and constitutional implications of the dismissal it is entirely a matter for Pakistan. To us in India it can only be a matter of conjecture whether Khwaja Nazimuddin was removed from office for reasons connected with his handling of issues concerning Indo-Pakistan relations or because of his method of tackling the grave internal law and order situation. At the moment there is no reason for India taking any pessimistic view of the future.

What is of immediate interest to India is whether the Pakistan Government would go ahead with the proposal for a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two countries to discuss issues outstanding between them. It is therefore heartening to hear the new Prime Minister declare that Indo-Pakistan differences could and would "be settled peacefully and amicably." He is reported to have told a Press Conference that after settling the Indo-Pakistan disputes and creating a "favourable atmosphere"

India and Pakistan could very well sit down and discuss the possibilities of "joint defence of India and Pakistan."

That is a welcome change; and nobody would be more pleased than Nehru who has all along been pleading for a no war pact with our neighbour.

Asaf Ali

A valiant fighter in India's freedom battle has gone to his rest in the death of Asaf Ali, the second Indian Minister to Switzerland, on April 2. He had taken an active part in the national struggle since 1920 when he sacrificed his career at the Bar to join the Congress. Ever since he remained in the forefront of the movement and was arrested several times. In 1924 when the Swaraj Party was formed and the Congress decided to participate in the Legislatures Asaf Ali was a tower of strength to the Swarajists. In 1936 he married Aruna Ganguli who later became a prominent Socialist leader. Ultimately she found Asaf Ali's Council-work rather tame, and in 1942 she went underground till at the call of Nehru and her friends, she came out into the open. An active member of the Nationalist Muslim party, in the 1935 General Elections Asaf Ali was elected to the Legislative Assembly from the Delhi Constituency with a majority on the joint votes of Hindus and Muslims.

Mr. Asaf Ali was appointed a member of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946, and was placed in charge of Transport and Railways. He held the post till January 7, 1947. Mr. Asaf Ali was then called upon to fill the role of first Indian Ambassador in the United States of America—from February 1947 to April 14, 1948. Returning to India, he was posted as Governor of Orissa. Extensive travelling and the strain of continuous work told upon him and he had to give up the Governorship in May, 1952. His last assignment under the Government of India, was as Indian Ambassador to Switzerland, Austria and the Vatican.

Asaf Ali passed away in his 64th year. "To the service of his country at home and abroad", say the Government of India in a *Gazette Extraordinary*, "he brought wisdom and experience as well as zeal, learning and charm and a great breadth of outlook." The sympathies of the whole country go out to Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali in her great bereavement.

A New Lease for Malanism

The white voters of South Africa returned Prime Minister Daniel Malan to power with more than a doubled majority giving him a firm mandate to push through his racial policy. But he cannot fail to note the growing sense of danger and insecurity which the more thoughtful among Europeans themselves have expressed. Dr. Malan's racial policy has hastened the pace of danger to world peace and "even the ray of hope, however faint filtering through the gloomy Far Eastern horizon has been considerably dimmed by the thunder cloud gathering in South Africa." Statesmen and churchmen, far and near, have condemned the barbarous racial discrimination of the South African Government as a kind of slavery of which civilized men ought to be ashamed. Only the other day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher told the British Council of Churches in Birmingham that Dr. Daniel Malan's *apartheid* policy was "a sort of slavery." The Archbishop went on to say that all history and all Christian history declared this to be no solution and that it must end sometimes in disaster.

Nations have to buy their experience, even if it is bought with injustice, suffering and fearful social diseases such as the sub-human living conditions of Africans in Johannesburg. We can only pray that South Africa may begin to learn before it is too late.

It will be recalled that the leader of the S. A. United Party spurned Dr. Malan's suggestion that 12 or 13 United party members might support the Government's *apartheid* policy.

Indeed world reaction to Dr. Malan's electoral victory has been definitely critical.

It may be argued that the S. A. Election is a domestic affair of which the rest of the world cannot with propriety offer an opinion. But the repercussions are far reaching—if South Africa decides to trample on human values. Hence it is felt that

unless the Big Powers of the world—the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, in particular—take immediate measures to curb effectively Dr. Malan's madness, the prospects of an abiding peace in the world are bleak indeed.

Foreign Missions in India

The role of Foreign Missions in India was the subject of interpellations in Parliament the other day. Under British rule and even during the Moghul times evangelical work under foreign missions was common. But free India to-day, under her new constitution, adopted by representatives of any variety of religion, is a Secular State with no established religion. Religious freedom implies the right to propagate a faith with the practice of that faith. But that right is now limited to Indian citizens only. The Home Minister, Dr. Katju, told the Council of States that, while everyone in India was free to propagate his religion, the Government did not want people from outside to come and do that. Dr. Katju, who was answering questions on the work of foreign missionary societies, said:

If they come here for evangelical work then the sooner they stop it the better.

Earlier the Deputy Home Minister, Mr. B. N. Datar, said:

Since April, 1951, five foreign Christian societies—one belonging to the U. K. and four to the U. S. A.—had sought permission to work in India. The request of one society had been rejected and that of the other four were under consideration. Permission was granted usually on the recommendation of the National Christian Council of India and the Catholic Bishops Conference of India. There were at present 65 Catholic societies and 50 protestant societies, working in India.

Replying to a number of supplementaries, Mr. Datar said the societies were expected to carry on in India educational, medical, philanthropic and rural or social uplift work. They were not expected to take part in politics but carry on their work in the interests of India.

The New U. S. Ambassador

Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador to India under the democratic Truman administration was undoubtedly doing a good job well, but then the convention that a new Republican President should have his own nominee was inexorable. And so we have a new Ambassador, Mr. George Venable Allen. The 49 year old Allen is a seasoned diplomat and has seen service in various capacities. He is reported to be one of the most capable men in the state department with a specialised knowledge of

U. S. relations with all the near and middle eastern nations.

The new Ambassador certainly knows that there is vast scope for improvement in the relations between U. S. and India and that the best way to touch India is through the heart. Indians are a sensitive people, and quick to respond to a frank and generous gesture. A sympathetic understanding of our needs and a direct and not merely a diplomatic approach to our problems will go a great way to cement the relations of the two countries equally interested in human values and the ways of peace in a distracted world. He will discover that this infant democracy has a proud tradition of culture and civilization and is always eager and ready to participate in all tasks that make for the upliftment of the unfortunate and needy and for the common good of nations, great and small.

Walchand Hirachand

Walchand Hirachand who has passed away in his 71st year was a man with a vision. Born in a family of traders reputed for enterprise he became a veteran industrialist and pioneer in the three main lines of transport—shipping, aircraft and automobile. The three important concerns which he pioneered were the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., now under Government ownership and the Premier Automobiles of Kurla.

It was his vision and enterprise that shaped the national merchant marine as an essential feature of what may be called the second line of defence in the country. It is common knowledge that the British Government in India were not very helpful in promoting the interests of Indian shipping lest it should hamper the growing prosperity of British shipping companies. Walchand lived to see the end of this monopoly with the end of British rule—a monopoly against which he fought all his life.

Walchand's was among the top names in the business world and among those who built up the modern industrial India his will always occupy a place of great honour and distinction.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SRI AUROBINDO CAME TO ME. By Dilip Kumar Roy. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

Sri Aurobindo became a legend even in his own life time. During the last two decades of his life Sri Aurobindo was so completely absorbed in his own Yogic practices and was so rarely available to the public—except by way of the periodic darshan he gave his disciples and pilgrims to his Ashram—that few people had any intimate knowledge of his life and activities. It was given only to a chosen few, to come into personal contact with the Guru and to have the privilege of intimate correspondence with the versatile Master of the Ashram. That privilege was Sri Dilip Kumar's. Dilip, after years of struggle and hesitation found his haven in the Ashram and was at once adopted as one of Sri Aurobindo's chosen Chelas. And the condescending grace with which the Master accepted the Chela and imparted to him the wisdom and the mysteries of Yoga, and the reactions of an ardent and reverential mind resulting from such an impact are the theme of this book of reminiscences. It is thus neither a biography nor an autobiography in the strict sense of the terms but the reflections of a most receptive mind which, after all questionings and doubtings, found its haven of peace in the Yoga of Sri Aurobindo.

The interactions of such a mind, developed in the context of the Ashram life, are portrayed with a vividness and colour which only a writer and seer of deep learning and reverence could do. In the 500 and odd pages of somewhat diffuse but colourful writing we have an authentic account of life in the Ashram, the meaning and purpose of the discipline, interesting studies and sketches of the more striking personalities in the Ashram and above all an unforgettably intimate and understanding interpretation of the genius and character of two of

the most outstanding figures in the Ashram—the "Master" and the "Mother." Laymen and outsiders can hardly share the thrill of the religious devotees in the immediate presence of the Master but all could understand the fervour of the devout in their moments of ecstasy.

A poet and scholar of no mean standing Sri Aurobindo's handling of the technique of prosody and his unwearying attempts to teach the aspiring poet the elements of sound style and rhythm afford interesting side light on Sri Aurobindo's versatility. Altogether Sri Dilip Kumar's study of Sri Aurobindo and his teachings is perhaps the most intimate and reverential tributes to the Master after his passing.

RUSSIA: ITS PAST AND PRESENT. (A Mentor Book). By Sir Bernard Pares. The American Library of World Literature Inc., 501 Madison Ave., New York, 22.

What with the iron curtain and the occasional conducted tours of favoured foreigners the truth about Russia is as hard to get as ever. Yet never before have Americans and the rest of the world been so interested in the aims and policies of the Soviet as to day. In this revised Edition of a popular book published in 1941 Sir Bernard Pares discusses objectively and with inside knowledge the country, the people, education, social activities, industrial and agricultural planning, the war and a lot of other things of which we have different versions from different propaganda sources. Few writers are more qualified to give an accurate and undistorted picture of Russian life and society than this professor with a long record of association with Russia and Russian studies. The last chapter summing up his impressions is particularly interesting, as Sir Bernard's evaluation of the internal situation reveals knowledge and understanding of what is needed on both sides of the curtain.

FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT. By Mrs. T. N. K. Nayar. Trivandrum. Pp. 242. Printed at P. K. Memorial Press, Trivandrum.

This neat little volume is an intimate record of the spiritual experiences of the authoress from the day she came under the influence of Sri Satguru Sri Rama Devi of Tellicherry.

The author appears to have been a victim to several ailments including obsessions and fears of all kinds and it was on the suggestion of eminent physicians that she was taken to the saint from Tellicherry who was on a trip to Madras. Ever since that day the author came to be completely under the influence of Sri Rama Devi who has not only cured her but has taken her to spiritual heights which are very difficult to attain for the ordinary mortal. The book is written and published in a spirit of gratitude.

The latter part of the book contains a biographical sketch of the author's object of adoration, and reading through the book one wonders whether he is not coming across a female edition of the Saint of Dakshinেশ্বর.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has provided a learned Foreword to the volume. The format of the book is clean and the matter inside interesting and worthy of perusal.

THE DELICATE PREY AND OTHER STORIES. (A Signet Book). By Paul Bowles. The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave. New York, 22.

Here is a pocketful of horror-stories set in the background of primitive Africa. The writer is an American who has lived in the native quarter of Tangier. In this unusual book he explores the violent impulses that lurk in the heart of the men and women whose passions are as hot and terrible as the desert in which they wander in quest of prey. The stories that make up the book are packed with incidents of incredible horror and cruelty which not unoften are disgusting to a degree. Yet they are strangely interesting as revealing the depths of human perversity.

ARCHITECT AND ARCHITECTURE THEN AND NOW.

INDIA AND THE NEW ORDER. An Essay on Human Planning. By Siris Chandra Chatterji, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

In the first book, the author suggests the early establishment of an All-India Institute of Architecture and Regional Planning to train students who would help in the growth of well-planned cities and village-groups in which the architectural environment can be so modelled as to help to regulate and elevate all aspects of human life and action. The author stresses that the basis of Indian artistic creation was intensely spiritual and intuitive and advises all architects to study History, Philosophy, Religion, Fine Arts, etc., all of which contribute to elevate the soul of man.

In his second book, Mr. Chatterjee holds that the entire Indian social order has been, through the ages, a planned economy, based on sound humanitarian principles and that the industrial revolution brought about the collapse of Indian industry and society. Planning should always engender spiritual harmony among all nations and promote internal unity. Ancient Indian town and village planning differs in some respects from modern needs; but its spiritual bases will serve for all time. All our national shrines and structures have their own messages to tell and embody devotional fervour, sterner virtues, mysticism and symbolism and metaphysical speculation and other spiritual ideals that have marked our variegated religious life. Kasi is a mighty citadel of Hindu national aspiration and planning, though twisted by modern forces out of its original form. The author also tries to instil the idea that architecture is a great agency for evoking the spirit of international brotherhood.

A pessimist is one who makes difficulties of his opportunities; an optimist is one who makes opportunities of his difficulties.

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. VOLUME I—THE VRATYA OR DRAVIDIAN SYSTEMS. by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar—with a Foreword by the Hon Shri. R. R. Divakar.—Mira Publishing House, Lonavla.

The learned author proceeds on the assumption that India was the cradle of both the Aryan and the Vratya cultures which comprehended, respectively, the pantheistic and the theistic aspects of early religious thought—the Vratya pantheon consisting of the divine Triad of Siva, Amma and Kartikeya (or Murugan) the later Ganapati, the Linga, Surya, Naga, Fish, Tree, etc.. The Aryans gradually assimilated all these gods into their own pantheon. The Aryans applied the term—*Sisna-Devah*—to the non-Aryan god Siva who is represented nude in the Indus valley period. The non-Vedic tribes like the *Panis* were the descendants of the early makers of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation; and Dasas, the *Asuras* and others may be properly called *proto-vratyas*.

The author also holds that the Indus Valley civilisation was a running one, being both prior to and surviving the Rig Vedic epoch. Ganapati did not enter the Vratya pantheon till a late period. Siva-Rudra and Linga cults are described in the details of their development, as also Amma-Sakti and Muruga-Kartikeya. Ganapati became an important deity towards the 10th century A. D. Zoolatry of fish, the naga, the cow, the dog, etc. the tree-cult, the ritual literature of the *agamas*, *tantras* and *puranas*, the details of *puja* and sacrifice—these are next noticed. Saiva sects like the *Pasupatas*, the *Kapalikas*, the *Kalamukhas* and the *Basesvaras* and the philosophical systems are all described in a clear and plausible manner. The Vratya religious system had early spread over all parts of India and it underwent a gradual development in the process of its diffusion.

IRISH

"Begorra! Pat, I thought you were dead?"

"Oh," said Pat, "they did get a story around that I was dead, but it was another man. I knew it wasn't me as soon as I heard it."

BANK OF HEALTH AND HAPPINESS. By Parsram Kapoor. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 278. Published by the author, 13-A Vithal Niwas, Jacob Circle, Bombay-11.

The author is a refugee from Pakistan and the present volume is the result of a twenty year observation and study. The chief aim of the book is, to use the author's own words, "to tear away the veil of ignorance and to dispel the darkness that cloud the lives of most of the families with regard to the maintenance and promotion of health." In order to make the volume useful to the lay public and thus bridge the gulf between the technical man of health and ordinary man, the author has dispensed with an understandable technical expressions.

The book itself is arranged in four parts. The first part deals with books and knowledge thereof including useful information regarding pregnant women, children and the aged. The second part deals with Hygiene, cleanliness and maintenance of general health. The third and fourth parts relate to sex problems and diseases connected with them. Thus the volume is comprehensive in its range. It is bound to be useful.

Mr. Kapoor has evidently taken great pains to collect his facts about diet and diseases and their remedies. It is not necessary to agree to all his prescriptions to appreciate his book. Like every medico he has his fads: "All sincere and patriotic people of the world are non-vegeterians"—is one of those cocksure, extreme statements which cannot pass unchallenged; yet "Bank of Health" is full of sound advice. There is no magic in drugs. Prevention is better than cure and bodybuilding is a long term process of proper dieting and regulated life.

THE CHINESE WAY

In pre-Mao China, when the subscriber rang up the exchange, the operator would ask: "What number does the honourable son of the moon and stars desire?"

"Hohi, six-five-eight."

Silence. Then the exchange would resume:

"Will the honourable person graciously forgive the inadequacy of the insignificant service and permit this humble slave of the wire to inform him that the never to be sufficiently censured line is busy?"

DIARY OF THE MONTH

:o:

- April 1 Indian Air Force celebrates 20th Anniversary.
—Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov supports Chinese truce offer.
- April 2 Death of Asaf Ali at Berne, Switzerland.
—Russia invites France and U.S. for 4 power talks.
- April 3 Parliament of Religions meets at Rishikesh.
—Ike calls for quick exchange of sick prisoners in Korea.
- April 4 Doctors facing trial in Russia released.
- April 5 Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Swedish Foreign Minister to be new U. N. Secretary-General.
- April 6 Korean truce talks resumed.
—Mossadeq pledges loyalty to Shah who "should reign and not rule."
- April 7 United Nations accept Communist proposal for exchange of Sick and wounded.
—Asaf Ali's body laid to rest in Delhi with funeral honours.
- April 8 Death of Walchand Hirachand.
—Jomo Kenyatta managing member of Mau Mau sentenced to 7 years.
- April 9 Dr. C. E. M. Joad, British philosopher is dead.
—Vyshinsky, Soviet U. N. delegate, urges East-West accord.
- April 10 Communists urge resumption of truce talks in Korea.
—Partition Committee for division of Madras State appointed.
- April 11 60 year old Tram-service in Madras discontinued.
- April 12 Allies and Communists agree to exchange of Sick P. O. Ws.
- April 13 17 Nations sign new wheat agreement in Washington.
—C. R. opens Fine Arts Exhibition in Tanjore.
- April 14 *Times of India*, Bombay, and its Editor held guilty of contempt of State Assembly.
- April 15 Charlie Chaplin re-surrenders U. S. re-entry permit.
- April 16 Indian Railways centenary celebrations.
- April 17 Kwaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister of Pakistan, relieved of his office and Mr. Mohammed Ali forms new Cabinet.
- April 18 Nationalists sweep the polls in South Africa.
—Finance Bill passed in House of the People.
- April 19 Merger of the two Railway Unions: Joint statement by J. P. and Hariharnath Sastri.
- April 20 First batch of prisoners exchanged at Pan Mun Jom.
- April 21 Committee appointed to consider future of Bellary Taluq.
—Central decides to set up marketing organisations for handloom products.
- April 22 Madras Tramway dispute Tribunal set up.
- April 23 Industrial Tribunal (Bank disputes) directs pay scales according to classified groups.
—U. N. Assembly votes that foreign troops in Burma must surrender or quit.
- April 24 Churchill made Knight of the Garter.
- April 25 A.I.N.E.C. Standing Committee meets at New Delhi.
- April 26 All India Local Bodies Conference meets at Madras.
- April 27 Mr. Mahomed Ali, Pakistan Premier, writes to Nehru urging Indo-Pak amity.
—Mr. George Allen U.S. Envoy-designate in India, meets Prime Minister.
- April 28 The Prime Minister promises Linguistic State Commission.
—Foreign Minister Molotov says Soviet is ready to join five power peace pact.
- April 29 Sir Winston Churchill welcomes Soviet suggestion of Big power talks.
—Gen. Cariappa appointed High Commissioner in Australia.
- April 30 Central Committee on Land Reforms appointed.



READERS' DIGEST



WHY LINGUISTIC PROVINCES?

Dr. Jadunath Sarkar has expressed himself definitely against the craze for cutting up India into a number of linguistic States. Writing in the *Hindustan Standard* he says that one cannot help feeling that "this attempt at Balkanisation is the greatest danger that now threatens a country which geography and history, war and culture, alike have moulded into one, overcoming its continental vastness."

The polar difference between Hinduism and Islam in theology, he says, did not in actual administration, divide India into two mutually exclusive nations in the past, in spite of Jinnah's misapplication of the term *nation*.

Hindus and Muslims have been only two *sects*, and have lived and worked together under the same political structure so long as the sovereign was wise or indulgent and guarded himself from intolerance at the dictation of fanatical mullahs. No provincial separation was dreamt of during the six centuries of Muslim rule, but rather integration and expansion. The British followed the same wise policy during the first century of their rule (1800-1900), and it was only the "sedition of 1905" that drove them in despair to try the *divide et impera* plan. Such integration of India was possible, because the Centre was strong and acted as the common, if autocratic, father of all the provinces, the system of administration was uniform all over India, and only one official language was used,—it being under Muslim rule Persian, the easiest of Asiatic languages, and in British times English, the simplest of European tongues.

Moreover, the State in the past undertook only a few functions and left all other spheres of human activity to the public, with full local option in all non-essential matters.

Society was stationary; do as your ancestors did, was the rule. But the modern Government is dynamic. The State today is all-pervasive; its agents have multiplied a hundredfold in number and penetrate to every branch of human activity—work, travel, food, the rearing and even the begetting of children. Hence, the threat of provincial separation to national solidarity is infinitely greater today, unless the unifying influence of the Centre is made paramount. This fact has dictated the complete change in the working of the American Constitution from sacred State rights to Federal paramountcy. The same

trend is bound to assert itself here, if India is to survive in the modern world.

He points out that it is not possible to carve out homogeneous linguistic provinces in the present condition of multilingual areas. Do any clear cut homogeneous areas speaking only one language exist anywhere in India, when we rise above the taluqa or village level?

In every province where one language is spoken by a majority of its people, other speeches are the mother-tongues of minorities who are often not negligible either in number or in cultural contribution. And none of our capitals—and even very large industrial centres like Kanpur or Jamshedpur—has a majority of their inhabitants speaking the language of the rustic population of the State.

After showing the impracticability of the idea of distinct linguistic States he points to the danger of parochial interests overriding the supreme need for all India national interests. How to prevent this fissiparous tendency? We must strengthen the unifying forces already existing among us.

The factors that make for India's unity are (1) The Central Government and its powers of inspection and correction in the provinces, (2) The All-India services, (3) The Defence Forces, and (4) All-India educational institutions (school, college, and university) functioning in every province and conducting their work through the medium of the English language, with some vernacular freely chosen as a subsidiary. For this last I have long pleaded in public, though as a lonely voice crying in the wilderness.

Above all, says Dr. Jadunath, Public Schools of the British type and Defence Academies are the best agencies for grinding down provincial angularities and so-called special cultures, differences of speech and meals, and fostering a standardized Indian citizenship and social *comraderie*.

Catch them young and throw them together under the same band of teachers, in the same mess, play field and examination hall. Compel every province to send there its quota of the most promising lads, and when they have passed out with the All-India stamp on their life and thought, post them to any province at random, and thus stifle the mad cry of *mulki* and *ghair-mulki*, domiciled and non-domiciled. All higher administrative offices will be opened to only such as have passed through this unifying process.

INDIA THROUGH AUSTRALIAN EYES

Members of the Australian Press Delegation which visited India in March last have described their impressions in a series of articles in the Australian Press. The following is a summary of their views on India's Five-Year Plan.

Mr. John Goodge, Associate Editor of the *Sydney Sun*, writing under the heading "Mother India in Labour" says:

A nation centuries old in its culture, yet in swaddling clothes as a self-governing democracy, India is perhaps an outstanding experiment in the world to-day in national development. It is an experiment which under the drive of urgency touches the humblest village dweller and the industrial magnate. Vast projects of water conservation, irrigation and power production are on the board; some of them completed, many under way.

Referring to the Damodar Valley Scheme Mr. Goodge says:

This is only one of the many such development projects and these multi-purpose schemes are only a part of the great concept of the Five-Year Plan which means to raise the standard of living by improvement in every avenue of national activity. The question that observers are asking is: Can India do it? The answer is that India is doing it. The target might not be reached within five years. It is a certainty that India at the end of its first Five-Year Plan will have reaped an enormous benefit. This concentration of national effort on such prodigious economic concepts is being watched with the deepest interest by international observers in Delhi. The operation of the Plan has demonstrated the unquenchable enthusiasm of the educated minority who are doing the spade work and the gradual move away from caste distinctions.

Mr. Guy Harriott writes in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

There is something truly dramatic in this bid to turn a backward land into an industrial force. Indians in charge of these undertakings are spurred by a determination to show the West and particularly the British that they can do things which most people predicted they could not. It is too early to say how far they will succeed. But if they fail it will not be for want of effort and imagination.

We saw big plants of modern machinery attended by workers gathered from all over India; locomotives rolling off the assembly line, aircraft being built; steel being manufactured. Hanging over everything is the constant sense of urgency. Factories and mills work three shifts round the clock. Construction work on hydro-electric projects is on a 24-hour basis. The spectacle of 7,000 men and women toiling by flood lights to complete the dams in a race against monsoonal rains was one not readily forgotten.

India is fiercely determined to stand on her own feet in industry as in everything else. Everyone of the big factories and works has its own technical institute to train its workers. Self-reliance and improvisation seem to be the watchword of Indian industry and technical training.

All this feverish activity presents only a secondary front in India's new war of independence. The main front remains the village. That is where the issue will be decided.

One of the most heartening and hopeful signs we saw was an agricultural training centre outside Lucknow. Three Government officers, each of them a specialist in his own field, were being trained as multi-purpose workers so that each of them should be able to do any job in connection with village improvement.

Mr. Douglas Wilkie in the *Sun News-Pictorial* of Sydney writes:

The Damodar Valley Corporation is only one of the seven multi-purpose projects of the kind in India. It is the biggest of the seven but there are others yet to be planned, which may be just as big. Although the work was started in a big way only two years ago, under India's first Five-Year Plan, one of the dams is already complete. Three more are due for completion within the year or two.

Some of the feats of engineering and industrial planning involved are remarkable by any standards. . . . Villages are being built for rural resettlement, model towns laid out and modern amenities provided. These together with the other new industrial projects at Bangalore and elsewhere are the pilot-projects for social planning throughout India.

The emphasis of the Five-Year Plan is on first things first—more food, more literacy, more power and more basic heavy industry.

Mr. Maurice Simpson Writes in the *West Australian* (Perth).

A new destiny is being shaped under the leadership of Mr. Nehru. The economic plan with its initial emphasis on agricultural improvement and social advance is symbolical of the process. It can be said that the future of the Republic of India is intimately bound up with the success or failure of this first Five-Year Plan. It is India's answer both to poverty and to Communism and it may also be fairly concluded that the outcome of the Indian experiment will provide a real test—indeed, a master test—of democracy in East Asia.

Investigation over a very wide area of India cannot fail to create the impression of the almost fantastic immensity of the task. Yet there is a parallel and an equally strong impression of the zest and determination with which it is being tackled from the top level down through the various strata to the field-workers and the great numbers of men in training.

NARMADA VALLEY CIVILISATION

* Seven distinct cultural phases spread over a period of nearly 2,50,000 years in the Narmada Valley region have been brought to light as a result of excavations and explorations recently conducted by the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia, who led a team of excavators, said that their aim was to obtain a sequence of cultures from the earliest times to the modern, and secondly to test the validity of the "Puranic" tradition.

They succeeded in their first aim, but got no evidence to confirm or contradict the traditions as recorded in the "Puranas."

Their work took in all three months, concluding on March 2, 1953.

Large flakes or pebbles, fashioned into axes, scrapers, choppers and hammers, embedded in thick layers of cement concrete-like gravel or sand give evidence that man first inhabited the Narmada Valley over 2,50,000 years ago. The gravel and unusually large pebbles suggested that the climate at that time was much more wet than at present. Dense jungles teemed with elephants, horses, buffaloes etc., which are now extinct. Man lived at that time right from Narasingpur and Hoshangabad in the east to Maheshwar and even Chandel, near Broach, in the west. What happened to this man and his culture, Dr. Sankalia said, is not known.

The second habitation of man in this region was indicated by smaller tools found on top of thick deposits of yellowish sandy-silt. These tools consisted primarily of cores and scrapers and were generally made of agate and jasper, while the earliest tools were made of quartzite and trap. The black soil implied the existence of a thick forest. The man who lived in it must have gradually cleared it and made it fit for building villages and cities.

In the third phase, Dr. Sankalia said, man had become economically a food producer. He lived in mud-walled houses and stored his products and requirements in a variety of clay vessels.

The debris of the early historic or the fourth cultural phase was well represented on the site at Mandalkho. Iron was now well known. Coins, however, still bore symbols, but no writing. Houses were built of large burnt bricks and provided with deep soak pits lined with bricks or terracotta rings.

Remains of a large brick stupa over 85 feet in diameter have been discovered at Navda Toli.

These remains, together with vessels excavated at Maheshwar, and embossed with the swastika, the lotus and taurine symbols, definitely imply that a part of the population on both sides of the Narmada was Buddhist.

The stupa was probably destroyed by a huge flood or because it was never completed. Even at Maheshwar, huge troughs between the habitation areas suggested that by the second century B.C., the region was beginning to feel the effects of sudden heavy rainfall and deforestation. Large tracts of land were eroded, while the rivers Narmada and Maheshwari cut away huge slices. However, on the higher levels habitation still continued. Probably owing to political reasons, the makers of the distinctive black and red polished pottery were ousted from the region. Simple red ware was the most common.

During the fifth cultural phase, Maheshwar along with other places in India like Pondicherry, Chandravalli, Kolhapur, Nasik, Baroda and Ameril, felt the influence of the prosperous Indian trade with the Roman world. Roman wine flowed into India in red polished clay vessels.

During the sixth cultural phase, at Maheshwar a huge stone fort was built, while far-sighted Queen Ahalya Bai Holkar built a magnificent Shiva temple and ghats for people to bathe in the Narmada.

The excavators' party was given full co-operation by the Universities of Poona, Baroda and Bombay.

PHOTOGRAPHS AT RECORD SPEED

A cine-camera has been produced which is the fastest thing on earth outside the terrifying speeds of atomic particles in the physicist's laboratory.

It takes 3,500,000 separate photographs per second. This is 150,000 times as many as the ordinary cine-camera takes.

The new apparatus has been designed to take films of atomic explosions so that they can be examined in detail at every phase. But there are other jobs of a more peaceful kind which it can tackle.

No shutter yet devised could possibly vibrate at the speed demanded by the camera. Instead, a rapidly revolving mirror throws a picture of the scene into the film. This, unlike the film in an ordinary cine-camera, stays still.

Each side of the mirror has a reflecting surface. It revolves at a rate of up to 10,000 revolutions per second, throwing images on to two film strips.

DEFENCE CONFERENCE

The second conference of the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Defence Science was opened by the Prime Minister at Delhi on March 2 last. During the 14 days that the Committee was in session, 42 delegates from seven Commonwealth countries, together with observers from Ceylon and the United States, held discussions for eight full days and visited Indian science laboratories on other days.

The discussions of the conference covered a wide range of subjects of common and immediate practical interest to all Commonwealth countries. These included the scientific problems of defence in mountainous country, in conditions of extreme cold and in conditions met with in tropical countries.

The operation of jet aircraft in the tropics has raised new problems both in the military and civil fields. For example, more information is required on wind conditions in the upper atmosphere and on the effect of higher temperatures on operation.

The operation of shipping in the tropics can be made appreciably less expensive through research to reduce the greater rate of accumulation of marine organisms and greater corrosion. The Commonwealth countries support each other's economics by large shipments of food and the saving of shipping space in an emergency requires more scientific study of matters of reducing the bulk of food carried.

The conference has succeeded in finding a number of items of common interest, in these and other subjects on which collaboration can be fruitfully arranged.

A meeting of service psychologists held concurrently with the main conference has discussed the contributions they can make to selection, training and morale and they have made recommendations which should strengthen their work and its effects in the future.

The conference has provided an opportunity for scientists and service officers to meet and discuss their common problems over an exceptionally wide field.

ACREAGE UNDER CROPS

When the new Andhra State is formed on October first this year, it will have a "land surface" of about 38,300,000 acres leaving about 41,900,000 acres for the residuary State of Madras according to State Government statistics according to Nafen.

Of these, nearly 11 per cent in Andhra and 14 per cent in the residuary State will be fallow. At present only about 45 per cent of the lands in the non-Andhra part of the State and 36 per cent in Andhra are cultivated for various food crops. Wastelands and forests occupy a large percentage of the area in the Andhra State.

There are more irrigated lands in the Andhra area where during the last three decades their extent increased from 80 to 35 per cent: and in the non-Andhra area from 25 to 28 per cent.

In Andhra, paddy cultivation occupies nearly 32 per cent of the land and in the Madras area about 37 per cent. Millet accounts for the largest cultivation in Andhra with 48 per cent of the total land under cultivation and about 39 per cent in the Madras area.

Cotton is fast losing acreage in Andhra. But the cultivation of groundnut has increased from five to 14 per cent; whereas in the non-Andhra area it rose from seven per cent to nearly 13 per cent during the past three decades.

The following gives the area in acres under cultivation of certain commercial crops at the beginning of the year 1952 in the Andhra area (the figures for the residuary State of Madras are given in brackets):—

Sugarcane—96,706 (123,157); and Cotton—338,880 (1,244,667).

The area under irrigation in Andhra for paddy during the period under review is 4,073,499 acres whereas it was 4,252,989 acres for the non-Andhra area.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN JAP
CULTIVATION

The Food and Agriculture Minister laid the following statement on the table of the House of the People on the implements used in Japanese method of rice cultivation and the approximate prices for experimental manufacture in India.

IMPLEMENTS.	APP. PRICES (RUPEES.)
Single bullock plough. . .	18 to 25 (b)
Single row and double row rice land weeders . .	20 to 30 (a)
Hand-push seed drill . .	10 to 15 (b)
One man and two man type pedal threshers . .	125 to 200 (a)
Power thresher run by an engine or electric motor 2 to 3 H.P. (price stated without motor) . .	600 (a)
Hand-operated paddy sheller . .	300 (a)
Power-operated paddy sheller . .	500 (a)
Grain screen or grader for paddy . .	100 (a)
Power-operated paddy polisher . .	200 (a)
(a) found useful under Indian conditions.	
(b) the utility of these implements under Indian conditions has not been fully established and trials are in progress.	

The implements have been tried out at the Central Rice Research Institute, Cuttack, and the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned a scheme for the production, on an experimental basis, of some of the implements.

HEAD OF STATE IN PAKISTAN

Begum Shaista Ikramullah, member of the Pakistan Parliament and wife of Pakistan's High Commissioner to Canada, has, in a letter to *Dawn* from Ottawa, characterised as "most objectionable" the provision in the Basic Principles Committee's report debarring non-Muslims from holding the office of Head of State in Pakistan.

"Debarring of any Pakistani national from the highest office of State" she says, "is non-democratic and goes against the assurances given by the Quaid-i-Azam to the minorities."

Saying that there was nothing in Islamic law to prevent any non-Muslim from being elected as Head of State the Begum Ikramullah maintains that, this

provision is unnecessary and it is unfair constitutionally to debar non-Muslims from ever being elected to this office.

As for special powers being delegated to Mallas, she says "this is definitely Unislamic for Islam does not recognise a priesthood."

Saying that it was impossible in a letter to deal fully with all the illogical contradictions and other defects in the BPC report, the Begum adds: "I feel that like the Indian Civil Service of the past, members of which were neither Indian nor civil nor servants this Constitution is also neither Islamic, nor modern nor democratic. It is indeed a sad commentary on us that after more than five years of deliberation this is all that we could produce." She has called for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and a new assembly to be elected with a mandate from the people to draw up a Constitution.

PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

The three-day Parliament of Religions attended by over 200 delegates and visitors representing all important religions was inaugurated at Rishikesh on April 3, by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar at the Sivananda Ashram on the banks of the Ganges.

Sixty-seven year-old Swami Sivananda has organised the Conference, and Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyar stressed the unity of all religions despite differences in "non-essential" and ritualistic aspects.

Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyar said: "It is our function to emphasise unity in variety. The world is not made to a single pattern and variety is as important as unity. Those who would like to have dull uniformity are doing as great a disservice to religions as those who emphasise meaningless differences."

The spirit that had animated the Indian races through centuries, Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyar said, had been a common quest for the Ultimate. "Our roads may diverge but our goal is the same."

Swami Sivananda said, "Religion is not a disease born of fear, but it is our very breath. It shows the way to peace, brotherhood and self-realisation."

JUBILEE OF LIFE OFFICES ASSN.

The Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the Indian Life Assurance Offices Association in Delhi on April 2, asked those engaged in insurance business to regard their profession not in a spirit of self-advantage but of service to the nation.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that a welfare state must provide its citizens against hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age and death. "So long as this is not being done, there is enough scope for private enterprise to satisfy the needs which every individual has," he added.

The Vice-President said that economic distress was a great danger to the social stability of the state. It undermined democracy and brought about rebelliousness among those who did not believe in democracy. To the extent to which it was possible, insurance business was trying to remove these risks and increase a sense of security, he said.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said he had no doubt that insurance agents had a code of professional etiquette, but he had also seen some who manifested an utter disregard for professional confidence. Professional secrets so far as insurance business was concerned were very important, and it was essential that a code of propriety and etiquette should be drawn up for insurance agents. "If you are able to do this and enforce it, you will be able to increase your business considerably," he said.

Earlier, the President of the Association, Mr. D. Subramaniam, in his welcome address said, it was the duty of the Government to co-operate with life insurance companies by popularising life insurance with the help of the radio and films.

The close co-operation between the Government and the insurance companies, he said, could create an atmosphere in which most of the funds required for the Five Year Plan could be found through an insurance drive by all life insurance companies.

RECORD WORLD RICE PRODUCTION EXPECTED

World rice production in 1952-53 (August-July) is expected to reach a record 357,000 million pounds of rough rice, according to revised estimates of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The large crop is attributed to record plantings and favourable weather in most countries. It is estimated at four per cent. larger than the previous post-war high, six per cent. larger than a year earlier and seven per cent. larger than the prewar average.

While all continents showed gains, the largest gain is in Asia with production estimated at six per cent. above the preceding year and three per cent. above the prewar average. Excluding China, Asia's output is estimated at 224,000 million pounds.

THE ART OF DOING NOTHING

What can be said about the art of doing nothing, except that its greatest charm lies in alternation with sustained and strenuous employment and that it cannot be taught, says W. E. Sinnett in *Leisure*. The prescription for it is just—to do nothing one of the most difficult things in the world apparently for many people. Idlers cannot achieve the art; they are merely, as they foolishly say, killing time; your tramp is apparently a perfect practitioner of the art, but to him there is no virtue in it, since he knows nothing else. Life is made up of contrasts and compensations, and it is the busy man and woman who can, if they will, best practice the art of doing nothing.

U.S. BASES IN BRITAIN

There are 18 to 20 American Air bases in Britain and about 40,000 American service men in Britain on duty. When American super fortresses came to Britain in 1948 it was stated officially that the visit was for a short period and on temporary duty as part of a normal long-range programme. The fortresses and the service men have stayed permanently and their numbers have grown.

GROUP INSURANCE OF U.S. EMPLOYEES

The interest that employers in the United States have in the economic welfare of workers is indicated by the record number of almost 28,000,000 Americans who now have group life insurance policies totalling \$50,910,000 in value.

"This expansion of protection through employer-employee groups in the past decade has added materially to the financial security of the American family," according to a report made jointly by the Institute of Life Insurance and the Life Insurance Association of America, two private organizations.

The new record compares with 23,000,000 persons in the previous year with group policies worth \$42,057,000. The present coverage is in the form of 66,000 master policies that private insurance companies have with business firms and other organisations.

Individuals employed by these businesses purchase policies at a small cost a month. In the event of death their families receive specified sums of money.

NO GOING BACK ON PROHIBITION

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a message on the occasion of the celebrations of the Prohibition Week in Bombay State, says:

"For a long time past prohibition occupied an important place in our national programme. When the Constitution of India was drafted and passed, the policy of prohibition was mentioned as one of the guiding principles of our policy. Some of our States have given effect to it fully, some partly and some have proceeded more slowly.

"Conditions differ from place to place and those responsible for the governance of each State have to decide on what steps to take and when to give effect to this national policy. Naturally all these steps should be carefully thought out so that each step should be firmly taken and any untoward consequences avoided. But it should be remembered always that we

have to go in a certain direction as laid down in our Constitution.

"There has been a good deal of controversy over this issue, more especially because of financial difficulties. Financial considerations have to be borne in mind. But if, from a social point of view, a particular reform is considered desirable, then financial considerations have a secondary place. We may well consider the best method and the most suitable steps to bring about that reform, but the direction should remain the same.

"The major consideration should always be the good of the masses of our people. I have little doubt that the masses of our people profit both in the short run and in the long run by a policy of prohibition.

"I send my good wishes, therefore, on the occasion of Bombay State observing a Prohibition Week."

GERMANS KILLED IN WORLD WAR II

More German civilians than soldiers were killed during the last war, Professor Arntz, of Bonn, reported in a West German Government bulletin published at Bonn. He said 3,300,000 civilians and 3,250,000 soldiers were killed, making a total of about 6,600,000.

Throughout the world about 25 million civilians and 27 million soldiers perished during the war according to Dr. Arntz. He estimated that the Soviet Union had lost about 18,600,000 soldiers and at least seven million civilians.

NEW ISLAND SIGHTED IN PACIFIC

An American Air Force plane reported on April 5, sighting a new island in the Pacific, about 450 miles south of Tokyo.

It is the fourth new island reported in a week. A fishing boat reported discovering three new islands about 190 miles south of Tokyo on April 2.

The pilot of the plane who sighted the new island said that it was about a quarter of a square mile in area with smoke rising about 300 feet above it. Its position is given as latitude 31.53 degrees, longitude 140 10 degrees.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

INDIAN CHILDREN DEBARRED FROM SCHOOLS

87,000 Indian children in Natal Province of South Africa alone were refused admission to schools this year as a result of the *Apartheid* policy of the South African Government. The reason for thousands of children being denied this fundamental right of education is due to the neglect of the Natal Provincial Administration in building enough number of schools to meet the requirements. In sharp contrast to this discriminatory policy, education is compulsory for European children of school going age and their parents are liable to prosecution if they fail to send their children to the school. The Natal Indian Congress has organised a campaign against this discriminatory policy and has arranged to collect signatures on a petition urging the authorities to provide free and compulsory education to all children irrespective of the consideration of race or colour.

Hundreds of parents and children who came to an infant school at Clairwood were seen signing their names to a mass petition organised by the N. I. C. At this school only 249 out of over a thousand children were admitted.

French Areas

REMITTANCES FROM FRENCH AREAS

The French Government have authorised remittances from the following French possessions by Indian residents there for dependants in India at the monthly rates mentioned against each territory.

(a) *Indo-China*: Rs. 100 per month per head, Rs. 100 per child above 12 per month for education in India; (b) *Madagascar*: £15 per month per person subject to a total quota of Rs. 75,000 per year. (c) *Reunion*: French francs 25,000 per month (equivalent to about Rs. 340) per person; (d) *Morocco*: French Francs 25,000 per month per person.

Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON RELATIONS

Mr. C. C. Desai, Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, emphatically reassured Ceylon that she need have no fear whatsoever of Indian "conquest"—politically economically or otherwise. "A country like India is not likely to be found guilty of any untoward act against Ceylon," he asserted, while speaking at a reception accorded to him by the Ceylon Food Importers' Association.

While such fears might be rooted in early South Indian invasions of Ceylon, they could not be entertained against the India of to-day, Mr. Desai said. It was only very recently that Mr. Nebru rejected an Opposition demand in the Indian Parliament for a "showdown" with Ceylon, declaring that the problems of Indian workers in Ceylon constituted a domestic issue for them and the Ceylon Government to settle, although the Indian Government were naturally interested in it owing to its past background and history.

IMMIGRATION LAW IN CEYLON

Mr. A. K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told the House of the People on April 9 that the Indian community in Ceylon was greatly perturbed over the far-reaching provisions of the Ceylon Immigration Act (Amendment) Bill and apprehended an exodus in large numbers of such of the persons who were discharged from service by their employers. The number of persons affected might be anything between 10,000 and 50,000, he said.

The Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, he said, had already brought the apprehended consequences to the notice of the Ceylon Government. Further approach to the Ceylon Government was proposed to be made in the matter.

He agreed with a member that the provisions ran counter to the assurances given to the Prime Minister earlier by the late Prime Minister of Ceylon.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

TEXT OF POW AGREEMENT

The U. N. Command published the text of the agreement on exchange of the sick and wounded war prisoners signed at Pan Mun Jon on April 11. The agreement consists of 10 points which are as follows:

(1) Exchange of disabled P.O.W.S. shall be accomplished at Pan Mun Jon.

(2) The exchange will begin at Pan Mun Jon not later than 10 days after the signature of the agreement.

(4) The Communist Command shall deliver to the U. N. Command 100 sick and wounded prisoners of war per day until all 600 are repatriated while the U. N. will deliver 500 a day until the delivery of 5,800 Communist disabled prisoners has been completed. The number of persons actually delivered each day shall be contingent upon the ability of both the U.N. and Communists Commands to receive them but delivery shall in any case be completed on the date specified on the agreement.

(4) The U. N. and Communist Commands shall deliver the P.O.W.S. in groups of 25 at one time and accompany with rosters including the name nationality, rank and serial number.

(5) Representatives of both sides shall sign the roster of captured personnel delivered as receipt and shall return it to the delivering side.

(6) Convoys moving to Pan Mun Jon from both sides with prisoners of war shall be guaranteed immunity from attack. (a) Movement of motor convoys to Kaesong and Munsan shall be restricted to daylight hours and each convoy shall consist of not less than 5 vehicles except that going north of Pan Mun Jon because actual conditions of the latter provision shall apply only to the route from Pyongyang to Kaesong. (b) Convoys shall display visible identification marks. (c) Each side shall inform the liaison group of the other side of each movement along the selected route with the number of cars and motor vehicles. (d) Each side shall notify the other side by most expeditious means of communications available of the location of emergency stopovers.

(7) Liaison groups of both sides shall have free access to the Pan Mun Jon neutral site. The composition of liaison group and its party shall be determined by a senior member, however in order to avoid congestion only 300 persons at any one time including prisoners shall be in the neutral area. Each side shall transfer

the repatriated personnel out of Pan Mun Jon site as expeditiously as possible.

(8) During the exchange of prisoners the armed military police shall be increased from 15 to 30.

(9) Administrative details shall be mutually arranged by officers designated by senior liaison officer of both sides.

(10) The agreement is effective when signed and will terminate after 20 days after the beginning of the exchange of the prisoners of war.

Exchange of the first batch of prisoners at Pan Mun Jon started on April 20, and the process is reported to be proceeding smoothly.

SEPARATION OF ANDHRA

The Government of Madras have set up a Partition Committee in connection with the formation of the Andhra State. The Committee, states a Press Note issued by the Government, will consist of the following officers: Messrs. S. Venkateswaran, I.C.S., O. Pulla Reddi, I.C.S., T. A. Varghese, I.C.S., and V. K. Rao, I.C.S.

It has been decided that this Committee should, in consultation with the Officer who is being appointed in this behalf by the Government of India, consider the adjustments that are necessary between the Andhra State and the residuary State of Madras in respect of the Public Services. The Committee will also examine in detail all the other questions which will have to be settled in order to implement the decisions of the Government of India in regard to the formation of the Andhra State.

The recommendations of the Partition Committee will be scrutinised by the Ministers for Public Health, Finance, Education, Local Administration, Land Revenue and Rural Welfare, before they are considered by the Council of Ministers and forwarded to the Government of India for final decision.

DR. BROOKES ON S. AFRICAN
RACIALISM

"No one is more likely to push India over to the Communist or anti-West side of the world than South Africa, and no community is more likely to suffer from the West's eclipse than white South Africa," declared Dr. E. H. Brookes until recently a Senator representing Natal Africans in the South African Senate, in a lecture to students at the University of Natal in Maritzburg. He was assessing India's place in the "New World."

Dr. Brookes said that, with a policy which discriminated against Indians as Indians, South Africa became a liability to the Commonwealth, to the United States and its allies, and to the United Nations.

One wonders how many South Africans realise how wide an influence their petty exclusions and discourtesies have in the world, he said. It was Natal, with all its emotional loyalty to the British Empire, which played a big part in determining Gandhi to break away from the Empire if possible and which thus helped to give the British Empire the greatest blow it has ever had—the ending of British rule in India.

Dr. Brookes said that, the Mahatma's experiences in South Africa

forced him for his leadership in India, helped him to discover the method of Satyagraha, showed him the evil of race prejudice, prepared him for estrangement with the British Empire—led him by winding paths but steadily to his part in building a new world wherein the British Empire can no more have a place.

If this was so in the first quarter of the century and South Africa's attitude could have such far-reaching effects, said Dr. Brookes, then responsibility of word and deed was to-day needed more than ever before. Dr. Brookes regretted that, there seemed no white statesman in South Africa of the stature which the "Indian question" demanded for solution. "The passing of Gen. Smuts left lesser men to face the situation," he said. "The South African white men have no Smuts, and the South African Indians have no Gandhi."

And at the same time, what seems a trivial domestic issue of the Union constitutes a potential menace to world peace of a most formidable character.

MR. NEHRU ON THE USE OF
SCIENCE.

Prime Minister Nehru addressing a gathering at the opening ceremony of the Central Building Research Institute at Roorkee on April 12 said that the salvation of India from the throes of poverty and misery lay only in the proper development and harnessing of science and scientific industry.

It is not easy to give a new face to so large a country which contains one-fifth of the world's population. Perhaps the only way of doing this difficult job is to bring about a temper of science so that it takes away the rut of sluggish habit and brings about an era of blissful prosperity.

Mr. Nehru added:

The completion of the chain of eleven national laboratories, the map of which we made a few years ago, is to my mind, a very great and historic step in the advancement of our country. Scientific research is the only sure way by which science can be harnessed for the best of public use and for the betterment of the nation. Many other countries have beaten us in such development and although we cannot make up the work of centuries in a few years, there is this distinct lesson to learn that humanity can only be lifted out of misery by science and its proper use.

Mr. Nehru said:

If we do not use science we will be a backward country, and a third-rate nation. Even though we have completed this chain of eleven national laboratories, we must not be content with this achievement. In fact, this is only the first step in the difficult ladder of progress which we have to climb; it must always be our endeavour to increase the pace of development of the country." The Prime Minister added; "It is a dangerous thing to assume that whatever we are doing is enough. To my mind, complacency is a dangerous thing—the person who is complacent naturally falls out of the race. I want that we should be impatient, and dissatisfied with the pace of our progress, so that we always have the desire to increase the tempo of our work. But we must also remember that we have to change this impatience into activity and not froth and foam as many people are tending to do these days. Such people are the real stumbling blocks in the nation's path to peace and prosperity."

Mr. Nehru continued:

We have made these national laboratories basically to improve science and adapt scientific methods which will suit our country's needs. In the Central Building Research Institute, which is the last in the chain of the 11 national laboratories, methods of building construction will be discussed, so that we can make good houses speedily. In the past few years costs of construction have increased considerably, and it is imperative to investigate how we can reduce these costs.

D. A. OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh announced in Parliament on March 18, the Government's acceptance of all the recommendations of the Dearness Allowance Committee.

The Gadgil Committee had, among other things, recommended that 50 per cent. of the dearness allowance at present granted to Government servants in various pay groups upto a pay of Rs. 750 per mensem should be treated as pay for purposes of retirement and other benefits.

The Finance Minister said that concessions relating to retirement benefits would have effect from July 15, 1952. As regards minor concessions relating to the grant of higher allowances, etc., which have also been accepted by the Government, the Minister said that as the re-calculation and re-adjustment of these allowances from a retrospective date would involve undue waste of time and labour which would not be commensurate with the results, it has been decided to give effect to these recommendations from April 1, 1953. The concessions relating to retirement benefits would cost about Rs. 42 crores a year.

The Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. N. V. Gadgil was appointed in July last year for examining and reporting to the Government what portion of the dearness allowance at present granted to Government servants should properly be treated as pay. The Committee submitted its report in Oct. 1952.

CONDUCT RULES FOR I. A. S.

The Home Minister, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, told the House of the People on April 10, that the conduct rules for the Indian Administrative Service, which are now being framed and will be placed before Parliament in due course, would require submission of returns to Government of any acquisition of movable property exceeding Rs. 200 in value. There was a proposal, Dr. Katju added, to make a similar provision in regard to other Central Services also.

Dr. Katju was replying to the debate on Sardar Hukam Singh's non-official

resolution demanding the appointment of a commission to enquire into the holdings of all responsible officers and report to Parliament. The resolution was rejected by 174 to 52 votes.

Under the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, there is already a provision which requires all officers to submit an annual return of their immovable property.

The Home Minister opposed the resolution on the ground that if it was accepted, Parliament would have to hold an inquisition into the affairs of twenty or forty thousand officers and would convert itself into a judiciary. Government, he said, were doing their very best to root out corruption in the proper manner but the extent of corruption was not as wide-spread and general as supporters of the resolution tried to make out.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE
EDUCATED

The Labour Minister, Mr. V. V. Giri, stated in the Council of States on April 14, that the Government of India were "very much troubled about the growing unemployment problem" among the educated classes and were consulting the State Governments on measures to be taken. Mr. Giri said the Government might adopt schemes other than those contained in the Five-Year Plan to meet this problem.

Replying to Mr. H. C. Mathur, Deputy Labour Minister Abid Ali said Government were pressing forward with schemes under the Five-Year Plan which would ensure larger employment.

According to figures available with the employment exchanges for the period ending December 1952, there were 832 Graduates with one or more degrees in engineering and 150 with medical degrees who were registered as unemployed.

There were 14,000 other Graduates, 11,902 Intermediates and 92,000 Matriculates on the register in the exchanges. While unemployment among the educated was on the increase during the last two or three years, "there has been a slight decrease in December" according to figures of registration in the exchanges

EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Education Minister, addressing a conference of State Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors of universities convened by him to discuss problems of universities with special reference to the improvement of standards and co-ordination of facilities for higher education, said that the creation of a "strong agency" which would guard the standards of Indian universities and co-ordinate their resources and facilities was essential if the universities were to regain their old prestige and become centres of a new national awakening.

Universities, Maulana Azad said, must play an important role in initiating such changes and serve as agencies for the creation of new ideals and the training up of workers in their cause.

This, however, requires the reform and regeneration of the universities themselves in order to enable them to carry out this momentous task.

Referring to the question of the autonomy of universities, Maulana Azad said that university autonomy had been recognised in order to achieve academic freedom and higher educational standards. If, however, there was a fall in academic standards and the administration of the university became defective the plea for university autonomy could be used as a defence against effecting necessary reforms.

Universities do not exist in dignified isolation, but are components of society and hence society has a right to determine what will be the character and aims of the university.

The State, as the organised executive of the community, had therefore not only the right, but the duty to ensure that the university fulfilled those aims which society had a right to expect from it. The Government of India were aware of their responsibilities in this respect and were determined to discharge the duty they owed to the community, he added.

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

A Bill to reconstitute the University of Bombay into a teaching and federal university was introduced by Mr. Dinkar Desai, Education Minister, in the Legislative Assembly on April 8.

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

In reply to a question relating to per capita expenditure on education, Maulana Azad, Union Education Minister, has furnished to the members of Parliament certain figures which constitute an interesting tale in themselves. According to these figures, Delhi leads the rest of India in regard to per capita expenditure on secondary and higher education. Delhi's per capita expenditure on secondary education is Rs. 4 and that on college education Rs. 4.6. In the field of primary education, Ajmer with its per capita expenditure of Rs. 3.2 tops the list. These figures, compared to the general standards of living in the country, are no doubt fairly high but it ought to be noted that they relate to a small fraction of the total population in the country. Delhi and Ajmer's population are roughly 17 lakhs and 7 lakhs respectively. A more accurate idea of the general situation in the educational field can, perhaps, be obtained from the fact that West Bengal which leads the Part A States in per capita expenditure on higher education spends only Rs. 0.9 per head. It is, of course, gratifying to note that Bombay spends not less than Rs. 2.7 per head on primary education. The total picture, as revealed in these figures is, however, very depressing.

TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

A number of experts and training facilities have been offered by the Government of India to South and South-East Asian countries under the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo Plan. The offers have been made to the Bureau of Technical Co-operation in Colombo through which the experts and training facilities will be utilised by the various countries according to their requirements. These facilities are in addition to 20 scholarships and fellowships offered by India to countries in this area during the current year (1953-54). Last year India offered 55 scholarships and fellowships. The names of 39 Indian experts drawn from various specialised fields have been communicated to the Bureau of Technical Co-operation.

BHOODAN YAGNA BILL

The Madhya Pradesh Assembly passed on April 9, the Bhoodan Yagna Bill to simplify the mode of transfer of land donated under the scheme.

The Leader of Opposition, Thakur Pyarelal Singh, and other members of the Opposition welcomed the Bill and said the Bhoodan Yagna movement should be strengthened in the State by all sections of the people.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Ravi Shankar Shukla, assured Mr. Mahesh Dutt Mishra (Praja Socialist) that the Government's policy was to distribute all surplus land vesting in them to the landless. It could, however, be implemented only after the present village-to-village survey, of land for purposes of determining grazing and other rights of villagers consequent on the abolition of the malguzari (proprietaryship) system was completed.

The Bill provides for a Bhoodan Yagna Board, members of which would be nominated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Board will have power to grant leases of land vesting in it to landless persons. The lessee will have heritable right and must cultivate the land properly and comply with other conditions imposed by the Board. A Bhoodan lessee who has held the land continuously for ten years, in accordance with the prescribed conditions, will secure full title to the land. Exemption from payment of stamp duty or registration fee in the deeds is also provided for in the Bill.

The total land collected so far in Madhya Pradesh for Bhoodan is approximately 8,000 acres, it is learnt.

EXTRADITION OF BHUPAT REFUSED

The Union States Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju told the Council of States that the Pakistan Government had not accepted the request of the India Government to extradite dacoit Bhupat for standing trial in India.

Between July 1949 to February 1952, Dr. Katju said Bhupat and his gang raided 56 places, committed 82 murders, and looted property worth about Rs. 3,00,000. Bhupat and two of his associates escaped to Pakistan via Kutch.

SIR C. P.'S ADVICE TO LAWYERS

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, who was addressing the Rotarians in New Delhi on "Legal Remembrances and Retrospect," disclosed that he would shortly complete 50 years' experience at the bar. He was enrolled at Madras on July 17, 1903.

To lawyers who want to be successful or at least passably good, Dr. (Sir) C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar has given three tips:

The least part of a lawyer's equipment is law.

Deal with judges after understanding their psychology; "they may be likened to wild animals at the zoo."

Make legal aid available to the poor if you want the profession to survive.

T.—C. HIGH COURT

The Council of States, on April 9, passed a Bill for setting up a Bench of the Travancore-Cochin High Court to sit in Trivandrum. The two-hour debate on the Travancore-Cochin High Court (Amendment) Bill was unexpectedly marked by controversy on the necessity for the measure.

Explaining the measure, Dr. Katju said ever since the establishment of the State High Court at Ernakulam there had been a grievance among the people from southernmost parts of the State as regards the location. The State Government wanted to pass legislation to satisfy the demand for a separate Division Bench at Trivandrum but legal advice was that it could only be done by Parliament.

HIGH COURT FOR ANDHRA

The Executive of the Andhra Pradesh Congress, meeting at Vijayawada on April 1, passed a resolution unanimously demanding a separate High Court for the Andhra State within the State itself.

Urging the Union Government to modify its decision in the matter, the Committee expressed its strong opinion that "the continuance of the Andhra State in the jurisdiction of the High Court of the Residuary State is not in the interests of Andhra."

TRADE AND FINANCE

BANK TRIBUNAL'S AWARD

The second All-India Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes), in its award published on April 24 has grouped banks in four categories according to their "working funds" and prescribed a uniform minimum "time scale of pay in each category.

The Tribunal has also made a three-fold classification of areas with a view to providing for the differences in the cost of living in the different parts of the country; the starting point on the scale of pay and the maximum will be different for different areas.

According to the classification of areas, the 51,513 workmen of the banks will be distributed as 23,808 (or 46 per cent) in Class I; 13,701 (or 27 per cent) in Class II; and 14,004 (or 27 per cent) in Class III.

THE PAY SCALES

The Tribunal has directed the following pay scales to apply to the clerical staff in the banks:

CLASS "A" BANKS:

Area I: Rs. 85 to 280;
Area II: Rs. 73 to 245;
Area III: Rs. 66 to 227.

CLASS "B" BANKS:

Area I: Rs. 73 to Rs. 245;
Area II: Rs. 66 to 227;
Area III: Rs. 57 to 200.

CLASS "C" BANKS:

Area I: Rs. 66 to 227;
Area II: Rs. 57 to 200;
Area III: Rs. 44 to 191.

CLASS "D" BANKS:

Area I: Rs. 57 to 200;
Area II: Rs. 54 to 191; and
Area III: Rs. 51 to 182.

The Tribunal's scheme in effect provides for a running scale of 51-3-69-4-85-5-100-6-112-7-140-8-164-9-245-10-265-15-280.

TAXATION ENQUIRY COMMISSION

The Government of India in a resolution dated April 1, announced the terms of reference of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the appointment of which was announced by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech.

The terms of reference which have been settled in consultation with the State Governments are as follows:

(1) To examine the incidence of Central, State and local taxation on the various classes of people and in different States;

(2) To examine the suitability of the present system of taxation—Central, State and local—with reference to (a) the development programme of the country and the resources required for it, and (b) the objective of reducing inequalities of income and wealth.

(3) To examine the effects of the structure and level of taxation of income on capital formation and maintenance and development of productive enterprise.

(4) To examine the use of taxation as a fiscal instrument in dealing with inflationary or deflationary situation;

(5) To make recommendations, in particular, with regard to (a) modifications required in the present system of taxation and (b) fresh avenues of taxation.

The resolution says that the question of instituting a comprehensive enquiry into the system of taxation in this country has been under the consideration of the Government of India for some time.

The last enquiry into taxation was conducted by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee nearly 30 years ago. Since then, far-reaching changes have taken place in the country's political and economic spheres and the picture of India's public finances is very different from that in 1925. In recent years there has been a widespread demand for a fresh enquiry and although a decision in principle to have such an enquiry was taken as far back as 1946, the constitutional changes following the partition and the other pressing problems resulting from it delayed the implementation of this decision.

The headquarters of the Commission, the resolution says, will be at Bombay, but the Commission will be free to visit such places as it may consider necessary for the purposes of its work.

The Government of India trust that State Governments, local bodies and authorities, institutions, association and members of the public, who are interested in the subject of the Commission's enquiry will afford it all the assistance in their power and will supply it with such information as it may require.

WOMEN'S PAGE

LADY CRIPPS' APPEAL TO INDIA

Lady Cripps, who was in India for four months, "trying to learn something of the new India" left on April 11 by air for London. In a farewell message, Lady Cripps said: "India has it within her to set a new pattern for the world."

Since I came to India at the end of November, 1952, I have travelled many miles and seen many people and things and spent a month in Pakistan as the guest of the Governor-General. I shall ever be grateful enough to the Prime Minister of India for enabling me to do this as the guest of the Government. Above all things, I wanted to contact those who knew my husband and to learn something of the new India, he so longed to come and see.

Mere fulsome praise can be an empty compliment and sometimes when one senses all the things which must be done, one is bewildered by their magnitude.

India is attempting to develop a democracy on a scale never tried before and the national characteristic of individualism has to be linked with social conscience and team-work at all levels throughout the country. This is vitally needed. With her greatness in the example of Gandhiji and the quietly growing influence of Vinoba Bhave she has it within her to set a new pattern for the world. Courage there is, and it is wonderful to see many constructive developments going on and the service being given by men and woman determined to carry on their work for the nation with unflinching devotion. As a citizen of the world as well as a friend of both countries, I pray that the tension between India and Pakistan will soon diminish and friendship take its place. This means so much to all of us.

The absence of bitterness on both sides between India and Britain over the past and the freely given friendship is, I believe, the most creative episode of this generation.

I leave feeling the richness of all I have been given and the conviction has steadily grown in me of what an understanding working friendship for the same ideals of the freedom of human personality can mean, not only to both our countries, but to the world.

WOMEN, CLEVERER THAN MEN

Women are definitely not the weaker sex. This is asserted by Professor Ashley Montagu, of Rutgers University's new school for social research. He believes women are not only stronger and smarter but that the male is unable to recognise this chiefly because of his colossal ignorance.

Professor Montagu said "The female of the species is much more highly developed than the male."

SMT. KAMALA DEVI ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Indian delegate to the U. N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva said that the American decision not to ratify the covenants of the Human Rights Commission announced on April 7 "knocks the bottom out of the Commission's work."

"If the U. S. refused to ratify the covenants they will lose all significance," she said. "We very deeply regret that so important a country as the U. S. should raise these grave doubts in our minds."

She added: "We in India think that the idea of the Commission on Human Rights is one of the high water marks of the U. N. since its inception."

"India attaches very great importance to the Commission. Certainly, this statement will have very depressing effect on the general public and we would like to know if the U. S. delegation has any alternative concrete proposals with regard to the objective of this Commission."

M. B. E. FOR WOMAN DOCTOR

Dr. Dorothy Meiklejohn, of Leshau Ward, Kenya, so viciously attacked by Mau Mau terrorists that 165 stitches had to be made in her wounds, has been awarded the M. B. E. for her bravery on the night of the raid.

The raid took place while she and her husband were having supper. Seven Mau Mau gangsters broke into their home, and slashed them repeatedly, finally leaving them for dead.

Blood pouring from her face and arms, Dr. Meiklejohn forced herself into her car and drove to the nearest police post. When she reached Thompson's Falls, the nearest centre, she was so weak from loss of blood that she could not get out of the car.

She attracted attention by blowing on her hooter. She could only gasp out her name before she collapsed. Although the doctor recovered from the injuries, her husband subsequently died.

U. N. COMMISSION ON RACIALISM

Two United Nations Commissions are expected to begin functioning this month, both aiming to report to the eighth session of the Assembly on race policies of the South African Government.

They are (1) Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist in negotiations between South Africa, India and Pakistan in regard to the rights of the people of Indian origin in South Africa.

(2) Commission to study the racial situation—apartheid—in South Africa.

Both the Commissions were appointed by the Assembly on December 5 last as a result of the resolutions sponsored by the Asian-African group. The *apartheid* Commission consisting of M. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, M. Henri Laugier of France and Dr. Bellagarde of Haiti is expected to assemble in Geneva on April 20.

The Good Offices Commission on treatment of Indians in South Africa consists of M. Leo Mates of Yugoslavia, Mr. Jose Ribas of Cuba and Mr. Salah el-Din Tarazi of Syria.

The Assembly had left it to the discretion of the President Mr. Lester Pearson to name three individuals to the *apartheid* Commission and three countries to the Good Offices Commission.

"ANNAMALAI HALL"

A valuable amenity has been added to the public of Madras City with the opening of the "Annamalai Hall", the new buildings of the Tamil Isai Sangam at the Esplanade, by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari Chief Minister of Madras.

The occasion synchronised with the celebration of the Sangam's Tenth Annual Music Festival at the new premises.

This magnificent Hall, housing a large auditorium built at a cost of Rs. eight lakhs, and equipped with all modern amenities is named after the late Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, as a monument to the services rendered by him to the cause of Tamil Isai.

TURKISH MISSION'S IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

M. Haluk Saman, leader of the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation, told a Press Conference at Delhi on April 4, that the Delegation was deeply impressed with "the harmonious living of millions of people of different religions having different languages, and customs." They felt this had resulted from India's faith in secular democracy.

M. Saman said that after witnessing the working of Parliament and assemblies in India, the Delegation was convinced that freedom of thought expression and movement existed in the country. The Delegation was also impressed with "the vigour, with which your people are working to fulfil their tasks."

M. Saman claimed that all parties in his country had looked favourably upon the inclusion of Turkey in the NATO. "Today the interests of the Turkish Republic need that she should be a member of the NATO," he said. "Today you are following an independent policy. But tomorrow, or the day after, her benefit may lead India to become a member of the NATO."

TANJORE FINE ARTS EXHIBITION

A tribute to the artists of olden days was paid by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, inaugurating the fine Arts Exhibition at Tanjore on April 13. Their art, the Chief Minister added, was inspired by a spirit of "bhakti."

Referring to violators of sacred precincts of temples and public buildings which housed works of art, Rajaji said he had even an idea to devise some punishment for such people.

The Chief Minister also visited the Saraswathi Mahal, Art Gallery and the open air theatre.

Requesting the Chief Minister to declare the festival and exhibition open Mr. T. K. Palaniappan, the Collector, said that it had been organised to encourage and publicise the race of artists who once flourished under the patronage of the "rich and the regal" and who were now fast becoming extinct and to create in the minds of the public an aptitude for patronage of the fine arts.

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The Value of Hindu Philosophy in a Modern State*

BY SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Chief Minister, Madras

THE CLAIM

MANY earnest men from foreign lands have studied Hindu religious philosophy and some of them have shown a measure of understanding that is truly surprising when one remembers the great difference in religion and tradition between these scholars and their subject of study. In spite of their talents, this difference in milieu is a real and great handicap in the way of just appreciation. As for our own savants, the trouble has always been that one is apt to fail to see the wood for the trees. The chief aim of my present exposition will be to bring the civic aspect of Hindu philosophy into prominence. I claim that the philosophy of Hinduism is particularly suited to create and shape a conscience for the effective performance of those civic obligations without which there can be no progress in modern times. Secondly, I claim that no religious philosophy is so consistent with modern scientific knowledge as that which forms the common fundamental of the worship of the Almighty in India, and this is important as there can be no normality or psychological well-being with inconsistencies prevailing between religious practice and accepted knowledge. Last, but not least, I wish to emphasise that the catholicity that lies at the root of Hindu philosophy makes it specially suitable for creating conditions in the present-day world for ordered advance in the way of general happiness.

THE OPPORTUNITY

If it is thought that the history of civilisation in India has failed to prove

* Russel Memorial Lecture delivered at Patna College on May 11.

my proposition in respect of Hindu Philosophy and civic conscience, I may submit that the fault lies in the latter-day decline of devotion to that philosophy and not in the philosophy itself. The falling off in recent centuries in living devotion to the philosophy to which people have continued to give external allegiance was certainly due to political conditions which interrupted the natural link between creed and life. We have an opportunity now to test the validity of all the civic claims I have made for the Vedanta philosophy; for now, we have conditions and opportunities conducive to shape daily life on the basis of religious conviction.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

It is my firm belief that Vedanta as conceived and developed in ancient India is a faith particularly suitable for modern times. Indeed, it is my conviction that it is more consistent with the discipline and the knowledge that have come to stay in the world through science than most other religious philosophies and beliefs, and for that reason it is more suitable for wholehearted adoption and practice today than ever before.

Other religions are more or less based on fear—that is on the punishment that may be inflicted by a supreme authority. Some phases of Hindu religion that have survived Vedanta may seem to suffer from this common frailty of dependence on what may be called the postulate of monarchic rule. But it may be generally and truly stated that Hindu philosophy rests more on the rule of

law than on the authority of a Ruler, — on law as understood by natural philosophy, not authoritarian law enunciated by law-making bodies for execution by courts.

We read in Chapter IX of the Bhagavat Gita verses 4-10 that all beings abide in God but He stands apart from them; He is the origin and the support of beings; yet He stands apart from them; He uses Nature and creates again and again all this multitude of beings, keeping them completely dependent on Nature; It is a part of His scheme of sovereignty that Nature brings forth the moving and unmoving and in consequence of it, the world evolves. A study of the Upanishads will show that the universe is recognised therein as the result of a gradual unfolding of the creative power inherent in the primordial substance. It is a remarkable achievement of intellect and imagination—it would not be incorrect to call it inspiration—that the rule of law as known in science was anticipated in the Hindu scriptures. It would not be wrong even to claim that the philosophy of Hinduism anticipated the basic theories of biology and physics. The very approach to things that one can read in the Upanishads is a scientific approach. There is constant insistence on adherence to truth and investigation. Hindu faith does not rest on the unusual or the miraculous but is linked to unchangeable law. Religions running counter to the discipline of physical science and demanding compartmental loyalty can only lead to hypocrisy. My claim is that Hindu philosophy steers clear of this.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN ECONOMY

Just as Vedanta anticipated the basic ideas of science in respect of evolution and prepared the ground for harmonising religion with science, so also, the Hindu seers saw long ago that the profit-motive, the civic right of unrestricted competition was inconsistent with human progress. The Hindu scripture lays down in clear and emphatic terms the doctrine of work for the sake of society according to

capacity and not for profit. The Gita lays stress also on what is a necessary corollary of this, the equal dignity of every form of labour. It furnishes the motive power for the altruistic performance of work by elevating it to the level of religious worship and piety. This is what is known by the oft-repeated but I fear inadequately understood term Karma-Yoga. It is not for profit but as an offering to God that one is asked to work. If a man is devoted to his particular duties and performs them, he wins Beatitude. When a man performs his proper duty, he worships Him from whom the world issued and by whom all that we see is pervaded. It is better for one to do imperfectly the duties that fall to his lot than to do those of others perfectly. One should not abandon one's natural duty even if evils seem to adhere thereto. Every human activity involves some evil as fire carries smoke. He who works with mind detached and free from selfish longings is the real *sanyasi*. In these terms the Gita explains true renunciation.

The Gita thus supplies the spiritual foundation necessary for the new economy that is everywhere sought to be installed in the modern world in place of what has been found completely inadequate, namely, the motive of private profit. Yet these very texts which I have just now condemned and rendered into English have lent themselves in the hands of ignorant critics to the interpretation that the verses are an apology for the selfish preservation of privileges. Perversity and prejudice can convert elixir into poison.

REGULATED ECONOMY AND THE PART THAT RELIGION CAN PLAY IN IT

In modern conditions wherein costlier standards of living have come to stay and increased population has created very difficult problems, the common weal must have the dominant claim over the activities of every individual and people must govern themselves and live under a regulated economy. This regulation causes wide-spread and deeply felt pain. It hurts because it goes against the instinctive desire in the individual to be free. There-

fore regulation should be so designed as not completely to stifle individual liberty and initiative and the joy that flows therefrom. The pain of a regulated economy is due to the fact that the regulation comes from outside, imposed by an external authority. Properly designed and placed on a spiritual basis, a regulated economy need not be inconsistent with individual satisfaction and individual zeal. The restraints and habits of mind that are required to be developed for altruistic action must flow from faith and inner conviction. Community-effort is but the sum total of individual effort and it cannot be brought into being unless individuals work with zeal, deriving joy therefrom. Joy can only be in the individual because a corporation as such has no feelings. We should therefore find and furnish a compelling motive to the individual, a motive not of fear but of joy. I claim that Religion is a necessary and appropriate force for effective and just regulation. It is only a spiritual faith and force that can make men work and enable them to find pleasure in working for the common weal. And this is the very doctrine of life that forms the kernel of Hindu religious thought and was preached so long ago in the Gita.

There is hardly any one who now believes that the old scheme of life which gave prosperity to Europe in the nineteenth century has now any validity. Individual competition has to give place to regulated co-operative economy in varying degrees of pace in the several departments of life. This new economy not based on self-interest, but on something else, almost the opposite of it, calls for a spiritual and cultural basis contra-distinguished from a material selfish basis. Communism may talk of a materialist dialectic and claim success. But it is forgotten that revolution and misfortune and wide-spread trouble produce a state of mind which temporarily functions like spiritual faith. Where a new order of non-competitive economy has in any measure succeeded, it is due to the fact that what is equivalent to a spiritual upheaval resulted from widespread revolution, or war which enabled the

ruling out of the motive of selfishness. This was a good enough temporary substitute for religion. But it cannot last for all time.

ANTI-RELIGION—A SUICIDAL PROGRAMME

The prosperity that undoubtedly resulted in Europe from the economy of private enterprise and competition necessarily carried with it inequality of distribution. The very power of that economy was derived from difference as power is derived from a fall of water. Some people had to live in squalor, may be in the same country or may be elsewhere—the latter was easier wherever it was possible—in order that prosperity might be built up at a visible point. But now squalor is considered disgraceful, whether it be among certain sections of people in the same country or elsewhere, and it is considered criminal to be found building up one's wealth on other people's poverty. It is now the accepted doctrine of economic conduct that wealth should be produced without producing unhappiness anywhere. Inequality or unhappiness is no longer considered as inevitable or tolerable. Economic competition, obvious or concealed, is now considered to be only another edition of the law of the jungle. It is not considered decent to leave the Devil to take the hindmost. It is no longer considered right to look upon individual effort and individual life as a private and sacred enclosure into which no trespass is to be allowed. In the interest of society as a whole these trespasses into private affairs are now deemed not only permissible but obligatory.

Unfortunately, however, those who happened by the accidents of history to lead movements for the demolition of old economic ideas and for the establishment of the all-prevailing dominance of the public weal and for the re-organisation of society on a non-competitive economy, were tempted by an immediate strategic advantage. They saw that discontent must be produced in order to help a violent revolution and Religion fostered contentment. They worked therefore for the demolition of religion, treating it as an opiate and as a part of the old economy. The protagonists of equality

thus demolished or sought to demolish—let us hope unsuccessfully—the spiritual basis for human conduct, the very thing required to make conduct unselfish and directed towards the public weal rather than to one's own individual advantage. Religion acted as a consolation and helped men and women to bear misfortunes; it helped men in particular to tolerate inequality; and since inequalities must go, they said we must remove everything that helps men to bear with it. They therefore concluded that religion must go, if not by force then by other subtle pressures. Thus what could support the new economy of unselfishness, indeed what alone could support and furnish power to the new idea of unselfish production of wealth, it was decided to destroy. This was suicidal and an unnecessary addition to the programme of economic revolution, and though for the moment its adverse effect was concealed by the prevailing spiritual power of a revolutionary upheaval, the substitute could not last for all time. It was not the intention, nor was it possible for men and women to live for ever in a state of war and on the emotional ecstasy of antagonism. So, the new economy of production of wealth had in course of time to be supported by all sorts of make-shift compromises to give some sense of personal advantage. What obviously supported the old economy of work, *viz.*, the profit-motive, came to be re-permitted in concealed ways. The law of selfishness cannot altogether be substituted by force nor can unselfishness be maintained by the mere vigilance of the State. The supervising power has a tendency to deteriorate and get less and less powerful, and compromises by way of concealed personal advantage have to be provided in place of the old frank acceptance of the rule of personal profit. But these make-shifts cannot serve the purpose so well immediately, or be self-sustaining for long-term purposes.

NOT AN OPIATE BUT A DRIVING FORCE AND REGULATOR

The truth is that society, though the concept is grammatically singular in number, is physically and psychologically

plural in reality. It is not one living organism. It is made up of many individuals, who can never get rid of individuality and what flows from it. We may develop altruism by several means but we can never wholly do away with the individual. If this is accepted as correct, how then shall we keep the individual fully alive, in spirit and in action, and yet make individual activity truly subservient to the general interest. The claim I put forward is that the Gita code of conduct which is organically connected with the philosophy of the Upanishads gives the answer. The secret lies in the substitution of the compulsion and vigilance of the State by a religion that develops an inner law more vigilant than the eye of spies and more effective than the arm of external law.

THE POSITIVE DOCTRINE OF ALL WAYS LEADING TO THE ONE

Now I come to a feature of Hinduism, that is unique among all the religions of the world, ancient and modern, *viz.*, its specific and positive doctrine of catholicity. The Hindu tradition prescribes that it is not open to any Hindu whatever the name and mental image of the Supreme Being he may use for his own devotional exercises, to deny the Gods that others worship. He can praise the name and raise the image of his choice to the highest but he cannot deny the divinity or the truth of the God of other denominations. This unshaken tradition of Hinduism makes it possible for pious fervour to operate on conscience and spirit without disturbing the peace of community life, in a composite world. It makes Hindu religious thought as modern in suitability as it is ancient in conception and development. This unique and all-important aspect of Hinduism is emphasized in several important and oft-quoted verses in Chapters IV, VII and IX of the Gita. Forms of worship may differ, but all lead to God. In whatsoever way men approach God, the Gita emphatically lays down that God blesses them. Whatever the path that men may take in worship, it assures us they reach God. The Gita teaching

of course referred to the unit of goal of all forms of worship that were prevalent at the time. But the doctrine is stated in such wide terms and so broadbased on essential principle as to be applicable to every variety of religion. When one contemplates how the Hindu seers so clearly and so long ago saw the truth that justifies this catholicity, one cannot but be lost in wonderment and reverent admiration. This, what I may call, the brightest jewel in our inheritance is a teaching of the highest value for peace and progress and for the world's happiness and spiritual advancement.

SANYAS

All this may be accepted, but the sceptic may ask, 'What about renunciation? What about Karma? How can Hinduism which preaches Sanyas and Fatalism be suitable for an age wherein hard work and the due performance of civic duties are so essential?' I shall seek to deal with these queries. First let me state definitely that it is not the teaching of Vedanta that men should renounce activities and become anchorites. Vedanta demands renunciation but the renunciation is different from what is referred to in the argument against the suitability of Hinduism for the modern citizen. It is renunciation of false values; renunciation of attachment that the Vedanta wants in its votaries. What is preached in the Vedanta is enlightened and true evaluation of essentials and a spirit of detachment. And this is explained and reiterated in the Gita quite as if this very query raised now had specifically been put to Sri Krishna. *Buddhi* and *asanga* are insisted on, not *sanyas*. Indeed, the performance of tasks with detachment is the lesson that is dinned into the reader in every chapter of the Bhagavat Gita. It is not necessary to quote passages. There is no room whatsoever for doubt on this head. The Upanishads and the Gita want men to get rid of the impediment to true social co-operation, *viz.*, the desire for pleasure and pleasurable sensations. It is this desire that leads to error, anger, confusion of

mind and pain and grief. The ideal citizen should perform his tasks and duties with detachment. His activities should be in the general interest, not for selfish gain. This is the great teaching of the Gita that has justly made it as famous in modern times as it is classic in the Vedantic tradition. Out of the Upanishad teaching and its doctrine of the ultimate reality, the modern citizen can derive a fearlessness of spirit which, added to the detachment and rigorous execution of duties preached by the Gita, could make of every citizen a veritable giant in the service of society. The resolution and fearlessness that characterised Mahatma Gandhi's long strenuous and dedicated life were inspired by this philosophy and this religion. This single illustration from recent history is perhaps more convincing than hours of argument.

KARMA

Coming to *Karma*, the doctrine that makes Hinduism what it is, it is nothing but the great law of cause and effect in things spiritual. You cannot in the material or the psychological world get rid of the effects of what you do. And as the body is not the whole of the matter, but there is an immortal Spirit dwelling in and making the human being what he is, death does not end the chain of sequence. The working agent, the Spirit in the body, does not and cannot die with the body. He shapes himself moment by moment by his activities, mental or physical. At death he does not disappear into nothing but enters a new tenement which he has built for himself by his life-activities. This is Hinduism. You may accept it or reject it and search for other theories. But if accepted, the Hindu theory of Karma gives the highest sense of responsibility to the citizen. No explanation or theory in regard to the ultimate nature and cause of things can be made proof against all logical difficulties. Our Knowledge is necessarily finite and we cannot discover and resolve the mysteries of infinity. On the assumption of the soul as the basis of personality, it can be claimed that no theory can be

formulated more in harmony with known laws of nature than the Hindu doctrine of Karma. It is the application in the moral sphere of the law of conservation of energy as established by the physicists. Indeed both the physicist's law and the doctrine of Karma may be looked upon as parts of the same universal law.

FATALISM

It is wrong to think of *Karma* in terms of what may be facetiously called its western halfbrother, Fatalism. Destiny as taught in Vedanta does not involve an unscientific attitude towards natural laws or a loss of faith in human effort, which is Fatalism. Karma is just the unalterable law of effect following cause. Newton put it in clear terms with respect to physical momentum. The Vedanta puts it down for the motions of the soul. Is it possible to do a thing and escape its consequences? One cannot expect something to happen for which something else appropriate to produce that result must have been done. Given a certain thought or act, the natural result cannot be escaped.

This is *Karma*. It is not well for citizens to see this truth, to accept it as binding doctrine and perform their tasks and duties and avoid the prohibitions, not in fear of the Magistrate, but remembering this inescapable law.

CHARTER OF FREEDOM

The law of *Karma* does not do away with free will and the value of initiative or endeavour. On the contrary, it is the truest charter of freedom and initiative. The thoughts you entertain, the words you choose to speak, the acts you do, the restraints you exercise on yourself, all these produce their full fruit, no effort goes for nought. If no one can be robbed of the fruits of his labour, is it not true freedom? There cannot be any better freedom in the world for man than that his future is entirely in his hands. The very meaning of the word "*Karma*" is work. It is the law of work that is laid down in Vedanta, not a doctrine of negation of human effort. *Vidhi* is law, not blind Fate.

GRACE

Need I say anything more to demonstrate that the doctrine of *Karma* is as far from Fatalism as poles are asunder. Man evolves himself according to his thoughts and actions and even death does not terminate the opportunity for remedy and progress. This is Hinduism. Pious Christians and Vaishnavites may here feel a doubt. If *Karma* is inescapable and sin must go through what it has unfortunately earned, is there no room then for Grace in Hinduism? Yes, there is. Grace comes through penitence and penitence is human effort and victorious effort. Grace is not the caprice of the Lord. When penitence has truly been achieved by the soul, it so completely changes the heart of the penitent that he attributes it to the caprice of the Lord. But that is only one of the beauties of the joy of penitence. It does not alter the law of *Karma*. Penitence is an act that has its full reward like any other act. Penitence is the victory of the soul in its battle against evil and the conquering soul feels the victory contemporaneously with the battle itself. It is a rapturous combination of the pain of battle and the joy of victory. Sin is worked out in *Karma* through true sorrow and suffering undergone by the sinner. There is no contradiction between the doctrines of Grace and of *Karma*.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN RACE

A question may be asked here. Supposing one accepts the doctrine of re-birth, what good is it however to be told that something will be fruitful in a future birth wherein we shall have no memories of the past? How can it foster or further individual initiative or endeavour? Why should I labour or renounce or retrench my present joy for one who will come to exist in another birth with whom you identify me, but which identity is not felt by me now or will be felt then? Thus may the pleasure-seeker pose his difficulty. The answer is this.

Friend, do you not derive a joy in doing it

effects or your own advantage? The joy of right conduct is inherent in human nature. All recorded and unrecorded experience confirms this for every one, big and small. Members of a family or of a village intuitively work for one another and derive pleasure therefrom. Though they may obtain no personal advantage from it, they are immensely happy when they do it. People are not indifferent to the good of their village or their country. The joy of right conduct and of mutual helpfulness is as real as the universal force of attraction that the men of science call by the name of gravitation. The Great and Universal One has become many and the many seek to become one again and are attracted to one another. The original unity re-asserts itself in the shape of the several forces that attract things and beings to one another. Men sacrifice themselves for the good of the State, for the safety of future citizens and for their happiness in the coming generations. In all this, men and women derive a joy which is instinctive and not argued from hopes or expectations of present or future rewards for such conduct. We do not know who will enjoy the shade of the trees we plant on the road-side. Still we do plant them. In regulating our conduct for re-birth, we follow a similar process that contributes to peopling the future world with good men and women. Posterity is *ourselves* according to Hinduism. Let us do what we can to raise a good race. Let us be good and where we have sinned, let us repent. Let us plant our souls in the good earth and be born again as good men, be it even without memories, which if we had we could not bear the painful weight thereof. Let us be re-born purified and better than we are. If we all try thus, the world will ultimately be a world full of good men. This is the plan of Vedanta, the eugenics of souls, a scientific plan to bring into existence a better breed of men. Have we not laboured to improve the breed of poultry

and cattle? Have we not succeeded wonderfully therein? Let us improve the breed of men, bodies as well as souls. The hens do not remember their previous state. What does it matter? The cows do not recognise the progress that animal husbandry has brought to the race of cows. What does it matter if we shall not be able to remember who we were? Indeed, it is better we do not remember. The object of right-living is to a Vedantin two-fold—one's own true happiness is attained thereby and one also contributes to a better world through re-birth. From simple rural co-operation to patriotism and from patriotism to Vedanta, it is an integrated whole in widening circles. Co-operation improves the village. Patriotism produces a better country-wide state of things. Vedanta will bring into being a better world.

CONCLUSION

Summarising what I have attempted to explain, religions that contradict the conclusions of science cannot but degenerate into formalism and hypocrisy and Hindu philosophy can claim to be peculiarly in harmony with the latest knowledge. Secondly, if human happiness and progress depend on doing away with selfishness and have to be based on a new economy of social co-operation, Hindu philosophy furnishes a faith and a culture which are peculiarly fitted for such reorganisation and which can support and strengthen the compulsory laws of a democratic State. Thirdly, Hindu philosophy has raised catholicity and tolerance to the level of positive and cardinal religious duty. Hindu philosophy has thus potentialities to make the greatest positive contribution to civilisation. It has no quarrel whatsoever with the physicist or the geologist, and yet it offers a firm spiritual foundation for a new co-operative and catholic polity for the governance of the world. It is not an opiate but can be a powerful driving force and automatic regulator.

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE*

RECOLLECTIONS OF A RETIRED CIVILIAN

BY MR. A. G. GALLETTI, I. C. S., (RD.)

:o:

THE Andhra Province sprang full-fledged from my head like Athene from the head of Zeus, when I was Assistant Collector, Cocanada, in 1901. It was just common sense, prophecy, but it takes a long time to drive common sense into the heads of other, prejudiced, people. I was learning Telugu. I wanted to get a good command of the language. So I invited the elite of Cocanada to my bungalow to teach me Telugu by conversation. The topics I chose were my programmes, religious and political. My religious programme fell flat. Superstition is the strongest of prejudices. My political programme succeeded because I flattered my audience. It was, briefly, India is ripe for self-government. We should aim at an All-India Federal Republic. India and the Native States would be thrown into the meltingpot and India would be re-divided into national states, each with one language, the language of that nation. I began with the Madras Presidency and adjacent Native States. This territory would provide four separate nations. The Telugus had 18 millions in the Presidency, 6 in Hyderabad, one in Mysore. Madras fell into the old Telugu area, but it had been Tamilised. We did not want Madras. There were more Uriyas than Telugus in N. Ganjam. We did not want N. Ganjam. It should go to Orissa.

I called the new state Andhra, the old name, to remind the Telugus that

* Proposed by me in 1901, materialised in 1953, exactly as I proposed it.—A. G. G.

the Empire of Vijayanagaram was an Andhra Empire. I pointed out to them that they were once a great, an imperial nation. Then they were playing second fiddle to the Tamils. They had to send their sons to Madras to be educated. The Tamils had all the leaders of the bar and most of the fat jobs. The Andhra State would have a university of its own at Rajahmundry. For the capital my own choice was Bezwada, and, when I was sub-collector then, I bought for Government an extensive piece of land on the west of the growing town to be reserved for the office buildings of the Andhra State. *Others favoured Waltair.*

The Telugus had not realised they were a nation. There was no word for patriotism in Telugu. I supplied a Sanskrit compound. I also undertook to give the Telugus, who spoke different dialects and wrote in bad Sanskrit a common literary language. I achieved this in Galletti's Telugu Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1935. For 30 years I carried on propaganda for this literary language and had many followers in this sphere. The Andhra Province movement spread like wild-fire from the beginning. The Congress adopted it. I proposed the fourfold division of the Presidency in the Madras Government's (my) despatch on the Morley Reforms.

Nehru adopted part of my programme, abolishing the Native States. He did not go on to the re-division of India. I suppose he thought the vast upheaval involved unwarranted. Then in his despair Sriramulu, a fanatic, died for my idea, and the Andhra Province has, contrary to my expectations, materialised in half a century.

I claim no particular merit. My idea was just common sense,

Philosophy: Eastern and Western

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THE pageant of history goes on—and the thoughts of men, said the poet, are widened with the process of the suns. Knowledge, it is said, grows from more to more. But growth in philosophy is not the same as the increase of knowledge in the sciences. In spite of the advances in science and technology it can not be truthfully said that we have a greater degree of philosophical insight than the great thinkers of the past. Some even hold that it may be less mature and adequate than in the times of Buddha and Plato and Sankara. For in the sciences there have been definite additions to knowledge; in philosophy as in the arts of poetry and painting and sculpture it is not addition but growth. "The ideas are the same today as yesterday, but we approach them with a new shade, with a new fineness."* For progress in science and knowledge has not eclipsed the greatness of ancient philosophical thought any more than it has eclipsed the greatness of Homer or Shakespeare or Kalidasa in poetry or the art of Phidias and the paintings of Ajanta, and the carved figures of Ellora. "No greater men are now than ever were" said Emerson, "nor can all the science, art, religion, and philosophy of the nineteenth century avail to educate greater men than Plutarch's heroes, three or four and twenty centuries ago."

The history of philosophy as taught in our universities starts with the Greeks and ends with modern European philosophy. Yet philosophical speculations in Greece cannot be traced earlier than the 6th century B.C. starting with Thales—the first Greek thinker known to history; while with India it was not the dawn of philosophy as in Greece but what has been fitly described as "the full glow of philosophic day." Strangely enough little account is taken of the great philosophical heritage of the Hindus embodied in the Sacred Upanishads or the contributions of China and Japan and Persia in the quest after philosophic

truths—a quest at once profound and far reaching. It is a heritage which has moulded our thoughts since the dawn of history and no review of world philosophy can be complete which ignores the basic contributions of other countries and other times than our own. The fact that Socrates was born in Greece and the writers of the Upanishads in India may be important from the point of view of their own geography but is irrelevant, so far as the history of human knowledge is concerned.* The addition they have made to human knowledge is neither Greek nor Indian but belongs to the whole of humanity.

At a time when the whole world is being knit together by the advance of modern thought, when scientists, and economists and politicians are becoming more and more international-minded it is in the fitness of things that the deeper philosophical ideas that underlie their activities should be broadbased on a right understanding of the culture and civilization of the different countries of the world. This stupendous task is undertaken and accomplished with commendable competence in the two volumes published under the auspices of the Government of India.

* * *

The idea of a review of world philosophy from the dawn of history down to this day was first mooted by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the first Education Minister of Free India in 1948 at a conference of Indian educationists. It took practical shape in the statement he made during the budget discussions that year when he said:

"In our college histories of philosophy, Indian philosophy is relegated to an obscure corner. In order to

* Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Introduction.

† HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. Eastern and Western: Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. Editorial Board under the Chairmanship of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Editors: A. R. Wadia, D. M. Dutta and Humayun Kabir (Secretary.) In two volumes. Pages 617 and 461. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, Museum Street, London.

* Dr. Radhakrishnan's Preface,

get a true perspective of philosophy, it is necessary that a student should know of the great contributions of India, along with the developments which took place in Greece and modern Europe. I propose to appoint a committee of eminent philosophers, with Dr. Radhakrishnan as Chairman, to write a history in which due and proper emphasis will be given to these facts."

In pursuance of this statement a committee was appointed consisting of the Chairman and Professors A. R. Wadia, D. M. Dutta, and Humayun Kabir. This committee served as the editorial Board for the production of a book which would include in its scope the development of philosophy in all parts of the world with special emphasis on the development of philosophy in India. The Editors were fortunate in obtaining the ready and willing co-operation of a team of sixty scholars, Indian and foreign who have written on subjects of their special study. It would be out of place in this short review to attempt an elaborate study or discussion of the many learned theses that form the subject matter of the two ponderous volumes before us. It is not proposed to examine or estimate critically even either the philosophy or opinions expressed by the expounders of the various systems of thought. Such a critical or close study is beyond the scope of this review which is merely concerned to give the reader an idea of the variety and comprehensiveness of the topics handled by scholars in every way entitled to speak with authority on their respective subjects. But we may say without hesitation that this co-operative effort of scholars drawn from different countries has resulted in a book of absorbing interest and importance, that it is perhaps the first attempt at a systematic interpretation of the teachings of the master minds of East and West, and that for all the variety of theses and treatment, there is an underlying unity of purpose in the whole undertaking which cannot be missed by the student of contemporary thought.

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Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sets the tone and pattern of the book in an introduction which, for the sweep and range of ideas, is a marvel of condensation. His survey of world philosophy is marked by a breadth of view and a synthesis of thought quite in keeping with the infinite variety of systems and ideologies reflected in the pages that follow. A beautiful couplet from a Persian poet gives the clue to his approach to the problems of philosophy. It says that the first and last pages of the Book of Existence are lost and philosophy is the quest for the recovery of those lost pages.

"Some 3000 years have passed in this quest but the lost pages have not been recovered nor is there any hope they will ever be recovered. The history of philosophy is the record of this quest. Though it does not tell us of the attainment of the goal, it has unfolded to us a fascinating story of voyage and enquiry."

Each of the volumes contains four parts. The first volume opens with "The Background of Indian Thought" dealing with the preVedic elements in Indian culture followed by chapters on the Philosophy of the Upanishads, the Epics and the Bhagavata Purana. "The Traditional Schools of Indian Philosophy" covers Jaina and Buddhist philosophy, the Vedanta and the Saiva and Sakta Schools. "Other Developments of Indian Thought" includes chapters on Mathematics and other Sciences, Indian Aesthetics, Islamic Thought and Sikh philosophy. The last part is devoted to "Chinese and Japanese Thought."

The second volume begins with an account of "Ancient Thought: Middle East and Greece" with chapters on Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and Jewish philosophy. Part II deals with "Medieval Thought" in which St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas figure. This is followed by chapters on Sufism and Christian Mysticism. The last two parts deal with the various phases of "Modern European Philosophy" and Contemporary Western Philosophy."

and the volume ends with an appropriate concluding survey of Science and Philosophy from the pen of the Chairman of the Editorial Board.

* * *

The writers have passed in review the results of over thirty centuries of uninterrupted philosophical endeavour reflecting the hopes and disappointments, the anxieties and efforts concentrated in the pursuit of philosophy. What is it all for? Has philosophy played an important role in historical reality? Has it been the guiding power in human history or has it only been the luxury of the leisured few, "a parenthesis", as Radhakrishnan finely says, "in people's lives?" If political leaders and scientific inventors have decided the fate of nations "has philosophy been an echo dying away in the mountains?" The very history of philosophy gives an emphatic "no" to these questions.

"Philosophy is an essential aid to life. We are planted in a world where we are required to think and reflect on the nature of the cosmos, the meaning of right and wrong, the destiny of the human individual. It is a law of man's intellectual consciousness to search for the truth of things and strive to live in the spirit of truth."

* * *

Systems of philosophy can be understood only in relation to their time and place. As Radhakrishnan says finely and truly "all thought is a dialogue with circumstance."

"It is not absolute and final. It is embedded in the stream of history like any other perishable product of the ages. In systems of philosophy we do not get the reality of the world but a vision of reality reflected in the living and therefore changing mirror of man's mind. Intellect does not work in abstraction. It works in the service and with the material of the entire human being."

The changes brought about in the objective conditions of living by science and technology have subjected the human individual to a process of transformation more radical than ever before. These have shattered all past ideals of order and produced men who have abandoned all inwardness who stagger through a world of accident from moment to moment, who are driven by elemental, irrational overpowering fanatisms to mechanical action. This great betrayal of the human spirit, says Radhakrishnan, will lead to the ultimate destruction of humanity.

* * *

What then is the remedy? And where does philosophy come in to help steer our course through sanity and strive "to be human in this most inhuman of all ages"?

"It is the task of philosophy not merely to reflect the spirit of the age in which we live, but to lead it forward. Its function is creative, to state the values, to set the goals, to point the direction, and to lead to new paths. It must inspire us with the faith to sustain the new world, to produce the men who subordinate national, racial and religious divisions to the ideal of humanity. Philosophy is nothing if not universal in its scope and spirit."

THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN

BY

DR. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A., PH.D.

"Prof. Radhakrishnan presents to the Western World in his own inimitable language all that is truest, noblest and best in Hindu religion and thought."

CONTENTS: The Heart of Hinduism, The Hindu Idea of God, The Hindu Dharma, Islam and Indian Thought, Hindu Thought and Christian Doctrine, Buddhism, and Indian Philosophy.

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

AT a recent meeting in Madura, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa is stated to have observed that "Gandhiji's ideals were already in practice in Russia to a certain extent" and that "though the Russian ideal was not Sarvodaya in the fullest sense of the term, the social order in Russia today very much approximated in certain respects to Gandhian ideals." We are sorry to find that during the last few months the learned Professor, consciously or unconsciously, has been instrumental in creating great confusion of thought in the public mind about the twin ideologies of Gandhism and communism. It is, therefore, no longer desirable to allow his statements and utterances to go unchallenged.

It is, undoubtedly, true that we are all dissatisfied with the Capitalist way of thinking; Capitalism as a creed and economic philosophy is now dead as dodo. We are also fully conscious of the fact that the prevailing economic conditions in India are far from satisfactory and that the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic inequalities need be tackled with a sense of urgency. Leaders of different political parties are gradually realising the inevitability of Gandhian approach to most of our economic maladies and the dynamic philosophy of Sarvodaya is being increasingly appreciated with a sense of realism and practical commonsense. But to suggest even vaguely that Sarvodaya and Marxism are similar in certain respects and that Gandhism is being followed in Russia is to render great disservice both to Sarvodaya and Marxism. The two ideologies are, indeed, poles asunder and their basic principles are almost diametrically opposed to each other. Shri K. G. Mashruwala the well-known authority on Gandhian thought, took special pains to write a series of articles in the *Harijan* to strongly repudiate that suggestion that "Gandhism is Communism minus violence." These articles have since been published in the form of a booklet entitled "Gandhi and Marx." "Gandhism and Marxism", observes Shri

Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike." It is, certainly, a matter for regret that Prof. Kumarappa appears to be, of late, suffering from such a colour-blindness.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been repeatedly telling us that the "two ideologies are irreconcilable and the differences between them are fundamental." On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, Vinobaji remarked: "Two persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference; one breathed, the other did not." Acharya Vinoba Bhave has stated several times that "ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength." According to him, there is greater similarity between Marxism and Capitalism because both attach great importance to material needs and physical welfare rather than to moral standards and spiritual well-being. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization" and stated: "In so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me." Gandhiji always detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher 'Standard of Life' rather than merely a high standard of living.

The fact of the matter is that Sarvodaya and Marxism are basically dissimilar and any attempt to reconcile them is bound to prove futile and even hazardous. To Gandhiji, spiritual values were of the essence in all aspects of human existence; to the Marxists, religion and philosophy are the "opium of the poor." "The first word of religion", said Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." The Marxists regard Mind as "a derivative of Matter"; To them the conception of a Soul and spiritual values are

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SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

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more or less, fantastic non-sense and betray bourgeois mentality. Moreover, Gandhiji attached great importance to the means and methods and never believed in the theory of ends justifying the means. While the Mahatma insisted on Truth and Non-violence even for the achievement of Indian Swaraj, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth" for the achievement of his objectives. "Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit", wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean." Mahatmaji was convinced that permanent good could never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Writing in the *Harijan* as late as 1946, Gandhiji observed:

"The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power."

While Gandhiji firmly believed in "the essential goodness of human nature" and preached the change of hearts rather than the breaking of heads, Stalin was of the definite view that "you cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul."

There is one more essential difference between Sarvodaya and Marxism. To Gandhiji, democracy was the very basis of a non-violent and Sarvodaya society. Even centralisation of political and economic power was detrimental to the healthy growth of a Sarvodaya State. But to the Marxists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow" (Lenin). Trotsky also endorsed this view by naming democracy "as a wretched and worthless masquerade". In his book, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION* Lenin made

it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety." While Gandhiji advocated the establishment of a decentralised socio-economic order based on cottage industrialism and village community life, the Marxists visualise a "dictatorship of the proletariat" founded on a highly centralised state and a mechanised, industrialised society. The ultimate aim of Marxism is said to be the establishment of a classless society in which the State shall "wither away". But as Prof. Aldous Huxley observed in his *ENDS AND MEANS* such a highly centralised State "may be smashed by war or over-turned by revolution from below! there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither away."

It is no use labouring the point further. It is clear as day light that the two ideologies of Sarvodaya and Marxism are fundamentally different from each other. Any attempt to create confusion of thought at a time when the two modes of thinking are engaged in a Titanic struggle for survival in India and outside is, to say the least, un-Gandhian. We would, therefore, earnestly appeal to Prof. Kumarappa not to allow his personality to be misused by any political group for its own ulterior motives.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, of the United States, sounded a call for world peace in his speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors meeting in Washington, D.C. In his address, which outlined the path to world peace, he declared: "We welcome every honest effort for peace." And he proposed as the first step an "honorable armistice in Korea." A high point in the speech was his advocacy of "international control of atomic energy" coupled with a proposal for "limitation of armaments." The President declared: "that no people on earth—as a people—to be an enemy." And he called for "serving needs not fears of the world."

The Coronation of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II.

[On June 2nd, 1953, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II goes from Buckingham Palace to her Coronation in Westminster Abbey, with all the splendid pageantry and solemn ritual of a ceremony which is rooted in the ancient traditions of British history. In the magnificent setting of Westminster Abbey, where for 900 years the Kings and Queens of England have been crowned, the ancient Coronation ceremony takes place before a great gathering of all the representatives of Church and State. The Coronation is in fact a series of ceremonies, lasting for over three hours, of which the Crowning itself is the climax.]

HER Majesty the Queen was born in London on 21st April, 1926, first child of the Duke and Duchess of York. Five weeks later she was christened in the chapel of Buckingham Palace. The baby was given the names of Elizabeth Alexandra Mary.

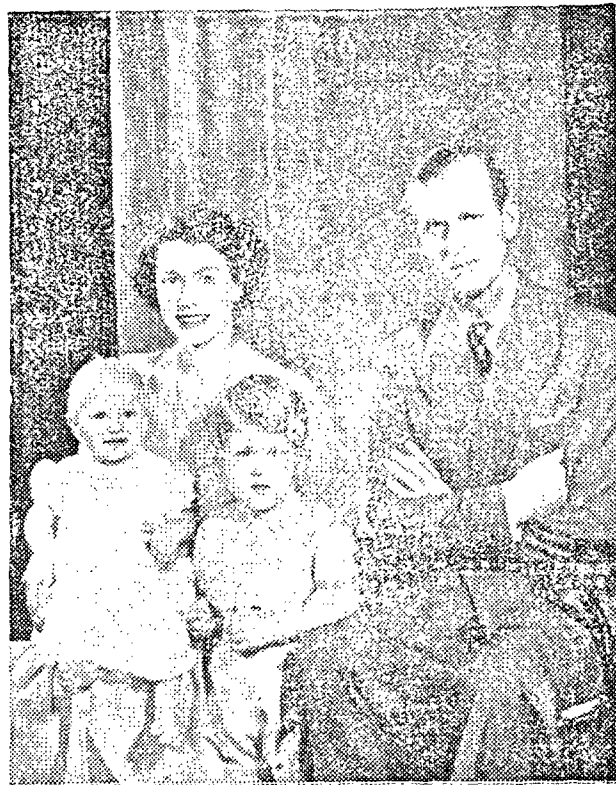
Her early years were spent in London, at 145 Piccadilly, the house taken by her parents shortly after her birth, at the White Lodge in Richmond Park, and at the country homes of her grandparents, King George V and Queen Mary, and the Earl and Countess of Strathmore. When she was six the Duke and Duchess of York took over for their own country home the Royal Lodge in Windsor Great Park.

Princess Elizabeth and her sister Princess Margaret, born four years later, were educated at home by a Scots lady, Miss Marion Crawford (now Mrs. George

Buthlay), a graduate of Edinburgh University. After the Duke of York had succeeded the throne as King George VI, Princess Elizabeth, now heiress presumptive, began to study constitutional history and law, taking special courses under the late Sir Henry Marten, Provost of Eton—then Mr. Henry Marten and Vice-Provost.

FIRST BROADCAST

As she became older the Princess began to take part in public life. She was 14 when she made her first broadcast—in October 1940, in a message given during the Children's Hour to the children of Britain and the Commonwealth. Early in 1942 Princess Elizabeth was appointed Colonel of the Grenadier Guards,* and on



THE ROYAL FAMILY

This photograph, taken in 1935, before the Queen's accession to the Throne, shows the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, with their two children, Prince Charles and Princess Anne.

* Her Majesty resigned the Colonelcy on becoming Queen, when she succeeded the late King as Colonel-in-Chief of all the Guards Regiments and the Corps of Royal Engineers, Captain-General of

her 16th birthday she carried out her first public engagement when she inspected the Regiment. The evening before she had given her first official audience, when she received Colonel Prescott, and was presented with a diamond regimental brooch as a birthday gift from officers and men.

Thereafter she was increasingly in the public eye, carrying out official duties. A music-lover and a piano student, at the age of 17 she accepted the Presidency of the Royal College of Music, and paid her first official visit to the College in the autumn of 1943 when she attended a concert and presented prize medals. She began to accompany the King and Queen on many of their tours within the Kingdom and undertook various other offices with their attendant responsibilities. She became President of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children in Hackney, and made her first public speech on the occasion of her inauguration; as President of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, she made her first official visit to the City of London alone when she attended the Society's Diamond Jubilee meeting at the Mansion House. Shortly after her 18th birthday she was appointed a Counsellor of State during King George VI's absence on a tour of Italian battlefields, and with her mother Queen Elizabeth she signed the commission authorising the Royal Assent to new statutes.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

When not engaged in public duties or study, Princess Elizabeth enjoyed the normal recreations of girls of her age. She has a keen appreciation of art and of music. She has always been fond of outdoor activities and is a great lover of horses. She has been an excellent horsewoman since she was a little girl, and with Princess Margaret would often accompany her father on his rides through Windsor Great Park. A keen

the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Honourable Artillery Company. She had already as Princess become Colonel-in-Chief of the 16/5 Lancers and The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. As Queen she is head of the Navy, Army and Air Force of the United Kingdom.

swimmer, she learned life-saving and at the age of 13 won the Children's Challenge Shield at the Bath Club. Amateur theatricals were another of the little Princesses' favourite recreations, and the Christmas show at Windsor became an annual event, with Princess Elizabeth frequently in the part of Principal Boy.

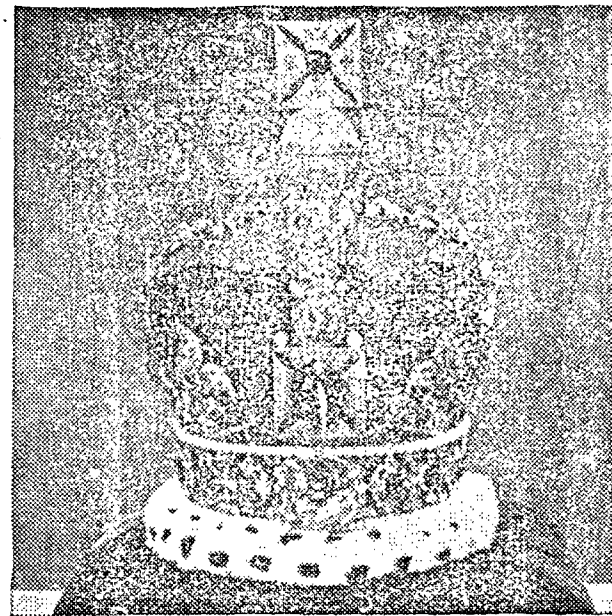
Like other girls the Princess took a part in Youth activities; Princess Elizabeth was all when she enrolled as a Girl Guide. She became Patrol Leader of the 1st Buckingham Palace Guide Company, and later became a Sea Ranger. She wore her uniform when at the age of 16 she registered with other 16-year-olds during the war, giving the Girl Guides as her sphere of pre-service training.

By the special wish of the King, Princess Elizabeth was not called up at the age of 18 for national service. She herself, however, was most anxious to join the ATS; eventually she persuaded her father to give his permission, and was gazetted as 2nd Subaltern in March 1945. She took a course at the ATS No. 1 Mechanical Transport Training Centre, and passed out as a fully qualified driver. By the end of the war she had reached the rank of Junior Commander. On the formation of the Women's Royal Army Corps in February, 1949, she became an Honorary Senior Controller, and later Honorary Brigadier. (She resigned on becoming Queen.)

In July 1944 the King granted Princess Elizabeth armorial bearings consisting of the Royal Arms 'differenced by a label of cadency'; she flew her personal standard for the first time when she launched a battleship, HMS *Vanguard* during the winter of that year. The first naval vessel to wear the Princess's own standard was the cruiser *Superb* in which Her Royal Highness crossed to Belfast 15 months later to launch the new aircraft-carrier HMS *Eagle*, and to make a tour of Northern Ireland.

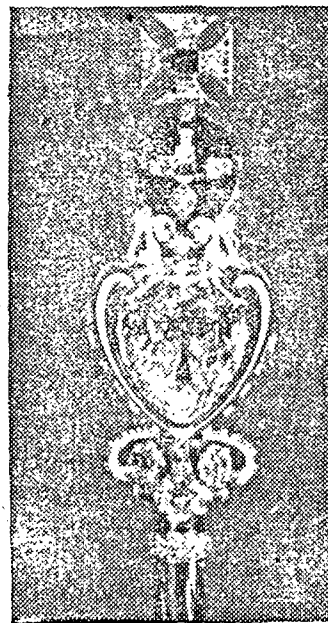
PROMISE OF SERVICE

From the end of the war onwards Princess Elizabeth's public engagements claimed more and more of her time,



CORONATION—THE CROWN JEWELS

The Crown Jewels, which have played an essential part in the Coronation of British Sovereigns for nearly a thousand years, are one of the most magnificent and historic collection of jewels in existence. This picture shows the Imperial State Crown worn by the Sovereign on ceremonial occasions, such as the State Opening of Parliament. The existing Crown was made for Queen Victoria in 1838 and embodies many historical gems—the Black Prince's Ruby, sapphire from the ring of Edward the Confessor, Queen Elizabeth's earrings and many other ancient gems. In front is the Second Star of Africa, weighing $309\frac{1}{4}$ carats cut from the Great Cullinan Diamond. In all, the Crown contains 2,783 diamonds, 277 pearls, 17 sapphires, 11 emeralds and 5 rubies.



This picture shows the head of the Royal Sceptre with the Cross,



This picture shows the head of the Mace carried by the Sergeant at Arms.

Many societies asked her patronage or presidentship, and she travelled on public occasions throughout the British Isles. Scotland had known her well from her childhood when so many of her holidays were spent there; in 1944 she made her first public appearance alone in Scotland, when, during a tour with her father and mother, she received purses in Edinburgh for the YMCA.

In the summer of 1946 she attended the National Eisteddfod of Wales at Mountain Ash, and was initiated into the Welsh Gorsedd of Bards. The next year she accompanied her parents and sister on the South African tour. It was during this tour that the Princess celebrated her 21st birthday, when from Capetown she made a broadcast address to the Commonwealth, and in a "solemn act of dedication" said:

"I declare before you all that my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong. But I shall not have the strength to carry out this resolution alone unless you join in it with me as I now invite you to do. I know that your support will be unfailingly given.
"God help me to make good my vow, and God bless all of you who are willing to share it with me."

Shortly after the return of the Royal Family from South Africa, the King announced that he had given his consent to the engagement of Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten. Lieutenant Mountbatten was born Prince Philip of Greece, son of Prince Andrew, but renounced his royal title when he became a British subject. His great-grandfather was King Christian IX of Denmark; and on his mother's side he is a great-great-grandson of Queen Victoria. He and Princess Elizabeth had known each other for many years, for his boyhood was spent in Britain at school and at the home of his uncle, Lord Mountbatten.

HER WEDDING

The Royal wedding took place on 20th November, 1947. On its eve the bridegroom was created Duke of Edinburgh and granted the style of "His Royal Highness". Prince Charles, heir apparent

to the throne, was born the next year and his sister, Princess Anne, in 1950.

Since her first journey overseas, in 1947, Her Majesty has paid various official visits abroad. With the Duke of Edinburgh she has paid formal visits to France, Greece and Italy, and she already knows many parts of the Commonwealth. On her 1947 South African tour she carried out engagements on her own account, including the opening of the new gravestone which bears her name, at East London. She visited Malta several times while her husband was stationed there, and in the autumn of 1951 she and the Duke won the hearts of the people of Canada on their tour of that country.

When the late King's illness made it inadvisable for him to carry out his projected visit to Australia and New Zealand, his daughter took his place, and it was on the first stage of this journey, in Kenya, that Princess Elizabeth received the sad tidings of her father's death. She returned to England a sorrowing Queen.

ACCESSION DECLARATION

In making the customary Accession Declaration, Her Majesty again dedicated herself to the service of the Commonwealth of which she had become the head:

"I shall always work, as my father did throughout his reign, to uphold constitutional Government and to advance the happiness and prosperity of my peoples, spread as they are all the world over."

"I know that in my resolve to follow his shining example of service and devotion I shall be inspired by the loyalty and affection of those Queen I have been called to be, and by the whose counsel of their elected parliaments.

"I pray that God will help me to discharge worthily this heavy task that has been laid upon me so early in my life."

Last Christmas, in a broadcast message to the Commonwealth, Queen Elizabeth said:

"At my Coronation next June I shall dedicate myself anew to your service. . . ."

"I want to ask you all, whatever your religion may be, to pray for me on that day—to pray that God may give me wisdom and strength to carry out the solemn promises I shall be making, and that I may faithfully serve Him, and you, all the days of my life."

INDO-CHINA FIGHTS ON

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

THE awakening of the coloured races is the greatest challenge of the 20th century. The sixteen hundred million-stray coloured peoples in different parts of the world are to-day "demanding the right to order their own lives in their own way."

The awakening of the coloured—black and brown—humanity in the Post-War era is not surprising in the least. The last War finally pricked the balloon of the white man's superiority over the non-white. As a former U.S.A. Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, remarks, "the nature of the defeats suffered by the Western nations in 1942 dealt a final blow to the concept of white supremacy. Gone was the face-value of the white man and the non-white is no longer prepared to submit to the former's yoke. The former, on the other hand, is determined not to relinquish the 'whiteman's burden.'" (1) This determination and counter-determination lie at the root of the troubles in Indo-China, Malaya, and Africa.

Indo-China in South-East Asia consisting of the Colony of Cochin China and the protectorates of Annam, Cambodia, Tonking and Laos was a part of the French Colonial Empire till 1946. She is so even to-day, in fact, if not in name. Indo-China passed under Japanese control after the collapse of France in last war and was virtually a Japanese Colony by September, 1940. France failed to defend herself against Hitler's hordes in Europe and her empire in South-East Asia against invaders from the east.

Indo-China was over-run by Japan. But the former was in no mood to accept a yellow master for the white. Popular resistance against the 'liberators' grew in intensity every day. The Viet Minh (Independence League) was organised by the amalgamation of the Anamite Knomitang, the New Anam and the Communist Parties, the Youth League, the Peasants' Association and the National Worker's Association. The manifesto of the party said, "Against international fascism and for the liberty of all nations the Viet Minh ranges

itself on the side of the democratic forces in its struggle for survival." All-out Japanese efforts to crush it notwithstanding, the Viet Minh struck deeper and deeper roots and went from strength to strength. Japan next applied 'divide et impera' and sought to create a division in the ranks of the Indo-Chinese by creating the Empire of Viet Nam. She set up a Puppet State in Anam on March 11, 1945. It was re-named Viet Nam on June 30.

Immediately after the Capitulation of Japan in August, 1945, the Anamites rose in armed revolt and declared Viet Nam to be a republic. The 'Emperor' abdicated and went over to the Republic. When the Allied troops landed on September 13, the writ of the Republic of Viet Nam ran from Anam to Cochin-China. The French stayed a come-back and tried to re-establish their stranglehold over Indo-China. But a new Indo-China had been born in the crucibles of the war. The country pulsed with a new life and would not accept foreign rule. A struggle was thus inevitable and a "struggle without end" it has proved to be.

The Viet Minh under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh is the spearhead of the anti-French, anti-imperialist struggle for liberation in Indo-China. France has missed the bus in Indo-China. She had some chance of reaching a settlement immediately after the war. The communist element within the Viet Minh was not then all-powerful. The nationalist groups were ready to lead the country towards democratic self-Government and they could do it. But France suppressed them and the nationalist element in despair went underground or joined the ranks of the Communists. In consequence when the 'independent' state of Viet Nam was ushered into existence under French Tutelage with Bao Dai as the Emperor, there was little talent to call on.

The war in Indo-China has cost France more than 30,000 soldiers killed and missing about 60,000 wounded. Viet Nam has suffered an additional 30,000 killed and wounded. The Viet Minh casualties, according to French official sources, are

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220,000 killed. The French further claim to have taken 230,000 prisoners of war. The war however is no nearer the end than when it started. More than one-fourth of the French military budget for 1953 is ear-marked for Indo-China. About twelve divisions of French troops—France has another twelve divisions in Europe—and one air craft carrier—France has but two are tied down in Indo-China. About sixteen squadrons of France's air craft—She has forty-five squadrons in all—are in combat in Indo-China and on duty in North Africa.

The war in Indo-China has thus reduced French strength in Europe. There is no end to the war in sight. Like the Americans in Korea the French

are inextricably caught in Korea. The situation is a desperate one. Half of Indo-China has already fallen to Viet Minh. The French still hold Hanoi, the Red River Delta, a few ports on the coast, Saigon and certain parts of Laos and Cambodia.

The conflict in Indo-China, is, in the last analysis a struggle for human emancipation. France should read the writing on the wall and bow down to the inevitable. It is a travesty of truth—a misreading of history—to blame the communists or the Soviet Union for the unrest and war in Indo-China. The submerged humanity is on the march and will know no rest till it has reached the journey's end.

Turkey and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

BY SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

MR. ADNAN MENDERES, the Turkish Prime Minister, is reported to have stated during his visit to SHAPE, in Paris that about ninety-five per cent of the Turkish armed forces are placed at the disposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Now every Turk seems to realize that the future war will be a life or death struggle for the Turkish nation. Hence in accordance with this realization it has been decided by the Turkish Government to throw the entire Turkish war potential into the war, with the exception of a very small percentage kept for home defence. It appears from the history that in the past the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires acted as a link between East and West and checked the Russian advance towards the South. Now the Turkish Republic also appears to perform again this dual historic mission.

Turkey, along with Greece, was admitted to full membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization about a year ago. According to the Ankara correspondent of the *Times* the opportuneness of Turkish integration into the NATO is amply justified by the part Turkey has already played within the framework of that organization. There is no doubt

about the fact that the Truman Doctrine has enabled Turkey to fulfil her obligations efficiently as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is reported that Turkey has of late shown great political activity in the Balkans and the Middle East, besides the part she is playing as a NATO Member. Here one is naturally tempted to ask whether the affairs in the Balkans and the Middle East have any connection with that Organization. It seems to us that matters in these two regions are closely associated with the object of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, though it is true that there is no official connection between NATO and affairs in the Balkans and the Middle East.

A few weeks back the Tripartite Treaty of friendship between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia was signed in Ankara. According to a political commentator this Treaty "is a most encouraging Victory of common sense over prejudice". It is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia have not forgotten the hard lessons of the second world war. Hence in order to build up a common defence against a prospective aggressor

they have agreed finally to pool their available resources. It is expected that soon the conversations of the General Staffs of the three signatory countries will take place. After completion of the General Staffs' conversations it will be possible for Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia to put in the field some thirty to forty divisions for the purpose of building up a common defence. Here it may be recalled that about twelve years ago Mr. Eden pleaded for the formation of a common front against the German attack which seemed impending in the spring of 1941, when he paid visits to Ankara, Belgrade and Athens. But his suggestion could not be carried out at that time. Hence it seems to us that the recently concluded Tripartite Treaty of Friendship between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia will cause undoubtedly great personal satisfaction to Mr. Eden and bring into life the plan sponsored by him about twelve years ago.

The Military correspondents state that it is not easy to build up the organization of the defence of the Middle East. Yet the Turkish diplomats expect that the difficulties obstructing the way to this organization may finally be removed with tact and perseverance. A Turkish political commentator observes "if common sense led a former Member of the Cominform, like Yugoslavia, to co-operate with two members of NATO, like Turkey and Greece, there is no reason why it should not convince the Arab countries of the necessity of uniting themselves with Turkey and their Western friends for the common defence of the Middle East against the deadly peril that menaces it".

A report received from Washington states that the total value of American assistance which will be rendered to Turkey up to the end of June, 1953 amounts to about £ 350 million, of which sixty per cent consists of direct military aid and war equipment and the rest appears to come under Marshall aid and Mutual Security Agency. It seems to us that the major portion of the aid rendered under the last two heads is also closely connected with military objects

like road construction or the financial assistance given with a view to enabling Turkey to bear the burden of keeping her army on a war footing. In the years 1945 and 1946 South-Eastern Europe including Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania went under Soviet domination. Besides attempts were made to foment civil war in Greece and to subject Turkey to an intensive war of nerves in order to extend Soviet domination over these two countries. Though in the winter of 1944 Britain tried successfully to rescue Greece from Communist domination, yet she failed to fulfil her obligations in the Balkans upto the end of the year 1946 in view of her heavy commitments in other parts of the world. When this fact was brought to the notice of the American Government, immediate action was taken to enable the Balkan States to check the Soviet advance. On the 12th March 1947 President Truman made his historic communication to the American Congress, which came to be known as the Truman Doctrine.

As a result of this doctrine Greece has been saved from communist domination and Turkey has been able to devote her energies to the reorganization of her armed forces with a view to resisting Soviet pressure. It is expected that the Turkish Army, after completion of its reorganization, will comprise twenty-two infantry divisions supported by six armoured brigades and three cavalry divisions. It is learnt that in comparison with the size of the Turkish Army the Turkish Air Force is very small, though some jet fighters have been given to Turkey and Turkish pilots are being trained to their use in support of land forces. As regards the Turkish Navy it has been pointed out that this navy is very small in proportion to the extent of the Turkish Coasts. But with the exception of a very small percentage kept for the defence of the Turkish Coasts, practically the entire Turkish navy has been placed under Mediterranean Command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

MOTIVE FOR MURDER: A SHORT STORY

BY IVY RUSSELL

ON the face of things it was just a clear case of murder, with the culprit already to confess and take her punishment. There on the kitchen floor lay Mr. Percy Attwood, who until this evening had collected the rents in Hamburg Mews; and there in a chair, white-faced but calm, sat Mary Cobbett. The revolver with which the man had been shot lay on the table.

"I did it," said Mrs. Cobbett, in a cracked little voice. "He asked for the rent, and there just isn't any money in the house. I think my brain must have snapped, or something. Anyway, that's what happened."

But to Inspector Sedgely there was something unsatisfactory about the whole affair. He knew the Cobbetts by sight, and he couldn't reconcile the gentle, long-suffering Mary Cobbett with the idea of murder. To see her sitting there now, her body distorted with her fifth pregnancy, quietly telling him that she had shot the rent-collector—no, the whole thing was fantastic! He glanced from her to her husband, sitting rigidly on a chair in the corner. The Inspector had always detested Bill Cobbett, since the day he had caught him kicking a small dog that had stolen his supper. Bill Cobbett, six feet three and with the muscles of an ox, was now the colour of cream cheese, and oozing with beads of sweat.

"What do you know about the affair, Mr. Cobbett?" asked the Inspector.

"Me? Nothing! Nothing at all!" answered Bill Cobbett, shakily. "I just came in and this is what I found. Poor Mary hasn't been well just lately. They—they won't punish her too much, will they?"

The Inspector turned from him with loathing.

"Then I'm afraid I shall have to ask you to come with me to the police-station, Mrs. Cobbett," he said, sadly. "Yes, constable! You may remove the body now."

Mrs. Cobbett arose, and turned to her husband.

"You'll look after the children till I come back, won't you, Bill?" she asked. Her voice was pathetic, and her eyes dwelt on his face with a long, lingering look.

"Yes, darling!" he replied, quickly. "Of course, darling!"

No, it just didn't make sense! For Mary Cobbett to look at her husband as though he were a god was no new thing, but for Bill Cobbett to call her "darling" twice in one speech—this was beyond the wildest stretch of imagination.

At the police station the woman was formally charged with murder, and led away to await her fate, while Inspector Sedgely went back to his flat for supper. But he could not eat. He felt wretched and unhappy. For the first time in his life he felt sure that he had arrested the wrong person for a crime, and the thought seemed to stick in his gullet and choke him. Of course, they wouldn't hang Mary Cobbett—the fact that she had four children under six years old and another on the way was enough to reduce her sentence to a merely nominal term of imprisonment; but it worried the Inspector to think that she should be punished at all, when he was sure she was not guilty.

All next day the uneasy feeling was with him, despite the fact that common-sense was pulling in the opposite direction. The Superintendent could see no reason to doubt Mary Cobbett, who still persisted in her story that she had fired the fatal shot. The experts from Scotland Yard could find no finger-prints on the gun save those of the accused. And yet,—

At ten o'clock that evening the Inspector decided to go out for a walk, in the hope that the cool night air might make him feel sleepy. Acting on impulse he made his way back to Hamburg Mews, and stood in a doorway gazing at the house where the Cobbetts lived. There was a light burning in the front room downstairs, but as the Inspector watched it was extinguished, and a few seconds later the front door opened and Bill Cobbett appeared. He

looked furtively this way and that, and then began to walk rapidly along the road. Inspector Sedgely followed.

For nearly a mile the game of follow-my-leader continued, as Bill Cobbett made his way by a devious route to a spot in another part of the town. At last he stopped at a house, and knocked softly at the door. The Inspector barely had time to creep up behind the hedge ere the door opened, a woman's voice whispered, "Billy! I never thought you'd make it!" Come in and then the door closed again.

The Inspector's vigil lasted a full hour. He watched till the light in the dining-room was extinguished at last, and another light was switched on in the bedroom. Finally that, too, went out, and the house lay in darkness. Then the Inspector went happily home to bed. He felt that at last he was beginning to see the end of his problems.

Next day he called at the police station and asked to see Mary Cobbett.

"Mrs. Cobbett," he asked, "If your husband were not looking after your children, who would you wish to do the job for you?"

She looked startled.

"Has anything happened to Bill?" she asked, breathlessly.

"No," said the Inspector, "but he slept last night at Bella Attwood's house, and I don't think your children should be left alone all night."

Mary Cobbett sank back on the bench, and for a moment the Inspector thought she was going to faint. But she pulled herself together. She turned to him with an ashen face, and in her eyes the look of gentleness had gone, and the gleam of jealousy which replaced it was terrible to behold.

"I'm going to tell you about the murder," she said. "Bill did it. I found him with the gun in his hand. He said Percy Attwood attacked him. Later he suggested that I should say I had done it, because he knew they wouldn't hang me. That's all!"

"Thank you!" said, Inspector Sedgely, gently. "But why didn't you tell us all this yesterday, Mrs. Cobbett?"

The jealousy faded, and anguish took its place.

"Because yesterday—I thought he was worth dying for!"

And then the tears flowed fast.

GENTLEMEN, THE KING!

BY SRI T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.,

TIME was when people fervently believed that there was something divine in the person of the King who was equated with God. It was not for common mortals to question his actions. This conception of the divine character of the Monarchy had its parallel in our own country, where the king was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. Yet, after all, the ruler, being human, naturally has his own idiosyncracies and foibles, and, in modern days, we can freely point our finger at a sovereign without running the risk of the accusation of *lese majeste*. Particularly, the misuse of the enormous plenitude of power vested in the hands of the king illustrates the truth of Lord Acton's

maxim that all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. There is a lamentable record of cruelty, craft and unscrupulousness shown by several kings of the past exaggerated in intensity because of the high pinnacle of their position.

Dionysius I of Syracuse was said to be so suspicious that he had a chamber built near his state prison with cunning galleries for conducting sound so that he might overhear the talk of his prisoners. He had a big trench round his bedroom with a draw-bridge whose working he himself controlled. He put a barber to death for boasting that he was the one person who could apply daily a razor to the throat of the tyrant. After

this, he made his daughters shave him. But, in course of time, he would not trust even them. Antiochus Ephiphanes, King of Syria, was so self-indulgent and passionate that he was often called the 'Mad man.' The Roman Emperor, Claudius, was discovered hidden behind a curtain of the palace when the soldiers made him emperor. He was an old, bald-headed and drunken creature who was a puppet of his women and freedmen. He was also addicted to gambling. When he married his third wife, Messalina, she was fifteen and he forty-nine. Finally, Claudius was poisoned with a dish of mushrooms by another wife Agrippina. Emperor Nero murdered his own mother. The gruesome circumstances were as follows. Nero fell under the sway of Poppaea Sabina, wife of his friend, Otho. She persuaded him to kill his mother, Agrippina. Nero tried to drown his mother in a ship which was cleverly built to be capsized. But, she saved herself by swimming. Nero then sent soldiers who strangled her in her house. The emperor had a passion for the theatre and appeared on the stage. He was also guilty of debaucheries with freedmen like Caligula and Tiberius. Nero further is said to have been fond of being surrounded by nude women and dancing courtesans; but his most outstanding vice was cruelty. He massacred all suspects. He had Christians covered with skins of beasts and torn by dogs.

Some were burnt alive to serve as illuminations for the emperor's gardens. The Romans accused him, falsely perhaps, of starting a huge fire in Rome. It is commonly said that he fiddled when Rome burnt; but, in his time, there was no fiddle, and he was also miles away when Rome was burning. Emperor Elagabalus, who ruled between Caracalla and Severus, was guilty of orgies of cruelty and vice. He gave important posts to eunuchs, charioteers and hair-dressers. Emperor Domitian had a foul private life. Yet, when Cornelia, the mother-superior of the Vestals, broke her vow of chastity, he had her buried alive, according to ancient custom. Before killing his victims, he used to play with them. Fearful of assassina-

tion, he lined the corridor of his palace with mirrors so that no murderer could surprise him. But, this contrivance did not save him from being murdered with the connivance of his queen. In one of the triumphs of Emperor Trajan, 10,000 animals were killed and 10,000 gladiators fought. The festival lasted 125 days. Emperor Commodus entered the arena and killed gladiators and wild beasts, issuing special bulletins about his exploits.

He called himself Hercules and dressed himself in the skins of a lion.

William I of England succeeded as a bastard to the Duchy of Normandy. He was then only a boy of eight and had to face the challenge of feudal anarchy at its worst. But, he was strong enough to trample it down. His son, William II, was in his character, in the words of Belloc 'unique in the line of English kings in his ardent mixture of vicious, degrading corruption and extreme promptitude of vigour and judgment.' He was strong enough to crush any discontent springing from his wickedness.

The fierce rage of the Plantagenets of England is notorious. One of them, Richard I, declared 'From the Devil we come and to the Devil we will return.' Henry II was terrible in his anger. His harsh and cracked voice and his flashing, grey eyes filled men with awe. It is said that his son, Richard I, blinded five French knights and sent them to his enemy. Philip Augustus king of France. The unfortunate knights were guided to their king by one knight whose right eye was spared for this purpose. Philip Augustus, in his turn, ordered five English knights to be treated in the same way, saying that he should not be thought inferior to the king of England in prowess and valour. John, brother of Richard I had the same sensuality as his father and allowed it free reign. He was also cruel. Once suspecting his wife, Isabella of Angouleme, he murdered a courtier whom he suspected to be her paramour and hung his body over her bed. Each Plantagenet fought with his own father.

A brother of Henry III of Germany was dissatisfied with a particular dish, and ordered his cook to be tortured to death with all the refinement of cruelty. When the cook's wife complained about this to Henry III, that king was so much amused that he laughed uproariously. The first Abbasid Khalif began his reign by imprisoning all living males of the Ommayad dynasty which he had supplanted. They were then executed, and their bodies were placed under a leathern carpet. The Khalif and his courtiers dined on this carpet. Timur, the Mongol king, buried 2000 prisoners in a mound and covered it with bricks at Saazawar. He massacred 10,000 prisoners at Delhi. He buried alive 4000 soldiers at Sivas. He built 20 towers of skulls in Syria. He played polo with a human head for a ball.

Wenceslas of Bohemia, son of King Charles IV, was a gross drunkard. According to stories, he used to run about the streets smashing statues and beating passers-by. His favourite amusement was to watch the executioner at his work and superintend personally the infliction of cruel punishments. Once, he punished a maid who had broken a dish by roasting her on a spit. Sigismund, another king of Bohemia who later became Emperor, was inordinately vain. Once, he committed a mistake when speaking in Latin. When the error was pointed out, he declared that, being a sovereign, he was above grammar.

Henry IV of England came to the throne, overthrowing his cousin, Richard II, whom he later caused to be murdered. Leprosy and epilepsy to which he fell a victim and which broke down his health were regarded by many as a judgment for his evil actions. The Visconti of Milan exhibited fiendish cruelty. One of them issued an order that all criminals should be tortured for forty days before the execution. Another forced a Papal envoy to eat in his presence the Papal Bull of excommunication he had brought along with its cord and zeal. Charles

V of Spain spent a large part of his life in ambitious wars. Although only 58 years of age he became already an old man. His hands, knees and legs were crippled and he had to support himself by means of a crutch. His son, Philip II, a short man with thin legs, narrow chests and the shrinking, timid air of an habitual invalid was a religious bigot. Once, one of his Protestant victims asked him 'How can you thus look on and allow me to be burned?' The king replied 'I would carry the wood to burn my own son, were he as wicked as you.' Philip II is accused of murdering his son and heir, Don Carlos, on the charge of a guilty passion between him and his step-mother. Schiller has constructed a romantic tragedy on the basis of this story. Johnson however denies the correctness of this story. PERIODS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, Vol. IV, p. 282). It seems to be established that Carlos was violent and turbulent from his childhood. It is said that he found that the shoes made by his shoe-maker did not fit well, and so he forced him to eat strips of the shoes. He was perhaps insane, and seems to have died in prison. Anyway, Philip II, was cruel. When he tried to suppress the revolt of the Dutch, he set up a tribunal called the Council of Blood to deal with the prisoners. One judge in this was accustomed to make cruel jokes at the expense of the accused. Another would fall asleep in his seat and, when aroused would automatically shout 'Sentenced to the Gallows.' One noble was taken to Spain and executed secretly there. This was represented to him as an act of mercy, for it avoided the humiliation of a public execution. In this reign of terror, so many fled from the Netherlands that a decree had to be issued threatening death and forfeiture of property to all who fled. When news was carried to Philip II of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, he is said to have burst into laughter. This was the only time he laughed in his life.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION

After his Enlightenment and as the head of a vast and influential order of monks, Siddhartha recollected his renunciation of worldly life in the following moving words :

'Now I, brethren before my enlightenment, when I was not yet a perfected Buddha, but was a Bodhisattva, being myself still of nature to be born again.—I sought after things that are of nature to be reborn. Being myself of nature to decay, being subject to disease and death, being myself subject to sorrow and to the impurities, I sought after things of like nature.

'Then there came to me the thought: "Why do I...thus search after things of like nature?... What if I were to search after the untainted, unsurpassed, perfect security, which is Nibbana?"

'Then I, brethren, some time after this, when I was a young lad, a black-haired stripling, endowed with happy youth, in the first flush of manhood, against my mother's and my father's wish, who lamented with tearful eyes, I had the hair of head and face shaved off, I donned the saffron robes, and I went forth from my home to the homeless life.*

THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN

The Greeks of the City States spared no efforts to cultivate their mind and body. Their aim was individual excellence but they never forgot their duty to the State—which alone could safeguard the fruits of their labours. Thus the great teacher, Pythagoras when he visited the Greek city of Taormina in Sicily, gave an address at the Greek temple on the hill in which he said :

Listen, my children, to what the State should be to the good citizen. It is more than child or friend. The State is the father and mother of all, is the wife of the husband and the husband of the wife. The family is good, and good is the joy of the man in wife and in son. But greater is the State, which is the Protector of all, without which the home would be ravaged and destroyed. Dear to the good man is the honor of the woman who bore him, dear the honor of the wife whose children cling to his knee; but dearer should be the honor of the State that keeps safe the wife and the child. It is the State from which comes all that makes your life prosperous, and gives you beauty and safety. Within the State are built up the Arts, which make the difference between the barbarian and the man. If the brave man dies gladly for the hearthstone, far more gladly should he die for the State.

*Some Sayings of the Buddha. Translated by F. L. Woodward.

PROGRESS

"All men plume themselves on the improvement of Society," says Emerson, "and no man improves."

Society never advances. It recedes as fast on one side as it gains on the other. It undergoes continual changes; it is barbarous, it is civilized, it is Christianized, it is rich, it is scientific; but this change is not amelioration. For everything that is given, something is taken. Society acquires new arts, and loses old instincts. What a contrast between the well-clad, reading, writing, thinking American, with a watch, a pencil, and a bill of exchange in his pocket, and the naked New-Zealander, whose property is a club, a spear, a mat, and an undivided twentieth of a shed to sleep under! But compare the health of two men, and you shall see that the white man has lost this aboriginal strength. If the traveller tell us truly, strike the savage with a broad axe, and in a day or two the flesh shall unite and heal as if you struck the blow into soft pitch, and the same blow shall send the white to his grave.

The civilized man has built a coach, but has lost the use of his feet. He is supported on crutches, but lacks so much support of muscle. He has a fine Geneva watch, but he fails of the skill to tell the hour by the sun. A Greenwich nautical almanac he has, and so being sure of the information when he wants it, the man in the street does not know a star in the sky. The solstice he does not observe; the equinox he knows as little; and the whole bright calendar of the year is without a dial in his mind. His note-books impair his memory; his libraries overload his wit; the insurance office increases the number of accidents; and it may be a question whether machinery does not encumber; whether we have not lost by refinement some energy, by a Christianity entrenched in establishments and forms, some vigour of wild virtue. For every Stoic was a Stoic; but in Christendom where is the Christian?

A WHISTLER STORY

When Whistler had finished a portrait of a well-known celebrity, he asked him whether he liked it.

"No, I can't say I do, Mr. Whistler, and you must really admit it's a bad work of art."

"Yes," replied the artist, looking at his sitter through his monocle, "but then you must admit that you are a bad work of nature."

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Mr. Dulles in Delhi

MR. John Foster Dulles, U. S. Secretary of State, arrived in Delhi on May 20, in his tour of Middle Eastern countries. India occupies a pivotal position in the Middle East and it was the Secretary's desire to contact Prime Minister Nehru to discuss with him the international situation with special reference to Asia. This was also in fulfilment of an earlier declaration. On August 27 last year Mr. Dulles said in course of one of his electioneering speeches at Buffalo (New York): "They (non-Western and non-white people) observe that since 1945 our Secretaries of State have spent nearly 500 days on 19 trips to Europe to confer with Western European leaders. But during this period no Secretary of State has set foot in an Asian soil." On arrival Mr. Dulles greeted Indian journalists with expressions of friendship and respect for India "the largest democracy in the world with roots deep in a rich cultural past." His theme, like the theme of most other statesmen of the day is Peace, and he said: "I know that India and the United States have one common desire, that is to see peace established in the world, the kind of peace and security that will be just, and will permit the legitimate hopes and aspirations of our peoples to be realised."

This desire for peace is professed not by American statesmen only. The Soviet Radio is loud in its professions of peace and the British Prime Minister goes a step further and suggests a meeting of the leaders of the Great Powers. But this natural desire for peace is strangely coupled with suspicion of others' intentions. Fear and suspicion stand in the way of the union of hearts and who can resist the warning voice against those who cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace"?

But the situation is not without its relieving features. If the spirit of President Eisenhower's historic "The Peace we seek" speech should prevail we can yet look forward to a "hopeful

spring" again. The President made it plain that "every gun that is made every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed."

The message has evidently gone home and the announcement of the Bermuda meeting of the Big Three may well pave the way for the more important Conference of Powers including Russia which may yet discover ways and means for a final settlement of international disputes and the winning of the Peace that is eluding our grasp.

Parliament's Privileges

An episode which had led to a state of strained relationship between the two Houses of Parliament was happily brought to a close by the Prime Minister's statement on May 6. The facts of the case are as follows:

The Council of States, on May 1, directed Sri C. C. Biswas, Leader of the Council, not to be present in the House of the People when the House discussed the motion for breach of privileges in regard to certain remarks made by him in the Council on April 29. The direction followed a privilege motion moved by Sri B. C. Ghose, P.S.P., in regard to a motion in the House of the People by Sri Thakurdas Bhargava. Sri Bhargava had contended that Sri Biswas had cast, a reflection on the Speaker, and he should be asked to be present in the House when the motion was taken up.

The remarks of Sri Biswas to which objection was taken were made by him while intervening in the Council on a procedural debate about the Indian Income-Tax Amendment Bill. On May 1, Sri Biswas walked out of the House of the People when the House was discussing the remarks of the Chairman of the Council of States about the privilege motion. The Chairman had said the remarks of Sri Biswas in the Council had cast no slur on the Speaker, or any one.

It was left to the Prime Minister to clarify the entire position and to end the controversy. Mr. Nehru, in his statement explained the constitutional position, the authority of either House as well as that of the Speaker and the Chairman and pointed out that each House had full authority to regulate its own procedure within the limits of the Constitution. Neither House, by itself, constituted Parliament but the two together formed the Parliament of India.

JUNE 1953]

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Five Year Plan at Work

What may be called a Progress Report of the working of the Five Year Plan during the last two years was presented to Parliament by the Planning Minister Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda. The review covers a wide field of activity recording a fair measure of progress in the sphere of agriculture, irrigation and power, industry, transport and communications, social services and public co-operation. The Plan, as we all know, is a joint national enterprise in which the Centre and the States are partners, "united in a common purpose and working with agreed policies in different fields of national development." There is evident satisfaction that so far the Plan has worked smoothly and without a hitch.

The Report of the two years' operation of the Plan is modestly described as "a preliminary document" to be followed subsequently by a number of special studies by the Planning Commission on different aspects of its programme.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, in his Introduction to the Report cautiously observes that although the Commission has obtained considerable data concerning the progress of individual schemes, "a clear enough picture" will take some time as the Financial year 1952-53 has just expired.

Inasmuch as a large number of schemes included in the Five-Year Plan are of a long-term nature, the actual physical achievements during the first two years cannot indicate the entire tempo of development works undertaken.

This is generally applicable in the case of agricultural programmes and more particularly, in the case of multi-purpose irrigation and power projects.

The total expenditure of the Plan during the first two years, we are told, amounted to Rs. 585 crores, as against the planned outlay for the entire period, of Rs. 2,069 crores. Thus over 70 per cent. of the expenditure has still to be incurred during the remaining three years. During the period, the Central assistance to the State Governments amounted to Rs. 71.7 crores.

Progress in the different sectors of the Plan has been indicated in the various chapters of the report. Here are a few highlights of progress in terms of physical achievements.

Picture of Progress at a Glance

Additional area irrigated by major projects 1.42 million acres.

New Power generated 315,000 kwts.
Increase in the production of agricultural crops (1951-52):

Jute 1.4 million bales; Cotton 3.9 lakh bales; Sugarcane 0.3 million tons; Foodgrains 11.5 lakh tons.

Increase in agricultural acreage (Khariff cereals—(1952-53) 6 million acres.

Locomotives Produced (Chittaranjan Works) 58.
Railway Coaches manufactured (1951-52) 643.

Railway Wagons manufactured (April 1951 to December 1952) 8,000.

Components of Locomotives Produced at Chittaranjan (Position in January 1953) 70 per cent.

Additional Coastal Shipping tonnage acquired 77,000 tons.

Ships built at the Vizag Shipyard six.

New Roads (National Highways and strategic roads) constructed 380 miles.

Existing roads improved 1,050 miles.

New Bridges (Large) constructed 17.

IMPORTANT STATE INDUSTRIES WHICH WENT INTO PRODUCTION

Sindri Fertiliser Factory.
Chittaranjan Locomotive Works.
Indian Telephone Factory.
Indian Rare Earths Ltd.
New Mint Alipore.
Machine Tool Prototype Factory.
Ambarnath (Defence Industry) Factory.

THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES RECORDED INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

Cotton Textiles.
Cement.
Iron and Steel.
Paper and Paper Boards.
Sewing Machines.
Bicycles.
Rayon and Jute Goods.

NEW PROGRAMMES LAUNCHED

Fifty-five Community Projects started in October 1952.
Comprehensive National Extension Service.
Scheme covering 120,000 villages formulated.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this:
A modern brick school in more than 30 cities.
It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals:
It is some fifty miles of concrete highway.

We pay for a single fighter plane with half million bushels of wheat.

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

—President Eisenhower.

Lord Erskine

Lord Erskine whose death at the comparatively early age of 58 was reported the other day was perhaps the youngest and the most popular of the Governors of Madras. He was barely 39 when he assumed offices as Governor of Madras in 1934 at the time of Lord Willingdon's Viceroyalty and his term came to an end in 1940 when Lord Linlithgow was Viceroy of India. His was a period of great constitutional changes in the country, but his Parliamentary experience helped him tide over the situation—always critical—with comparative ease. He brought to bear upon every crisis the fruits of wide knowledge and sound judgment of affairs. It was during his regime that Congress accepted office and it was a time of extreme uncertainty in politics. Lord Erskine, as "I.D." said, in the *Hindustan Times*, had to work "with a non-Congress Ministry first, with a Congress Ministry next, and with official advisers last, and during all these phases he distinguished himself as an ideal constitutional Governor. But never was he happier than when the Congress was in office, and more particularly when Mr. Rajagopalachari was by his side. Their mutual esteem was one of the brightest memories of his days in India."

Shanmukham Chetty

With the death of Shanmukham Chetty at the age of 61 a career of undoubted brilliance and public activity has come to an abrupt close. India's first Finance Minister after Independence had won his spurs in many fields as parliamentarian, administrator and statesman. With his wide knowledge and varied interests, his firm grasp of the needs and problems of the country and his indefatigable attention to public causes he had won the esteem of people and those in authority as well. Finance and Economics were his favourite studies but he was a clever politician and he knew how to make the best of the opportunities that came his way. He was clever and ambitious but he proved his mettle in every office to which he was called—

as Speaker of the Central Assembly, as Dewan of an enlightened State or as Finance Minister in Free India. This last office, he resigned as a result of differences of opinion on the withdrawal of certain cases which had been referred to the Income-tax Tribunal.

That marked his retirement from active politics but it was followed by his return to his real and lasting vocation, the promotion of learning and culture. He laboured strenuously for the development of Tamil literature, music and learning.

Towards the end of his life he served as Honorary Vice Chancellor of the Annamalai University but he did not live to make his mark in a sphere in which his natural talent and aptitudes as a scholar should have proved particularly effective.

Dr. Shanmukham was active to the last in serving public causes. His admirers and critics equally found him affable and amiable with no bitterness in his mind after any political or other public controversy. All were inspired by his civility and the sunshine of his friendliness, and charity.



Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State on tour of Middle Eastern Countries.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE STORY OF THE CORONATION. By Randolph S. Churchill. Casement Publications Ltd., Oak Chambers, 11, Oak Lane, Fort, Bombay.

The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II is not simply a magnificent spectacle and an occasion for public rejoicing but a very significant event in British history. What really takes place at the coronation and why each stage in the ceremony follows precisely the form and manner in which it does are matters of wide interest to the public, now that the historic event is nearing. The son of the British Prime Minister and scion of a historic family which has done great service to the crown and earned its favours during centuries past is peculiarly fitted to tell the story. Mr. Randolph Churchill, has, with considerable application and research, provided the public with a book packed with information on all aspects of the historic pageant and its significance—a book which is pre-eminently the book of the hour. He has compressed an enormous mass of important information about previous coronations together with such delightful documents as Pepy's and Evelyn's and Horace Walpole's impressions of the coronations of their time. Studies of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh and authentic accounts of procedure and programme down to the route of the Royal procession, coupled with copious illustrations and charts afford expert guidance to the lay reader keenly interested in the great event of our time.

LADY LOUIS DENNIS HOLMAN. Odhams Press Ltd., London. 25. sh. 191 pp.

Looking back on her life, the Countess Mountbatten of Burma has every reason to be satisfied. Grand daughter of Sir Ernest Cassel, Millionaire financier and friend of Edward VII, endowed with all that nature and man can deem desirable and married to the handsomest sailor prince in the Navy, she led the gay set that followed Edward, Prince of Wales, until the War set her after more solid pursuits. While her husband was beating the Japanese in the Far East, her mission of mercy and rescue soon placed her at the pinnacle of the Red Cross and St. John. To us, her work in India needs no recapitulation. She and her husband endeared themselves to us as no one from their country ever did. We therefore welcome this biography, which belongs to Indian History.

WHEN BOYHOOD DREAMS COME TRUE. (A Signet Book). By James T. Farrell. The American Library, 501, Madison Ave., New York, 22.

Here is an exciting collection of stories by a writer who has made his mark American letters by writings that reveal his deep understanding of the frustrations and anxieties of modern civic life. The volume that bears the title of one of the longest stories contains a dozen pieces, in which the reader is offered a fare as real and vital as life itself. An unusual feature of the volume is the inclusion of a play, *The Mowbray Family*, which is described as "an acidly-etched portrait of the kind of wealthy fellow traveller whose attraction for 'liberal' ideas makes an enlightening study of the type of person frequently identified with various 'front groups' in the thirties."

CHEKHOV: A Biographical and Critical Study. By Ronald Hingley. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

Chekhov's place in Russian literature is by the side of Tolstoy and Maxim Gorki, that is to say, his fame as a writer of short stories is as secure as that of either. The two hundred and odd stories in English which we owe to the talent and assiduity of Constance Garnett show the bewildering variety and multiplicity of Chekhov's characters. Chekhov's discussions with Gorki and his controversies with Tolstoy are a fruitful field of literary entertainment. Full of admiration for his two great contemporaries, Chekhov however had his own views of literature to which he sticks to the end, and his writings bear witness to his fidelity to his principles. He disliked Gorki's flamboyant rhetoric and propaganda quite as much as he discounted the forced moral endings of Tolstoy's stories. Stories are stories and the characters must be true to their vocation; and then, as for style, he was firm on simplicity and brevity—no ornamentation and no purple patches and no extravagance of feeling or description.

Mr. Hingley gives a full and clear exposition of Chekhov's literary development and achievement, comparing him with contemporary writers and assessing his position and his contribution to the literary wealth of Russia. And then we have a detailed and authoritative account of the various phases of his life and career. With up-to-date material published in Russia Mr. Hingley clears various misrepresentations that have gathered round the author, and the result is the emergence of a real and credible figure, a man of unique tolerance and personal charm. The writer succeeds in giving a balanced estimate of Chekhov dispelling the misconception embodied in what is known as the "Chekhov legend" of a pessimist obsessed with the futility of life and the wholly Soviet propaganda of a man of confidence and ringing conviction whose mission in life was the denunciation of contemporary society.

THE RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI. Translated by Hari Prasad Shastri, Vol. 1. Shanti Sadan, 29 Chepston Villas, London, W. 11.

Till very recently the wisdom of the East had remained a sealed book to the European. Western culture drew its inspiration mainly from Roman and Greek literature. But those who have any acquaintance with the East know that in bulk as in intrinsic merit Hindu Epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are no whit inferior to the Iliad or the Odyssey. In fact the greatness of Hindu Epics is well recognised abroad—thanks to the world's increasing interest in things Eastern.

Yet no adequate or complete version of the Epics has appeared. The Ramayana of Valmiki in English is a typical Hindu classic which has been the source and inspiration of a great deal of literature—in Sanskrit as in the vernaculars. For many versions of the story of Rama have appeared in Indian vernaculars—versions of great and surpassing merit—but the Adi Kavya retains its supreme hold on the minds of men. Valmiki himself was a robber chief who became later a fully illumined sage and author of Ramayana. The poem is divided into seven Kandas or parts of unequal length, and this, the first volume deals with Bala Kanda and Ayodhya Kanda. The Ramayana, as every one knows, is not only poetry of unsurpassed power and brilliance but a treasure house of knowledge of every facet of ancient civilization. For every Hindu, Rama and Sita are the ideal man and woman, the model husband and wife. The story is also taken as an allegory. But Valmiki grips us like the ancient mariner by the force and simplicity of his narrative which will endure as long as there are rivers and mountains. The aim of the translator is to make the epic story known to English readers in a complete form. Though the beauty of the original is untranslatable Mr. Shastri's version retains the true spirit of Valmiki's masterpiece, and European readers will be grateful to him for this service.

TIMELESS. By Prince Nicholas Tchkotona. Putnam & Company Ltd., London.

Prince Tchkotona is a Russian nobleman who had his early education in France and Switzerland, studied English in London and settled down in America doing journalistic work. In this his first novel the Prince gives a fascinating picture of Georgian life before the great war of 1914. In those days Russian aristocrats had the time of their lives, living in ease and luxury undisturbed in their pursuit of pleasure by the feuds and faction of the class war of later years. The Prince is able to give a vivid picture of Russian life at its highest level, with the ease and familiarity of one born and bred in that class. Prince Shota's passion for Princess Taya, with whom he falls in love at first sight runs like a golden thread all through the story. Both are scions of noble families and the characters of the granny and grandfather and his friend Prof. Quenzano the Basque scholar are faithfully and lovingly drawn. Erast, the prince's servant man plays the role of Jeeves to perfection.

The priest in the monastery, Ishlvan Irmey the musician and Dr. Baner the physician have all their individual characters deftly drawn.

The story goes gaily through successive stages of love and passion when an ill wind blows and Taya's ailing mother extracts a death bed demand from the Prince not to have anything further to do with her daughter. Hardly had the Prince recovered from the shock when the beautiful Teresa, daughter of an American business magnate, swims into his ken and the Prince finds little difficulty in transferring his affections to one so very like Taya in beauty as in charm of manner.

THE LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI Two volumes. By Louis Fischer Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupathy Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 1-12 each.

There have been any number of lives and studies of Gandhi in English as well as in many Indian and European languages. Somehow or other, his personality and his ideals have exercised a profound interest among writers and journalists all the world over. Louis Fischer, the well-known American author and journalist came in close and intimate contact with the Mahatma during his stay at the Sevagram Ashram. And then he was in India at a time of tremendous political changes. He had the quick eye to see and the right attitude to appreciate things of historic significance and importance that were taking place in the country during his sojourn, and then too he had the power to convey his impressions in vivid and unforgettable words. Writing of Gandhi, Fischer seems to have acquired a style that is strangely simple, direct and incisive, a style that is so becoming in a biographer of the Mahatma. In fact Fischer's life of Gandhi is so attractively written that there is not a dull page in all the 650 odd pages of the two volumes that comprise the book. There are Gandhian anecdotes which are at once attractive and characteristic and the sizing of situations is competent and distinguished by thorough understanding and judgment. His biography is easily the best of its kind and is bound to be popular. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has done an excellent service to the public in placing this book (originally published by Jonathan Cape, London) within the reach of the average Indian reader.

FEMININE LOGIC

"Jack, dear," she said at breakfast, "will you lend me 5 dollars but only give me half of it?"

"Of course, darling," said her husband, puzzled. "But why only half of it?"

"Well, then you'll owe me 2 dollars and 50 cents. and I'll owe you 2 dollars and 50 cents. and we'll be square, won't we?"

DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1 Young Feisal of Iraq and Hussein of Jordan enthroned.
 May 2 London bound B. O. C. Comet crashes in flames near Calcutta.
 May 3 Burma relents and welcomes US aid
 May 4 U.S. Envoy George Allen presents his credentials to the President.
 —U.S. planes rushed to help French in Indo-China.
 May 5 Dr. Shanmukham Chetty, former Finance Minister, dead
 May 6 Law Minister C. C. Biswas apologises to Parliament. Nehru calls for full co-operation between the two Houses.
 May 7 Bar Committee recommends Bar Council for India.
 —Mr. Adlai Stevenson in Madras.
 May 8 Reds' eight point armistice plan communicated to U.S.
 May 9 Stormy Dacca session of Muslim League votes confidence in Pak Premier.
 —Air India dakota crashes near New Delhi.
 May 10 Prime Minister Naguib of Egypt threatens U.K. with war.
 —Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Commerce and Industries touring afflicted southern districts.
 May 11 Shyam Prasad Mookerjee arrested in Jammu for defying ban.
 —Churchill calls for top level meeting of big powers.
 May 12 High Court rejects Madras Tram Company receiver Brooke's petition.
 May 13 Ike questions use of Big Power talks.
 May 14 Agreement on agenda reached on Indo Pak talks.
 —Progress report on 5 Year Plan issued
 May 15 In a statement in Parliament Nehru backs plea for Big Power talks.
 —Parliament adjourns *sine die*.
 May 16 Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, Commerce Member, urges immediate financial aid from Centre to Madras.
 May 17 Congress Working Committee welcomes move for Big Power talks.
 May 18 Delimitation Commission's proposals released.
 —74 year old Yoshida elected Prime Minister of Japan for his 5th term.

May 19 Centre accepts Misra's finding that Bellary taluq should go to Mysore.
 May 20 John Foster Dulles in Delhi; meets Prime Minister Nehru.
 May 21 Rene Mayer's coalition Government, eighteenth after the war, falls.
 May 22 Proposed Three Power talks at Bermuda announced.
 May 23 Pravada expresses Soviet opposition to Bermuda talks.
 —Major issue on Indo-Ceylon problem reported settled.
 May 24 Malabar Conference demands integration of T. & C. State with Madras.
 May 25 Death of Mr. C. J. Varkey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Education Minister in first Congress Government in Madras.
 May 26 Steering Committee appointed for Indo-Pak Prime Ministers' talks.
 May 27 Centre agrees to give aid to Madras.
 —Six Commonwealth Premiers entertain the Queen.
 May 28 Prime Minister Nehru leaves for London to attend the Coronation.



MR. HAROLD EDWARD STASSEN
 Director, U.S. Mutual Security Agency who accompanies Mr. J. F. Dulles in his tour of Middle Eastern Countries.



READERS' DIGEST



INDIA AND FOREIGN MISSIONS

Nobody questions the right of the Government to deal with foreign missions and their activities in India, writes Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri. Parliament has exclusive right to make laws on any of the subjects enumerated in the Union List in Schedule VII (246).

One of such subjects forming item 19 of the List is:

Admission into...and expulsion from, India.

The Union executive, says Mr. Sastri, has power which extends to matters subject to Parliamentary legislation. (73).

Therefore, the Union Government has a right to admit or not to admit foreigners and control their activities.

The exercise of the power is exemplified by the action of the Canadian Government in directing a preacher of the Vedanta, one Sivananda, to quit the country.

It was not the result of any doctrine of mutuality consequent on the action of the Indian Government, but one taken solely in the interests of Canada.

Though the *Literary Guide* (the organ of the Rationalist Association) has good words for the teaching of the Vedanta—"the depth and the breadth, the comprehensiveness and the tolerance, of a teaching, the most ancient and the most rational, of man's attempt to cross the frontiers of the ineffable"—Canada chose not to allow the teaching. It may be that it was thought inconsistent with basic Christian ideas.

So the question is not one of legal power over foreign missions but one of expediency in all the circumstances of the case.

We are told that the Ramakrishna Mission may be externed from U. S. A. and other Christian countries if the foreign missions are not admitted into India.

In the last resort I may say that I do not mind such exclusion, though I am not speaking for the Ramakrishna Mission. I do not, however, see why Ramakrishna Mission should be expelled. Its work is not weaning any, of, his Christian beliefs. It only deepens the faith of a Christian, unlike the activity of Christian Missions the effect of which is to disturb the communities by a call to come out of one's religion. Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji have been acknowledged by Christians as having deepened their faith.

If the Ramakrishna Mission ceases to work in those countries the loss is theirs, not ours.

The Government are not concerned with the religious side of the question. They are concerned with their own unimpeachable impartiality between the religious sects within the country.

It has been said that a nation will be most active and most truly national if it was possessed by a religious conviction. It may be theoretically correct but where is the country in which the people are all of one religion and of one denomination? If there is a country, where Catholics are the majority, other denominations must suffer disadvantage, if the Government were not impartial and were possessed by Catholic convictions. If somebody with definite knowledge could say what happens to non-Catholics in Spain or Italy, it would be useful information.

Are the Christians allowed to carry on conversion work in Islamic countries without hindrance, he asks.

It is the meek Hindu alone that suffers. The British favoured the work of conversion. Since we are now an independent Republic, the question of its attitude arises.

I do not think that there are foreign missionaries at work in India for conversion to Islam. Should the Christians alone be supported in their work by foreign missions and foreign moneys to help convert others?

As the Constitution allows profession and propagation of religion, let Christian and Muslim citizens propagate their religion and the Hindus and others organise resistance to conversion as best they can.

To permit the Christians to have foreign aid in men and money is to promote conversion which is not the work of any Government and least of all for a secular Government. They cannot weight the scales in favour of one religion as against others.

Our leaders to whom we hearken most are all against conversion, says Mr. Sastri. Ramakrishna Paramahansa was against it and advised each to stick to his traditional religion and live up to its ideals. Swami Vivekananda was against it. People mistake the expression of his catholicity for indifference to conversion. He said:

If any one here hopes that this unity will come by the triumph of one of the religions and of the destruction of the others, to him I say, 'Brother, yours is an impossible hope.' Do I wish that the Christian would become a Hindu? God forbid. Do I wish that the Hindu or Buddhist would become Christian? God forbid.

SARVODAYA

In the *Aryan Path* for February Sri S. K. Ramachandra Rao of the Department of Social Sciences in the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, describes the background of the *Sarvodaya* movement in India.

The word *Sarvodaya*, was coined by Gandhiji to translate "Unto This Last," the expression borrowed by Ruskin from the Gospel according to St. Matthew (XX: 14) for the title of his great work, in which he pleads for the ideal of morality in political economy. *Unto This Last*, says the writer, was

one of the formative forces in the life of Gandhiji, who analyzed the work into three basic ideas—the good of the individual is contained in the good of all; the equal worth of all vocations in so far as they yield a livelihood; and the excellence of manual labour. The other two of the trinity of influences that stirred and propelled, Gandhiji were Tolstoy's philosophy of "bread-labour" and the doctrine of disinterested action taught in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Creatively contemplating these teachings, Gandhiji discovered the supremacy of the two principles of truth and non-violence, and interpreted the meaning of human existence in their light. He experimented with the application of these principles to man's corporate and political life. The full significance of these experiments can of course be judged by history alone. But one of the immediate and tangible consequences of Gandhiji's career was the emphasis on ethics in the political emancipation of our country; and this has prepared the ground for translating into action the teachings of Ruskin, Tolstoy and the *Gita*.

Gandhiji in his lifetime initiated many a constructive programme calculated to improve the lot of all Indians.

He dismissed as shortsighted the Western policy of "the greatest good of the greatest number"; his programme envisaged the greatest good or welfare of all (*Sarvodaya*). And in carrying this programme to fruition, he insisted that the means were at least as important as the end; hence his emphasis on right conduct.

This is reflected in the economic plan he proposed for this country. The four fundamentals on which this plan rests are, in the words of Shriman Narayan Agarwal, simplicity, non-violence, the dignity of labour, and human values.

It is, however, not a plan for the Government to push through, although the Government can make a substantial contribution to its implementing. It is rather for every man to appreciate and execute.

INDIA-PAKISTAN AMITY

A Congressional mission, which toured South-East Asia, has reported that American aid to India and Pakistan could not be effective unless the two nations settled their differences.

The mission also recommended that a further careful analysis be made of India's Five-Year Plan as every form of U. S. assistance was geared to that plan. Before meeting the deficit in the Five-Year Plan, the mission said, "it should be one of the major functions of the legislative branch to make certain that it is not underwriting an over-ambitious programme."

The mission, consisting of four members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, visited Pakistan, India, Thailand and Indo-China.

Commenting on Indo-Pakistan relations, their report noted that the Mutual Security Programme was founded on the principle of mutual effort and added:

The study mission recommends that the 'help each other' phase of the programme be impressed vigorously upon Pakistan and India.

"The U.S. has no desire to interfere in the domestic affairs of any country," the report declared but the Canal waters dispute and the Kashmir issue facing the two countries have become international problems, which directly affect the tranquillity of the area and ultimately the whole free world.

It is not in keeping with the basic concept of our assistance programmes to supply aid to two neighbouring countries, both of them our friends, whose failure to reach a settlement of the international problems between them increases their need for American aid and reduces the effectiveness of such aid within each country.

Furthermore, it requires each country to maintain large defence forces poised against each other. This consumes as much as 48 per cent. of the nation's budget, thereby preventing the use of more of the nation's own resources for its own development projects, requiring more external assistance.

Our aid cannot be effective either from the point of view of Pakistan and India or of the U.S. under such circumstances.

The mission also recommended that a further careful analysis be made of India's Five-Year Plan as every form of U.S. assistance to India was geared to that plan.

SOUTH EAST ASIA

The *Manchester Guardian* complains that too little attention is being paid to the "very grave happenings in South-East Asia," where, it thinks the Viet-Minh invasion of Laos may have started "a transformation of the whole situation."

The newspaper concedes the possibility that this offensive may be the Viet-Minh's confession of failure elsewhere, or that it may be countered by a bold stroke from the French, but it does not seem to think much of these arguments. "Clearly the Viet-Minh have improved their chance of mastering all Indo-China," it says.

If the Communists can make a reality of the new Thai State which they have proclaimed they might, by its means, and without open intervention by the Chinese, threaten and, in the end, overthrow the present Government in Siam, which is very shaky. If they capture the King of Laos, which now seems possible, and he declares for them, opposition will become further confused. They could appeal to the Thais who live in eastern Burma and could improve their position geographically for stirring up Malaya. A great success for Communist prestige in South-East Asia might undo over-night much of the work of General Templer.

All these actions might be dressed up as domestic insurrections which would confuse an appeal to the United Nations. If the new Communist states in the area remain obsequious to Peking there might be repeated, more or less without conscious direction, the old Chinese empire of the past. One of the most obvious recent successes of the Chinese has been in their relations with the border peoples of China, and this may prove their ability to keep their satellites content.

This is looking ahead, and certainly things may still go in another direction, but if Yenan expanded to become all China, may not Viet-Minh expand to become all, or nearly all, the peoples of South-East Asia?

"These events and possibilities must have a bearing on policy in the armistice negotiations at Panmunjom," the *Guardian* continues.

Some people in America are asking whether negotiations can be carried on unless the attack on Laos is held up. Others argue that the Chinese must be engaged in a manoeuvre to close down the war in Korea but to start it again in South-East Asia.

When M. Mayer visited Washington it was agreed that once an armistice has been made in Korea the United States would consider it broken if subsequently there was a Chinese attack on Indo-China. Against the expectation which prevailed during his visit to Washington, the

crisis in Indo-China may be coming to a head in advance of an armistice being concluded—and without Chinese intervention—and thus France may be deprived of the safeguard on which it counted. What is to be done?

Of course it would be a disaster if peace in Korea foundered when the Communists were really ready for it. The Panmunjom negotiations must be fully used to test whether there is meaning in the Communist peace offers. A fortnight should be enough to show.

In the meanwhile, the French will have to consider once more whether to place the conflict in Indo-China before the United Nations. . . . If the military situation grows worse, it might be easier to find a remedy, both political and military, if an appeal were made.

HEART DISEASE AND CANCER

Heart disease and cancer are still the biggest "killers" in Europe and the U. S. A. according to statistics published by the World Health Organization. Heart disease, however, claims more deaths than cancer in these countries.

In Britain 151,800 people died of heart disease compared with 95,300 deaths through cancer in 1950; in the U. S. A. the figures were 532,000 and 210,000 respectively.

In Western Germany deaths through heart disease amounted to 80,000 and cancer 83,000; in France heart diseases accounted for 89,000 deaths and cancers 74,000; while in Italy the figures were 82,000 and 49,000, respectively. In the three Scandinavian countries the figures were 28,000 and 22,000 respectively.

SOLAR ENERGY COOKER

India's first 400-watt solar energy cooker designed by the National Physical Laboratory of India in New Delhi, will, shortly, be made available in the market.

Production of solar energy cookers has commenced in Bombay for large-scale manufacture of these cookers.

Shri B. S. Pandher an officer of the National Physical Laboratory of India is in Bombay assisting the manufacturers in the design and layout of these cookers.

Meanwhile, performance tests are being carried out in Bombay with a test cooker manufactured here. The tests include variations in temperature, humidity and wind velocity.

INDIA AND HER CULTURE

There are many in the West who think of India in terms of turbaned maharajahs and gilded elephants, of hermits and fakirs, of sacred monkeys, peacocks and cows. But they have wronged India, says Selma Mehlman in *New Era*, Paris, those who would make her a shabby fairyland—for they have overlooked the human element. And in India, where the human element fast approaches the 400,000,000 mark, it is not to be overlooked.

But how to define the human element of one of the oldest civilizations in existence?

India is a study in contrasts. She hugs to her breast the primitive water wheel, the purdah, the caste system. Nevertheless, she has been, for long periods at a time the most highly developed of nations. India claims fourteen major languages and some 200 different variations of dialect and a literature over four thousand years old. She admits—in one and the same breath—an illiteracy rate of 85 per cent. The average inhabitant earns an average annual income of fifty dollars and lives an average of twenty-seven years. The same average inhabitant has fathered and preserved the oldest successful religion in the world today.

The first exact date in Indian history is 326 B.C. which marks the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. Since then India has known many conquerors.

She has known war, famine, pestilence and poverty. And through it all the human element has held fast to the soil. Poverty and famine are with her still; the conquerors have all gone their way. Under a Constitution adopted November 26, 1949 India became a "sovereign democratic republic" effective January 26, 1950. She elected to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Tremendous inroads are being made every day on the age-old enemies: poverty and famine.

Under the Colombo Plan, India is allocating \$164,000,000 to railways, river and irrigation projects and lending \$140,000,000 to the provinces for economic improvements. The anniversary of Gandhi's birth was marked this year by the inauguration of community development projects throughout India. The basic object of these projects—scheduled to cover 18,500 villages—is to help the villager to help himself raise his living standard. The project areas will serve as a model for the rest of the country.

But life in the villages has not changed radically from what it was a few thousand years ago. Untouchability, imposed under

the caste system, has been abolished under the Constitution.

Great efforts are being made in the direction of free and compulsory education. Roads and dams are being built. But tradition is not easily cast aside. Tradition may mean the water buffalo. But tradition is also the water bulwark of India's culture. Tradition means scholarship—religious scholars, philosophers, students of law. Tradition is art and music and dance. Culture need not be recorded in pen and ink. By ear and mouth the human element has preserved intact a literature, a score of religions a body of law, a well of philosophy—from generation to generation for thousands of years. India built her temples, evolved her culture, harnessed her traditions before other civilizations had breathed their first.

India, says the writer, speaks in symbols. "Those who seek to understand the symbols will need no definition of the human element."

MAHA BODHI SOUVENIR

The Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the Maha Bodhi Society of India is a sumptuous volume packed with articles and illustrations. It is fitting that the volume should open with a lengthy biographical sketch of the great Buddhist scholar and preacher—Anagarika Dharmapala whose portrait in colour adorns the first page.

This is followed by a lengthy record of the society, its history and influence, with copious illustrations. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Minister for Home Affairs and States writes of the awakening of our faith in Lord Buddha as evidenced by the interest taken in the sacred ashes of the two great disciples of Lord Buddha—Sariputta and Moggallana. There are other articles of interest by scholarly writers, Indian and European, which add to the attractions of a volume which must serve as a fitting memento of the Jubilee.

WILD LIFE PRESERVATION

The Rajah of Sandur has been appointed by the Government of India as Honorary Regional Secretary of the Indian Board for Wild Life for the Southern Region, comprising Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg and Andamans.

MONROE DOCTRINE BY INDIA?

Suggestions have been made recently in newspapers in England and in America that India should apply the Monroe Doctrine to countries of South East Asia. One writer has gone to the length of stating that India's Prime Minister is about to proclaim to the world that any threat to the security of Siam and Burma would be treated as a threat to India. These suggestions, writes "Insaf" in *Hindustan Times*, are like so many balloons sent up in anticipation of Mr. Dulles's visit to India later this month.

So far as India's foreign policy is concerned, it is completely opposed to the idea of applying the Monroe Doctrine in Asia. Not only does India not have the required military strength for putting forth such a claim but her political philosophy is against assuming the right to determine what is good for other people. Supposing India were to make such a declaration, Burma and Siam could easily say that they are quite capable of determining what is in their interest.

India's attitude indeed is one of keeping her counsels to herself. She is willing, however, to hear any neighbour country suggest common understanding with regard to regional interests but the initiative for any such understanding must come from the country concerned.

There is no doubt that the interests of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Burma, Siam and Malaya lie in co-operation in economic and military spheres, but each country must decide freely whether and to what extent it should co-operate. India being the largest country of the bloc is particularly anxious that there should be no suspicion about her and that no one should be able to accuse her of a desire to establish her own hegemony in this region.

U. S. INTEREST IN INDIAN ART

'Interest in the art of India has been increasing in the United States ever since the Indian nation became independent in 1947', according to Dr. M. S. Dimand, curator of Near Eastern art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Most recent instance of this growing interest was the opening, by the Metropolitan of a special gallery of Indian art. Representing nine centuries of Indian painting, the display was especially arranged in connection with India-America Cultural Week organized recently by the India Information Service.

The new gallery would be open indefinitely. Dr. Dimand said that the Metropolitan is participating in discussions looking toward the circulation in the United States of a major Indian art show comparable to the exhibition of Japanese treasures currently touring this country.

The majority of the paintings in the gallery belong to the Mughal school. Works by famous court painters of Emperor Akbar, such as Basawan, Lal, and Dhiram Das, illustrate Persian classics, historical literature and the Mahabharata. These stories and documentary paintings, many of which feature exquisitely rendered animals, trees, and flowers, are a new revelation of the manner in which their creators combined strength with delicacy.

Considered the most outstanding examples of Mughal painting on display are two portraits of the emperor, Shah Jahan. One depicts the emperor on horseback, the other shows him seated on the famous Peacock Throne.

Hindu schools of painting attached to the Rajput courts in North India (contemporary with the Mughal school) are also represented in the exhibit.

Several of the brightly coloured miniatures from the Rajput school of painting illustrate the Ragunala poems. Stories of Krishna and Radha are used to illustrate musical modes in the poems.

Painted cottons, gold jewellery and a marble support in-laid with semi-precious stones from the audience hall of the Delhi palace complete the exhibit. Of special interest to Westerners is a 17th century painted cotton depicting European figures—including an equestrian statue of England's Charles First.

The display, says U. S. I. S. report, includes gold anklets, necklaces, and bracelets from the 17th to 19th centuries. These ornaments are set with semi-precious and precious stones.

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

The Bhoodan movement in India was seen as something with great potentialities by the *London Times*.

It is attempting to help the 30 million to 40 million landless cultivators of India by launching the kind of appeal to the principles of common humanity which Mr. Gandhi always invoked to redress social evils," the paper said. "A campaign of this magnitude needs to be fitted carefully into the planned economy which has been officially laid down for the country.

As Mr. Nehru has pointed out, the Bhoodan movement can neither displace the law of the land nor relieve central and local governments of their responsibility for agrarian reform. If not wisely used, it may create as many difficulties as it solves. Yet it has great potentialities.

Apart altogether from its practical achievements, which look like being impressive, it can do much to allay the bitter feelings that are causing dangerous unrest among the landless. The poorer among this class, who are the great majority, have benefited little from the existing land reforms.

Capital compensation to former owners weighs so heavily on new peasant proprietors that the price of land has soared above the reach of many who need it most. Many of the landless have lost faith in official promises. Bitterness is growing among them. To them Bhoodan movement brings new hope because it harmonises with instincts deep-rooted in the Indian mind.

U.K. AWARD TO INDIAN ASTRONOMER

The Gold Medal of Britain's Royal Astronomical Society—the Society's premier award—has this year been awarded to an Indian, Professor Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, for his contributions to mathematical astrophysics.

The gold medal, which is awarded annually for eminent contributions to the study of astronomy, was first awarded in 1824.

Professor Chandrasekhar is a distinguished Service Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics at the Yerkes Observatory, Wisconsin, U.S.A. He has written a number of important books on astronomy, among them *An Introduction to the Study of Stellar Structure* (1939), *Principles of Stellar Dynamics* (1942) and *Radiative Transfer* (1950).

Professor Chandrasekhar was at Cambridge University (1930-36) where he was a Fellow of Trinity College,

VITAMIN B 12 FOR CHILDREN

The *New York Times* recently reported new evidence that addition of Vitamin B 12 to the diet of children can stimulate a significant increase in height and weight.

Reporting on the annual scientific session of the National Vitamin Foundation, Inc., the *Times* said evidence was presented on the results of studies of children, 7 to 11 years old, living in El Salvador and Rome.

Italian children living in an orphanage in Rome were studied by Dr. Norman Jolliffe and Roberto Funaro of the Bureau of Nutrition, New York City Department of Health, and four physicians of the Pediatrics Clinic of the University of Rome.

The youngsters were receiving one-fifth to one-third less calories than the nutritional standard accepted in the United States. When diet was supplemented with Vitamin B 12 significant gains in weight were noted.

In El Salvador and Guatemala, according to Dr. Nevin S. Scrimshaw, children are about two years behind children of the United States in height, weight and bone age. Addition of Vitamin B 12 to their diets resulted in significant gains in weight and height, and when the vitamin supplement was given along with aureomycin, an antibiotic, the height increase was even greater.

WORLD POPULATION

According to statistics of the World Health Organisation the world population in 1950 was 2,402 million. The population of the Soviet Union was 200 million, about 50 million more than that of the U.S.A.

Europe had a population of 892.49 million; Asia 1,271 million, Africa 198.9 million and the Americas 827 millions.

The United States Government is trying to get rid of millions of pounds of surplus butter, cheese and dried milk worth more than 1,000 million dollars, which nobody wants to buy. It has been dumped on the Government through the Price Support programme which compels the Agriculture Department to buy up all excess farm production to keep it off the market and thus assure farmers of continued high domestic prices. The Government stores are also crammed with beans, honey and olive oil.

DECREASING DEATH RATE IN INDIA

The death rate in India is decreasing.

Here are the figures given in the Parliament by the Health Minister:

In 1950, death per thousand of population was 16. The figures for 1947, 1948 and 1949 were; 19.7, 17.0 and 15.8 respectively.

The actual infantile mortality figures (death under one year) for the years 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 were respectively: 9,82,620, 8,06,260, 8,30,270 and 8,55,261. These worked out to an infantile mortality rate of 145.6 per thousand of live births in 1947, 130.1 in 1948, 122.8 in 1949 and 127.1 in 1950.

Of the deaths in 1950, 18.3 per cent. was among the age group 1—5 years while 5.7 per cent. was in the age group 5—10 years. The figures for the three previous years were:

1947, 16.9 per cent. for age group 1—5 years and 5.7 per cent. for age group 5—10 years.

1948, 17.2 per cent. and 6.2 per cent.

1949, 17.0 per cent. and 5.6 per cent.

THE KOH-I-NOOR

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research, in the course of a Press statement says:

The Government of India have for some time had under consideration, a proposal to make an inventory of art treasures, objects, antiques and rarities which have gone out of India either by purchase or gift or in any other way. It is the Government's intention that, when an inventory has been completed, it will consider the question of securing the return of such among the objects as may be readily available by negotiation or purchase. It is clear to the Government that such objects cannot be brought back to India except with the willing consent of the countries where they are now deposited.

Recently a question in Parliament on objects of historical importance contained a reference to the famous jewel, Koh-i-Noor. I want to make it clear that the Government of India have not at any stage contemplated asking for the return of the Koh-i-Noor, as it is not an art object and now forms a part of the British Crown jewel.

IMPLEMENTING 5-YEAR PLAN

The "common man" who has been sustaining the Central Budget for the last three years with an yearly donation of Rs. 5 to the Finance Minister, has inspired a few others who in a recent communication to the Finance Minister transmitted through a Member of Parliament, have offered a total sum of Rs. 273 as their "contribution towards the five-year national welfare plan." The donors have promised that such contributions will continue for five years.

The contributions are from ten persons and range from Re. 1, which is from a student, to Rs. 50. In making the offers, the donors, who wish to remain anonymous, refer to the example set by the "common man" and say:

His example has been most inspiring and shown the way to others who feel like him but do not know how to do their little bit in advancing the progress of this great cause undertaken by our wise and revered leaders. We are not wealthy people but our wish for seeing the plan successful is very deep in us indeed. We are therefore, sending you herewith our small contribution. These contributions will continue for five years.

Acknowledging receipt of the donations to the Member of Parliament through whom these were received the Finance Minister said:

I am overwhelmed by this enthusiasm of the common man towards the implementation of the Five-Year Plan. I have no doubt that it is really the spirit with which these contributions are being made that matters and not the amount as such which also, if this movement gathers strength, is likely to be substantial.

"The common man" whose example has inspired these ten citizens of India, has been sending Rs. 5 every year to the Finance Minister during the last three years "to be credited to the country's revenues."

A man wanting an especially fine pair of trousers went to a tailor recommended for his careful work. The tailor duly measured him, but it was six months before he notified his customer that the trousers were ready.

"It seems odd," said the customer coldly when he called for the garment, "that God could make the world in six days but it takes you six months to make a pair of pants."

The tailor shrugged. "All right," he said calmly, "just look at the world—then look at these pants."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

REMITTANCES FROM CEYLON

The Ceylon Government unexpectedly placed further curbs on remittances by Indian residents for the maintenance of their families abroad and on the amount of money that can be taken by Indians for travel purposes.

The amount remittable for maintenance purposes which stood at Rs. 250 a month and which was drastically cut to a mere Rs. 50, two months ago, has now again been cut to only Rs. 30 a month. Only those in possession of valid passports will be permitted to remit even this meagre amount. Those with expired residence permits cannot make any remittance.

The amount permitted to be taken by a South Indian for travel expenses till now was Rs. 400 per adult and Rs. 200 per child annually. This, according to a notification issued by the Exchange Controller is cut further to Rs. 250 and Rs. 125 respectively for every two years.

The new regulations come into force immediately.

DISFRANCHISING ACTS HELD VALID

The Privy Council on May 11 upheld the validity of the two Acts passed by the Ceylon Government which, it is alleged, have the effect of disfranchising a high percentage of the Dominion's Indian Tamil community. These number between 800,000 and 900,000 men.

The Privy Council Judicial Committee dismissed with costs an appeal by a Tamil-speaking settler from South India against a decision of the Ceylon Supreme Court to quash a direction that his name be included in the Register of Electors.

The two Acts are: the Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Franchise Act of 1949. The appeal was made by Mr. Govindan S. N. K. Pillai, who went to Ceylon twenty years ago.

Kenya

SAFEGUARDING INDIAN INTERESTS

Prime Minister Nehru said in the Council of States on May 11, that the British Government had informed the Government of India that the *Daily Express* of London was "a totally irresponsible paper" and did not express the views of the British Government.

Mr. Nehru made this statement while replying to supplementaries on the situation in Kenya and the writings of some British papers about the Indian Prime Minister's attitude on some of these questions.

Mr. B. Rath had asked whether some London papers had accused Indians to be the brain behind "Mau Mau" and, if so, what steps Government propose to take to safeguard Indian interests in Kenya.

The Prime Minister said the Government of India were aware that a section of the European community in Kenya had made various charges against Indians in Kenya. Some such reports had appeared in Kenya papers, but Government were not aware of such reports in London papers. As far as the Government of India were aware, the interests of the Indian community in Kenya had not been adversely affected by the campaign.

Abroad

SETTLEMENT OF INDIANS ABROAD

In a written reply to a question regarding the entry and settlement of Indians in foreign countries, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, stated in the Council of States that the India Government had entered into a bilateral agreement in respect of immigration of Indians with the Government of Canada, who has agreed to receive a quota of 150 persons per year. In addition, the United States, Siam and Indonesia had fixed quotas of 100, 200 and 1,000 respectively. In the case of Indonesia, however, the quota of 1,000 was meant to cover four countries, viz., India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

ALLOCATIONS OF SEATS IN LEGISLATURE

The Delimitation Commission of India has tentatively determined the quotas of representation to the States in the House of the People and also the strength of the State Assemblies.

The House of the People will have 500 elective seats, the maximum laid down in Article 81 (1) (A) of the Constitution. At present, there are 495 elected and four nominated members.

The Commission's proposals provide for the allocation of these seats to the States, the basis of allocation being population as shown by the latest census figures.

With 86 representatives, Uttar Pradesh will continue to have the largest number of seats in the House of the People. Its State Assembly will have 430 members. Bihar will come next with 55 members in the lower House of Parliament and 330 members in the State Assembly. Bombay, according to the Commission's proposals, will have 49 members in the House of the People but its State Assembly will have only 294 members instead of 315 as at present.

The retention of the existing multiple of seven will give the Bombay Assembly a strength of 343, which number, in the Commission's opinion, "does not seem necessary." The Commission feel that the proposed reduction in the strength of the Assembly by 21 will involve only a slight increase in the extent and population of an average Assembly constituency, which in an advanced and well-developed State like Bombay, should not be material.

The Commission's proposals provided for 34 members to West Bengal in the House of the People. The State's Assembly will have 238 members.

As regards Madras, the Commission has assumed that the Andhra State will be constituted in the near future with the territories indicated in the Prime Minister's

announcement and that a part of Bellary district will be merged with Mysore.

The residuary State of Madras will have 49 representatives in the House of the People and have a State Assembly of 245 members. Andhra will get a representation of 28 in the House of the People. There will be 168 members in the Andhra Legislative Assembly.

The Commission has addressed all its 'associate members' other than those from Travancore-Cochin, Mysore and Coorg, seeking their comments and suggestions on its proposal regarding the determination of the number of seats to be allotted to the several States in the House of the People and the number of seats to be allotted to the Assemblies of Part A and B States other than Jammu and Kashmir. The proposals also contain the number of seats to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The Commission's final proposals are expected to be published not later than June 18.

PART 'C' STATES

In regard to the House of the People, the Commission has allotted a total of 21 seats to Part C States. The remaining 479 seats have been allocated among Part A and B States strictly on the basis of the latest census figures. The number of Parliamentary seats for each State has been reached by dividing the State's total population by the average population for a seat.

As regards the State Assemblies, the existing strength has been maintained unaltered in a majority of cases but changes have been instituted in the case of a few States, as, for instance, Bombay. Because of the low density of population and poor communications, the present multiple of eight is proposed to be retained for Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan as also the existing multiple of seven for the Punjab.

NEHRU ON ENDING THE KOREAN DEADLOCK

Prime Minister Nehru, in his statement on foreign affairs in Parliament on May 15, He said:

"This House will remember that some months ago a resolution regarding Korea was sponsored by India in the United Nations and was passed by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. That resolution, as I stated in this House, was no mandate but an earnest approach to find a basis for a settlement. The President of the General Assembly of the U.N. communicated it in this spirit to the Chinese and the North Korean Governments. Unfortunately, both the Soviet and the Chinese Governments rejected that resolution and our hopes of a settlement suffered a serious setback. Recently, however, new proposals were made by the Chinese Government in regard to Korea which opened the door again for a fresh approach to this problem which was, to some extent, in line with the resolution passed by the U.N. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese Government put forward fresh proposals, referred to as the eight-point proposals, which were a very close approximation to the Indian Resolution passed by the General Assembly of the U.N. We welcomed those proposals because they seemed to afford us a promising and solid basis for a solution of the immediate problem, which was in line with the accepted policy of the U.N. Many other persons also welcomed these proposals.

A few weeks ago, the United Nations Command in Korea put forward certain counter-proposals. . . It appears that the Chinese and North Korean Governments have expressed their disapproval of some of these proposals and stated that they cannot accept them as they are.

So far as India is concerned, we would welcome any solution which is accepted by the parties concerned. We feel, however, that such a solution is much more likely to be found on the basis of the U.N. Resolution and the Chinese eight-point proposals approximate so nearly to this Resolution that they should form the basis for discussion and we hope for a

solution. It should be possible to amplify them or to vary them by agreement where necessary. We earnestly hope, therefore, that this avenue of approach will not be given up but will be pursued. In any event, we trust that the negotiations at Pan Mun Jom will be carried on, even though there might be occasional setbacks.

The House is aware that India has often been mentioned in some of these proposals and it has been suggested that this country should undertake various responsibilities. We are reluctant to assume any distant responsibilities. But if an agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence and not opposed to any policy that we pursue, we do not wish to escape that responsibility. That responsibility is all the greater because it is India's good fortune to have friendly relations with the Great Powers who on either side are parties to the dispute. If India can serve the cause of peace in any way, we shall gladly offer our services. But such services can only be offered if there is an agreement as regards the solution. . .

There is undoubtedly a new atmosphere in the world and the outlook is brighter than it has been for a long time. It is for the statesmen of the world, and more especially those shouldering heavy responsibility in the great nations, to seize this opportunity with courage and wisdom and lead humanity towards peace.

I am very glad that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has recently suggested a conference on the highest level between the leading Powers of the world to meet informally in privacy and without a rigid agenda to tackle the problems that afflict mankind and to make every effort to rid humanity of the fear of war. I would earnestly commend this suggestion. The stakes are the highest that the world offers and a warweary and fearladen humanity will bless those who will rid it of these terrible burdens and lead it to peace and happiness. President Eisenhower is not opposed to the idea of such a conference, but has said that the time for it is not ripe."

POLITICAL PENSIONS

In a statement laid before the Council of States in reply to Mr. H. C. Mathur the States Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju, said that a total sum of Rs. 23,20,600 was being paid annually as political pensions to various parties in the country. Besides some grants made to various religious institutions were also being continued. No new political pension had been granted since August 15, 1947. Government proposed to continue the pensions "for the present." He could not say about the continuance of these pensions in the future.

The statement showed that among the pensions granted is a sum of Rs. 12,000 per annum to the Aga Khan for "useful services rendered to the British Government." The grant was originally made in 1844 to the grandfather of the present Aga Khan for his services to the East India Company.

The major portion of the pensions represent 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. 1,31,200 to the Oudh family, Rs. 8,50,000 as Oudh Wasika pensions, Rs. 2,94,000 as Malabhar Malikhana etc.

SALARIES OF PRESIDING OFFICERS

Unexpected insistence by some of the Opposition members that the Presiding Officers of Parliament should dissociate themselves from politics, delayed the passage of the Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament Bill in the House of the People on April 27.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, moved on behalf of the Law Minister, consideration of the Bill seeking to fix the salaries and allowances of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the House of the People and the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Council of States.

Mr. Krishnamachari said that, under the provisions of the Constitution, the Speaker was entitled to a salary of Rs. 3,000 per month, a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 500, fully furnished residence

in New Delhi free of rent and some other facilities. The Chairman of the Council of States also got the same conditions. The Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairman were paid a salary of Rs. 1,500 per month during the period they were engaged in the business of the House and were given other facilities available to members.

When the salaries of Ministers were brought down to Rs. 2,250. Mr. Krishnamachari said, both the Speaker and the Chairman made voluntary cuts in their salaries equal to the amount which was reduced in the salary of the Ministers.

The position envisaged in the present Bill, he said, was that the salaries of the Speaker and the Chairman should be equated to those of the Ministers. Amenities provided to them and sumptuary allowances should also be what had now been given to the Ministers. The Deputy Speaker and the Deputy Chairman should be paid a salary of Rs. 2,000 per month plus the use of fully furnished house. They would not be entitled to sumptuary allowances.

LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS

The Congress Working Committee, meeting under the presidentship of Mr. Nehru in Delhi on May 16, passed a resolution welcoming the Government's decision to set up a Commission to consider the reorganization of States on a linguistic basis and deprecating attempts in some parts of the country to bring about political decisions by resort to hunger-strikes.

BELLARY TO BE PART OF MYSORE

The Government of India have accepted the recommendation of Mr. Justice L. S. Misra that the Bellary taluq as a whole should form part of Mysore State.

Mr. Justice Misra, after an exhaustive analysis of the issues involved, has come to the conclusion that from the points of view of linguistic composition, administrative convenience, financial implications, economic well-being, cultural affinity and historical background, the taluq should be a part of Mysore State.

TAMIL CLASSES FOR M. Ps.

The Education Minister, Maulana Azad, inaugurating the Tamil classes for M. Ps. under the auspices of the Hindi Association, said in Parliament that just as it was essential to spread the knowledge of Hindi in the South, it was also essential to spread knowledge of the southern languages in the North.

The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari presided.

Earlier, welcoming the gathering, Seth Govind Das said that, at the suggestion of Maulana Azad, the Hindi Association had decided to undertake the work of teaching the South Indian languages in the North in order to remove the misunderstanding that there was any attempt to force Hindi in the South.

"MADAME V. L. PANDIT SCHOLARSHIP"

The Fairleigh Dickinson College, Rutherford, New Jersey, U.S.A., has instituted a scholarship in honour of Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who visited the college recently.

The Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit Scholarship, as the scholarship is called, is worth \$475 a year and is open to a student from India who wishes to study at the college. It covers tuition fees only and can be applied to any course given by the college. The recipient can spend one to four years and take any one of the courses among which are: engineering for industrial management; business administration; medical technology; social service; nursing, textiles and dental hygiene.

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University, who sailed from Bombay for England on May 12, will visit all the universities in Europe having Sanskrit chairs and also institutes and libraries having collections of Sanskrit books and manuscripts. He will be away from India for a period of eight months.

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

The Government of India have accepted a proposal from the UNESCO concerning the location in India of a centre for giving training in fundamental education.

The seventh general conference of UNESCO decided that in order to meet the acute shortage of specialists in fundamental education and exploit the keen interest of young persons wishing to enter this field of activity a training scheme to train future experts in fundamental education should be organised in one of the UNESCO associated projects.

The purpose of this scheme is to give advance training to persons with appropriate educational background and some experience in relation to activities in their own country. Under the scheme, training is to be provided to 16 to 20 fellows of the age group 25 to 30. These fellows, after receiving advance training for about eight months, will be utilised by UNESCO for specialists posts in their projects on fundamental education.

The centre, whose entire expenses will be borne by the UNESCO will be established in Mysore and is expected to start working by about October this year. Apart from the fellows from the European countries, there will also be two Indian specialists at the centre.

STARTING OF NEW UNIVERSITIES

The Government of India have advised the Madhya Bharat Government not to proceed with its proposed legislation for setting up a university till the expert committee, now set up to go into the question of new universities submitted its report.

This was disclosed by Maulana Azad in a written reply in the House of the People. The committee is headed by Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar and its members include Acharya Narendre Deva, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee, Dr. V. S. Krishna and Mr. Humayun Kabir.

KATJU'S ADVICE TO LAWYERS

Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Home Minister, stressed the need for a democratic conception of justice.

Unveiling a portrait of the late Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Allahabad High Court Advocates' Association, Dr. Katju said there should be no delay in disposing of the cases. The High Courts and subordinate courts should change their method, outlook and approach.

Referring to the legal profession, Dr. Katju said the function of an Advocate was to assist a Judge in the administration of justice and in deciding his cases and not to win it. The lawyers would do well if they started with an absolutely clear and unprejudicial mind. Long arguments and statements were not needed. The Advocate should ask the Judge to have his case a speedy finish.

TRAMWAY'S PETITION FOR WRIT DISMISSED

At the Madras High Court on May 13, Their Lordships Mr. Justice Subba Rao and Mr. Justice Balakrishna Aiyar dismissed the petition filed on behalf of Mr. P. G. Brookes Receiver for the Trustees for the debenture-holders of the Madras Electric Tramway (1904) Ltd., which prayed for the issue of a writ of *certiorari* to quash the order of the Industrial Tribunal, Madras, impleading him (Mr. Brookes) as a party to the adjudication proceedings in the industrial dispute between the management and workers of the Tramway Company.

WORLD LEGAL CONFERENCE

An International Legal Conference is being convened in New Delhi in December of this year under the auspices of the Indian branch of the International Law Association and with the concurrence of the Ministry of Law, Government of India.

The Conference, the first of its kind to be organised in Asia, will discuss

various subjects of international comparative law with particular emphasis on the problems and views of the Asian and South-East Asian countries.

It is expected that a number of prominent jurists representing the European and American branches of the International Law Association will attend and special invitations are being sent by the Chief Justice of India, who is the President of the Indian branch, to the heads of the judiciaries and the law departments of the Governments of the Asian and South-East Asian countries.

BAR COUNCIL FOR INDIA

The establishment of an All-India Bar Council and the creation of a unified National Bar are recommended by the All-India Bar Committee, appointed by the Government of India, in its report placed before Parliament on May 7.

The terms of reference to the Committee were:

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

As regards (1) the Committee feel "that the psychological time has definitely arrived for India, subject to certain conditions to take a big step forward and bring into being a unified National Bar."

The conditions referred to by the Committee relate to the minimum qualifications, a common roll and the rights of advocates on the common roll.

CONVERSION OF TATA SHARES

Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India, and mediator in the Tata Iron and Steel Company share conversion issue, giving his "opinion" on the question, reported that the essential factors to be considered in arriving at the intrinsic or real value of the shares are: (1) the earning capacity of the company; and (2) the safety of capital or assets backing.

In his "very, very short" report received in Bombay on May 13, the mediator stated, "Of these two factors, the paramount factor is the potential earning power of the Company."

Though the market quotations for shares are not necessarily indicative of their true worth, they certainly have to be taken as representing their market prices at a particular time because these prices are fixed in a free and open market by dealings between buyers and sellers." Mr. Setalvad stated, "Thus though the market value is not a conclusive test of real value, where there is a free market, it is a cogent evidence of real value."

The dividends paid over a number of years would also, in some measure be indicative of the real or intrinsic value of the shares.

The true approach, in my view, would, therefore, be first to arrive at the fair value of the two classes of shares on the basis of computation of the average maintainable profits.

The average maintainable profits would be equivalent to the maintainable yield and indicate the prospective earning capacity of the shares. The fair value so arrived at can be checked by a valuation based on market quotations over a period of about ten years and by a valuation based on the dividends paid over a similar number of years.

The equity value of the two classes of shares and their relative rights in a winding up will also have to be considered.

Having given careful consideration to all the relevant factors including the equity value of the two classes of shares and having given due weight in evaluating the ratio of the higher rights in a winding up of the deferred share-holders, I am of the opinion that the fair conversion ratio is six ordinary shares to one deferred share.

INCREASE IN BANK EARNINGS

The total earnings of banks in India increased from Rs 40 crores in 1950 to Rs. 47 crores in 1951, according to a survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India on the "earnings and expenses of banks." The survey covers scheduled banks and non-scheduled banks having paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 5 lakhs and over.

The total earnings of reporting Indian scheduled banks were around Rs. 30 crores in the years 1947 to 1950. In 1951, as a result of record expansion in bank credit, they rose to Rs. 32.3 crores.

The total earnings of exchange banks amounted to Rs. 13.1 crores in 1951, as against Rs. 9.5 crores in 1950. Earnings from bills and loans constituted the largest items of earnings for both classes of scheduled banks.

On the expenditure side, establishment expenses of the Indian scheduled banks accounted for the largest share of earnings. The amount rose steadily from Rs. 7 crores in 1946 to Rs. 12 crores in 1951.

"The entire increase in earnings since 1946 has been virtually absorbed in higher establishment charges," the survey said.

Establishment expenses of exchange banks amounted to Rs. 3.4 crores in 1951, as against Rs. 3.1 crores in 1950 and Rs. 2.9 crores in 1949.

The net profit of Indian scheduled banks, which recorded a continuous decline from Rs. 9.4 crores in 1946 to Rs. 6.6 crores in 1950, rose to Rs. 7.5 crores in 1951.

WORLD BANK'S LOANS

Seven per cent. of all loans signed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and development up to the end of March 1953 have gone to India, according to the latest report of the Bank's affairs.

The report shows that in the matter of repayment of principal, India leads all borrowing countries with a contribution of 4.9 million dollars. Total repayments amount to 118 million dollars.

ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Sm. Renuka Ray, presiding over the Silver Jubilee session of the All-India Women's Conference at Poona appealed to the women in India and the world over to rally round Prime Minister Nehru to "effectively assist him in restoring sanity in human affairs."

"How far women, who are the mothers of the race are effectively contributing towards strengthening Sri Nehru's independent stand on various world affairs which alone can check the mad rush of humanity towards its own destruction?" she asked.

The emergence of the two opposing power blocs, the war in Korea, the terrible apartheid policy which is being followed in Africa and elsewhere, the lingering remnants of imperialism in parts of Asia still threaten world peace. Scientific and technological advance seems to be outstripping the progress of the human mind.

She asserted that even those who ridiculed Sri Nehru's policy were coming to realize that this was the only way out if peace and tranquillity were to prevail and human progress made possible.

The cadence of human civilization is disjointed and its balance can only be restored when men and women contributed in equal measure.

She said that mere constitutional rights were not enough; women must assert their rights and realise their responsibilities.

Referring to the grievances of the Indian women, she said, "Social customs, such as the dowry system, still linger; double standard morality obtains not only in this country but in many countries of the world; the iniquitous social laws remain.

We have seen how the Hindu Code Bill, a mild measure of reform, in spite of all the efforts of progressive elements has not yet become law. The Hindu Marriages and Divorce Bill, 1952, which is only a part of the Code, had however, easier passage in Parliament. It does not hit the vested interests in the same manner as the part that deals with equalising inheritance laws. We find that it is vested interest that stands in the way of reform.

These social paradoxes may continue to remain on paper, but life would follow a different pattern. The law may hamper but cannot ultimately bind or fetter the forces of progress.

IMMORAL TRAFFIC SUPPRESSION

Mr. B. N. Datar, Deputy Home Minister, told a deputation of 19 women M.P.s. on May 8, that the Government of India were already seized of the problem of prevention of immoral traffic in women and were considering the feasibility of enacting Central legislation under Article 252 or 253 of the Constitution, with the consent of the States.

He said the Government had accepted the principle of the non-official Bill moved in Parliament by Smt. Jayashri Raijee and others for the suppression of immoral traffic and the rescue of fallen women, and were in correspondence with the States on this question.

A memorandum signed over by 20 women Members of Parliament was submitted to the Deputy Home Minister. The deputationists had a 90 minute discussion with Mr. Datar.

Explaining the present position of law in the country Mr. Datar said the Indian Penal Code had made brothel-keeping and solicitation offences. There were also other provisions for the rescue of minor girls from abduction. Most of the States had also laws dealing suppression of immoral traffic. Further, India had signed in 1950, and ratified two years later, an international convention on suppression of immoral-traffic.

CONVENTION ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Sri Rajeshwar Dayal, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on behalf of the Government of India signed the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. The Convention requires that women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, that they shall be eligible for election to all elective bodies, and that they shall be entitled to hold public offices, and exercise all public functions on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

Sri Dayal said the Indian delegation to the United Nations had consistently stood for equal rights for women in all fields.

GIFT FROM U. S. JUDGE TO INDIA

Prime Minister Nehru has confirmed in a letter to NAFEN's Madras correspondent that the Supreme Court Judge of the U. S. A. Mr. William O'Douglas has sent him 1,000 dollars being the Sidney Hillman Award to be spent on the advancement of labour in India.

The award is made every year by the Congress of Industrial Organisation (CIO) of Clothing Workers of the U. S. A. for outstanding public services.

The gift of 1,000 dollars was a present to Mr. O'Douglas in December last by the Sidney Hillman Foundation; and the Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court has sent the money to Mr. Nehru.

In a letter to the Indian Prime Minister the Judge has said that "the gift is a token of the growing friendship between the people of the West and your people."

PULITZER PRIZE FOR HEMINGWAY

Ernest Hemingway has been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his novel 'The Old Man and the Sea.' The prize for a playwright went to William Inge for his 'Picnic.'

CARNATIC MUSIC

Replying to Mr. Madiiah Gowda who raised the question in the House of the People, Mr. K. D. Malaviya, Deputy Minister of Education, said that the proposal to form an Academy of Carnatic Music had been dropped for the time being. Mr. Malaviya said, that out of the proposed participating States, Travancore-Cochin did not want to participate on the ground that it was already maintaining a full-fledged music college. Differences existed between the Government of India and the States Governments of Madras, Hyderabad, and Mysore, in regard to the allocation of expenditure on the proposed Academy.

THE CORONATION GIFT

What is described as the largest and finest diamond in the world valued at not less than £500,000 and possibly £1,000,000, is to be a Coronation present for Queen Elizabeth. The diamond, found in 1945 in Sierra Leone, West Africa, and weighing 770 carats uncut, is being given by the De Beers Diamond Corporation on behalf of the diamond trade of all the world English craftsmen for several weeks past have been cutting and processing the stone which, when finally finished, will be about the size of a large hen's egg



President Eisenhower delivering his historic speech
"The Peace We Seek."

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THE ROAD TO PEACE

BY MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

THE fortunes of peace seem to be fluctuating precariously. Except for the partial POW exchange in Korea and periodical pronouncements by some politicians here and there, there has been no concrete endeavour to consolidate the new conciliatory tone in international relations and exploit to the utmost the so-called "climate of peace." It is true that the situation is still hopeful but the world has certainly not recorded any fresh advance on the road to peace since the successive Communist peace moves brought about a marked improvement in the international situation.

In a way such a stalemate is partly inevitable under the prevailing circumstances. It is a patent fact that the stage for mere gestures and overtures has long since passed and concrete action on either side to translate their oft-proclaimed intentions into realities is very much overdue. There is undoubtedly conclusive evidence to show that both the power blocs are fully conscious that it is imperative to work for rather than talk of peace, but while the Communist countries, perhaps not without justification, are looking forward for the Western Powers to provide the necessary momentum, the attitude of the latter and particularly of the US Government, has so far been unhelpful and somewhat of an hindrance.

The phenomenon however is not inexplicable. The plain fact is that although the tempo of the cold war has considerably subsided the world has

yet to return to constructive ways of thinking. The conviction that the opposite side is exclusively responsible for the troubles of mankind and must hence make all the amends still lingers and an atmosphere of mutual distrust continues to vitiate international relations. The first imperative step on the march towards peace therefore is the acceptance by all concerned of the indisputable fact that all nations and in particular the Big Powers that dominate the world are equally responsible for the world crisis.

Such a sincere act of self-criticism alone will induce the Big Powers to lay aside their mutual fears and suspicions and approach the problems before them in a more enlightened frame of mind. It will help to reverse the practice among nations to be guided more by expedients than principles, by the exigencies of military strategy rather than human considerations, to insist on one's pound of flesh instead of meeting the other side half way. It will generate the spirit of give-and-take which alone can help nations to compose their differences and clear the decks for peace. Needless to state, both sides have to cover much ground in this direction before the world can breathe a little more freely.

For example it is easy for Kremlin to talk of peaceful co-existence but Moscow can do no better to prove the sincerity of its professions than follow the Indian Vice-President's wholesome advice and disband the Cominform and cut off all connections with the Communist Parties outside the USSR. The abandonment of the objective of international Communism, not merely in

* As the article was in the press truce delegates at Pan Mem Jom cleared the way for an armistice in the three year old Korean war by signing an agreement on the exchange of prisoners.—Ed. I.R.

theory but 'in practice, will do more than anything else to reassure the western countries, and neutralise the tendency now prevailing, particularly in USA to regard every move emanating from behind the Iron Curtain with suspicion, even to the extent of overstepping the bounds of judicious caution and letting blind prejudice have the better part of reason. It will silence the reactionary elements in the Western camp, who exploit the inherent expansionist tendencies of the Communist movement to interpret every Communist gesture as a propaganda stunt, calculated to undermine the safety and solidarity of the democratic bloc.

A move of this nature at this opportune moment will give a chance for statesmanship in the democratic countries to triumph over blind fanaticism and strengthen the hands of countries like Great Britain or neutral countries like India and other Asiatic nations in their efforts to bridge the gulf between the East and the West and draw the mighty titans of our times, USA and USSR, closer together. Above all it will generate in the democratic world a strong tide of public opinion in favour of peace efforts which no government worth its name will be able to resist with impunity, and thus brighten hundredfold the chances of an honourable and peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues.

Equally far reaching in its effects on the western mind will be the rolling up of the much-maligned Iron Curtain. Isolationism and exclusiveness generate hatred and it is only a free movement of people and flow of information and ideas that can demolish the barriers against international goodwill and understanding. There is no greater inducement to friendship than cultural and social intercourse and the fact that the treatment meted out to the American Editors who recently visited Russia has done more to convince the world about the sincerity of Communist peace gestures, indicates the direction in which efforts must be diverted. It is of course too much to expect the Communists to get rid of their customary rigidity overnight and the Communist propaganda machine to acquire all of a sudden the

virtue of objectivity but any decent proof that a beginning is being made in this direction will go a long way to stimulate East-West good-will.

The Western Powers must at the same time move with utmost caution, for the situation is extremely delicate and the world might have to pay very dearly for any careless and thoughtless step taken now. All the greater therefore is the pity that few statesmen in the West should have by their utterances and conduct disclosed a proper appreciation of the present circumstances, but the time has come when the Western Countries must either muster all the tact and statesmanship at their command or let the world drift to its doom. Opposition to Communism must no longer lead them to hold back justice where it is due or be blind to their own shortcomings and imperfections and their own obligations to give peace and security to the world. As Mr. Trigve Lie, the Ex-Secretary General of the UNO aptly remarked peace cannot be negotiated in terms of "unconditional surrender."

It is in this spirit that the question of Red China must be viewed. It is stating the obvious to say that the Far East is the most important sector of the international stage and that no solution to the Asian problems can be effective without its wholehearted acceptance by China. In fact with a Government *de facto* and *de jure* representing such a large segment of the world population, whatever may be its political complexion outlawed from the ranks of United Nations the deliberations at UN have about them an air of utter unreality, which is only accentuated by the monstrous farce of letting the discredited Chiang-Kai shek regime to speak for the Chinese people and function as one of the Big five. Recognition of Red China, her admission into the UN and the restoration of Formosa to its rightful owners are the minimum steps the western bloc must take immediately to secure the chances of peace.

Such a change in policy will open wide the prospects of a permanent solution to the Korean problem, not just the silencing of the guns of war but the restoration

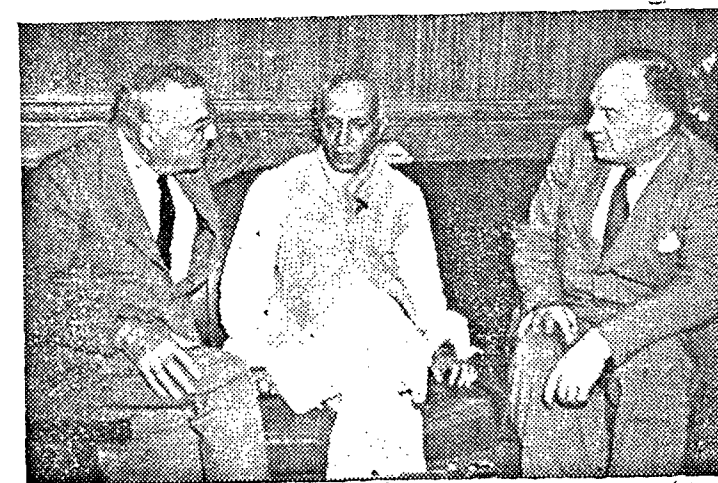
of unity to the unhappy land and the rehabilitation of the unfortunate people. It will pave the way for the speedy clearance of the mess in Indo-China and the restoration of peace to disturbed Malaya. The task will be easier if the western powers realise that imperialism and colonialism in any form or shape, are no more conducive to peace than red terrorism and the imposition of Communist rule on unwilling people. The acceleration of the process of economic and political emancipation of the exploited nations, whether it be the settlement of Mossadeq's fight for Iranian oil, or Naguib's demand for the British to quit the Suez Canal Zone and Soudan, or the crisis in Kenya or the problem of racial discrimination in Africa as a whole, is as much necessary for the ushering in of peace as the liberation of the satellites from Kremlin's bondage or the unification of Germany.

In fact all these problems would vanish if the major powers were to realise that it is the weaker nations and not the principal actors in the drama that become the unfortunate victims of Big Power rivalries. This lesson has never been more evident than today when the suppressed peoples of the world have awakened to the full consciousness of their rights and by

helping the progressive forces at work everywhere to fulfil themselves the Big Powers will be only spurring on the general progress of mankind and making a promising beginning towards the realisation of man's cherished dream of lasting peace.

Only a beginning indeed, because peace does not mean the mere absence of war but the existence of genuine harmony and a sense of security. A general agreement among the Big Powers will undoubtedly be a great step forward but only if men apply themselves seriously to the task of evolving a new social and political order which while securing the legitimate interests of all nations will enable all men, irrespective of race and colour, to live together in peace in the true spirit of universal brotherhood.

That is the goal that awaits the world once the immediate problems are tackled and what better rallying point could there be than a war, not of atom bombs and guided missiles, but a war against want and misery that afflict such a large portion of mankind? It is a mission which calls for a spirit of self-sacrifice and fellow-feeling, so very scarce in the modern world, but then there is no alternative road to peace.



Shown at the right of Prime Minister Nehru is U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. At the left is director of the U. S. Mutual Security Agency Harold E. Stassen.

THE 1951 CENSUS OF INDIA

BY SRI ASHISH BOSE

SINCE 1881 when the first regular census was taken in India, there has been a census, without a break every tenth year. A census of India was attempted between 1867 and 1872 but it was partial and unsystematic. It may be mentioned that in the United States the first census was undertaken in 1790 and in Great Britain in 1801.

The 1951 Census of India was the 8th regular census of India and the first census of free India. The Census was remarkable in many respects. Public co-operation which is a *sine quo non* of a good census and which was lacking in India under the British regime, was secured in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. Except for minor scuffles over the language issue, the Census was conducted peacefully and smoothly. For the speedy and efficient operation of the first census of free India, the lakhs of unpaid enumerators, the census staff and officials and in fine, the Registrar General of India, Shri R. A. Gopalaswami deserve our congratulations.

THE CENSUS OPERATION

The Census was taken in all Part A, B and C states and Part D territories of India with the exception of (1) Jammu and Kashmir and (2) Part B Tribal Area of Assam. The counting started on the 9th February and the enumeration was completed by the 3rd March, 1951. 5,92,937 enumerators visited six crores and forty four lakhs of houses. The enumeration records were assembled and checked at 52 Tabulation offices opened temporarily for this purpose at various centres in the country. Provisional figures of the total population were published in April 1951 and the final population figures were published in May 1952. A sample verification of the actual count was done before the end of 1951 and the result published in March 1953.

THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE CENSUS

The useless collection of statistics and discussion regarding castes and sub-castes, which was the practice of previous censuses has been abandoned and more attention paid to the economic

characteristics of the population. In the opinion of an eminent Sociologist, the British officials utilised the decennial census for collecting elaborate statistics about caste, for satisfying their "Intellectual curiosity" and "indulging in the theories of the origins of caste." "It is difficult to see," he says, "any valid reason for this elaborate treatment of caste in the Census Reports" (G. S. Ghurye: CASTE AND CLASS IN INDIA). The occupational distribution of population which was abandoned in 1941 has been introduced again with a more simple and scientific clarification. The entire population of the country has been divided into two broad livelihood categories: (1) Agricultural and (2) Non-Agricultural. Each category is divided into four classes. The detailed classification is given in a subsequent table.

The 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States in India, in addition to a few Part D territories have been grouped into six Population Zones. They are: North India, East India, South India, West India, Central India and North-West India.

Independently of the above grouping the country as a whole is divided into five Natural Regions on the basis of physical features. They are: The Himalayan Region, the Northern Plains Region, the Peninsular Hills and Plateau Region, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region and the Eastern Ghats and Coastal Region. These five Regions are in turn divided into 15 Sub-Regions and 52 Divisions. Statistics are given for all these Population Zones, Natural Regions, Sub-Regions and Divisions. Thus the study of population changes in relation to geographical and economic factors is made possible.

Another feature of the Census of 1951 is that instead of calculating the percentage variation as was done in past censuses the "mean decennial growth rate" has been calculated. The latter is based on the mean population of 1941 and 1951 and not on the population of 1941 only which is the base in the calculation of the percentage variation.

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THE 1951 CENSUS OF INDIA

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For the first time in the history of Census operations in India, a sample verification of the Census Count was conducted on a random sample basis and a precise estimate of the extent of error in the Census Count was made. The verification has established that the 1951 Census Count contains a net under-enumeration error of the order of 1.1 per cent. It means that for every 1000 persons included in the Census Count, 11 other persons were probably omitted. It is encouraging to note that even in U.S.A. a net under-enumeration error of very nearly the same order was revealed by a post-enumeration survey soon after the 1950 census of U.S.A.

WHAT THE CENSUS REVEALS

The total population of India including the estimated population of Jammu and Kashmir (4.41m) and Part B Tribal Areas of Assam (0.56m) on the 1st March 1951 was 361.8 millions while the total land area was 1.27 million sq. miles.

The following figures relate to the territories actually covered by the 1951 census:

Total Population in 1951	..	356,829,485
Total Population in 1941	..	314,766,380
Net Increase (1941-51)	..	42.06 millions
Mean Decennial growth	..	12.5 per cent.
Percentage increase	..	13.4 per cent.
Total land area	..	1.18 million sq. miles.
Density	..	303 persons per sq. mile.

The following table shows the area, population and density of the 10 biggest States in India:

STATE	AREA (SQ. MILES)	POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)	DENSITY (PERSONS PER SQ. MILE)
1. Uttar Pradesh	113,409	63.22	557
2. Madras	127,790	57.02	446
3. Bihar	70,330	40.23	572
4. Bombay	111,434	35.96	323
5. West Bengal	30,775	24.81	806
6. Madhya Pradesh	130,272	21.25	163
7. Hyderabad	82,168	18.66	227
8. Rajasthan	130,207	15.29	117
9. Orissa	60,136	14.65	244
10. Punjab	37,378	12.64	338

Thus, U. P. has the biggest population, M. P. the largest area and West Bengal the highest density.

Of the total population of 356.83 millions in 1951, 183.31 millions were males and 173.52 millions were females. Thus there were 947 females per 1000 males. The total rural population was 295.0 million or 82.7 per cent of the total population. The total agricultural population was 249.1 millions or 69.8 per cent of the total population. There were 75 cities in India with a combined total population of 24.13 millions or 6.8 per cent of the total population of India. U. P. has the largest number of cities (16) while Bombay (State) has the biggest city population 5.1m. The biggest cities in India are Bombay (2.8m), Calcutta (2.5m), Madras (1.4m) and Hyderabad (1.1m). Greater Calcutta, however, has a population of 3.5 millions.

Among the six Population Zones, West India (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch) shows the highest rate of increase in population (20.1 p.c.) and North-west India (Rajasthan, Punjab, Pepsu etc.) the lowest (9.0 p.c.). Among the five Natural Regions the Western Ghats and Coastal Region shows the highest rate of increase (20.5 p.c.) while the Northern Plains Region registers the lowest rate of increase (10.8 p.c.). Among the individual States the highest rates of growth is recorded in Delhi (62.1 p. c.), next come Coorg (30.5 p.c.), Tripura (21.9 p.c.), Mysore and Travancore-Cochin (21.2 p. c. each) and Bombay (20.8 p.c.). There is an actual decline in population in the Punjab (-0.5 p.c.) and in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. (-8.6 p.c.).

There are more males than females in all states except Orissa, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Manipur and Kutch where the reverse is the case. The sex-ratio is very unstable in the Andaman & Nicobar Islands (625 females per 1000 males), Pepsu (844) and the Punjab (863). It is worst in cities. In Calcutta there are only 570 females per 1000 males, in Bombay 596 and in Kanpur 699.

The Following table gives the livelihood classes and the percentage of population dependent on each class to the total population:

CLASS	PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents ..	46.9
2. Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents ..	8.9
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents ..	12.5
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers and their dependents ..	1.5
Total Agricultural Population ..	69.8
Persons including dependents who derive their principal means of livelihood from:	
5. Production other than cultivation ..	10.6
6. Commerce ..	6.0
7. Transport ..	1.6
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources ..	12.0
Total Non-Agricultural Population ..	30.2
Total ..	100.0

CONCLUSION

In 1901 the population of India (excluding the area of Pakistan and Jammu

and Kashmir) was 235.5 millions. In 1951 it was 356.8 millions. Thus in 50 years the population has increased by 121.3 millions, *i.e.*, by 51 per cent. In spite of 50 years of industrialisation and urbanisation 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood and 83 per cent of the people live in villages. Demographic history has meaning only in relation to Socio-economic history. One cannot pronounce with cheerful finality that both the density and rate of growth of population in India are low compared to those of Western countries. Ours is an under-developed agricultural country with an economy more or less stagnant for the last half a century. It is idle to compare our statistics with those of industrialised urbanised countries of the West. And the talk about potential plenty is equally idle. It is time we consider the population problem in its correct perspective without presupposition and prejudice, no matter we are Malthusians or Marxists.

Aldous Huxley—A Study in Disintegration

BY SRI DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

IN the stream-lined city of Hollywood, where life goes whistling as if on a perennial spree, there also lives a hermit, who along with Isharwood and a number of other young converts is busy 'contemplating the navel.' It is, as if driven by Destiny. Aldous Huxley has reached the alluring city of charm and spell only to test his new philosophy of serenity, detachment and self-abnegation. Wrapped up in his philosophical musings, he wakes up now and then from his period of mystical hibernation and emerges as a frowning Jeremiah. His later novels will illustrate the point. Here at last have we the spectacle of a novelist who began with the promise of 'POINT COUNTER POINT' and 'EYELESS IN GAZA' and has ended up with the woolly moorings of 'TIME MUST HAVE A STOP' and the pointless loud shrieking of 'APE AND ESSENCE'. His writings

are greeted even now with the usual eclat and ballyhoo we associate with an established name, yet who can deny that the Hollywood Huxley has lost his hold on reality. His grip has slackened and he can no longer dig his teeth into life as he did with vengeance in his earlier novels. The 'lean and mournful Don Quixote without dreams', as Hugh Kingsmill once described Huxley, is now bogged up neck-deep in his mystical dreams and fantasies. One might forestall the criticism of some of his addict-admirers, who would regard his quest of Nirvana as the true and higher kind of reality and thus the affairs of this world too gross and mundane to engage his restless mind. Even if such a view of life were true, it hardly justifies the endless spiritual excursions on the part of a novelist into the realm of the Unknown. For when a novelist

ceases to deal with the multitudinous life that flows in the streets, he ceases to be a good novelist. He may in his own right be a prophet, a mystic, a mentor, but he is no longer a story-teller who need must deal with the traffic of life. That is why, whereas a Dickens, a Balzac, or a Tolstoy will continue to sustain interest, a Huxley for all his precosity and genius will be eventually an object of interest only to a few research scholars.

Perhaps his own temporary blindness, from which he has now recovered has sharpened the edge of his mind, as it did in the case of Milton. But one can sift out evidence even from his earlier novels of this change in his mind. The seeds of this philosophy are there in the sub-soil of such novels as 'THOSE BARREN LEAVES', 'POINT COUNTER POINT', and 'EYELESS IN GAZA', though a definite turning on the road is clearly perceptible since the publication of 'After Many A Summer'. More fully he has enunciated this view of life in his prose works, like 'ENDS AND MEANS' and 'THE PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY'. What is, after all, the burden of his song? He regards human body as the villain of the piece. Fie! away with it, he seems to snarl like an angry Puritan. Human body which was adored by the healthy pagans of Greece, which inspired with its alabaster beauty a Shakespeare, or a Kali Dasa, or a Leonarda De Vince leaves Huxley cold and dry. In the body he finds the seeds of pride, arrogance, bestiality and concupiscence. In his earlier novels, however, he represents body as the only reality and soul as a by-product of the same. That is the attitude of a pragmatist and a determinist, even though the streak of asceticism is visible in a nascent form. Body, according to Huxley, conditions our living on this planet and all our values of life are finally determined by this brutal and inescapable fact. At this stage he regarded soul as a supernumerary object which is in the nature of an excrement or a romantic extravagance. As early as 'THOSE BARREN LEAVES' he writes... 'The greatest tragedy of spirit is that sooner or later it succumbs to the flesh...The

tragedies of the spirit are mere struttings and posturings on the margin of life and the spirit itself is only an accidental exuberance, the product of spare vital energy, like the feathers on the head of a hoopoe...'

Spandrell, the brilliant iconoclast in 'POINT COUNTER POINT' hates physical love, for it involves the degradation and humiliation of human body. The body in its limitless, unpredictable way gets on top of you and exposes you to ridicule and shame. That pathetically bizarre scene in 'EYELESS IN GAZA' when a puppy tumbles down from an aeroplane and its brains and blood are scattered all over the bodies of the two lovers, lying naked on the sands, again reveals the cynicism of the anti-romantic mind. The clandestine liaison between the doting American millionaire and his youthful private secretary, Miss Mauncipal in 'AFTER MANY A SUMMER' brings into full play the satirical wrath of Huxley. The search for a formula which would prolong life and hence the pleasures of the flesh (the thought-pattern of the novel points incidentally to the motif in Tennyson's poem 'Tithonus' from which the title, 'After Many A Summer' has been taken) is held up to ridicule in that strange, grotesque scene with which this novel ends. The powerful irony of this scene rests on the hypothesis that evolution may overstep itself and reach a stage which is biologically insecure. Again in 'TIME MUST HAVE A STOP' the portrait of Uncle Ustace, incidentally the only satisfactory portrait in this novel, is that of a hedonist and a voluptuary, who revels in his table-luxuries and whose end on the commode in his own lavatory is symbolical of the cynical attitude of Huxley. However this war that he has declared on the body not only breeds cynicism but driven to its logical conclusion preaches the very negation of life. Bohemian indulgence is certainly irrational but Puritanical abstinence is equally grotesque. The body betrays the beast that is chained in the flesh, but it can also lead us into 'the kingdom of flesh' of which the French novelist, Jules Romains speaks so eloquently in his

novel 'THE BODY'S RAPTURE'. This Buddhist attitude may become the anchor-sheet of the intellectual elite but how does it solve the problems of hunger, pain and poverty which confront humanity? Huxley's retreat into mysticism is thus indirectly an acknowledgment of his defeat in the field of action and reality.

With the publication of his novel, 'APE AND ESSENCE' Huxley has gone one step farther. It is a vitriolic phantasmagoria dealing with post III World War period nearly two centuries hence. The atomic and bacteriological warfare has obliterated all traces of civilization and culture as we understand them today. Dr. Poole, the biologist at the head of a Rediscovery Expedition comes to America from New Zealand—the only land which escaped the 'Teing' and where the clock of civilization has not been put back thousands of years. America is occupied by deformed human beings, who worship Belial, regard woman as the vessel—the seat of the unholy spirit—and accept the 'Principle of Evil' as final and ultimate truth. With withering sarcasm and irony, Huxley paints a fanciful picture of a society which has descended to the level of apes. In the words of the imaginary 'Narrator.'

'Surely it's obvious
Doesn't every school-boy know it?
Ends are ape-chosen, only the means are man's.'

He regards Nationalism and Progress as the two chief sources of evil in the world today. In one sweep, Huxley rejects Fascism, Communism, and the so-called Western values of Freedom and Democracy. With bitter indignation, as if the pen were dipped in gall, he writes;

'An inch from the eyes, the ape's black paw
Eclipses the stars, the moon, and even
Space itself. Five stinking fingers
Are all the world.'

Compare this hysteria with the calm repose of an identical scene in his earlier novel, 'THOSE BARREN LEAVES', when Calamy, the hero lying by the side of his beloved at night time puts his palm between himself and the moon and begins to contemplate through the chinks of his fingers. Even Hardy's Jude who

while dying curses the day, 'when it was said, a man child is conceived' was less venomous than Huxley who puts the following words into the mouth of the Chorus in 'Ape and Essence':

'Mother emerging nine months later,
Bears this monstrous mockery of a man ...'

This is an indictment not only of modern society and its values, but a complete denial of life itself. It is a despairing cry for the total annihilation of biological life on this planet. Apparently Huxley seems to agree with H. G. Wells, who in swan-song, 'HIND AT THE END OF ITS TETHER' predicted gloomily that this world was shortly going clean out of existence, 'leaving not a wrack behind'. This is neither cynicism nor pessimism, for both these attitudes covertly recognise the existence of some worth-while ideal in life; it is simply the cry of utter negation, the cry of complete void. If 'APE AND ESSENCE' were only a warning of what might happen if we persist in our follies, its writer has succeeded in putting forward his point of view with force and vehemence, but unfortunately in condemning all that we prize today (Democracy, Socialism, Progress etc.), he has not suggested an alternative mode of life or a better scale of values. For all the loud shrieking and hysterical warnings, we are left groping in a blind alley. There is no philosophical lamp-post which we can clutch at in the wilderness of these times. We are exhorted to wait for the Execution with calm and repose. Such a philosophy will hardly commend itself to vigorous and dynamic minds, which do not want to arrest the progress of life, but so change, and mould it that it becomes a spectrum of myriad hues.

SHAW AND FLOWERS

A distinguished writer once paid a visit to G. B. Shaw and was surprised to find that there was not even one vase containing flowers.

"I thought you were very fond of flowers," he said.

"I am," returned Shaw shortly. "I'm very fond of children, too. But I don't cut off their heads and stick them in pots."

PLAGIARISM AND PROPHECY

BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS

A plagiarist, in the original usage of the word, is one who passes off the thoughts or expressions of others

as his own. An interesting study in research in English poetry would be examples of such apparent thievery. I should think the results would fall into two categories, conscious and unconscious plagiarism. Rudyard Kipling phrased it characteristically in his prefatory poem:



JAMES H. COUSINS

When 'Omer smote his bloomin lyre
He'd heard men sing by land and sea,
And what he thought he might require
He went and took, the same as me.

The speculation has been induced by my having to revive the memory of poems learned long ago, and add others for repetition to myself, to keep off automatic brain activity during a time of complicated illness. A number of AE's poems had remained with me since I first read "Homeward Songs by the Way" in Belfast 55 years ago. But his "Continuity," though I have read it many times, did not take root until recently. Its first stanza is:

No sign is made while empires pass,
The flowers and stars are still His care,
The constellations hid in grass,
The golden miracles in air.

Succeeding stanzas and their significance will appear later. The resemblance conscious or unconscious, to other expressions of inverted figurativeness is in the third line of the first verse, in which he likens flowers (I fancy he was thinking of the daisy familiar in Irish fields) to constellations, and the fourth line likens stars to flowers in the sky. Some poets are partial to such balances in figures of speech.

I remember, long ago in my English teaching days in Madanapalli College, in

South India, calling the attention of students to the superb lines by William Watson in "The Father of the Forest".

The South shall bless, the East shall blight
The red rose of the Dawn shall blow;
The million-lilied stream of night
Wide through ethereal meadows flow.

The first line is just a metrical statement that in Watson's part of the world, in Britain, the wind from the south was mild, beneficent, whereas the wind from the east was at time ruinous, and could blight a flowering hedge of heliotrope in a night. The second line could have been written by other poets, had indeed been anticipated in Tennyson's "awful rose of dawn." It is the third and fourth lines that rise to the zenith of suggestive symbolism, the likening of the galaxy, not to the ancient Greek idea of milk (gala) that gave it the obvious name "the Milky Way," but to the figure of a lily covered stream, picturesque and majestic.

Watson was a Victorian rationalist, and intellectually would have repudiated any attribute of mysticism to his poetry. But the intuition of the poet has a way of rising at times to the level of spiritual enlightenment that is experienced by the mystic, and passing from external expression to internal meaning. Whether he knew it or not, the two lines referred to perform in one swing of the eye of the imagination the operation of linking earth and heaven as diverse expressions of a reality that animated both. "The flowers and stars are still His care," AE said.

Watson's "million-lilied stream" is a parallel of "AE's golden miracles in air" both exalt earth to heaven. And we shall see another parallel in Longfellow's "Stars, that in earth's firmament do shine" in the poem entitled "Flowers." These challenges, inspirations and beauties of verbal expressions are incidental in the poems from which they are quoted. Yet they are not simply and independently incidental. They arise out of the fundamental nature of the poet. They pass from what may be superficially called plagiarism into what may be called prophecy: not in the sense of

foretelling events; but in the indicating of conditions out of which future events would, as they intuitively saw, arise, and through which, if rightly understood and applied, they were as certain as anything can be to exert an influence on the trend and fulfilment of events.

Let us forget the easy suggestion of plagiarism. Are not all poets plagiarists of nature? Where would they be without roses and sunsets and larks and (in India) lotuses? Rabindranath Tagore wrote: "Thy world is making words in my mind"—his verbal reaction to the phenomena of nature. But there is something else that makes poetry poetical. He adds: "And thy joy is adding music unto them"—his perception of the divine joy in creation that is integral in the Indian mind: the Ananda-maya-Kosha (Bliss-body) from which proceeded and still proceed all other Koshas (bodies) intuitional, mental (including emotional, vital and substantial) even as all speech has come from the primeval Om. Something of this must have been in my own mind when, some years ago I wrote a sonnet whose sestet runs:

In the beginning the ancestral word
With verbal music filled the dumb abysee;
And only he is poet who is stirred
To echo same archaic aphorism;
Who knows his light by Light's own shadow
blurred.

His proudest verse but humblest plagiarism.

Let us leave it at that, and look at the expressions of the three poets quoted from, and observe how the quotation of the poet shows itself in the three ways of response of the individual consciousness to what William James the pragmatic philosopher called the total push and pull of the universe, in the mystical AE, the rationalistic Watson, and the religious Longfellow.

In another poem AE gives expression to a not very rosy view of the future of the race:

The shepherded stars have sunk within
The world's great night will soon begin.

One looks for an optimistic response to the process of life from the mystical poet. But one cannot put every response into even a whole life's expression; and we have to gather up significances from

other expressions of the mystical poet that bear on so drastic a declaration. For even if events in 1953 appear to indicate sunset instead of dawn; and to confirm the emotional pessimism of the mystic poet, we find in other verses of the poem "Continuity," already referred to, the bend of the line of logic into the circle of intuition of threatened destruction in human affairs moving into reconstruction at a higher level. These are the verses:

In that wild orchid that your feet
In their next falling shall destroy,
Minute and passionate and sweet
The Mighty Master holds His joy.

Though the crushed jewels droop and fade,
The artist's labours will not cease,
And of the ruins shall be made
Some yet more lovely masterpiece.

The artist and mystic have here held the same pen; and the dogma of "great night" is followed by the dogma of "some yet more lovely masterpiece." Watson follows "the million-lilied stream of night" with another figure of speech that presents a parallel of imagination to the mind of the sensitive reader, indicating a way of escape out of the unbalanced attitude and circumstances of today, in the recognition of the unlikeness in external things being capable of a blend in a confederation of purpose towards the achievement of Beauty. In efforts to solve the problems of the nations today, there is occasional reference to the place of art in education as a measure developing the sense and reality of Beauty in the young. The study of nature in education would probably be a help towards the blending of unlikeness in human relations. The intellectual imagination of the rationalist poet finds its expression in the verses at the end of "The Father of the Forest," following the stanza quoted above.

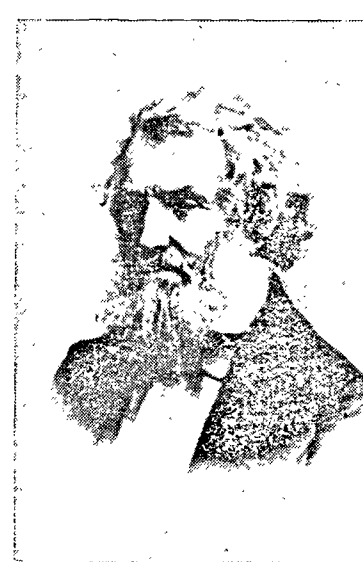
Within oceans heedless round her feet
And the indifferent heavens above,
Earth shall the ancient tale repeat
Of wars and tears and death and love,
And wise from all the foolish past,
Shall peradventure hail at last
The advent of that morn divine
When nations may as forests grow,
Wherein the oaks hate not the pine
Nor does the elm wish cedars woe;
But all in their unlikeness blend,
Confederate to one golden end,

Beauty, the vision where unto
With joy, in paintings, from afar,
In sound and odour, form and hue
And mind and day and worm and star,
Now touching goal, now backward hurled,
Toils the indomitable world.

Watson's "million-lilied stream" is a parallel in reverse to AE's "constellations hid in grass" and the constellations reappear in Longfellow's confessed paraphrase of a German poem, which relieves it of the charge of plagiarism:

Spake full well in language quaint and olden
One who dwelleth by the castled Rhine.
When he called the flowers so blue and golden
Stars, that in earth's firmament do shine
Stars they are, wherein we read our history
As astrologers and seers of old,
Yet not wrapped about with awful mystery,
Like the burning stars, which they beheld,
Wondrous truths and manifold as wondrous,
God hath written in the stars above;
But not less in the bright flowers under us
Stands the revelation of His love.

Thus the Irish mystic, the English rationalist and the religious American, share the same vision of symbolical reciprocity in stars and flowers; and each becomes prophetic in his own characteristic manner, AE the mystical artist, sees the unceasing labour of the Master Artist following the destroyed orchid with "some yet more lovely masterpiece". Watson, the Victorian rationalist, sees in the forest a paradigm of human organization. Longfellow, the devout American Christian, sees both stars and flowers as revelations of the love of God. "The heavens declare the glory of God." "Yes, but take a look at the ground under your feet." Surely three poetical prophecies of utmost importance in our time of art threatened by destruction, of social and international disorganization, and of sectarian exclusiveness.



SIR GEORGE EVEREST

who headed the survey party mapping the Himalayan peaks in 1841. From his observations he computed the height of the mountain named after him to be 29,002 feet.



COLONEL SIR JOHN HUNT

leader of the 1953 British Everest Expedition. Aged 42, he has taken part in three Himalayan expeditions, but this is his first visit to Everest.



SHERPA TENSING

thirty-nine-year-old Nepali-born and Indian-domiciled Tensing, who with New Zealander Hillary achieved the feat of being the first man to set foot on the summit of the 29,002 foot-high Everest.

CLASH OF LANGUAGES

BY SRI P. S. NAIR

THE moot educational problem today is the oft repeated complaint of the fallen academic standards. Does this mean that the standard of English in our schools and colleges has fallen low? Or the standard of education itself, that is, the level of the intellectual accomplishments of the students has gone down? The former is undoubtedly true; but the latter accords to the facts only partially. Now more subjects are taught in schools and colleges than quarter of a century ago. There are newspapers, periodicals, Cinema and Radio, all sources of knowledge, available to an extent unimaginable before. The present day student is more fortunately placed in many respects than his friends of the past. The cause of the malady lies elsewhere.

The standard of the English language has fallen and will go down further. It is a historical necessity that with the exit of the Britishers the inflated importance of their language is also withdrawn. Has not the supremacy of the Persian language vanished with the decline and fall of the Muslim Empire leaving behind only the Indianised Urdu? With the political supremacy also went the innumerable foreign teachers and professors who used to control our educational institutions. Now English can establish itself on our educational system only on its own merits, on the score of its beauty and utility. Nobody need be apprehensive of the future of English, the language of modern science and philosophy, the medium of world intercourse. This language which was the inspiration for the great movements of the 19th century, through which Tagore interpreted India to the West and Sarojini sung her sweet songs, can never die in India. English has become a part of Indian culture and life and in course of time it may even be accepted as an Indian language in a new garb.

India's yearning for a common language has been consistent through the ages. As early as the days of Imperial Mauryas, there was Pali, the language of Asokan edicts. Even during

the disunited days of decadent India, Sanskrit had a common appeal and it helped the dissemination of our culture in and outside the country. Republican India has accepted Hindi in Devanagari script as the state language. Notwithstanding the sporadic opposition to Hindi, nobody can seriously question its claim as our national language. A country without a common language is like a man without a soul. The country may pull on, but without any individuality or full flowering of its genius. English cannot be our national language, because that language can represent only the European culture and western way of life. As early as 1823 Elphinstone feared that English would destroy the genius of the Indian tongue. William Temple and Wilson in 1880 held the view that 'encouragement of English is unjust to the native literary classes and is no use to the bulk of the population.' We can of course maintain our intercourse with Europe or America through English but we require an Indian medium to maintain our connection with the Northern or Eastern India. The Founding Fathers of our Republic thought Hindi can do the work and recommended its acceptance as our state language within 15 years. Still Hindi cannot replace English because its literature is not sufficiently developed for the purposes now served by the latter. Hindi is like our sacred river Ganga, deep transparent and calm enriched by the great tributaries from the Himalayan peaks. Indian nationalism can be cemented and the present day warring cultures brought into harmony only under the inspiring influence of Thulsidas, Kabir and the other great luminaries of the Hindi literature. Neither Shakespeare nor Milton can do it. Hindi's hand is further strengthened by its close connection with Sanskrit. We can call it even simplified or basic Sanskrit. The overzealous partisans of Hindi from the North should realise that it must take root and flourish in the south not as a graft but as one born and growing in the love of the masses. The cry of purism must give way to the ideal of

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CLASH OF LANGUAGES

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synthesis and assimilation with the regional language.

Finally there comes before our view that procession of 15 regional languages followed by a long line of about 179 dialects. In India regional patriotism has been very strong throughout history. We glory at the great feats of the Rajaputs, Mahrattas and the Sikhs; but it must not be forgotten that these famous men of Indian History fought and held sway not as Indians but as Rajaputs, Maharattas and Sikhs. Even during the golden days of our struggle for liberation, the bait of linguistic provinces had been extended to the people to gird up their loins for the fight. What would Gandhiji have thought of one of his disciples fasting and dying for the Andhra province or whole masses of misled people devastating their own country in the name of their language? The struggle for linguistic provinces will torpedo the Five year plan and endanger Indian unity.

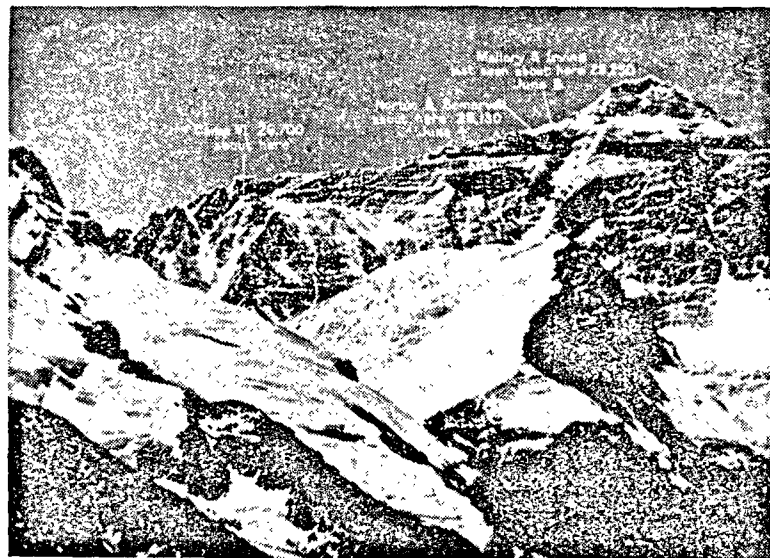
Regional languages cannot be suppressed, as the Dravida Kazhakam thinks, through a domineering Hindi or eclipsed by the glittering English. However Indian languages are growing in competition and not complementary to each other. There is so much language controversy in Madras and Bihar that people in bi-lingual areas suspect each other as plotting against one another. The pandemoniums that are created in some of the state assemblies will be a sight which will disappoint any Indian nationalist. Scratch any body in these parts and it will be found that he is at heart suspicious of the Central Government considering it as an evil and a rival of his state. Growth of these hostile languages without any harmonious influence to reconcile them is dangerous to the growth of a common culture in India. The popularity of Sanskrit is confined to the higher strata of intellectuals and religious leaders and its influence is insufficient for producing harmony among the masses. Real and tangible harmony can come only through regional languages alone. U.S.S.R. solved a similar problem by adopting Russian alphabet for all the languages within

her borders excepting the Armenian, Georgian and the Baltic languages. As Prof. G. Serdyuchenko puts it: "The adoption of the Russian graphic symbols as a basis for creating written languages for nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union also had a number of purely practical advantages. It did away with the diversity of alphabets, making it easier for pupils to learn their native language and Russian as well. Exceptional attention was paid to the specific features of these languages, in particular, the feature of their sound system. At the present time the Soviet Union counts 60 odd national written languages or 10 times more than what existed before the Revolution." India can copy this reform with greater success as we have already a common script in Devanagari for all regional languages excepting Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese. Mere political union will not be lasting without linguistic harmony and concord. If the vernaculars are able to develop to their present stage through their contact with English, what will be their glory if they are watered by the currents of Indian thought and ideas flowing throughout the land. Overnight the bi-lingual areas will turn into an oasis of harmony and tolerance rather than the breeding ground of clashing interests and ill-will. This will pluck the poisonous tooth of linguistic provinces and will reduce that issue into mere provincial delimitation.

These are revolutionary days when ideals are in a state of constant change. Stability is unthinkable in the present state of fluidity of ideas. In the educational field students are subject to various sorts of pressure and loyalties. They want to tap the unquestioned commercial and scientific importance of English, to be loyal to the national aspirations of Hindi and to maintain the prestige and importance of their mother-tongue. This clash of languages is wholly responsible for the low academic standard of students. In Hyderabad the attempt to make Urdu the medium of instruction in the Osmania University was a complete failure because of the trouble to find suitable Text books and

coin scientific terms. By the time a scientific work is translated, a more up-to-date publication comes out making the old one out-of-date. Translation of scientific and technical works can be done by experts and not by literary men as is the case with fiction or general books. So University education in the vernaculars or in Hindi is out of question in the near future. English is the only medium which we can adopt without doing harm to efficiency. One cannot jump into University course in English from a secondary education in vernaculars because education is a progressive course of evolutionary training. The only stage of education when English can be eliminated is the primary stage when the infants can be taught best in their home tongue. If the script of the Regional languages as well as Hindi is Devanagari, due justice is given to both in the primary stage by one stroke. English can be taught two or three hours a week which will not tax the infant energies dangerously.

In the secondary stage English will gain greater importance and pure scientific subjects are to be taught with the help of that language. Subjects like History and Geography can be taught through Mother-tongue. Hindi at this stage will gather importance and separate from the mother tongue. In the order of importance the mother tongue will come first, then English and then will be Hindi. In the University stage English will be media for all scientific subjects leaving easier ones to be tackled through the mother tongue. At this stage English and the mother tongue will be equal in importance while Hindi becomes an optional subject. Thus language should be considered not as an end in itself but a vehicle for the communication of ideas and emotions. Our mother tongue and Hindi are to be encouraged but not at the expense of efficiency. Wastage of time and energy is unpardonable. We can survive as a nation only if we are more economic in the expenditure of our assets. As Clifton Fadiman writes: "It's fun to play with words—but not at the cost of clear communication."



This photograph shows the heights reached by the 1924 climbers from the camp established at 26,700 feet. The rock near the summit is of yellow sandstone with slabs one on top of the other, like roofing tiles. This affords little in the way of footholds and excessive snow here can defeat climbers within sight of their goal.

The Task Before the Taxation Commission

BY PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S., S.C.,

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MUCH water has flown under the bridge since the last Committee had recommended on Indian Taxation nearly two decades ago, and our own conception of state functions and of taxation have undergone radical changes. The first task of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, therefore, is to shake off the influence on their outlook and method which the previous Report or text-books on Public Finance might have created. We have to start afresh without any obsession of out-dated and doctrinaire ideas. This is on the negative side.

Coming to the positive side, ours is a Welfare State. Our Constitution aims at a Welfare State, though it does not strictly rule out a complete socialistic state, but for Art. 31. My own definition of a Welfare State is one which allows equality of opportunity to all and an equal share in all essential amenities of social life without impairing individual initiative and incentive. It is the duty of the Taxation Enquiry Commission to recommend a tax structure befitting this conception of a welfare state.

The Welfare State has two roles. On the one hand, I take it as a (fifth or sixth?) factor of production which has to create the necessary atmosphere for all economic activity and so has to be paid a remuneration. In its second role, the State is itself a large scale manufacturer of social amenities and necessities. Accepting this view of the State, the question is: what is the way in which the activities of the State should be financed. Taking the total needs of the state as a whole, we have to apportion that amount among the various citizens according to some accepted canons of equity or ability or both. Taking it to be that the transfer is from the more able to the less (i.e., from the rich to the poor) there must be at some level a 'neutral citizen' who is self-sufficient, i.e., one who pays to the State nothing

on the whole, i.e. one who gets back from the expenditure of the State just the same as he pays it as taxation etc. The question is: at what level are we to draw this line? This requires an investigation into family budgets.

All taxation involves a transfer of purchasing power individually earned and this involves a transfer or diversion of resources and human activity. The question is: How is this transfer to be effected? And this transfer is from individual to individual, from group to group and from locality to locality, and thus levelling is taking place in a number of endogamous circles within the larger pool of a state. These circles in India are the local bodies and States as units of taxation and expenditure—and nationalised industries.

On this process of constant transfer of purchasing power, we have to project the idea of a Welfare State with its implications of equal opportunity and equal protection of laws. In a 'Police State', equal protection of laws meant equal protection of the individual from rogues and thieves; but in a Welfare State, equal protection should mean more than that. It must mean that the citizens of India shall enjoy equal amenities of social services and administrative efficiency in whichever part of India they live, provided there is equal degree of tax burden. Tax-burden depends not only on the level of taxation but also on the nature of expenditure; and so once again it requires a study of expenditure—this time of this State.

The conclusion I am aiming at is that the scope of the Taxation Enquiry Commission includes

1. Not only an investigation of only those incomes of the State which satisfy Taussig's orthodox definition, but all sources of revenue to the state; and
2. a complete and over-all study of the expenditure of the Central Government, State Governments and

* Memorandum submitted to the Taxation Enquiry Commission. By Prof. K. V. Rao, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S., S.C. College, Puri.

of the local bodies, and even of the individuals—a difficult task, no doubt, but a *sine quo non* of any investigation into the tax structure of the country.

EVERY INCOME OF THE STATE IS A TAX

Is there today any difference between, say, the sales tax and the so called price paid for the post-card? There are two ways of looking at them as similar:

1. Both are compulsory, again, in two senses. Compulsory because when we buy a commodity, we have to pay some tax compulsorily; but we have to pay some price if we have to buy a card. It is meaningless to say that if we do not want the card or if we do not desire to travel by the train, we need not pay any price at all, because we can as well say that if we do not want to pay the tax we can do so by not buying the commodity. Both are avoidable—even income-tax is not compulsory, in this sense, because we can avoid it by not earning the income. There is another sense in which both are compulsory. We are no more living in a primitive and self-sufficient economy, so that today travelling and writing letters or sending goods from place to place becomes absolutely compulsory and so the payment of these prices. Any increase in the prices of these necessary goods acts in the same way as any increase in any tax.
2. Both the tax and the price are similar in another way. In both cases, the amount of levy is determined by the Government, and in both the cases it is regulated according to what the state needs and what the traffic can bear.

Take the example of the Sindri factory or the Hirakud Dam, the levies from which will not come within the purview of the Commission if my view is not accepted. Is not the price of the Sulphate or of electricity determined by the Government on grounds other than the mere cost of production? In that case, is there any difference between its determination and the determination of any tax? To

say that in the case of the post card or electricity, something like cost of production is taken into consideration is to say the absurd, for the Government itself largely determines the cost of production by its wage policy, whose consequence we will examine presently.

I would, therefore, strongly urge upon the Commission to include in its purview all sorts of incomes the State in India is getting and examine their incidence. I would also urge upon them to go into the economics of these nationalised industries because that has a bearing upon the subject of their investigation.

EVERY LEVY IS A TRANSFER

Thus every source of income is a transfer of purchasing power and several questions arise in this connection. Let us take the example of the Indian Railways. Taking it for granted that the Railways yield a profit every year, the following questions arise:

1. To whom is the money collected by the railways and distributed by them transferred?
2. Is such transfer justified or equitable?
3. Are the Railways (nationalised industries) really paying enough to the general revenues?

The Railways every year earn several crores of gross income, paid by the several users of the railways, paid compulsorily because goods as well as passengers must move in the country. And this huge amount is transferred to three groups of people—to the railway services, to the users of the higher classes and to the general public through the contribution to the general revenues. Is this transfer equitable?

First of all the question arises why a particular section of the community—the users of the railways—pay a tax or contribution to the general revenues. So also why should the users of the postal services pay, (to the general revenues), unless their special ability to pay is proved by other tests.

A peculiar kind of transfer taking place now from the lower to the higher class deserves the special attention of

the Taxation Enquiry Commission—instances like the subsidy paid to the Air Companies, or the loss made good in the case of Air-conditioned coaches in Indian Railways or even the maintenance of macadamised roads for the cars of the rich people of India. Does not all this make Indian democracy a Government of the poor, by the middle class and for the rich?

Equally deserving of attention is the transfer to the railway services as wages for the services rendered. While there is no special level of wages divinely ordained for any services, the question has to be examined whether or not the labourers of the nationalised industries getting more wages than their own compatriots in the other Governmental services. This has to lead the Commission to go into the economics of the nationalised industries of India, as suggested earlier. To me it looks as though a new kind of syndicalism is growing in this country with our nationalised industries. To me it looks as though the country has invested Rs. 800 crores and handed them over to the 8 lakhs of railway services for their own maintenance; and similar is the case with, say, the Sindri Factory or the Damodar Valley Corporation. Suppose the Railways in India are owned by private agencies who borrow Rs. 800 crores from the Government at say 3½ per cent; in this case the Government would have got Rs. 28 crores as interest and another similar amount as income-tax. And then there will be other sources of income as local cesses, sales tax etc. And the rates would have been obtained according to the principle of what the traffic can bear. Recent experience has shown that the railways rates have already reached the maximum monopoly levels. If, therefore, the railways had been privately owned, the private monopolist would not have charged more than the present rates. He would have paid nearly Rs. 50 crores to the Centre as interest and income-tax and another ten crores as sales tax, import duties etc., and would have managed the concern only by reduced wages to the labourers. That clearly

means that, as a result of the nationalised industry, the travelling public of India are paying to the railway labour more than they would have paid otherwise. This kind of transfer of purchasing power and the incidence of the rates should be carefully investigated by the Commission.

The effect of all this kind of 'Neo Syndicalism' created by nationalised industries like the Railways, Posts, Sindri and D. V. C. is, therefore, creating new taxing authorities, and this has to be noted by the Commission.

CENTRAL GOV.—A PROSPERITY-MAKER

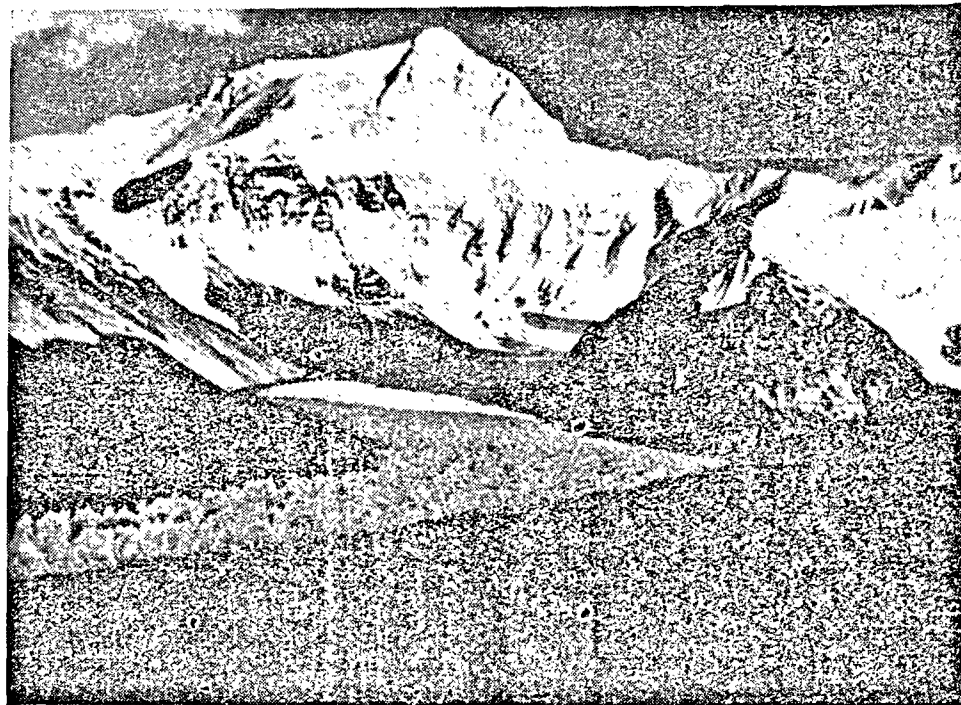
All public finance being a transfer of purchasing power, no investigation of taxation can be complete without at the same time investigating the effects of public expenditure. Take, for instance, the expenditure of the Centre. By virtue of the subjects under its control in the VII Schedule of the Constitution, and by the institution of the Planning Commission, the Centre has become the 'Prosperity-Maker' for the Units. Through its policy of taxation and of expenditure, it can make the Units rich or poor as it likes, and therefore, its over-all policy should be carefully examined by the Taxation Enquiry Commission.

Take Orissa as an example at random. It is what I call the 'Paradox Province' of India. Here are *all* the resources which a country requires to become as rich as any State in the U.S., but still it is the poorest State in India. How can we account for it? After examining the common causes responsible for the backwardness of the rest of the states in India, we can arrive at the only cause responsible for the special backwardness of this province and that is the general neglect of the Government of India in its policy of expenditure. During the War, for instance, of the thousands of crores of rupees the Centre spent to finance the war, not even 1 per cent was spent in this province either in the form of wages for services rendered or for war contracts! The story is not much different now. Very few people of this province are serving outside the state, there are no insurance companies

or banks registered here getting money from outside, nor have the Central Government started any industry in this State. All these may be compared with the 'invisible imports' of a country which in the case of Orissa come to nothing, thus creating a problem for the State of Orissa, which is not different from the problem of an adverse balance of payments for India. The only solution possible—as the other solutions for correcting an adverse balance do not apply here—is for the Centre to spend more money in such states as Orissa which are 'low money areas', if I can call them so. In fact it is the secret

cause of the poverty of this state which is otherwise well endowed by God. If the Centre can, say, start the Iron and Steel Plant in this State, its problem can be solved easily. I would suggest to the Taxation Enquiry Commission to examine the expenditure policy of the Centre with a view to determine how the Centre is helping the States to help themselves to become prosperous by utilising their own natural resources so that the ideal of 'equal opportunity' in our Preamble becomes a reality.

Thus a study of the 'incidence of expenditure' is as essential as a study of the incidence of taxation.



This view shows Everest, clear-cut and formidable-looking, in the late afternoon light. George Leigh Mallory once described the mountain as "a prodigious white fang excrecent from the jaw of the world."

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

SELF INTEREST?

Lincoln and his law-partner, Herndon, jogging along a muddy road in an old buggy through pouring rain, were discussing a point of philosophy—whether there is such a thing as a disinterested, unselfish act. Lincoln said no; Herndon argued that there are such acts.

"They passed a pig caught in a crack of an old rail fence, squealing for dear life. A little further on, Lincoln, who was driving, stopped the buggy, got out and let the pig loose. When he claimed back in, his feet were muddy, his clothes wet, his hat dropping.

"There now," said Herndon. "In spite of your fine logic you have proved my point why get out in the mud and let that silly pig out when he would have wriggled his way out any how?"

It was a purely selfish act, said Lincoln. "If I hadn't I would not have slept a wink tonight, his squeal would have echoed in my dreams. He might have wriggled his way out but I wouldn't have known it. I win the case."

—Joseph Fort Newton, *Living Everyday* (Harper.)

BEAUTY OR CHARM?

There's a difference between beauty and charm. A beautiful woman is one I notice. A charming woman is one who notices me.

—John Erskine.

KINDNESS IS HAPPINESS

The older you get the more you realise that kindness is synonymous with happiness.

—Lionel Barrymore.

NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

Nothing is said new that hath not been said before.

—Terence (Roman dramatist 185-159 B.C.)

EXPERIENCE

Experience is not what happens to a man. It is what a man does with what happens to him.

—Aldous Huxley.

GOOD TASTE

Good taste is not instinctive but acquired. All native tastes are bad, according to C. E. M. Joad:

The taste of the young in music is abominable, in literature execrable. Good taste grows slowly through the effort to understand what is beyond us, the endeavor to appreciate what we can yet understand. It depends on our willingness to be bored with what is good in order that we may become bored with what is bad and so demand something better. In short, it is born of faith, the faith that the kingdom of Beauty can neither be purchased by dollars nor taken by storm, but must be approached by a process of trial and error, a willingness to learn, and the humility which is prepared to accept on faith and the judgment of others what it cannot yet dare to reject on its own.

HARNESSING NIGHT-AND DAY-DREAMS

The origin of Robert Louis Stevenson's The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde was a dream says Richard Burton in his Preface to The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Gregg).

"In the small hours of one morning," said Mrs. Stevenson, "I was awakened by cries of horror from Louis. When I awakened him, thinking he had a nightmare, he said angrily: 'Why did you wake me? I was dreaming a fine bogey tale.' I had awakened him at the first transformation scene."

Stevenson's dream life played a large part in his fiction, furnishing plots, scenes and characters, even bits of dialogue and directed to some extent the course of the story.

THE REAL TROUBLE

The trouble with the world is that the stupid are cocksure and the intelligent full of doubt.

—Bertrand Russell.

Girls at College

Are of two strata:

Those with dates

And those with data.

—Collier's.

COMMUNISM IN INDIA

BY PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

(M. T. B. College, Surat)

SOME thirty years ago very few in India could spell the word socialism or communism. Today we can scarcely move some 50 steps in the highlanes and bylanes of any part in India without meeting a socialist of some variety. In a family with some half a dozen boys and girls of the school-going age it will be surprising if we do not find a few socialists of some denominations often opposed vehemently to one another. Socialists, Republican Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists, Democratic Socialists, Communists, Stalinists, Trotskytes, Royists and so many other brands are so common and this new creed of socialism in all its different aspects has become almost a household affair. It is again, not confined to children of the school-going age. Practically persons of all ages from eight to eighty, male and female, belonging to all professions from a factory labourer of eight annas a day to a barrister-at-law of hundred guineas a day, from an humble primary school-teacher to a university professor, from a village patel to our Prime Minister—all come within its fold. In some places a local socialist leader may be a crank with a long cloak and waistcoat while another socialist may keep long beard and such peculiar dress or manners may pass as the trade-mark of socialism or communism.

How to account for this rapid growth of socialism and communism?

Socialism or communism has an appeal to one and all, because of its insistence on equality. Human beings are essentially equal. Differences that exist are minor and insignificant. In physical strength and beauty, in intellectual sharpness and artistic talents, in temperament and in capacity each individual differs from the other and in these respects differences do exist. But these differences are nothing compared with the things which are common to all. An Einstein or a Tagore may be a genius and far more superior to an ordinary man but will not a Tagore feel

as acutely as an ordinary man when he goes without food or when he suffers from some disease or when a close relation of his dies? These are the more fundamental things in life where all are equal and justice demands that in society some should not indulge in extravagance when others starve. Our sense of justice revolts when we see some doing absolutely nothing but enjoying everything while others toil day in and day out but do not get the bare necessities of life. If inequality as a social fact has always existed the demand for its abolition also has always persisted. Those who admire socialism and communism, however, forget one simple truth. How keenly one feels that because of the defects of our social system he does not get equal opportunities and hence he is not as prosperous as his fortunate neighbour is. Every individual possibly thinks that he could have been as rich as the Birlas or the Tatas only if he got the opportunities. It is the defective social system which has placed *them* on a better position. He conveniently forgets that the very social system which has placed the Birlas and the Tatas compared to himself, in a better position, has also placed *him* in a better position compared with his domestic servants and other less fortunately placed persons. If he can claim equality with the Birlas why should his servant not claim equally the same equality? Everybody is rich compared with some and everybody is poor compared with others. I may feel that my employer is richer than I am for no merit of his and for no fault of mine. My employer may feel that the Maharaja of Burdwan is richer for no merit of his and the Maharaja of Burdwan may feel that the Nizam of Hyderabad is richer. The popularity of socialism with the prospect of equality which it hold out to all, is based on this peculiar psychology of men. Most people innocently believe that for his poverty society alone, and not he, is responsible. The idea that all persons

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wealthier than me will be eliminated is welcome to me. But I conveniently forget that the same process is sure to reduce my position to that of my servants. Everybody thinks that he is poor; no body thinks that he is rich. When socialism holds out hopes of better opportunities to the poor everybody thinks that he would gain by it. Seldom does a man think that he may even lose even the meagre opportunities which the present social system with all its defects gives him. So everybody in the heart of his heart supports socialism. This explains why not only the extremely poor but also the upper middle class and the moderately well-to-do persons are included amongst the followers of socialism.

Socialism has really nothing to do with the equality as understood by most people. In the ideal socialist state the earnings of all cannot be equal. Differences in earnings will continue. Everybody will earn according to his capacity and everybody will be entitled to enjoy to the full what he has earned. But nevertheless, most people support socialism for its insistence on equality. The substance of socialism is essentially moral. Its foundation is securely based on our sense of justice and here is the real strength of socialism and communism. It is this that those who contribute jointly towards the production of wealth should also get the benefit of their joint action. Wealth produced jointly by all should be equally distributed to all. Some should not appropriate everything to the exclusion of others. Appropriation by one of anything which he has not produced and which some one else has produced is really theft and socialism seeks to prevent this. Its aim is to set up that social and economic system where every one is entitled to the product of his labour, nothing more nothing less. It is for this reason that socialism and communism have attracted so much attention everywhere. In this ideal there is no difference between socialism and communism although as to the method and the procedure to be adopted there is great difference.

The successful experiment in socialism by Russia is decidedly the main cause

of its popularity in India as elsewhere. Russia, rightly or wrongly is regarded as the only hope for the toiling millions elsewhere. The stern discipline, the rigid party organisation, the fanatic zeal of the workers and the uncompromising devotion to its cause by the leaders in Russia are possibly the other causes accounting for its success. The defects and failures of the present social and economic order in other countries are no less contributory factors. Except the U.S.A. where the phenomenal increase of production of wealth and consequently the steadily rising of the standard of living, due partly to the technological improvement and partly to the availability of the natural resources which seem to be unlimited in that fortunate country, living in other countries is not improving and in some countries it is perceptibly deteriorating. Capitalism had increased the prosperity of some men and it had held out high hopes in others. When those hopes are frustrated the disappointment is naturally bitter and acute.

A large group of disgruntled intellectuals, belonging to the middle class society exists in India. They are not only dissatisfied with the existing order. They feel that nothing short of a violent revolution can cure the evils and they are completely disillusioned with the present leadership. Such youthful and fiery enthusiasts attract notice more quickly when they express their extreme views. They at once become popular at least with some sections. Today the main strength of communism in India comes from this section. From this class socialistic ideas percolate amongst the toiling masses.

SHAW OUT-SHAWED

When Cornelia Otis Skinner opened in a revival of Shaw's *Candida* he cabled, "Excellent. Greatest." Miss Skinner, overwhelmed, cabled back, "Undeserving such praise." Shaw answered, "I meant the play." Miss Skinner bristled and replied, "So did I."

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

BY MR. RALPH BUNCHE

WE Americans are part of a vast and powerful and dynamic nation, a great power whose responsibilities and influence in the modern world are frightening in their scope. The origin, traditions and creed of this nation are an inspiration to all freedom-loving peoples. Our country's history is brave. Americans fought and died for their freedom and liberty. Having won by their blood the right to maintain an independent existence, our founding fathers established the nation on the cardinal principles of individual liberty and the equality of men. They spoke of inalienable rights, of the incontestable fact that all men are born free and equal, of the dignity of man. These were essential virtues. In my view they still are. The founding fathers charted the way for the development of a great and virile democracy. They immortalized these concepts in our Constitution. . . .

I am an American and I like the American way of life. I like freedom, and equality, and respect for the dignity of the individual. I believe that these graduates like them too. They like them so well that they bitterly resent being denied them because of an accident of birth. . .

This, it seems to me, is what they should know. The democratic framework of our society is their great hope. The American Negro suffers cruel disabilities because of race which are in most flagrant violation of the constitutional tenets and ideals of the American democracy. But the saving grace for the Negro is the democratic warp and woof of the society which permits the Negro to carry on his incessant and heroic struggle to come into his own, to win those rights, that dignity and respect for the Negro, individually and collectively, which are his birthright as an American. And, fortunately, the American, white and black alike, has a conscience. The Negro American daily wins increasing support for his struggle from all those other Americans who aspire toward a democratic, not a semi-democratic,

* Address to students graduating from Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, a leading Negro University.

America; who wish a four-fourths; not a three-fourths democracy. Moreover, the sympathy of the world is with him. The Charter of the United Nations endorses his aspirations. . .

We Negroes must be great realists. The road over which we must travel is clear, though the prospect may not be pleasant. We suffer crippling disadvantages because of our origin. But we are Americans, in a basically democratic American society. That society is a competitive society. The going is hard even for white Americans. It is harder for us. To make his way, the Negro must have firm resolve, persistence, tenacity. He must gear himself to hard work all the way. He can never let up. He can never have too much preparation and training. He must be a strong competitor. He must adhere staunchly to the basic principle that anything less than full equality is not enough. If he ever compromises on that principle his soul is dead. He must realize that he and his group have not attained the goal until it is no longer necessary to make reference to the fact that "X" was the "first Negro" to do this or that, and until accomplishment by a Negro is taken by the public at large as a matter of fact. . .

My own philosophy on such matters is quite simple: whatever is worthwhile is worth working, striving, sacrificing, and struggling for.

There is no substitute for hard work as the key to success in the American society. This is true for white Americans. It is even more true for black Americans. Few Americans of any color or creed can ever find easy the climb up the ladder.

But while nothing is easy for the Negro in America, neither is anything impossible. The barriers of race are formidable, but they can be surmounted. Indeed, the entire history of the Negro in this country has been a history of continuous, relentless progress over these barriers. Like "Old Man River" the Negro keeps "moving along," and if I know my people, the Negro will keep on moving resolutely along until his goal of complete and unequivocal equality is attained.

THE GARDEN WEARS: A TALE

BY MR. L. D. CLANFIELD

MAJOR Anthony Bolsover, retired, lived at No. 1 Thomson Road. In his front garden he grew roses, red ones. They were his consuming passion and the best in the country or almost. At the other end of Thomson Road resided Miss Elizabeth Locke. No. 31, Thomson Road was as renowned for its roses as was No. 1. But Miss Locke preferred the white variety. Red roses, she said, reminded her of blood and an abattoir. Perhaps suitable for a soldier—sniff, sniff—but hardly for a lady. The Major, to whom such remarks were faithfully relayed by friendly folk, was heard to say in the bar of the Red Cock that anybody who could grow those blanched things must be devoid of blood and warmth: no wonder the woman was a spinster. Miss Locke was dutifully informed of this piece of arrogant and puerile impudence by a considerate neighbour.

So the feud was on and provided a great deal of free entertainment to an otherwise dull village. Most unfortunately, in order to reach the Red Cock the Major had to pass No. 31. Just as annoying was the fact that to reach the Post Office Miss Locke was forced to traverse the length of Thomson Road and, of course, pass No. 1. This did not help things as the Major always flaunted the Lancastrian colour in his button-hole and Miss Locke the Yorkist emblem when on her way to the Post Office. Very soon the villagers, overtly and covertly, split into two camps and mightily waxed the arguments on both sides. The once mellifluous atmosphere of the Red Cock was now rent with acrimony and occasionally the reds and the whites came to blows.

Such an absurd state of affairs could not be allowed to continue and a committee under the chairmanship of the Vicar was convened to do something about it. But it was a difficult matter for the reason that the Major was one of the best and Miss Locke commanded nothing but affection from all and sundry. But the matter was taken out of their hands by higher authority for war was declared.

Interest in mere flowers rapidly declined and apart from the two protagonists the rose feud was forgotten. The Major volunteered for service and being a good soldier was at once accepted and sent out East. Miss Locke, who was also busy on war work, never noticed that he had gone. But one day, as she passed No. 1 on her way to the Post Office, she noticed that the Major's roses were wilting. Now although she hated red roses she was a flower lover so she determined to give the man a piece of her mind. But several thunderous claps on the front-door knocker bringing no response she was about to turn away when the village postman hailed her.

"No use doing that, Miss," he called. "Major Bolsover has rejoined the army and gone overseas."

"I didn't know, Brown. Thanks for telling me. But what about his flowers?"

The postman shrugged: "Nobody to look after them now, Miss. No time for such things, suppose they'll just have to die." Watching the postman continue his round Miss Locke decided that the flowers—red though they be—must not die. Since the Major was away fighting for his country it was obviously up to her.

For two years Miss Locke worked hard on the Major's red roses. But alas, the glory of the white roses at No. 31 gradually faded away through neglect for nobody may serve two masters with perfection. And strange to say Mrs. Locke did not care very much. To have the soldier return to a perfect garden became an obsession with her. So, one bright summer day, Miss Locke was busy as usual trimming and pruning when she heard footsteps. Turning round she saw the Major standing behind her with a peculiar look on his face.

"Miss Locke," he said harshly, "I passed No. 1 on my way home. Your beautiful white rose-bushes are dead." Miss Locke coloured and replied:

"I thought the least I could do, Major, was to look after your garden while you were away. And being all alone."

He broke in: "You had to sacrifice your flowers for mine, eh? And you hate red roses. Like I used to hate white roses."

"Oh, Major Bolsover, I love red roses now."

"And I love white roses now," swore the Major."

They looked at each other and both laughed. He caught her by the arm:

"Elizabeth, the War Office has chucked me out and I'm back home for good. Gammy leg, it let me down. Let us—let us grow pink roses together, shall we?"

Thus ended the second war of the roses and the Vicar was one of those very few people who occasionally spoke a kind word of Hitler.

THE INTUITIVE PHILOSOPHY

BY DR T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

THIS book* was inspired by the discourses of J. Krishnamurti to which the author listened at Banaras in 1949. Till then, Mr. Mehta says, he was acquainted only with one aspect of Theosophy, viz., the aspect of occultism. It was Krishnamurti's talks that revealed to him a new aspect of Theosophy, viz., the mystic approach to reality. While the occult approach is fairly well known, the mystic approach has remained rather obscure. The author undertakes in this book the task of showing 'how occultism and mysticism together form man's spiritual life as a whole.'

The crucial chapter in this book is the fourteenth where Krishnamurti makes his debut. The author characterizes him as 'a mystic of great stature, who radiates both love and power from his being,' and calls his mysticism *Intellectual Mysticism* or *the Mysticism of the mind*. Defining this expression, Mr. Mehta says that Krishnamurti's is 'an intuitive approach and deals with the Intuition of the Mind—a state in which the human mind is illumined by that which is beyond the mind.' The path that leads to this state is not through images and concepts. It is not the path of knowledge by ideation, but of knowledge by being. Here the knower is not different from the known; it is a state of non-duality. For the attainment of this state, one need not wait till the death of the body; liberation from that which binds us can be attained here and now.

*THE INTUITIVE PHILOSOPHY, By Rohit Mehta, The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

Krishnamurti's approach to life may be divided into four parts, for the sake of convenience: Extensive Awareness, freedom from Memory, Stillness of the Mind and Liberation, or as he calls it, Love. These may be regarded as the *chatuh-sutri* of Krishnamurti's philosophy. First, the mind must become self-critical and strive to be "extensively aware." The method adopted here is that of *neti neti*, 'not this, not this.' The mind cannot tell us what Reality is, it can tell us what Reality is not. When it rises to its utmost limit, it is still aware, the but completely negative. The mind has now come to "choiceless awareness." This involves, secondly, freedom from memory. It is memory that throws veil after veil between us and the world of Reality. Caught up in its stranglehold, we languish in the realms of illusion. We must become free therefore, from psychological memory. This is accomplished by living without a desire for life—a life without a feeling of *my-ness*. Thirdly, when the mind becomes void of memory, it gains stillness; the thought-processes come to an end. All meditation naturally comes to a stop; we are at the summit of our normal consciousness. At this stage, fourthly, the voice of the silence is heard. The mind cannot go beyond itself to the level of intuition, but it can receive the light of intuition. This is the mystic state of communion, which is the goal of life.

With great argumentative skill, ability to marshal relevant facts, and with lucidity, Mr. Rohit Mehta has expounded, in this well-printed book, Krishnamurti's philosophy of life.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Everest Conquered

EVEREST, the loftiest peak of the Himalayas, has been conquered. For years it had been the dream of Alpine climbers to scale the heights of snow-clad Himalay. Wave after wave of mountain climbers essayed to reach the summit but every time the challenge of nature proved too great for man. Ten expeditions in thirty-two years came back repulsed. Many lives were lost. The 1922 expedition ended in disaster when seven porters perished in the attempt. Mallory and Irwin met their tragic end in the third expedition. The body of Maurice Wilson who had attempted a single handed assault was discovered by the team led by Eric Shipton. The last Swiss expedition had to turn back after reaching 26,575 ft. The blizzards blew with merciless fury and the weather was hostile. The British expedition under Sir John Hunt was the eleventh assault on the peak. They had tried to reach the top on the eve of Queen Elizabeth's coronation and their success proved a glorious coronation gift to the young Queen. The Everest triumph has been hailed as a timely and brilliant jewel in the Queen's diadem."

At the 10 earlier expeditions to Everest the height achieved by the leaders were:

- 1921: British (Lt.-Col. Howard Bury) 23,000 ft.
- 1922: British (Brig. Gen. Bruce) 27,300 ft.
- 1924: British (Lt.-Col. Norton), 28,100 ft.
- 1933: British (Mr. Rutledge), 28,100 ft.
- 1935: British (Mr. Eric Shipton) 23,000 ft.
- 1936: British (Rutledge) 23,000 ft.
- 1938: British (Mr. Tilman), 27,300 ft.
- 1951: British (Mr. Shipton) 20,600 ft.
- 1952 (Spring): Swiss (Dr. Wyss-Dunant), 28,215 ft.
- 1952 (Autumn): Swiss (Mr. Chevalley), 26,575 ft.

The 39-year-old Sherpa Tensing Norkay, who got the first break in his life to scale the dizzy height of 26,000 feet of the Himalayas some 15 years ago, was the first to reach the snow-clad summit when he and the New Zealander Hillary conquered it on May 29.

Tensing, we are told, conquered Everest first and then helped Hillary to reach

the summit after he had hoisted the Indian flag. He was the first to plant the flags of India, Britain, U. N. and Nepal on the peak. Tensing, who had previously made seven attempts to scale the Everest, and Hillary were panting and exhausted, and both had worn the oxygen apparatus. "Tensing 'pulled' Hillary up to the summit."

It appears that Tensing made it a condition with the British Expedition this time, that if fit he should be included in the assault unit and Col. Hunt accepted his demand.

The night before Tensing set out on his 170 mile trek to Namche Bazar with the first batch of the expedition party from the Bhatgaon Parade ground at the farthest north-west tip of Kathmandu Valley, Tensing told PTI that he had a feeling that "we will reach the top of the world this time." The next morning he told the same correspondent, offering him a share of his cup of tea, "I hope to bring you good news from Everest."

Some days earlier, when asked if he thought an all-Indian team of climbers could climb Everest, Tensing is reported to have unhesitatingly said:

We are very good climbers, but we need equipment which are very costly. Indian climbers can scale Everest if they have organisation and means.

The success of this great adventure was mainly due to the indomitable will of the mountaineers, their capacity for endurance and perseverance. Team work and fine weather contributed no little to the achievement. And then, as Sir John Hunt pointed out, there was the long background of experience furnished by their predecessors, and in recent periods "by the careful preparation and planning with which our expedition was launched. Our equipment was, besides, excellent, particularly our oxygen apparatus."

It is perhaps eloquent testimony to the value of our acclimatization period in April, that not less than nine of the 11 members of our climbing party went from base camp to South Col: three of them did so twice. Moreover, of our 25 high altitude Sherpas 19 carried loads of 30 to 40 pounds to South Col and, of these, six went up on two occasions. It was this "carry," stocking Camp Eight, as it did with fuel, food, tentage and oxygen,

that enabled each assault party in turn to hold out for 24 hours beyond its scheduled timing. Six of us actually spent days and nights on, or above, South Col without undue hardship; one member actually spent four nights at that inhospitable height.

Lastly, I would draw attention to the significance of establishing our highest camp on the South-east ridge of Everest at a height only just under 28,000 feet.

The full story of the climb to the summit of Everest (29,002 feet) has been told in special despatches to the *Hindu* from Camp Four. The saga of the last lap covering the two eventful days when the heroes made their final and successful assault is a thrilling record of a great adventure.

It was at 11.30 a.m. on May 29 that they stepped, at last, on to the snowcovered final eminence of Everest. Hillary describes this as a 'symmetrical and beautiful snow-cone summit'—very different from the harsh rock ridge which is all that can be seen from below. The view was not spectacular. They were too high for good landscape and all below looked flat and monotonous. To the north the route to the summit on which pre-war expeditions pinned their hopes looked in its upper reaches, prohibitively steep.

Tensing spent 15 minutes on the summit eating mint cake and taking photographs for which purpose Hillary removed his oxygen mask without ill-effects. Tensing produced a string of miscellaneous flags and held them high while Hillary photographed them. Tensing, who is a devout Buddhist, also laid on the ground, in offering, some sweets, bars of chocolate and packets of biscuits.

At 11.45 a.m. they left the summit, on the return climb, keeping careful check on the oxygen gauges. Because of the shortage of oxygen supplies they dared not stay at the ridge camp and they moved straight down towards South Col. The going was reasonably good. Above the Col. they met Lowe and Noyce, the latter being the leader of the rescue or reinforcement party which came up to Camp Four; it was Noyce's second climb to South Col. By 4.30 p.m. all four were back to Camp Seven and yesterday morning. (May 30) they made their way down the face of Lhotse to the C. W. M.

Hillary and Tensing seem in astonishingly good form with none of the desperate fatigue that has overcome Everest summit parties in the past.

Sitting relaxed in the snow-bound refuge, Sir Edmund Percival Hillary, the New Zealander who has since been knighted by the Queen, is reported to have said:

I felt good at the top. It was a beautiful day with a moderate wind. As we got there, my companion threw his arms round me, and embraced me.

Dr. Jinarajadasa

The passing of C. Jinarajadasa at Wheaton (Illinois) U. S. A. at the age of 77 removes an outstanding personality in the world of Theosophy. Deeply read and widely travelled Jinarajadasa was a scholar and writer of rare distinction whose contributions have appeared in these pages from time to time.

Mr. Jinarajadasa was Vice-President of the Theosophical Society from 1921 to 1928. He succeeded Dr. G. S. Arundale as President in February 1946 and held this office for seven years.

While the Society suffers a great loss in his passing he will be deeply missed by thousands of members in various countries of the world. Jinarajadasa, as President Sri Ram said, "had been living in India and working here since 1916 and he had regarded himself a citizen of India, although he was by birth a Sinhalese. He had identified himself with India. He had made an impression upon the whole Theosophical movement which will not fade for a long time to come."

President Rhee's Surprise Move

Over 25,000 North Korean prisoners of war, declared to be anti-Communist, "escaped" from U. N. camp on June 18 under a release ordered by President Rhee. Allied observers said the Communists might now claim the prisoner of war agreement signed at Pan Mun Jom on June 8 was invalidated by this secret South Korean move.

No doubt this action had been secretly planned, and carefully co-ordinated at top levels in South Korean Government.

Sir Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, described President Syngman Rhee's surprise move as "an event of very serious character." Both America and Britain have protested against what they cannot but characterise as sabotaging the truce agreement. The British Government "strongly condemn this treacherous violation of the authority of the United Nations command, to which the Government of Korea had agreed in 1950."

India takes a serious view of the matter though she would continue to do her part in the task undertaken by her.

Egypt Declared a Republic

A Republic was proclaimed in Egypt on June 18. Gen. Naguib became President and Prime Minister.

This development, prepared by, stages since King Farouk was forced to quit the country and abdicate in favour of his infant son Faud, comes just under a year after Gen. Naguib's seizure of power.

Earlier, Gen. Naguib reshuffled his Cabinet to include three members of the Revolutionary Council which makes policy under the Prime Minister's leadership.

Thus the 100-year-old Royal dynasty, founded by Mohamed Ali the Great, has passed into history. And the ancient land of the Pharaohs has become a modern republic.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Leader of the National Democratic Group in Parliament and President of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, who was under detention in Srinagar died of pleurisy in the State hospital on June 23.

Dr. Mookerjee, it may be recalled, had been arrested by the Jammu and Kashmir Government for entering the State without the necessary permit and detained under the State Security Act.

The sudden and unexpected death of this veteran Bengalee leader and educationist removes from the scene of his labours one of the most popular figures in the public life of the country. Dr. Mookerjee distinguished himself like his illustrious father, as scholar and educationist. So rich and varied were his activities that it is difficult to believe that he was barely 52 when he died.

The last years of his life were so full and crowded that Dr. Mookerjee became the spokesman and leader of more than one group in and out of Parliament. In the House he led the National Democratic Group, consisting of a number of parties which had opposed the Congress during the general elections. By sheer force of personality and leadership he commanded a hearing for the various causes which he espoused against heavy odds.

Nehru's Television Broadcast

Making his first Broadcast for Television, Mr. Nehru was answering unheard questions on world affairs and India's problems from four leading British journalists.

Mr. Nehru said there had been a marked change in the Russian attitude to the rest of the world. "Russia definitely desires peace, for whatever period it may be. I cannot say for what period."

Asked if he thought the Russians had abandoned the idea of Communist supremacy over the world, Mr. Nehru replied:

They might think the policy of world revolution would be furthered more by enduring results in Russia and by not pursuing a war that would upset everything.

Mr. Nehru added that the time was ripe for a four-Power conference. But a four-Power conference could hardly tackle questions relating to Asia without Asian countries being represented. After the four-Power conference a larger conference might be necessary in which countries like India could take part.

Asked whether he thought that Commonwealth-American agreement and concord had a very special value for the defence of their common ideals of democracy, Mr. Nehru answered: "Yes, certainly."

"But," he added, "there is a tendency for leading statesmen in Europe and America to look at things from the European and American point of view. If you look at the same thing from Delhi or Karachi the problem looks slightly different. Take the question of China. China is a distant country to people in Europe and America. But China has 2,000 miles of frontier with India. It is a different picture."

Andhra Capital

Kurnool town has been chosen the temporary capital of the Andhra State by the Andhra legislators of Madras.

The meeting of the legislators, convened by Speaker Sivashanmukham Pillai at the instance of the Government of India, adopted on June 5 by voice vote, after five days' discussion, a resolution to this effect moved by Mr. Tenneti Viswanatham. Not that Kurnool satisfies all the requirements of a Capital city; but Andhras decided to speak with one voice in view of the obvious dangers of division in their ranks.

Indian Legation in Lisbon

The Government of India have withdrawn the Indian Legation from Lisbon since June 11 as a protest against the unwillingness of the Portuguese Government to discuss the future of the Portuguese possessions in India.

A Press Note issued by the External Affairs Ministry on the eve of the withdrawal recalls the repeated attempts made by the Government of India since 1950 to discuss the matter with the Portuguese Government and notes with regret the progressive curtailment of political liberties in the Portuguese possessions in India and the determined attempt to suppress by violence the deep-seated desire of the people for union with India.

India's main purpose in establishing a diplomatic mission in Lisbon was to facilitate an early negotiated settlement of the future of Portuguese possessions in India. There is very little of trade between the two countries. The Legation has, therefore, no useful purpose to serve. The withdrawal of the Legation does not, however, amount to severance of diplomatic relations.

Claims of Displaced Persons

Those displaced persons who had been put on a high priority list for payment of compensation for property left behind in West Pakistan have now been asked by the Government of India to send their applications for compensation before July 31.

They included widows, old and disabled persons, inmates of women's homes and infirmaries, and persons living in mud-hut colonies in Punjab and in certain new refugee towns.

The Central Rehabilitation Ministry decided to include in these high priority categories all those widows too who have verified claims in their own names. According to the original decision of the Ministry only those widows were to be included in the high priority category who are living in women's homes or are receiving maintenance allowance. Many more widows are expected to benefit by the new decision.

India and Power Politics

Vice-President Radhakrishnan said in a broadcast from Toronto that India was committed to peace, international justice and the relaxation of tensions in the world. "We believe", he said, "that our non-involvement may increase our usefulness in the work of reconciliation."

It gives us freedom and flexibility in our foreign policy. We decide issues on their merits without yielding to pressure from any side.

We have no faith in power politics. War solves no problems but it creates more problems. We believe in peace politics and in peace based on justice.

The proper aim of political action, he continued, is not to destroy our enemies, but to educate them, to influence their attitudes and behaviour.

Wise and patient political action directed towards the minds of men is what we should aim at, and not military victory in a future war.



QUEEN ELIZABETH II AND THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II was crowned in Westminster Abbey on June 2, with all the splendid symbolism that has come down through a thousand years of British history.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON SOCIETY. By Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, New York. Price \$3.75.

The ideology of Karl Marx, and its various adaptations have become vital facts in the modern world. No intelligent man can avoid paying attention to the new situations created by these. Also wise people are eager to know whether these will be to any extent advantageous to the world. Dr. Runes takes an objective view of the Soviet impact on modern society in various spheres of life. What is the extent of freedom of various kinds that people can have under the Soviet scheme of life? This is perhaps the most anxious of all the questions. The facts behind various events in which the Soviet Government was involved are described with great clearness and almost dispassionate interest. Dr. Runes however shows that the materialist basis and outlook of the Soviet ideology cannot help being detrimental to the highest purposes of human existence.

WHAT TO LISTEN FOR IN MUSIC. By A. Coplands (A Mentor book.) The New American Library, New York.

Intelligent enjoyment of music, as of any art, is possible only as the result of a proper understanding of some of the technicalities connected with it. It is only when the listener knows what make up the highest forms of music that he can have a rich and understanding enjoyment of it. Aaron Coplands, the distinguished composer presents in a clear way the four elements of music, namely Rhythm, Melody, Harmony and Tone colour. Then he discusses the fundamental forms of music like Sectional form, Variation form, Fugal form, Sonata form and the free forms. The section devoted to the opera and music drama must have a wide appeal. The book is a full and clear account of the essentials of music.

JUNGLE CHILD. By Caroline Davis. Illustrated by J. Martinez, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 36, Essex St., London.

The author, wife of a former British forestry officer in India, provides in this book a picture of country life in this country, which is at once vivid and full of fine feeling. The story is set in the Nilambur Jungle where a motherless naughty child runs wild about her father's bungalow, making friends with the servants, keeping animal pets and learning the ways of the jungle. She sees a rogue elephant hunt and floats down the river for sheer joy of open life. The plot depends mainly on her longing to make friends with her learned father whose ineffectual efforts to understand her ultimately triumphs in winning her over to the joys of mutual affection and regard. It is a story told with feeling and true understanding of child life.

READER'S DIGEST OMNIBUS. Foreword by H. E. Bates. Rupa & Co., 15, Bankim Chatterjee St., College Square, Calcutta.

The thirtieth anniversary of this widely read magazine is marked by the publication of an omnibus edition containing in a handy form the quintessence of all that has appeared in its pages during the last three decades. The aim of the publishers is to present the best writing in the English speaking world—writing that satisfies different tastes. The scope and variety covered by the articles are such as to draw readers of all ranks. Indian readers are particularly interested in the discussion of the more serious problems of life and death, and the quest for the unknown that make up the budget of many of these interesting pages. Not professional writers only but men of eminence in different walks of life have something to say of interest to every reader. Here is a book to read and to possess.

UTTARAYAN MONOGRAPHS:

No. 7: RIDDLES AND IRONIES IN OUR NEW CONSTITUTION. By Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta.

No. 8: PAKISTAN PUTS THE CLOCK BACK. By A. Mukerji Ph.D.

No. 10: THE PROBLEM OF KASHMIR. By A. C. Banerjee. M.A., Ph.D.

No. 11: THE PROBLEM OF TIBET. By A. C. Banerjee.

No. 12: INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE MAKING. By G. V. Karlekar. Published by Uttarayan Ltd., Calcutta. As. 6 each.

The Uttarayan Monographs on Current Affairs represent an ambitious project on the part of the publishers, undertaken on the lines of the Oxford Pamphlets. In the first of these Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta makes much of the strictly legal incompatibility of India's independent status with the present form of her association with the Commonwealth. The position of the former princely states, he complains is not clearly stated; the freedom of the citizen is hedged about with too many qualifications.

In Monograph No. 8 Dr. A. Mukerji declaims Pakistan's reactionary policies, which have stood in the way of Indo-Pakistan amity. A large part of the blame in this respect is laid at the door of the "British mentors," who have been leading the bosses of Pakistan by their noses. There is, however, too much invective and passionate declamation.

Dr. A. C. Banerjee traces the Kashmir dispute from its origins in Monograph 10. He would see India pursuing bolder and more vigorous policy than at present. The same author seeks to prove in the next monograph, with the help of history that India's interest in Tibetan politics has "grown out of usage and agreements." He deplores the precipitate action of the Chinese Communists in invading Tibet. Later events culminating in the settlement recently arrived at between China and Tibet should put Tibet out of our minds.

"Industrial Relation in the Making," by Mr. G. V. Karlekar, is mainly a commentary on the Labour Relations Bill, recently before Parliament, with a few suggestions for its improvement.

PEEPS INTO SARASWATHI MAHAL WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF TANJORE: By S. Gopalan, Honorary Secretary for Administrative Committee, Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore. Price 8 As.

This illustrated brochure gives us a brief and illuminating account of the literary treasures of the Saraswathi Mahal, a creation of Maharaja Serfoji, a Maharashtrian ruler of Tanjore. It also contains a short history of Tanjore under the Cholas, the Nayaks, the Maharashtras and its impact under the West. The spacious hall which houses the library was built during the times of the Nayaks and the huge wooden almirahs in which the books and manuscripts are kept have been in existence for some centuries. The English books collected by Serfoji are kept in wooden shelves. Serfoji was a versatile scholar and linguist and his printed collections include books in Latin, Greek, French, Italian and other languages. His collection of rare pictures and photographs, paintings of his artists, botanical plates, his books on the costume of different countries and literature on military science and sports provide an excellent field for study and research. More important than all these are the valuable manuscripts of epics and dramas, on music, scientific and medical lore in all kinds of scripts like Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Sanskrit and Modi. The numerous illustrations of the manuscripts in the library and other objects of art provide ample material for the scholar and layman alike.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE.
Basavangudi, Bangalore.

This is a report of the activities of the Institute of Culture during 1952. The opening essay on the Cultural Scene of 1952 is a comprehensive survey of culture in the various countries of the world. This is followed by accounts of the lectures and discussions conducted by the Centre at Bangalore. It is a good thing that short summaries of the subjects discussed are included in the Reports.

THE GOSPEL OF THE MYSTIC CHRIST. By D. Greenlees. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 6-8 Pp. 269.

This is the sixth in the World Gospel Series. The first four are based on the Holy Qur'an, Confucian Classics, Hermetic Literature and the Synoptic Gospels. According to the plan of the publishers there will be twenty more similar books so that when the series is finished it will form a useful little reference library of the world's religious literature.

Naturally in a series of this kind there must be statements which cannot be acceptable to all alike. But the writers present their themes objectively so far as that is possible in writing about so intimate a matter by people who have their own definite opinions. Hence the purely informative nature of these books is safeguarded to a very large extent.

At the same time there are certain fundamental points of view which are not overlooked or slighted. In this book, for example, the author's purpose is to bring out the "divine" nature of Jesus. The previous volume had brought out the nature of Jesus as pure man. There are those who think of Him as merely the most perfect of men. But the view point of this book is that Jesus was also the Son of God.

This is a fact which is especially seen through the mystical fourth gospel, the Gospel according to St. John. To the purely modern mind under the impact of material thinking this is a fact hard to grasp. But the essential Christian faith is that the Christ is the Son of God. It was for such a claim that He was crucified also. There is nothing truer for a person than the truth for which he dies, and hence there can be no proper understanding of Christianity without accepting the Christ as the Son of God. So, for the proper understanding of the Gospel of Christ the understanding of Christ's divine nature is essential. And that is what this book sets out to give.

In an excellent Introduction of nearly 150 pages the author discusses the source-books of the Gospel story, both canonical and apocryphal, the circumstances of the time, the authorship of the fourth Gospel and the life of St. John. Then he marks out the stages of the mystic understanding discussing them as seen in St. Teresa, Vasishta and modern theosophy. Finally he explains the story of the Blessed Virgin Mary and how we too are born her children.

The body of the book is based on translations newly made of the fourth Gospel and some apocryphal books which describe the spiritual life of the Divine Man. There are many notes referring to other passages in the Bible and in other spiritual books, especially of the east. Thus this book is specially written to present above all the spiritual aspect of Jesus the Christ.

THE NEW YEAR BOOK 1953. Ed. by P. C. Sarkar. S. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 10, College Square, Calcutta 12.

This is the tenth issue of the year book and the publishers give ample proof of their nine years' experience in presenting facts and data of wide interest to the public. To provide the reader with precise and authoritative information on a variety of topics of general interest and in a form readily accessible to the lay reader—that is the main object of this book of reference. In addition we have a short and simple analysis of the past and present coupled with indications of the trends of the future. Every attempt has been made to improve upon the old editions; the different sections have been thoroughly revised and brought up to date and new and attractive features introduced. There is scope for improvement in the Who's Who section but then the book would become too unwieldy and that section would be out of proportion to the rest of the contents. Altogether we have a well balanced collection of facts and figures for ready reference in this useful compilation.

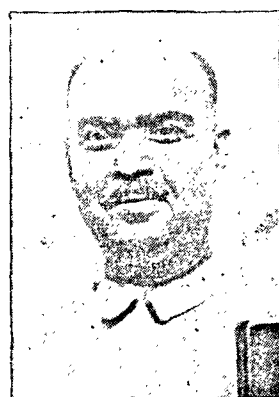
DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 29 Tensing and Hillary reach the summit of Everest.
 May 30 Government of India announce issue of a new loan of 75 crores.
 May 31 Kurnool chosen Andhra capital by Congress and P. S. P.
 June 1 Centre decides to abolish D. A. to higher paid officers.
 June 2 Queen Elizabeth II crowned at Westminster Abbey.
 June 3 Commonwealth Prime Ministers back U. N. plan for Korea peace.
 June 4 Cambridge University Honours Nehru.
 June 5 Andhra legislators decide on Kurnool as Capital after 5-day discussion.
 June 6 The Queen confers knighthood on Hunt and Hillary, conquerors of Everest.
 June 7 President Rhee declares U. N. truce terms unacceptable.
 June 8 Agreement on P. O. W. issue sign at Pan Mun Jom.
 —I. A. F. plane flight over Everest.
 June 9 National Plan Bonds—first issue—fully subscribed.
 June 10 London Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers concludes.
 June 11 Indian legation in Lisbon withdrawn.
 June 12 All five nations agree to serve on Korea P. O. W. Commission.
 June 13 U. S. Ambassador in India calls for increased aid to India.
 June 14 Army coup in Colombia, Gen. Pinella takes over.

June 15 Adviser Regime ends in Nepal; M. P. Koirala sworn in as Prime Minister.
 June 16 Failure of Indo Ceylon talks between the Prime Ministers reported.
 June 17 The Rosenbergs' execution stayed by order of Supreme Court Judge.
 June 18 President Rhee orders release of 25,000 anti-Red P. O. Ws.
 —Egypt declared a Republic.
 June 19 C. Jinarajadasa, leading Theosophist, dead at Wheaton, U. S. A.
 —The Rosenbergs—Julius and Ethel, U. S. Atom spies—executed.
 June 20 300 missing fishermen adrift on the sea in Madras coast rescued.
 June 21 Everest Expedition members honoured by Nepal King at Khatmandu.
 June 22 U. N. Supremo Clark meets President Rhee.
 June 23 Dr. Syam Prasad Mookerjee dies in detention at Srinagar.
 June 24 Nehru and Naguib in Cairo discuss Suez Canal issue.
 June 25 Nehru calls for U. N. directive on Korea policy.
 June 26 Nehru back in India.
 —Ike's envoy meets Dr. Rhee, the Korean President.
 June 27 New French Cabinet formed by Joseph Laniel.
 June 28 Churchill indisposed; Bermuda Conference postponed.
 June 29 Flood havoc in South Japan.
 June 30 Indian Medical Units leave for Korea.



C. JINARAJADASA



S. P. MOOKERJEE



READERS' DIGEST



UNITE OR PERISH!

Arnold J. Toynbee, the well known scholar and historian says that the choice before the world is—unite or go under. Writing in the *Atlantic* he points out that we are living through a change in the scale of human affairs that is moving almost too fast for us to keep track of it. Science and techniques have combined to shrink the world—and in shrinking, they have simplified—"the human geography of the world."

On the political plane, one regular effect of technological revolutions in the past has been to dwarf the states of the previous standard caliber by over-shadowing them with new giant communities geared to the new scale of human operations. On the eve of the fifteenth-century invention of the oceanfaring sailing ship, the standard states of our Western world were city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Florence, Milan, Nuremberg, and Ghent. As a result of a Portuguese technological achievement, the standard scale of state suddenly jumped from the city-state class to the nation-state class. Portugal, Spain, France, Britain, the Netherlands—from the sixteenth century till within our own life-time this string of nation-states along the Atlantic seaboard of the Old World dominated the globe with their shipping, their commerce, their manufactures, their emigrants, and their empires; and now, within our lifetime, we have seen these nation-states go the way of Venice and Florence. The invention of the aeroplane has put down these West European nation-states from their seat and has exalted the United States and the Soviet Union. In an air age the standard state must be one of a supranational caliber, and in our mid-twentieth-century world there are only two states that fill this bill.

We cannot yet foresee the day, says Mr. Toynbee, when the West and Russia will be able to live together as one flock with one shepherd because—as every citizen of any federal polity knows—it is impracticable for people to co-operate politically unless they already share a common way of life.

Until they have grown together to that degree, the best political relation with one another that they can hope to achieve is one of live and let live. It is of vital importance for all of us that, in the dangerous age in which we are still strangers to one another, the West and Russia should maintain a *modus vivendi* that will save them from drifting into an atomic Third World War!

THE WAR THAT NOBODY WANTS

Bertrand Russell, writing in the *New Era*, says that he has thought very seriously on the question of whether there is any way of averting this horribly fantastic drift of the world to war—the war that nobody wants. He suggests a course to avoid national rivalry in the promotion of armaments and advancement in the cause of peace.

I have sometimes thought that we should get a collection of fairly distinguished people not connected with any political party to say collectively and forcibly—and to say over and over and over again—that a war would be an appalling disaster, however it ended, and that the idea that you're going to get something lovely and delightful out of a war is just foolish and idiotic, and that we must try to avoid war.

He thinks we ought to get such a collection of people, prominent and important people, leaders who would enlist a large number of followers on that sole issue that we want to avoid war—

Such a conference between leading people could bring together members of the Russian side and the other side, not to discuss any specific point, but to draw up a joint statement as to the sort of harm that would result from a war to both parties. With such an agreement we might get somewhere.

He has no doubt that the Russians could live amicably with the West provided on each side there was just a little more reasonableness.

But you do need that. And what I should want to see is newspapers saying: "Well, now look, the Russians think capitalism is abominable, and the capitalists think the Russian system is abominable. Now, suppose they go to war—what's going to come of it? There will be nothing left of capitalism, and there will be nothing left of communism."

After all it was only after centuries of conflict that Muhammadans and Christians learned to live with each other. There was just as much conflict between Muhammadans and Christians as there is now between East and West. The Muslim world fought the Christian world for ages and nothing came of it.

At last it dawned on somebody that a world in which there were Muhammadans and Christians could perfectly well exist peaceably. And that's what you've got to get into people's heads,

EVEREST

At last Mount Everest, the summit of the Himalayan ranges, has been conquered by the British expedition. On May 29, according to a report published in the *Hindu* by arrangement with the *London Times*, Tensing and Hillary reached the Summit. Col. Hunt, the leader of the Expedition, reported the historic achievement. A message from Ralph Izzard despatched from Khatmandu on May 31 gave indications of the final assault.

Two Sherpa runners, who arrived here to-day after covering the distance from the Everest in the almost incredible time of seven days, told me this afternoon the British expedition had by last Sunday succeeded in establishing Camp VIII. This should place them somewhere between the top of the South Col. where Camp VII has been positioned, and the mountain's summit.

The Sherpas have only a rudimentary idea of the time, distance and place, but they assured me that Camp VIII is "very high indeed." If Col. Hunt's plan worked out, Camp VIII should be within 1,500 feet of the top.

The success of this latest attempt on Everest is an occasion for recalling the story of former expeditions which have all paved the way for this final triumph. Ever since 1852 when the height of the peak was first computed, the urge to meet the challenge presented by the World's highest mountain to man's endurance has moved mountaineers in the West.

In the 80s. and 90s. exploration plans were formulated. Due to political reasons, however, it was only after the First world war that plans to explore the approaches to the mountain bore fruit.

In the spring of 1921, the first Mount Everest Expedition was sent out from Britain, through the joint efforts of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club, under the leadership of Lt. Col. Howard Bury. The party approached the mountain from Nepal side and discovered and penetrated the Rongbuk valley. Mallory who was a member of the expedition and some of his companions succeeded in reaching North Col and so setting foot on the mountain for the first time.

In 1922, another expedition, led by C. G. Bruce, set out for the mountain. It established a base camp at 16,000 ft. in April below the Rongbuk Glacier, and went on to pitch camps higher up. Camp IV on the North Col formed an advanced

base for operations. Two climbs were made above North Col. The highest point reached was 27,300 ft.

Two years later, in 1924, another expedition attempted the mountain. Camp VI was established at 26,800 ft. From there on June 8, on a fine calm morning Mallory and Irvine, who were the hopes of the party, set out to climb to the summit. They never returned.

This infructuous attempt at climbing the mountain was followed by a short lull. In 1933, however, another expedition was sent out, this time under the leadership of Rutledge. A camp was carried to 27,400 ft. Smythe and Shipton, members of this party, like Norton in 1924, reached a height a little over 28,000 ft., barely 900 ft. from the top.

Another expedition, organised under Rutledge's leadership, again proved a disappointment. The next attempt was in 1938 with Tilman in charge.

It was then felt that if the mountain could be tackled from the Nepal side, a greater chance of conquering it—of avoiding a practically unclimbable patch in the last few hundred feet on its other face—could be found. In the summer of 1951, permission from the Nepal Government was obtained by the Joint Himalayan Committee of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club for an expedition to explore the south-west approaches to Everest. Shipton, who led it, succeeded in discovering the trail following which the present expedition has climbed to victory.

Soon after Shipton had blazed the trail, a party of Swiss mountaineers attempted Everest from the Nepal side. They made two unsuccessful attempts in 1952. In the second of which Sherpa Tensing (who now shares the honours of the conquest with Hillary) and Lambert succeeded in climbing to 28,200 ft.

VEDANTA KESARI

There are many interesting features in the annual, number of the *Vedantakesari* the organ of the Ramakrishna Math, Madras. The correspondence of the wellknown French savant "Romain Rolland and M. 'Reminiscences of Sri Ramakrishna' by Manmohan Mitra, "Religion in an atomic age" (Editorial), "One World Religion" by Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri and a thought provoking symposium on the thesis—Is Religion any more a necessity for Humanity? to which C. R. and K. M. Munshi and Frank Buchman and Paul Richard and N. Raghunathan have contributed—are some of the outstanding items of interest in this issue. The eighty and odd pages of this May number are packed with many articles on religion and philosophy.

A SET OF CONVICTIONS FOR JOURNALISTS

A responsible journalist, says *Time*, has to be in favour of more or better intellectuality if only because his work makes no sense unless public opinion has a common ground, a framework of ideas and standards within which fruitful debate can take place. Alfred North Whitehead expressed the responsibility this way:

It is our duty. It is our business—as philosophers, students and practical men—to recreate a vision of the world including the elements of reverence and order, without which society lapses into riot.

To discharge his part of this responsibility, a journalist must work along two complementary lines:

(1) An avid, ceaseless, sweating pursuit of facts, not as an editor—Gnostic or otherwise—imagines them to be, but as they are. This is primarily the business of the reporter.

(2) Consideration of the reporter's facts and the relations between them in the light of other facts and of principles of experience. Without such consideration, the news makes no sense—to the journalist, to the intellectual or to the public. This judgment or adding up is primarily the business of an editor.

Thirty years ago, in its prospectus, *Time* stated some "prejudices." On its 1953 anniversary, it can state some convictions, some compass bearings by which it considers the news:

That God's order in man's world includes a moral code, based upon man's unchanging nature and not subject to man's repeal, suspension or amendment.

That, as Supreme Court Justice Douglas said, "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," and that American history cannot be understood or correct policy formed except with recognition of that fact. It follows that equality before the law is based on each man's dignity in God's sight; that political liberty is based on the soul's freedom to accept or reject the good; that legal equality and political freedom must be applied without discrimination of race or creed.

That those rights should be enforced, even in favor of those who oppose U.S. institutions, subject only to the state's duty to protect its authority. As Justice Jackson said, the Bill of Rights is not "a suicide pact."

That the opportunity for great progress, especially moral progress, lies before society.

That all attempts, revolutionary or reformist, of progress based on the idea that man is perfectible, will lead to stagnation at best and calamity at worst.

That political progress means a politics based upon reality (without the cynical connotation of *Realpolitik*); that such a policy, skillfully pursued, may well lead to removing the Communist threat without total war.

That the American Proposition is still valid and wants restating in its deepest connection with the truths of spiritual freedom.

That the intellectual, whom society needs, must be (1) free to think, and (2) encouraged to press his conclusions on public opinion. That if the public acts on his views and they turn out to be wrong he should not be held accountable criminally. That he should, however, expect the public to hold him accountable and criticize him, perhaps bitterly, for his error. That an intellectual without enough nerve to accept this penalty should get out of the intellectual business.

That the same goes for a journalist.

RADHAKRISHNAN HONOURED

Thousands thronged the Chapel of Oberlin College, Ohio, on June 8 for the 12th Anniversary commencement exercises, at which Dr S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, according to a U.S.I.S. message.

The presentation cited Dr. Radhakrishnan as "such a man as Plato dreamed of." The citation continued:

His achievements qualify him for everlasting honour in the hearts of his countrymen, and in the hearts of all who seek wisdom and are of goodwill, now, and to come. The power, and quality of his thoughts have been recognised by leading thinkers the world over. Equally at home, in the philosophical heritages of both Orient and Occident, he has devoted most of his energies to the one great passion of his life—the cultural communion of East and West.

He has done more than any other man now living in the East to further this great, and praiseworthy end. A man, who pre-eminently exemplifies the Platonic ideal of a leader of men, one in whom genuine wisdom, and political leadership have met Dr Radhakrishnan is a justly distinguished philosopher, educator and statesman.

The President of the Oberlin College, while introducing Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

Radhakrishnan, renowned philosopher, educator, statesman, distinguished citizen of a great sister Republic champion of cultural inter-change as the key to peace among nations, in the name of Oberlin College I confer upon you the Degree of Doctor of Laws.

INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Mr. George V. Allen, American Ambassador in India, described the Indian struggle for independence as a unique revolution in history. Mr. Allen who was addressing the American Alumni Association in Delhi drew parallels and contrasts between the independence movement and the early Government of the United States and those of India.

There seemed to him, he said, a rather close similarity between Thomas Jefferson's belief in the right and duty of a people to over-throw any regime which is not responsive to the interests and rights of the people, and in Gandhiji's belief in the right and duty of a people to disobey such a regime. "Civil disobedience, if successful," he added, "results in the relinquishment of power by those in authority, but achieves the result without resort to arms."

Your revolution was unique in this respect, Mr. Allen said.

The American revolution Mr. Allen said was, like the Indian freedom struggle primarily political. Americans, like Indians were chiefly interested in gaining their political independence.

But our struggle, like yours, was also partly social and economic. We wanted to get rid of aristocracy and to equalise economic opportunity as well as to free ourselves from British Governors.

The roots of American culture, the Ambassador said, were, in a very real sense, embedded in a soil not far from India. Every American child was taught at his mother's knee the story of Noah and his Ark, of Abraham and Lot, of Jacob and Esau. These events had not taken place along the Mississippi or the Saint Lawrence, but in Mesopotamia, and still they were an intimate part of the heritage of every American child. "My cultural heritage," he added, "and yours are close neighbours, both in time and space."

Referring to the question of neutrality in the present world situation, Mr. Allen said, he believed, as an ardent supporter of collective security, that the voluntary association of nations willing to align themselves against aggression was the best way to avoid another world war.

But this association must be entirely voluntary. It could neither be bought nor achieved through threats or pressure. "Nevertheless, it is the only way I know to keep the peace," he said.

He, however, recognised that America was a recent convert to the collective security system. The U. S. was able for more than hundred years to keep out of European wars. Even as recently as 1938 America had enacted a neutrality statute in the vain hope of non-involvement. But, he said, the early American statesmen were not neutralists in the sense of being indifferent to such problems as human liberty, colonialism and aggression. They simply did not want to be drawn into the quarrels of European powers. They were faced with the tremendous job of organising a new Government and developing their own country. Distances were long in those days and America was remote.

D. H. LAWRENCE

Prof. K. C. Peter, writing of D. H. Lawrence in the *Modern Review* for January says that he went in search of truth, went on finding it and telling it. He was angry with the world, threatened it, discorded it, disowned it, only to come back to it at last.

He never believed in leaving the world to stew in its own juice, to perish in its own poison. He was out to change it. Hence the emergence of the many Lawrences, one not knowing the other, to right the wrongs of life, to mould and remould the multi-faceted world. In that shady, dim, yet clear light, we have to assess the worth of Lawrence's attainments.

Life wasn't kind to Lawrence. He bore the full brunt of life's worst. So hyper-sensitive was his heart that often his head gave way. His soul went out to the suffering and poverty-stricken.

Psychical suffering touched the cords of his heart, more than physical suffering did. His works reflect in detail the conflict of emotions to which often sensitive human souls are subject. Critics with the solitary exception of Richard Aldington never knew him well. They can't help a man by sitting tight on his neck. But Lawrence was to live and actually lived in the light of his invisible sun. He discovered the guilty secret of everybody's life, the guilty secret without the guilt. Time and again, his emotions have surged up in a great tidal wave of revolt. That we are lodged up in our own private grief, he makes us feel. And factually we are.

Lawrence wasn't weak-kneed and powerless. The many Lawrences in him, individually taken, are strong-willed men themselves.

He is Bert to his mother, Cristo to Mexicans, Lawrence to his wife. In every one of his works, there is he denouncing the world, condemning it in order to reform it. He wants the world to find its creative self.

Often his own opinions collide with one another. His romantic poetry and fiery criticisms of life had its emphasis on challenge to evil. Obscene novels are like giving the hungry man the description of a sumptuous dinner. But the works of Lawrence were far from being pornographic.

With choice words, apt phraseology, and powerful diction, Lawrence easily heightened emotions.

In life, emotions reach the zenith, whipped up by the cruelties and injustices that individuals suffer, and Lawrence simply depicted them. G.B.S. had once to portray an emotional summit thus: "When I loved you, I gave you eternity in a single moment, strength of the mountains in one clasp of your arms, and the volume of all the seas in one impulse of your soul." Can we call it pornographic? If we do, it means that we lack the sense of realism. Modern life demands that we shall take courage by the forelock.

Aldous Huxley after studying Lawrence at close quarters writes:

To be with Lawrence was a kind of adventure, a voyage of discovery into the newness and otherness. For being himself of a different order, he inhabited a universe, different from that of common men—a brighter and intenser world of which, while he spoke, he could make you free. He looked at things, with the eyes, so it seemed, of a man who had been at the brink of death and to whom as he emerges from the darkness, the world reveals itself as unfathomably beautiful and mysterious.

D. H. Lawrence died in his 45th year at 10 o'clock on the night of 2nd March, 1930. Just before his death, suffering from the pangs of TB, he wrote to Katherine Masefield:

"... And it is time to go, to bid Farewell to one's own self and find An exit from the fallen self." And he went.

Elsewhere, he writes:

Do not be sad. It is one life which is passing away from us, one 'I' is dying; but there is another coming into being which is the happy creative you.

MR. NEHRU IN LONDON

Tribune, Britain's Left-wing Socialist paper, said that Indian Prime Minister Nehru was "one of the men we can thank for the great news from Korea."

In a front-page editorial the paper declared:

He refused to accept American policy as the last word. He refused to accept the Churchill doctrine of agreeing with the Americans 'at all costs'.

Tribune, which backs Leftwinger Bevan, said the situation would have become hopeless if the Indian Prime Minister had accepted the orthodox Western policies of some months ago.

If Nehru had not been prepared to run the risk of silly jibes about 'neutralism' and 'defeatism', he would not have been able to present the Indian resolution at U. N. O. which helped to lead to the present successful negotiations.

Nor would he have been able to continue his role as an intelligent mediator.

Nehru has remained a powerful world figure precisely because he refused to accept American policy as the last word in wisdom.

The *New Statesman and Nation* said that Mr. Nehru, was one of the most impressive figures in the Coronation procession.

In private conversation, or at a press conference or in a television interview, he impresses by his obvious sincerity, his luminous intelligence and his calm and reasonable handling of each of the problems put to him.

The journal said:

This is in some ways deceptive, for Mr. Nehru is a warm tempered, even explosive, man. There are occasions on record when he has jumped from the platform in the middle of a speech to scrag a persistent interrupter. In his public appearances this week he has been patient, even cautious, as he had to be, about the big topical issues. But there have been splendid outbursts when he was roused about the fight with religious fanaticism in India, or, more spectacularly about the folly of disregarding the growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa.

His anxious warning to us has been that Asians and Africans are not affected by the "danger of Communism" and such like cries; they demand liberation from poverty, disease and foreign imperialism and if the West remains imperialist, then Communists automatically look like liberators.

"In short", the journal went on "the British in East Africa, the French in North Africa and the Boers in South Africa, are making the same mistake that the British so long made in India."

REFORM OF EDUCATION

The need for imparting religious and Sanskrit education in primary and secondary stages was emphasised by H. H. the Jeer of Ahobila Mutt in the course of his parting message on June 3 at Madras where he camped nearly for 6 weeks. The Jeer referred to some of the effects of modern education, which was given to the country by the alien rulers for a different purpose altogether and out of which the present generation was finding it hard to escape.

Now several schemes for the reform of education are thought of. But a satisfactory solution had not been found, The Jeer suggested:

The need for imparting religious and Sanskrit education in the elementary and secondary stages was now very great. Though there might be some loose talk about imparting religious education, there was not yet a clear-cut way for carrying out this object. There were obviously very many difficulties in the State under-taking this part of the work. He revealed that he was trying in his own humble way to see whether he could do something in this direction with the co-operation of the public. His scheme was to start elementary schools wherever the atmosphere was congenial and make arrangements for the teaching of Sanskrit and religion. In order to make such schools attractive arrangements would be made for imparting ordinary education also, as was obtaining in other schools, so that those who came out of these schools might not feel frustrated later. Due prominence would be given to the study of Tamil, Sanskrit, Hindi and English, in addition to the other subjects as mathematics, etc. The syllabus could be so framed that the education given to the children nowadays in ordinary schools could be covered within a much shorter period, but at the same time maintaining the same standard and efficiency. Retired teachers who were yet serviceable, could be used wherever possible. It was not the intention to get any State aid or grant for these schools. He said that he would undertake to maintain such school and the boys, who intended to join them, would be required to conform to certain conditions of conduct. If those schools, coming under his scheme, imparted the same education as other schools with an added emphasis on religion and Sanskrit, he hoped it would not be difficult to attract sufficient number of boys, provided the parents interested in religion in general co-operated wholeheartedly.

If sufficient encouragement was forthcoming, the Jeer said, high school education also could be given at a later stage. The question of recognition might arise. If proper representations were made the State could be influenced to make such rules as might permit these boys to sit for the S.S.L.C. and other examinations, as though they were boys of private study. The problem of giving elementary education to all boys of school-going age

was a huge one, and more than half the percentage of boys in rural parts were not being educated to-day. If private schools of this nature were encouraged, congestion in other Government or aided schools could be reduced and the State would be indirectly benefitted without itself spending any money for those boys.

The Jeer has appealed to all religious minded public to give sufficient thought to his scheme and help him in implementing this scheme.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The second annual conference of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, presided over by Mr. M. Chalapathy Rau, adopted several resolutions of interest to the profession and affecting it vitally, after a two-day, day and night session, at Trivandrum in the closing week of May.

One resolution expressed concern over the "continued tendency on the part of Legislatures in India to usurp to themselves under the guise of protecting their privileges, powers they do not possess under the constitution." The Federation reiterated the views expressed by it at the last session on this subject and stated that "the Parliament and the various State Legislatures of India are not sovereign bodies and have no powers not expressly granted to them by the Constitution."

Though the privileges of legislative bodies in India had been equated to the privileges of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, the Federation pointed out that those privileges should be held to be subject to the other provisions of the Constitution and hence to the Fundamental Rights. While accepting the principle that Legislatures should have certain privileges and means to safeguard them so that they might discharge their functions properly, the Federation emphasised that the press dog of the public had also its own privileges and more than that his own duty to perform.

The Federation called upon Parliament and the Legislatures of India to discharge the obligation cast on them under the Constitution and enact on their privileges instead of carrying on the provisions which were meant to be transitional.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN AMERICA

The American Association of Universities in a report which it took a half year to prepare, has called for the guarantee of full academic freedom for scholars and professors, but says this does not include the right to membership in the Communist Party.

In a statement on 'The Rights And Responsibilities Of Universities And Their Faculties,' the Association condemned Soviet communism and its subversive activities along with 'every form of totalitarianism' and warned that the police State 'would be the death of our universities, as of our government'.

But the statement emphasized that 'condemnation of Communism and its protagonists is not to be interpreted as readiness to curb social, political, or economic investigation and research.'

In defining academic freedom, the Association said that 'free enterprise is as essential to intellectual as to economic progress.' Therefore scholars must be permitted to study and examine unpopular ideas and even those which might be considered 'dangerous'.

For just as in the case of deadly disease or the military potential of an enemy it is only by intense study and research that the nature and extent of the danger can be understood and defences against it perfected.

The Association would also apply this to instructors.

So long as an instructor's observations are scholarly and germane to his subject, his freedom of expression in his classroom should not be curbed.

The Association took the position however, that academic freedom cannot be unlimited and should not be extended to those who would destroy it. Loyal citizenship, integrity, and independence as well as professional competence, should be required in appointing and retaining faculty members, it said. The report called these requirements incompatible with Communism, and it added:

If an instructor follows communistic practice by becoming a propagandist for one opinion, adopting a 'party line,' silencing criticism, or impairing freedom of thought and expression in his classroom he forfeits not only all university support but his right to membership in the university.

NIZAM'S PRIVY PURSE

Under the Agreement entered into between the Government of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad when the latter acceded to the Indian Union after the Police Action, the former had

guaranteed the Succession, according to law and custom, to the *Gadi* of the State and to the personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad.

This was disclosed in the book, "Ruler to Rajpramukh," published by the Nizam's Financial Adviser, Mr. C. B. Taraporvala.

The effect of this guarantee to the Succession "according to law and custom" was that "the usual Muslim Law of Inheritance or Intestate Succession does not operate in so far as the personal rights and privileges of the Nizam are concerned."

As regards the Nizam's privy purse, the Financial Adviser says that under the Agreement the Nizam would be entitled to receive a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs every year free of all taxes, and this is payable in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance. But this sum

shall be payable only to the present Nizam for his life time, and not to his successors for whom provision will be made subsequently by the Government of India.

Referring to the recent demands by certain political parties that the compensation of Rs. 50 lakhs paid to the Nizam annually should be stopped, the Financial Adviser says that only Rs. 25 lakhs was the compensation paid for the Sarf-e-Khas and the other Rs. 25 lakhs was for the maintenance of the palaces.

Mr. Taraporvala maintains that the compensation of Rs. 25 lakhs annually to the Nizam was fair and reasonable, and says that after meeting all the expenses of administration the net surplus from the Sarf-e-Khas was Rs. 124 lakhs per annum.

LOVE AND HATE

Scientists of the Harvard Research Centre in Creative Altruism have carried out a £35,000 investigation and reached these conclusions; Love for one another is good for humans, and not only good, but healthy; hate shortens a person's life; it makes him nervous and ill.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

U. N. AND MALAN GOVERNMENT

The South African Government has refused to recognise the Good Offices Commission of the United Nations. This Commission, it will be recalled, was established by a resolution of the U. N. on December 5, 1952.

Its function was to arrange and assist in negotiations between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Governments of India and Pakistan 'in order that a satisfactory solution of the question in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights may be achieved.'

The Good Offices Commission addressed letters recently to the three Governments. While India has already replied welcoming the appointment of the Commission, the South African Government, it is understood, has not even acknowledged the Commission's letter but, on the other hand, has addressed the Secretary-General of the U. N. that as it had already rejected the U. N. resolution of December 5, it cannot recognise the Commission.

S. E. Asia

INDIA AND THE S-E. ASIA

Mr. R. Mahadevan (*Devan*). Executive Editor, *Ananda Vikatan*, who recently toured South-East Asian countries, spoke on his travel impressions at a recent meeting in Madras.

Mr. Mahadevan dealt at length with every-day life in Malaya, Thailand, and Indonesia and about the religion, art and culture in those countries. People in those countries, he said, were anxious to know more about India and to maintain closer relation with this country. In Malaya though the Tamils were very popular, yet they lacked somewhat in unity. Both Sir Malcolm Macdonald and General Sir Gerald Templer appreciated the qualities of the Tamils there, but the latter felt that it was desirable that they should be united.

Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON TALKS

The Premiers of India and Ceylon failed to reach an agreement and all hopes of an immediate settlement of the question therefore must now cease, wired the London correspondent of the *Ceylon Observer*. The correspondent added that the position taken up by the Ceylonese Premier Mr. Dudley Senanayake at the talks was:

(1) that Ceylon would agree to give immediate citizenship rights to all Indians who are at present qualified under the Citizenship Acts. It was estimated that four lakhs would come under this category; (2) two hundred and fifty thousand persons are to be granted permanent resident certificates, which would entitle them to all rights, except political franchise and their position would be reconsidered in ten years' time when they might all be absorbed as Ceylonese; (3) of the balance, a lakh and a half of estate workers and a lakh of other Indians are to be repatriated progressively.

The Indian Prime Minister, according to the correspondent, was agreeable to the general principle embodied in Ceylon's offer, but wanted at least another fifty thousand added to the second category with permanent resident permits.

Malaya

INDIA'S TRADE WITH MALAYA

Mr. D. T. Assomull, President of the Singapore Indian Chamber of Commerce, addressing the 12th annual general meeting of the Chamber at Singapore on May 10, urged the Government of India to pay keener attention to India's trade with Malaya.

Mr. Assomull advised Delhi to "heed our suggestions about the export of quality products, their packing and delivery as well as services like telecommunications, and shipping." He said that the Indian merchants in Malaya were doing their best to give preference to Indian textiles; but the irregular policy of the mills and the unstable policy of the Government of India were proving a great handicap to their efforts, he added.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

PAN MUN JOM AGREEMENT

Allied and Communist truce negotiators signed at Pan Mun Jom on June 8, a Prisoner-of-War agreement and opened the gates to a quick peace in Korea, an East-West battleground for the last three years.

Each side made big concessions to solve the problem that has blocked an armistice, the fate of prisoners who are unwilling to go back to Communist rule.

PEACE AT DOOR STEP

The negotiators General William Harrison and General Nam II signed and settled briskly bringing peace prospects "on to the doorstep" for the composite armies at their backs estimated at more than three quarters of a million on the Southern side drawn from twenty nations and more than a million Communists.

PRISONER-OF-WAR TERMS

The prisoner-of-war terms are: (1) A neutral Repatriation Commission taking charge of unwilling prisoners will consist of Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and India.

Only India will provide armed personnel, the others to send staff in equal numbers not exceeding fifty each. India shall provide the Chairman and India will be an Umpire under the terms of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War.

(2) Ninety days shall be allowed for explanations to be given to the men by representatives of the nations in the ratio of not more than seven per thousand prisoners in the hope that unwilling prisoners will then agree to return home.

(3) No threat or force will be used against the prisoners. Arms of the Indians and other neutrals will be limited to police-type small arms.

(4) After ninety days in the hands of the Neutral Commission remaining prisoners become the problem of a Political Conference which has thirty days to settle their fate. At the end of

that time they cease to be prisoners and assume civilian status. Those the wishing to go to neutral countries will be aided by the Commission and the Indian Red Cross.

(5) Explanations to the prisoners will be made in the presence of a representative of each of the neutral nations and one from the detaining side. Representatives from both sides will be permitted to watch the Commission in action and the press will be free to report the entire operation.

The agreement makes no distinction between Chinese and North Koreans—a distinction on which the South Korean sought to insist.

Prisoners willing to be repatriated will go home within two months of the Armistice. The maximum time the reluctant ones could be held is 180 days—60 before going to the Neutral Commission, 90 for explanations, 30 for the Political Conference to deal with them.

SIGNED WITHOUT CEREMONY

The American and Chinese Generals signed "without ceremony" after less than an hour's work.

The Communists are seen making a substantial concession by recognising the principle of voluntary repatriation, while a major Allied concession is that of the ratio of seven interviewers per thousand prisoners. There are estimated to be 48,500 unwilling prisoners.

REVISION OF DEMARCATION LINE

Peking Radio said that both sides had agreed to revision of the demarcation line and when this was finally done the armistice agreement could be signed and hostilities in Korea would cease.

The truce could have been effective by this time but for the unilateral action of President Rhee in allowing 25000 Korean anti communists P. O. Ws. to escape—an act which is denounced as treachery to the U. N. cause.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

QUEEN'S MESSAGE TO PEOPLE

Queen Elizabeth II ended a world-wide broadcast on her Coronation day, (2nd June) with these words: "As this day draws to its close I know that my abiding memory of it will be not only the solemnity and beauty of the ceremony but the inspiration of your loyalty and affection. I thank you from a full heart. God bless you all." Earlier she had pledged: "Throughout all my life and with all my heart I shall strive to be worthy of your trust."

The following is the text of the Queen's speech:

"When I spoke to you last at Christmas I asked you all, whatever your religion, to pray for me on the day of my Coronation—to pray that God would give me wisdom and strength to carry out the promises that I should then be making.

Throughout this memorable day I have been uplifted and sustained by the knowledge that your thoughts and prayers were with me. I have been aware all the time that my peoples, spread far and wide throughout every Continent and ocean in the world, were united to support me in the task to which I have now been dedicated with such solemnity.

"Many thousands of you came to London from all parts of the Commonwealth and Empire to join in the ceremony but I have been conscious too of the millions of others, who have shared in it by means of wireless or television in their homes. All of you near or far have been united in one purpose. It is hard for me to find words in which to tell you of the strength which this knowledge has given me.

MEANING BEHIND THE CEREMONY

"The ceremonies you have seen to-day are ancient and some of their origins are veiled in the mists of the past. But their spirit and their meaning shine through the ages never perhaps more brightly than now.

"I have in sincerity pledged myself to your service as so many of you are pledged to mine. Throughout all my life

and with all my heart I shall strive to be worthy of your trust.

"In this resolve I have my husband to support me. He shares all my affection for you. Then, although my experience is so short and my task so new, I have in my parents and grandparents an example which I can follow with certainty and with confidence.

"There is also this, I have behind me not only the splendid traditions and the annals of more than a thousand years but the living strength and majesty of the Commonwealth and Empire; of societies old and new; of lands and races different in history and origins but all by God's will united in spirit and in aim.

"Therefore, I am sure that this, my Coronation, is not the symbol of a power and a splendour that are gone but a declaration of our hopes for the future and for the years I may, by God's grace and mercy, be given to reign and serve you as your Queen.

BRITAIN'S HERITAGE

"I have been speaking of the vast regions and varied peoples to whom I owe my duty but there has also sprung from our island home a theme of social and political thought which constitutes our message to the world and through the changing generations has found acceptance both within and far beyond my realms.

Parliamentary institutions with their free speech and respect for the rights of minorities and the inspiration of a broad tolerance in thought and its expression—all this we conceive to be a precious part of our way of life and outlook.

"During recent centuries this message has been sustained and invigorated by the immense contribution in language, literature and action of the nations of our Commonwealth overseas. It gives expression, as I pray it always will, to living principles as sacred to the crown and monarchy as to its many parliaments and peoples. I ask you now to cherish them—and practise them too; then we can go forward together in peace seeking justice and freedom for all men."

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers issued the following communique on June 9 after their five-day London Conference:

The presence at the Coronation of representatives of all parts of the Commonwealth has illustrated the unity and variety of the Commonwealth association of which Her Majesty is the Head.

"The discussion which the Prime Ministers have held have once more demonstrated the concord which exists between all the Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth, despite their varying interests and circumstances, in their approach to the major problems of the world to-day.

"This sense of concord has been strengthened by the discussions. These have enabled the Prime Ministers to undertake a comprehensive and realistic review of the international situation; and there has been a personal exchange of views which will help all the Commonwealth Governments to continue their conduct of foreign relations with renewed understanding of the policies and interests of their partners in the Commonwealth.

"The Prime Ministers found it specially valuable to have this opportunity for personal discussions so shortly before the proposed meeting at Bermuda between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President of the United States, and the Prime Minister of France.

"They reviewed the state of relations with the Soviet Union and agreed that no opportunity should be lost of composing or at least easing the differences which at present divide the world. But they recognised that the democracies must maintain their strength and exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve their rights and liberties.

"The Prime Ministers reviewed recent developments in Western Europe. The Commonwealth countries associated with or interested in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation expressed the hope that the European Defence Community would be established at the earliest possible date.

ARMISTICE TALKS

"The Prime Ministers followed with close interest the concluding phases of the armistice negotiations in Korea. They noted with gratification that long and patient labours have now led to the conclusion of an agreement on prisoners of war and thus made way for the early signature of the armistice agreement.

"They exchanged views on the steps that will have to be considered after the end of hostilities in Korea for the promotion of stability and progress throughout the Far East and South-East Asia.

MIDDLE EAST

"The current problems of the Middle East were also discussed. The Prime Ministers recognised the international importance of the Suez Canal, and of the effective maintenance of the military installations in the Canal Zone.

"They agreed that it is in the common interest that the outstanding issues in the Middle East should be settled on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of the Middle East countries, consistent with the sovereignty of each, and promoting their social and economic development.

"The Prime Ministers reviewed developments in the economic field following the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952. They agreed that the Commonwealth countries should adhere firmly to the long-term objectives and lines of policy then laid down.

"In the meantime it was essential to take advantage of the improved outlook for the sterling area by continuing to strengthen the economy of each of the countries concerned.

EXPANDING EXPORTS

"Particular attention was given to the need for stimulating economic developments, for expanding exports and consistently with maintenance of adequate reserves for removing progressively restrictions on trade over as wide an area as possible and within the Commonwealth and the sterling area."

MR. NEHRU IN CAMBRIDGE VARSITY

Cambridge University on June 4, paid tribute to one of its most distinguished graduates, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL. D.)

Professor Guthrie in presenting Mr. Nehru said (in Latin):

Both our countries (Britain and India) have been wise enough to heed the lessons of history, both understand the differences between good and evil; and in this understanding and faith they have forged new links of concord between them, and are prepared with one mind, to combat evildoers and enemies of peace wherever they may be found.

Surely it is with thoughts like this in mind that in this year so full of special significance for the British, the year in which our Queen is to dedicate herself to her country and to her high calling, Mr. Nehru has flown across half the world to be with us, and to take counsel for the common good with the leaders of all those nations who recognise the Queen as the head and symbol of their free society.

To us in Cambridge it is a cause of special rejoicing that in spite of all the cares and distractions of public affairs he had shown a desire to revisit this familiar place, and to renew the memory of his student days. And so we welcome him not as a stranger nor a guest, but one of our own men. As such I commend to your warmest applause this great statesman, a steadfast champion of the cause of peace, governor of a great and friendly nation, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Republic of India.

HIGHER STUDIES IN SANSKRIT

Some of the Indian Universities have applied to the Union Government for financial help to promote Sanskrit studies.

The Madras University is now compiling a Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts, which is expected to take 10 to 15 years to complete. In this connexion, Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, who is now on a tour of the United Kingdom and Europe will examine manuscript collections in British and European libraries.

Similar request for assistance from Delhi, Allahabad, and Benares Universities are under consideration by the Centre.

The Union Government recently gave a Silver Jubilee grant of Rs. 3,00,000 to the Andhra University to establish a Chair in Sanskrit.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION SCHEME

Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Minister for Education, Madras, explained the new elementary education scheme, in a talk broadcast from the Madras Station of the All India Radio on June 6.

What is this New Scheme? The answer is utterly simple. School hours for little children in the first five grades of the elementary schools are reduced from 5 to 3 hours per day. The school session a child is required to attend in the day is only either in the morning or in the afternoon. During the other half of the day, the children will be thrown back into the lap of the family and the village to play, to observe and to learn to do such simple items of work as a child of the particular age group can do easily and pleasantly.

The principal object of the new effort is to prevent pupils from becoming physically and mentally incapable of productive activity because of their schooling and to give full scope for the development of their intelligence and skill, while allowing them ample opportunity and freedom for play. The reform will be introduced to cover almost the entire number of elementary schools in the State in all villages including major Panchayats. Elementary schools in Municipal towns alone will not be covered this year. In about 35,000 schools as against the total number of 38,000 schools in the State, this new scheme will be in operation from now on. This scheme is intended to be extended to Municipal areas also as early as possible.

The school hours till now consisted of three hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, and the working week consisted of 5½ days. Hereafter for every pupil there will be only three working hours per day either in the morning or afternoon alternately. There will be six working days in the week instead of 5½, but the total number of working days in the year will be as hitherto 220. The first obvious good feature of the scheme is that the burden of long school hours will be reduced. The children attending the lower elementary schools are generally of the age group 6-11, full of energy and thirst for activity. It is not conducive either to their mental or physical development to confine such children of tender age to the classroom, more often crowded than not, for long hours without giving them sufficient opportunities for free play and learning from the actual environment. Pupils will have one half of each day free to remain with their families and participate in their work in the house, field or elsewhere according to their age. Headmasters, with the help of parents and village farmers and craftsmen, will arrange how best the free part of the day outside the classroom may be utilised for play and easy items of work. There will be special arrangements made for children of families who do not work with their hands; they will be attached to farms or village craft workshops taking into consideration their age.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

The Council of States, at one of its briefest sittings on April 27 passed the Bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court to Chandernagore and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

In the case of Chandernagore, the Calcutta High Court's jurisdiction was in respect of only certain laws extended to it by an order under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. Now that *de jure* transfer of the area has been effected, the jurisdiction is being made effective for all purposes.

In the case of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, too, the present Bill seeks to confer jurisdiction on the High Court for all purposes.

During the two-hour debate on the Bill, members suggested that a circuit court might be established in Andaman and Nicobar Islands to obviate inconvenience to the population there owing to communication difficulties.

The Law Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas, said that it would not be practicable to establish a permanent division bench in the Islands. The High Court could however, frame rules to facilitate the observance of preliminaries with regard to any proceedings. He explained that the Bill was made to have retrospective effect from May 1950 in the case of Chandernagore in order to remove possible doubts as regards the validity of proceedings after the *de facto* transfer of the area to India and before the *de jure* transfer.

THE ROSENBERGS EXECUTED

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg U. S. Atom spies, died in the electric chair in Sing Sing prison within 10 minutes of each other on June 19 for conspiring to pass atomic secrets to Russia in the Second World War.

The trial which took the Rosenbergs to the electric chair began in February, 1950, when Scotland Yard ended its own pursuit of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, British atomic scientist.

Federal Bureau of investigation Agents established that an American spy ring was linked with Fuchs. In July, 1950, Julius Rosenberg was arrested. A month later, Ethel was detained.

On April 5, 1951, Federal Judge Irving Kaufman sentenced the Rosenbergs to death for what he called a "crime worse than murder." The Communist Party throughout the world made the sentences a political issue and Rosenberg Defence Committees were formed in many lands. Though these were made up principally of Communists and "fellow-travellers," thousands of others joined the campaign to save the couple after they repeatedly protested their innocence. Pope Pius relayed to President Eisenhower pleas sent to the Vatican.

Appeals were sent to Queen Elizabeth and Sir Winston Churchill among many other leading world figures.

The President was adamant.

A few hours before the Rosenbergs were executed the White House released a statement by the President stating why the clemency appeal was rejected. The President said the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY

All arrangements to effect complete separation of the judiciary from the executive in Bombay State have been finalised. The Bombay Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, 1953, providing for two classes of Magistrates—judicial and executive—is likely to be put into force early July.

The Government had earlier accepted the recommendations of a committee appointed for the purpose and the State Legislature had passed the Bombay Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions Act embodying these recommendations.

Separation in respect of civil justice, it is pointed out, has been completed for years and, in regard to criminal justice, *de facto* separation has already come into force in some districts.

NATIONAL PLAN BONDS

The National Plan Bonds—First Issue—for Rs. 75 crores was fully subscribed by 3rd June.

A Press note issued by the Reserve Bank said "National Plan Bonds—First Issue—have been fully subscribed and the loan has been closed. Cash subscriptions amount to approximately Rs. 22.85 crores and these will receive full allotment."

According to opinion in the Market, the second series of the national Bonds is expected to be floated shortly, perhaps on the same terms as the present one.

The full subscription of the first issue of the National Plan bonds was described as a "tremendous success" by financial circles in Bombay (says PTI). They said the cash subscription of Rs. 22.85 crores was a "fairly good amount." Market expectations, however, were between Rs. 20 crores and Rs. 25 crores.

NEW MADRAS LOAN

The Madras Government will be shortly floating a public loan for financing its capital expenditure. It is expected the loan will be of the order of about Rs. 6 crores.

The new loan will be raised by the composite State, before partition.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, told a Press Conference that he expected "to raise the loan entirely from the public exploiting the resources of our own people, especially the smaller investors to the extent of Rs. 25 lakhs from each district on an average." (There are 26 districts, including Madras City, in the State).

COMPENSATION TO AIRLINES

The Union Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, told the press that he expected that compensation to the airlines to be taken over by the Union Government under the nationalisation scheme, would be paid in a month or two. He said that the compensation will be paid partly in cash and partly in national bonds.

IMPORT DUTY ON MOTOR PARTS

The Government of India announced a reduction in the rates of import duty on component parts of automobiles so that their average level may go down from approximately 60 per cent *ad valorem* as hitherto approximately 60 per cent on a completely knocked down pack.

The rates on components within the manufacturing programmes of Indian concerns will, however, be maintained at a somewhat higher level.

The Tariff Commission, which recently held an inquiry into the development of the automobile industry in India, came to the conclusion that the present high rates of import duty, far from helping the automobile industry, have had the effect of raising the price of motor vehicles to the consumer. The Commission, therefore recommended that the import duty on all components should be reduced to a rate of 40 per cent *ad valorem*.

The Government of India, however, decided that a flat rate of duty on all components may not be conducive to the manufacture of new components, and that the best course would be to aim at an average level of approximately 40 per cent on a complete C. K. D. pack, as recommended by the Commission.

SOAP AND TOILET MAKERS' ASSN.

The Indian Soap and Toiletries Makers' Association, in session at Bombay passed on June 3 a resolution welcoming the recommendations made by the Planning Commission about the future development of the soap industry and urged the Government to set up a development council for the soap industry under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act, 1953.

The resolution urged the Government to utilise fully the existing possibilities of cultivation of palm trees in different parts of the country and also to increase the acreage and cultivation of coconut trees.

Dr. J. S. Badami was elected President for the next year.

WOMEN IN OUR SOCIETY

"The place of women in our society is not in offices; it is in the houses. I know my advice may not be liked by many of the women graduates sitting here, but my experience of life tells me that the western culture is not at all suited to the environments that exist in India," said Sri Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Communications, Government of India, in the course of his convocation address to the Modern College for Women, Amritsar. "Our culture," he said, "is different. The place of women in our society is higher than of men."

I fail to understand why our women should ask for equality by coming down from their higher status. A woman before marriage is considered to be a devi (goddess).

After marriage, a man cannot get 'salutation' without a woman and no work of his is complete without his companion, and a mother is always respected.

No country has given so much equality by Constitution to women as India.

India is the first country where women have been Ambassadors, Ministers and Governors. We should be proud of it.



Shirley Booth, United States actress, was awarded the title "Best Actress of the Year" by the Sixth International Film Festival at Cannes, France, April 30.

PLACE OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

Women can never be equal to men and therefore it is useless to talk of giving them equal rights. This was the view expressed by Sir Abdur Rahman, Pakistani delegate to the UN Commission for Human Rights at Geneva.

"It is not a workable document," he said. "It could never work in any Muslim country. The people are not ready, the women are not ready, they do not want it."

"What do you mean by equal rights in marriage? Are you giving women the same rights as men in Muslim countries where polygamy is allowed? Do you mean that women would be allowed to have four husbands at the same time? They are completely meaningless words."

"No matter what you say, women can never be equal to men in any shape or form."



Lt. Mildred L. Rush, United States Army Nurse Corps, was honored in the name of all American nurses serving in Korea as "Woman of the Year" by the Women's National Press Club in Washington, D. C.

POPULATION PROBLEM

The World University Service Seminar meeting in Mysore on June 9 heard Dr. S. Chandrasekhar of Baroda University speaking on the population problem of India. He pointed out that the growth of population in India from 1901 to 1951 revealed an average increase of 15 per cent. and there were no indications that this rate would decline. On the other hand, the death rate had been steadily declining.

It was estimated, he said, that there was an addition of 5 millions every year to the population and by 1991 it would be a billion. But India had still the highest infant mortality—175 for thousand—and mortality among mothers was also exceedingly high. Every one admitted that the standard of living should be raised. At the moment in India only 160 millions out of 362 millions had enough to eat and the *per capita* consumption of textiles was 16.6 yards per annum, whereas in America it was 600 yards. The housing situation was equally depressing, 20 millions having no housing at all.

WORLD CONGRESS OF THE P. E. N.

Writers from 27 countries, including Pakistan, attended the opening session of the 25th International Congress of the P.E.N. (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) organisation at Trinity College, Dublin on June 10.

The theme of the Congress is the "Literature of peoples whose language restricts wide recognition."

In the opening address, M. Chamson, the French novelist, said it appeared that the failure of people to speak a common language was a curse. Writers of minor languages were handicapped because they could not at once reach the outside world. But the world would be poorer if all people spoke one language, for widespread languages lose their poetic potential, he said.

TILDEN: MASTER OF ALL-COURT TENNIS

William T. Tilden, last of the old tennis giants and a former world champion died at Hollywood on June 6. His death was apparently due to a heart attack. "Big Bill" Tilden was 60.

Tilden's height gave him a terrific delivery and, in his prime, he was credited with having driven a tennis ball at just over 151 miles an hour. He turned professional in 1931 after winning the Wimbledon title for the third time the previous year. In the first six years as a professional, he was estimated to have earned about £ 100,000.

Tilden was possibly the greatest male player in the history of the game. His woolly bear sweaters, tremendous self-confidence and mastery of every stroke always drew enthusiastic crowds to every court he played on.



Ernest Hemingway, American author, received one of the 1953 Pulitzer prizes for his short novel, "The Old Man and The Sea." It was his first Pulitzer award although his international reputation dates back to 1929 when "A Farewell To Arms" was published.

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AFTER SIX YEARS OF FREEDOM

POLITICAL TRENDS AND TENDENCIES

BY MR. ELEUTERIO SOARES

IT is perhaps inevitable that in a country like India, still in the early stages of her independent career, politics should dominate the scene. By the very nature of prevailing circumstances the influence of the politician is all pervading, and the pattern of progress in any sphere of national endeavour is inextricably linked up with the current political trends and tendencies. The general outlook of our political life and the policies pursued by the various parties and groups are factors, that for good or evil, play a decisive role in shaping the destinies of the nation.

Now the test to determine whether our political parties are functioning on the right lines or not lies in assessing their contribution to the fulfilment of national aspirations. That is the yardstick to measure the usefulness or otherwise of all national activity and the main issue for consideration is whether the activities of our political parties are helping the country to attain the objectives embodied in the Constitution—a secular democratic State, and a social order based on principles of social and economic justice—which notwithstanding the differences of method and approach represent the goal the nation as a whole, with a few negligible exceptions, has in view.

Surveying the political scene after six years of freedom and after the country having had undergone the experience of successfully conducting the biggest ever democratic election in human history, one does not, it is extremely regrettable, meet with a reassuring picture. It is of course

true that inspite of the continued existence of communal political parties and the ever present threat of communist totalitarianism, the general outlook of our political life is not contrary to the spirit of our aspirations, but it is also equally true that the political climate is not helpful towards the speedy attainment of the desired ends. The Indian political scene seems to be utterly devoid of any healthy dynamism, so indispensable if the country is to make up for the lost time and get over the lingering effects of crippling foreign rule. At the moment we seem to be dragging towards recovery at a snail's pace.

The reason for such an unhappy state of affairs however is not far to seek. There are many factors responsible for it but the principal cause of this stagnation is the multiplicity of political parties, most of them loosely organised with no distinct ideals and objectives. The tendency seems to be to emphasise the separate existence of political parties rather than lay stress on ideological integrity, while internally there is in almost every political organisation a lack of solidarity and discipline, of unity and compactness, even after making due allowance for the functioning of the parties on democratic lines.

Take for example the Indian National Congress, the biggest and strongest political organisation in the country and the ruling party at the Centre and in most of the States. In spite of all the inherent strength of the Congress its weaknesses are obvious and it is an indisputable fact that the towering personality of

Jawaharlal, Nehru and his personal prestige are the main unifying and sustaining factors in the party. The facade of unity is deceptive for there are within the Congress two, more or less, distinct sections: one wholeheartedly endorsing Nehru's progressive idealism and the other, the orthodox section, which hardly relishes the policies of the Prime Minister. It is either sentiment or expediency that induces the latter to reconcile themselves to the situation, but not without divesting Congress activities of imperative vitality, and driving a wide gulf between Congress policies and practices, between promise and performance.

The Praja Socialist Party fares no better. Here the outstanding feature is ideological obscurity and in spite of the nomenclature there appears to be in the policies evolved by the party more of Sarvodaya and little of Marxism, making them hardly distinguishable from the Congress programme. The differences between the two parties are strictly speaking more accidental than fundamental and the most striking factor is the close ideological affinity between the cream of the P. S. P. leadership and the Congress President Nehru. Internally too the affairs of the party are marred by faction politics and the Betul Convention has demonstrated in no uncertain terms how sharply not only the rank and file but even the leaders are divided on basic issues. It is needless to say that under the circumstances the P. S. P. is hardly equipped to function as the main opposition and the alternative to the Congress which is the avowed objective of the party. On the contrary the party today has to function in a fog of ideological uncertainty and its contribution to the political life of the country is in consequence rendered correspondingly ineffective.

Extending our survey a little further we encounter a number of communal organisations, holding identical views on political, economic and cultural issues, and yet functioning as separate entities. What line of distinction is it possible to draw, for example, between the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh, the Ram Rajya Parishad

or the R. S. S., except perhaps the personal prestige of their respective leaders? They have more than their communalism in common. Similar is the case with the motley crowd of leftist parties, sporting varying Marxist labels, which are in essence the deviations of the Communist movement in India. Their contribution to national political life is perhaps insignificant but they seem to be incapable of giving their policies a more rational outlook, torn as they are between the lure of the hammer and sickle and the luxury of independent existence. Even these comparatively small organisations have their internal troubles, a malady with which even the Communist Party, in spite of the rigid discipline and regimentation and subservience to the Cominform, is afflicted.

The whole political set up, as we have seen, is stagnant and it is little wonder therefore if the country today finds itself in the grip of lethargy and despondency. To break this spell and stimulate speedy and orderly progress it is imperative to revitalise our political life and invest it with a greater sense of realism and purposefulness. The most important step in that direction is a realignment of political forces on the basis of a community of ideals and objectives, so as to eliminate the weakening factor of the multiplicity of parties and infuse in them ideological compactness and coherence.

In fact the existence of so many parties is an anomaly since broadly speaking our political organisations may be classified into three distinct categories; the middle-of-the-way parties pledged to the establishment of a just social order through peaceful and democratic means, the communal parties wedded to a policy of cultural revivalism and the perpetuation of the existing social structure and lastly the apostle of Marxism, given to more revolutionary and extremist activities. This classification outlines the broad pattern on which our political parties ought normally to develop.

There are however no short cuts or easy methods to bring about such a situation except by giving extra impetus to the forces already active in this direction. Fortunately there are many

farseeing elements in the country who are conscious of the necessity of reorganising our political life. The Nehru-Jayprakash talks, albeit unsuccessful, the recent utterances of the P. S. P. leaders, and the negotiations for the amalgamation of some of the leftist splinter groups, are a few of the many indications that the need to remedy the present situation is being, even though faintly, generally recognised. If nothing tangible has so far been achieved it is mainly because most of our politicians have not yet mustered sufficient courage to place the interests of the country above party loyalties. A bold and impressive step is needed to break this barrier of hesitancy so that the evolutionary forces may take their due course.

And what could be more appropriate than a Nehru-Jayprakash partnership in the great and noble undertaking of building a new India? Much has been said on this subject of late but the decisive factor is not whether the Congress is in need to enter into coalition agreements with other parties nor the ill-conceived opposition to "co-operation" move from a section of the P. S. P. The crucial point apart from the willingness and the ability of the two leaders to work together—and on both these there is not the slightest cause for apprehension—is whether a Congress-P. S. P. alliance is dictated by the exigencies of the present situation and whether such an alliance would be in the best interests of the country.

While it is true that the nation faces on grave emergency and that the Congress has working majorities in most of the legislatures, it is an indisputable fact that the Congress alone is incapable of effectively solving the problems confronting the country and only an arrangement closer to a national Government, since the establishment of a national Government would involve a compromise with the forces of communism and communalism, can adequately meet the situation. A Congress-P. S. P. alliance on the other hand leads to no complications but on the contrary the coming together of the two most respected and trusted leaders in the country will infuse a new sense of

confidence into the masses and evoke their ready co-operation and enthusiasm in the nation building activities. It will infuse the much needed new blood in the administrative circles and the P. S. P. leaders are second to none in their intellectual and political integrity and their patriotic fervour. Above all a Congress-P. S. P. coalition will strengthen the democratic forces in the country against the dangers of communism and communalism, and ensure orderly and speedy progress.

There will be no doubt many other beneficial effects of such an arrangement but we are here mainly interested in its repercussions on the general political life and these will be significant. In the first place it is a well-known fact that that there are both within the Congress and the P. S. P. uncompromising opponents of the coalition move and it may be presumed with a reasonable degree of certainty that if the coalition move bears fruit, the orthodox elements in the Congress who will be rendered innoxious as a result and the extremist groups in the P. S. P. will leave the respective organisations in quest of more congenial surroundings. That will leave behind the hard core of the Congress and the P. S. P., representing the cream of progressive but sober democratic elements active in our political life, and what is more natural than to expect these elements to forge an united front on the basis of common ideological persuasions even if it entails the winding up of both the Congress and the P. S. P.?

Furthermore such an eventuality is bound to stimulate ideological sensitiveness in the other political organisations both of the right and the left and the process of polarisation will undoubtedly result in infusing our political life with a new vitality and sense of dynamism, by making the ruling party more alert and vigilant and mindful of its responsibilities and also sharpening the edges of the opposition. This will be the inevitable outcome of realignment of opposition groups on the basis of clear cut ideologies and motives.

THE PARTITION IN RETROSPECT

BY PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

HINDUS and Muslims have lived for centuries together in India but some differences have always persisted. The Hindus could not forget how in the past some of the Muslim invaders plundered, looted and destroyed Hindu life and property. Nor could the Muslims forget that once they were the rulers of Hindustan. This antagonism continued in some form and in various degrees. On occasions, however, Hindu-Muslim antagonism came to a vanishing point. Hindus and Muslims have not only lived together, they also acted together in the political field. The Lucknow Pact of 1916, the Caliphate movement of 1921 and C.R. Das's Swarajya Party in Bengal are such instances. The Muslim deputation led by His Highness the Aga Khan in 1908 for separate electorate is the first clear demand by them that the Muslims are so separate from the rest of the Indians that their interests cannot be looked after jointly with the Hindus. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 is the first Congress recognition of this demand. All throughout, the Muslims insisted that though a minority they should be treated as an equal with the Hindus. With the change of time they changed their argument. First they demanded it because, they held, they rendered services to the British Empire. Next, they demanded it because they are a minority and lastly, when these arguments became out of date, they demanded it on the ground that they constitute a nation. Mr. Jinnah realised that in any future settlement his position could not be as great in undivided India as that of Mahatma Gandhi. The Muslims in India are a minority, and their leader however undisputed in his community cannot have the status of Mahatma Gandhi. If India is one, the Muslims are a minority and their leader will be only second in importance. It could not be otherwise. No jugglery of words and no theory can hide this fact. Mr. Jinnah, then, supported his claim of equality with the Hindus on the ground that the Muslims in India constitute a nation.

Yet no body thought of the partition of India. The Urdu poet Sir M. Iqbal in

1930 as the League President at the Patna Session gave an idea of what later became the basis for Pakistan. But Iqbal did not then mean a separate, independent and sovereign state for the Muslims. What he wanted was that those areas where the Muslims are a majority should be consolidated with adjustment, and such units should join some kind of a loose federation with the rest of Hindu India. The separate electorate was an imperfect means for safe-guarding Muslim interests. Neither the Muslim League nor Mr. Jinnah yet supported any scheme of complete partition. In 1930 during the Round Table Conference at London some Muslim students circulated a pamphlet entitled "Now or Never" where the idea of partition for the first time was advocated in unambiguous language. "On behalf of our 30 million Muslim brethren who live in Pakstan (later spelt as Pakistan which means the land of the pure)—by which we mean the five northern units of India *viz.* Punjab, North West Frontier Province, (Afghan Province) Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan" the authors of the leaflet protested against the proposed Indian federation.

India is not the name of a single country nor the home of a single nation... The Muslims of the North West are separated from the other peoples of India by differences in all their ways of life. We don't inter-dine; we don't inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different. The Moslems of Pakistan, a distinct nation, with a homeland twice the size of France—demanded the recognition of national status.

For the next few years nothing much was heard of this movement. Then in 1935, Mr. C. Rahamat Ali circulated another leaflet from Cambridge as the founder President of the Pakistan National Movement in which he held that "the Moslems in so called India are Muslims, not Hindu; Pakistani not Hindustani; Asian not Indian.... In fact India of to-day was the south Asia of yesterday. The choice now facing Muslims is between reconstruction of Asia and restruction of India". The idea of Pakistan was now further extended to include Bangi-Islam *i. e.* Islam in Bengal with Assam, and Osmanistan *i. e.* Hydera-

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THE PARTITION IN RETROSPECT

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bad. It was conceived that these three states would form a triple alliance.

At first sober opinion amongst Muslims did not support this idea of down-right partition. Dr. Latif of the Osmania university held that partition was not a necessary or a desirable alternative. India could and should remain united provided its unity was based on a system of free and homogeneous nationalities each possessing a geographical home which it could call its own. Sir Abdulla Haroon, a leader of the League in Sind gave another scheme, and Sir. S. Hyat Khan also gave his. Most prominent Muslims insisted on one point. The Muslims are to be considered as a separate nation and if they are to be included into one government with the Hindus, democracy, cabinet system, federalism, etc., as understood in other countries must not be applied to India. These are to be modified in order that these may suit the Muslims. Regarding minorities first Dr. Latif and later Mr. Jinnah boldly advocated wholesale transference of population obviously on voluntary basis. Mr. Jinnah at first did not speak on partition nor did he offer his solution of the problem. Obviously he was feeling his way and was not sure whether Muslims would follow his leadership. During this time the Muslim League did not represent the Indian Muslims. In the North West Frontier Province the Muslims supported the Congress. In the Punjab Sir. S. Hyat Khan was supported by the Unionist party and the influence of the League was negligible. The Bengali Muslims were divided between the League and Mr. Fazlul Haque's Krishak Praja party. In Sind the Muslims were equally divided between the League and Mr. Allabux's party. Only the Muslims in Hindu provinces strongly and fanatically supported the League. But before any talk on Hindu-Muslim question could begin Mr. Jinnah insisted that the Congress must agree before-hand that the Muslims were a separate nation, that the Muslim League alone represented the Muslims, that he was the sole authority capable of speaking on behalf of the Muslims and that he would not talk with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the then President of the Congress. It is clear that he was not sure of his own footing and simply marked his time. The

recognition of a separate Muslim nation by the Congress would vastly improve his bargaining power and ultimately in the central federal government the Muslims as a nation would claim 50 per cent seats, though their numerical strength justifies less than 30 per cent seats.

By the time the war was coming to a close and when the Labour Party came to power, it was clear that the British rule was at an end and then in its absence the Muslims would not be able to maintain their position, because not only in number but also in wealth, education, resources, organisation and sacrifice the Hindu Congress was far superior. For generations the Congress has fought and fought against the largest and most well-established empire. Those were the days when politics meant sacrifice and suffering, and not loaves and fishes. Under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, through suffering and sacrifice the Congress was a vastly superior organisation. Except riots, street fighting and loot, the Muslims had not yet done anything for freedom. It was also clear that after independence the British support to their cause could not be relied on. Muslim masses in the meantime were excited against the Hindus. Volunteer forces with their flag and uniform were recruited, drilled and paraded. The situation became such that if any Muslim leader talked on friendship and co-operation with the Hindus and compromised in any way with the setting up of Pakistan, the prospect of which they held out so brightly, he would surely lose popularity and leadership. The sympathy in great Britain was generally for the Muslims, first because they were weak and small, and secondly, because they all along supported the British administrators. But it was realised that the British sympathy now would not mean much. When, therefore, the Cabinet Mission gave its verdict the Muslims rejected it mainly because the Cabinet Mission did not give them their cherished Pakistan. The situation already reached the breaking point when the Karachi Session voted for direct action and riots broke out in Calcutta and Noakhali.

The Congress High Command, after the election of 1937, was off its head by its astounding success in the election. It felt

that the Congress was the nation and that no power on earth could go against it and decreed that the Congress must not combine with any other party in forming the government in the Provinces. This made a coalition of the Congress—Krishak Praja Party government in Bengal impossible. Mr. Fazlul Haque, in those days a half Congressman, with half the Muslim members, was thrown to the Muslim League. Had the Congress High Command then agreed to form a coalition with Mr. Fazlul Haque's Party, Bengal would have remained unpartitioned and within India. Had any of these happened the course of history of India would have been otherwise. Had the Muslims reconciled themselves with the new situation without demanding a privileged position as Muslims, the former rulers of Hindustan; had they cast their lot with others sharing whatever benefit arose equally with others; had the British not championed the cause of the minority communities, particularly the Muslims and not extended favour to them but had kept completely neutral; had the National Congress showed a greater broadness of mind and created the atmosphere where the Muslims had no genuine apprehension of domination by the Hindus; had Maulana A. K. Azad not been the Congress President so that Mr. Jinnah would have agreed to talk and reach some settlement with the Congress; had Sardar Patel not been in the Congress Parliamentary Board and had the Congress High Command allowed a Congress—Krishak Praja coalition in Bengal—had any of these things happened, India would not have been partitioned.

Nor did Pundit Nehru, correctly estimate the position. The Hindu Mahasabha was growing in strength and the country was clearly divided between two sections—the Hindus and the Muslims—each dominated by the extremists. The Hindus were not less fanatic but the rank and file of the Congress although mainly Hindu generally believed in some sort of compromise. Pundit Nehru, however, completely failed to estimate the intensity of feelings that ran in both the camps, when he held that Pakistan was not possible because Pakistan involved the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, and that these two peoples were culturally so united that they would

not agree to any division. Facts, however, did not bear out this proposition. Had Punditji realised the situation and agreed to the division of India before-hand and arranged for transference of population more systematically, much loss, suffering and hardship could have been avoided. As an idealist he stuck to his ideal so long he could but as most idealists do, he also submitted to the inevitable. The last moment decision was influenced by the opinion of Mr. J. J. Singh, the President of the India League in America who expressed the opinion that America failed to understand why the Congress should not agree to the Muslim demand for a separate home country if they wanted it.

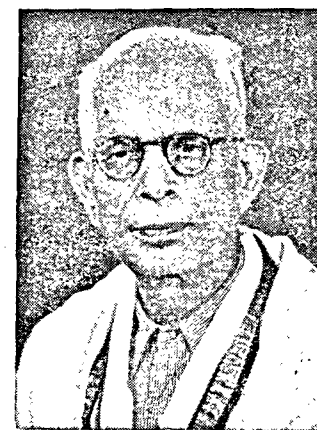
The Pakistan that ultimately was born, is different from the Pakistan that the Muslims at first wanted. With Bengal and the Punjab divided, without Hyderabad and with Kashmir hanging in the balance, with increasing difficulties in defending her frontiers, in keeping communication open between the two parts of the state, without industrial resources and with the refugee problem developing in menacing proportions, the prospect for Pakistan is far from bright. There is no doubt that the Muslims in India as well as in Pakistan would have gained much had the Cabinet Mission proposals been accepted and followed. But passions and excitement ran high, and reason and wisdom succumbed, and the country was "in temporary madness" in the language of Mahatma Gandhi, the single and solitary Indian who remained calm and serene throughout all the disturbances. Nobody to-day seriously means that there will be any reunion. Pakistan is an accomplished fact and West Pakistan has come to stay. The situation in East Pakistan is a little different. It is still fluid. Except the fear of Hindu domination, the Bangali Muslims have not much in common with the West Pakistani Muslims. Hindus have left West Pakistan. Some Hindus who are left in East Bengal would sooner or later embrace Islam and then East Bengal would have less in common with West Pakistan.

Mr. T. R. V. Sastri in his Sixties

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[The following appreciation of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri was written 20 years ago on the eve of his 61st birthday—Shashtiabdhapoorty. Mr. Sastri grew riper with the years, and in his 79th year, free from professional duties, he was able to give to public causes the mellow wisdom that comes of age and experience. To the end he remained the champion of all liberal causes with the same zeal and alertness with which he espoused them in earlier years. If anything, study and meditation in later years made him even more gentle and generous in his appraisal of men and events. As is inevitable with men of his mind and age, it fell to him to espouse some forlorn and losing causes—but his integrity was so well established that he remained the undisputed Elder of his time and generation, beloved of all and respected for his character and ability. Like his masters Srinivasa Sastri and Sivaswami Aiyar he was modest and retiring and shunned publicity. Yet his native talents were too brilliant to be ignored, and he did his bit with an earnestness that won him the goodwill and esteem of all who came in contact with this upright and gracious personality.—Ed. *Indian Review*.]

I don't think Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri ever cared to celebrate his birthday; he, like Shaw, has little respect for the ceremonial; and with his habitual indifference to the things that don't matter he may even ignore the 4th of February when he



MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

completes his sixtieth year. But his friends and admirers, especially among the young who owe so much to his example, can hardly be dissuaded from observing that day as an occasion for rejoicing.

Mr. Sastri is one of those who improve on acquaintance. Those who from a distance admired him for his character or advocacy are struck, on closer acquaintance, with the singular charm of his manner and the sweetness of his disposition. For one thing he

is blissfully free from the superiority complex that assails age. He argues with you, a junior by many decades and just a fresher, as if you were his equal, and you at once feel a sense of freedom and competency that only contact with great minds can inspire. At 61, Sastri is as intellectually alert as he is physically fit. A stalwart of fine proportions, he looks stately and statuesque with clear cut features and an athletic frame. Let there be no mistake about it: that fitness of mind and body is attained by constant exercise of both. Reading maketh a full man, but frequent intercourse with young and agile minds, albeit crude, sharpens one's wits and maketh a ready man. And Sastri has the wholesome habit of testing his opinions on the furnace of hard discussion. His virtues are more solid than vivacious and his habitual modesty saves him from that spurious brilliance which mediocrity too often affects to cover up its vacuity.

Of his eminence at the bar we need say little. Speculations as to what might have been if he only chose to have a career in office are altogether beside the mark. For Sastri, like the stars, is self-effulgent and he will shed lustre on any office he holds. He is not of those who become great by virtue of their office or association. Dean Inge used to say that climbing and creeping go together; and the unconcern with which Sastri threw away the mantle that had fallen on him is an index to his character and

integrity. With some brass in his composition he could have made the most of that opportunity. But he is sensitive like the seismograph and unbending in his rectitude.

There is about him, as about his venerated friends and mentors the Rt. Hon. Sastri and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar with whom he has many things in common—their old world courtesy, their urbanity, their love of culture and fair play, and their passion for public service—there is about him, what Matthew Arnold used to call a note of high seriousness.

He also shares with his Rt. Hon. friend and Sir P. S. S. a dignity of bearing and a meticulous care in the use of words. The culture of generations of forbears has not descended on him in vain. His oriental learning is polished and refined by the corrective value of English culture. Both sit lightly on him, and the Pandit who could quote Manu and Yagnavalkya in favour of caste or the laws of inheritance could with equal ardour espouse the cause of women with the arguments of Mill and Bertrand Russell. Sastri is a liberal in the fine old sense of that word, liberal in thought based on the solid foundation of equity and adjusted to the advancing demands of the time-spirit.

Yet he is no prig or dilettante revelling in argument and idle speculation. I have no doubt that he too, like his sires who practised austerities on the shady banks of the Cauvery, is often assailed by

those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings;
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realised.

But his ideas, like those of the Positivists, are always informed by a sure social and human purpose. He may have the scholar's appetite for the study of Kalidasa or Coleridge, but he is temperamentally of those who deal with affairs and men.

This habitual bent is further fostered by his legal training and frequent traffic with the facts of life. Hence his stern sense of reality and precision in utterance. For Sastri is supremely free from the vices of most Indian writers—prolixity and mistiness—prolixity in style and mistiness of thought. His words, spoken or

written, come straight with gentlemanly case and grace. A man may pretend to be what he is not, but his style will always betray him. The way Sastri makes his brief notes on the margin of a bulky document and the precision and conciseness with which he expresses himself on knotty points of law or usage are evidences of a mind that attacks squarely and decides quickly. The rest is smooth sailing. He unravels the most complex dispute with disarming simplicity, without any of those artifices which more often confuse than illumine the issue. Nor is he of that species that make

the worse appear the better reason.

Hence his great power of advocacy—an advocacy that goes home without any of your claptrap declamation or purple patches of redundant rhetoric.

But the legal mind has its perils. I think it was Carlyle who drew a distinction between the linear and the cubical mind. Specialisation tends to narrowness and the lure of subtlety warps the judgment and loses the grasp of fundamentals. Gandhiji once complained of the strange behaviour of his lawyer friends. While questions of life and death for the nation (according to him) were at stake, they wasted their time over frivolous inanities of no more than technical interest. In their passion for disputation they were raising points of order or asking for adjournments. These, indeed, have their value in gaining a point over your adversary. But vital problems of social and moral import, involving the foundations of one's belief or the destiny of nations are not to be trifled with in this pettifogging spirit. With Sastri, subtlety of mind and legal acumen are the means and not the end. Sastri brings to bear upon problems a cubical mind and his study of the humanities and the social sciences saves him from the narrowness of specialisation and endows his understanding with a synthetic grasp of fundamentals.

Sastri's gifts are, however, of a character that would preclude him from dominating a situation. He may have heroic qualities but he could hardly play the hero. For one thing he is too sensitive for a dramatic

pose; and his keen sense of humour would forbid him from thinking that he is born

to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

He shuns the limelight and has little love for the colourful and the picturesque so dear to the mass mind. Admirable as these traits are, not of such are the masterful men made.

Measured by his capacity, Sastri's contribution to public life must seem meagre, but that is because he came into the political sphere rather late. Much as we value youth in politics—that is to say, courage and vision and a spirit of adventure in the making of the nation—there is something to be said for the wisdom and moderation that come of age and experience. And to-day when politics threaten to be amateurish, the need for clearheaded and cautious lead is imperative. There is, of course, the inevitable factor of middleaged men complacently plodding for mere security. But you have to conserve what is gained, and when the boundaries are set right, it is to men of means and leisure and competence that we instinctively turn for guidance. For we know better than to scoff at "the bad old days of the lawyer-politician", realising as I do that what little public life there is in the country is of their making.

Sastri in the role of a social reformer is an impressive figure and must count with his people. His pedigree, culture, and discipline predispose him to a reverent attitude to the past. By temperament, Sastri has a tender regard for tradition and the continuity of things. For there can be no culture or civilization that is not deep-rooted in the soil. The nomads have neither. There was a time when it required some courage to be a reformer; but in these days it looks as if more courage is needed to stick to orthodoxy.

Well, it is easy enough to go wandering over sea and land from Timbuctoo to Kamatchkatka, eat what you like, mate with whom you please and thrill your neigh-

bours with mock-heroics. He has seen it all. He cannot approve of the levity and thoughtlessness of breaking with the past. And he knows too that there is no hope for a people chained inexorably to cumbrous old customs which, whatever their origin or advantage once, are now but a dead weight against all progress. Hence his plea for a readjustment of old habits to new ideas. And his reforming zeal goes with the wisdom of good old Ranade who said: "We cannot break away from the past even if we would; we must not break away from it even if we could."

Sastri is essentially a committee man. Those who watched him during the Liberal Federation at Madras were struck with his amazing capacity for handling men and affairs, his powers of rallying those opposed to him in conviction and bringing them all within the fold by his sweet reasonableness and persuasive eloquence. That quiet persuasive way is also the way of Sir P. S. S. under whom Sastri was a junior when he first entered the profession. The present writer has a notion that the Poona delegates were so struck with his ability and earnestness that they had then and there decided that Sastri, so far as in them lay, should be their President for the next session.*

* Mr. Sastri was elected President of the Nagpur session in 1935.

TOLERANCE

"Let me... define tolerance as tolerating other people even when they don't tolerate you. It is an austere definition. No politician would accept it. But if tolerance is to play any practical part in the modern world, if any headway is to be made against fanaticism, if there is to be any easing of the tensions between class and class, race and race, country and country, then tolerance must be more than a pious wish, more than a woolly assertion of goodwill. It must have courage, and it must be prepared to take risks."

—E. M. Forster, quoted by Swatantra.

Progress of the River Valley Projects

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

IN the last five years a large number of irrigation and power projects have been undertaken all over the Indian Union. Some of them are solely for irrigation, some for hydro-electric power and the others are of a multipurpose nature, designed for irrigation, power, flood control, navigation, fish culture and so on. The total number of projects under construction is about 135. The cost of all the irrigation and power projects included in in the first part of the plan is Rs. 734 crores. A sum of Rs. 144 crores has been spent on them upto March 31, 1951. In the five year period, it is proposed to spend Rs. 450 crores and the balance of Rs. 140 crores will be utilised later.

There is no doubt that the implementation of these projects would immensely benefit our country and raise the standard of living of the masses. They are expected to irrigate an additional area of 8.8 million acres in the last year of the plan and generate 1.1 million kilowatts of additional power. When fully completed and developed, the projects are expected to add to the area irrigated by 16.5 million acres and 1.93 million kilowatts to power.

But are we sure that these schemes are being implemented with efficiency and expedition? Are the huge sums of money being utilised in the proper manner? Does the Indian Parliament have an effective control over the administration and execution of these projects? Answers to these questions are vitally important. But unfortunately the answers are not quite satisfactory. Almost in every major scheme—Damodar, Bhakra—Nangal, Hirakud—there has been a good deal of bungling, inefficiency and waste. Work was begun in many cases without careful investigation and proper assessment of the economic prospects. In every case, the revised estimates have vastly exceeded the original calculations and the final figures are bound to be much higher. True, a combination of circumstances over which authority has had no control is responsible for the increase. But it cannot be denied that if only government had acted cautiously and exercised strict

control over the various stages of execution, the progress might have been quicker and more substantial.

We shall now discuss briefly the progress of some of the more important projects.

DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME

To take the Damodar Valley scheme first. This has been under implementation since July 1948 when the Government of India set up the Damodar Valley Corporation. Originally it was estimated to cost Rs. 55 crores—the first phase Rs. 37.8 crores and the second Rs. 17.19 crores. Now the cost of the first phase has been increased to Rs. 74.98 crores. The revised estimate of the second phase is not yet available but at the present rate of progress the whole scheme may cost over Rs. 110 crores.

The increase in the revised estimate has been attributed to the following factors:

(a) extension of the installed capacity of the Konal hydro-electric station from 10,000 Kw. to 40,000 Kw.

(b) extension of the distance over which power is to be transmitted from 159 miles to 350 miles.

(c) extension in the irrigable area from 185,000 acres to 967,000 acres. This item alone has accounted for a sum of Rs. 5.25 crores.

This, however, is not the whole story. The working of the D.V.C in the last four years has come in for vehement criticism in Parliament and outside. Some of the criticisms based on the Auditor's report were:—

(a) That heavy expenditure was incurred even before the appointment of a suitable Chief Engineer and before the rules and regulations were drawn up;

(b) that wastages and overhead costs have been excessive and that

(c) contracts were given by negotiation without competitive tenders being invited and that there was no approved schedule of rates for the execution of the various items of work.

It is significant that the Government themselves admitted that the original estimate was based "more or less on guess work".

A sum of Rs. 31.88 crores has been spent so far on this project. The World Bank has given a loan of Rs. 18 crores for the Bokaro thermal scheme.

For 1952-53 a sum of Rs. 12 crores has been provided for as follows:

Central government	Rs. 3 crores.
West Bengal	7 "
Bihar	2 "

Of the four dams, only one has been half completed, so far and that is the smallest. The D.V.C, however, hopes that it will be able to complete all the projects by 1955, irrigating 7 million acres and providing over 120,000 Kw of hydro electric power.

BHAKRA NANGAL

This project was originally conceived as early as 1909. But owing to various reasons it was taken up only in 1946. The latest estimate of its cost is Rs. 133 crores compared with about Rs. 100 crores five years ago.

The progress of the scheme has been delayed mainly because of the lack of finances as well as the want of effective co-operation between the Centre and the State governments. Recently, however, there has been some improvement in progress. Mr. Chinthaman Deshmukh said in Parliament that the execution of the project had not been held up for want of finances. He revealed that the Nangal dam in the Punjab had been "very nearly completed" and two thirds of the earth work was over on the Nangal hydro-channel. The station would start functioning at the end of 1953 so as to supply power in 1954. Though a large part of non-perennial supply of water would be available in 1954, perennial supply could be made available only after the Bhakra dam is raised to two thirds of the projected height. The Bhakra dam is expected to be completed by the end of 1959.

The project, according to the Finance Minister, is the "most complicated hydro-electric project ever attempted in this

country". It envisages a dam 680 feet high across the Sutlej near Bhakra. About eight miles below the Bhakra dam there is the Nangal dam. The scheme is expected to irrigate an area of 36 million acres and yield 1,300,000 tons of additional food-grains and 800,000 bales of cotton; also it will generate 400,000 kilowatts of power, serving the Punjab, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Delhi and the U.P. It will be a great factor in stimulating the agricultural and industrial development of East Punjab.

HIRAKUD

Hirakud provides another instance of a project planned without foresight and executed without adequate care and efficiency. Originally the estimate of cost was Rs. 47.81 crores, the latest is Rs. 92.09 crores.

Why this wide difference? The reasons are: increase in the irrigation potential which has been nearly doubled; rise in wages by nearly 100%; higher cost of acquisition of land costing about Rs. 7 crores; higher prices of imported machinery. Other factors include the revision of priorities in the scope of the project; over-staffing of the chief engineer's office; indiscriminate sanctioning of gazetted and non-gazetted posts; diversion of technical men to minor administrative posts, and the absence of proper system of accounting. The estimates committee of Parliament has passed severe strictures on the working of the Hirakud scheme.

It is really amazing how a project of the magnitude of Hirakud could be allowed to proceed on such almost scandalous lines. No doubt, costs of machinery and wages of labour have gone up but surely these could not have increased so greatly in a few months; for we find the draft plan, published in July 1951, gives the cost as Rs. 62.59 crores whereas the latest figure is Rs. 92.08 crores. Evidently, there is something radically wrong with the plan.

That the plan of this project was not well thought out will be clear from the reordering of priorities. Originally, it was decided in 1948 to start work on the power channel, the second power house and the subsidiary dam. This decision was made on the assumption that early completion

of these items would provide a regular income from the sale of power even when the main dam was under construction. In fact some progress had already been achieved in this respect when about 6 months ago it was resolved to stop all this work and concentrate on the main dam. By now nearly Rs. 2 crores have been spent on these and they will be taken up only after 1960. Meanwhile, considerable expenditure has to be incurred on them towards maintenance charges.

It is, however, gratifying to note that the work on the dam is making fair progress. Other achievements include the construction of a concrete bridge across the river, research in the soil survey laboratory, reclamation of over 100,000 acres of forest and scrub land and opening of model experimental and demonstration farms.

The construction programme has been phased out over 20 years. The first stage, estimated to cost Rs. 67.82 crores, will on completion irrigate 1.9 million acres and generate 85,000 Kw of power. The second phase will be confined to power development. When completed in 1970-71, the total installed and firm power capacity is expected to be 268,000 Kw and 199,500 Kw respectively. The construction of the second power house and the subsidiary dam will commence during this period.

OTHER PROJECTS

Apart from the major projects sponsored by the Centre there are several others executed by the State governments individually or in co-operation with one another. Of these, the prominent are Tungabhadra, Mayurakshi, Machkund, Kakrapara and a number of other projects. These are in various stages of progress. The Tungabhadra scheme is designed to serve both Madras and Hyderabad. It will consist of a dam across the Thungabhadra near Hospet in Bellary. There will be two canals, on the Madras and the Hyderabad sides which are expected to irrigate 300,000 acres and 419,000 acres respectively. The scheme is estimated to generate 155,000 kilowatts of electricity and produce an additional 210,000 tons of foodgrains. The whole project will cost

Rs. 794.41 lakhs. The Madras and the Hyderabad Governments have spent over Rs. 8 lakhs and Rs. 6 lakhs respectively upto March 1951 while the centre had advanced a loan of Rs. 2 crores.

The Mayurakshi scheme is the biggest of its kind in West Bengal. When completed, it will irrigate 600,000 acres in the kharif season and 120,000 acres in the rabi season, and is expected to add nearly 4 lakh tons to India's annual food production. Its production of hydro-electric power is expected to be adequate to light up the adjoining rural areas.

The first stage of the project consisting of the barrage and headworks was completed in August 1951. Full execution of the project is expected by 1954. The cost of the scheme is 15.5 crores; and the Government of West Bengal had spent Rs. 3 crores upto March 1951.

Of the other river valley projects which are not included in the first five year plan but likely to find a place in the revised plan are Kosi and Krishna-Pennar. Kosi, a very ambitious scheme, will take over 16 years for completion when it will irrigate about 4 million acres in Bihar and Nepal and produce one million kilowatts of hydel power. The first stage is estimated to cost Rs. 11 crores of which Rs. 2 crores will be paid by Nepal, the cost of the whole scheme being Rs. 177 crores.

Krishna Pennar in the South also appears to have made out a case for a place in the second part of the Plan. The general conception of the project appears to be sound, according to the Technical Committee specially appointed by the Planning Commission to examine its suitability. But the magnitude of the project is such that it could be taken up only in stages. No major scheme on these rivers, says the Technical Committee, could be completed in less than seven years. Provisionally it is calculated to irrigate 10 lakh acres of land in Hyderabad at a cost of Rs. 52 crores. On the Madras side it will irrigate 30 lakh acres at a cost of Rs. 75 crores.

Other important schemes in execution are the Sarda in the U. P.; Chambal in M. P. and Lakkavalli in Mysore. There are besides many small projects and more are under investigation. All these amounting to over 250 will take about 20 years to complete and cost nearly Rs. 1,400 crores. They will irrigate approximately 45 million acres and yield an additional output of about 15 million tons of food.

It is doubtful, however, if these great projects will ultimately prove quite remunerative. It has been pointed out by competent authorities that compared with the Cauveri Delta, Godavari, Krishna and Periyar projects of the past, the new schemes will yield a very low level of remuneration. Whether a return of at least 4 per cent on the capital can be had from these, seems doubtful in view of the high costs of construction and the large wastage that has occurred. No doubt, when schemes for bringing millions of acres under irrigation and generating millions of kilowatts of electricity are under execution, a little wastage here and there does not matter. A former Minister of Public works in the Government of India said in Parliament that "big schemes and a petty, accounting mind go ill-together". He is right. But unfortunately the loss we have suffered on account of inefficiency waste and lack of proper planning of these schemes will easily run into several crores of rupees which no nation can afford, least of all India in her present position.

In the circumstances, government and the Planning Commission must consider very seriously whether it is really necessary to launch fresh and costly projects in the immediate future. The proper course would be to speed up the implementation of the schemes on which work has already been done and cannot be abandoned. The loans and technical aid available from the World Bank, the Colombo Plan, Point Four and other sources should be wisely utilised for this purpose. It is also desirable to obtain the best technical talent from abroad even though it may be very costly for ultimately it will benefit us immensely. The appointment of Mr. Slocom for the Bhakra dam is one of the wisest acts of the Government of India. A great

expert in dam construction, this American Engineer has been appointed on a 10 year contract on a tax free salary of Rs. 10,000 per month which is probably the highest salary ever drawn by an official in any part of the world. It is indeed gratifying to hear from Mr. Nanda, that "the appointment has been justified by the accelerated rate of progress and many of the items would be completed ahead of the original schedule by six months to a year. The saving in overhead charges etc. could easily be imagined". In fact the Minister for Planning regretted that the Government of India could not obtain Mr. Slocom's services earlier.

India's greatest need to-day is to increase the production of foodgrains and the river valley schemes will be greatly helpful in this direction. But in view of the high cost and delay, it will be preferable if in the next few years attention is concentrated on the development of minor irrigation works all over the country. These are less expensive and at the same time will be able to yield immediate results. Meanwhile, the big projects already undertaken should be implemented as expeditiously and economically as possible.



Rear Admiral John C. Daniel, United States Navy, is the United Nations representative at Pan Mun Jom for the exchange of sick and wounded Korean war prisoners.

Reorganisation of Administrative Services

BY PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

IN the course of a resolution on Social and Economic Programme, the Congress Working Committee, at its meeting held on May 16 last, observed that "the machinery of administration has now to face new problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State". "The Services should, therefore, be reorganised from this point of view." The Planning Commission, in their recommendations for the Five-Year Plan, have also strongly pleaded for a reform in Public Administration. "The pace of development," state the Commission, "will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the co-operation which it evokes." During the British regime, the main responsibility of the administrative set-up was the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. The major emphasis now shifts to the development of human and material resources and the elimination of hunger, poverty and unemployment in the country. Although it is not fair to indulge in wholesale and sweeping condemnation of all Government servants, we must admit the naked fact that the Public Services in India have not so far been able to readjust themselves to their new responsibilities and have proved unequal to the great task of re-building the country on sound social and economic foundations.

The nation, during the last five years, has, undoubtedly, accomplished many great tasks; our achievements could be favourably compared with those of any other important country in the world including Russia and America. India has framed a new Constitution. She has re-organised the Governments after holding General Elections on an unprecedented scale. We have reorganised the States after liquidating six hundred and odd rulers and princes. The Congress has also tried to reorganise the social and economic system of the country through the preparation of the First Five-Year plan. The process of re-organising the Congress Organisation itself is well under way. The important task of re-organising the Administrative

Services has now to be taken up in all seriousness without further loss of time. As the planning Commission rightly observe, "public co-operation and goodwill are obtained when there is a belief in the integrity and efficiency of administration." The work of successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan is suffering greatly because such a faith in the integrity and efficiency of the Services is sadly lacking.

A number of schemes have been prepared for the proper re-organisation of the administrative machinery both at the Centre and in the States. The late Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar had made a number of valuable suggestions; the Estimates Committee also submitted a very useful report on the Re-organisation of the Secretariat. Shri A. D. Gorawala wrote a report on Public Administration at the instance of the Planning Commission and recommended a number of measures for achieving integrity and efficiency in Administrative Services. Many of his recommendations have been incorporated in the Five-Year Plan. Recently, Prof. Appleby, the well-known American expert on Public Administration, has submitted a report to the Government of India regarding the reorganisation of the Services on a more flexible and less rigid basis. The alien rulers had given us a "steel frame" which served their own purposes very well but which is ill-fitted to undertake new and onerous tasks under a free and democratic Government. It has, therefore, to be re-oriented and overhauled to serve effectively the pressing needs and requirements of a Welfare State.

In order to achieve the above objective, it is essential to revise radically the existing rules of service and procedure of work in various Government departments. The Britishers framed the rules with a specific purpose in view. They wanted to maintain and prop up the prestige of their officials by laying down rules and regulations in such a manner that the highest in the land could not touch even the lowest officer of their

bureaucracy. If the officers have now to become the real servants of the people, these rules of service will have to be revised thoroughly by the Union as well as State Governments. The Indian Constitution provides for such a revision by the Parliament or the State Legislatures. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has given a lead in this direction. Other States should profit by the experiment of the U. P. Government and take immediate steps to change their standing rules of recruitment, training, promotions and dismissals relating to the administrative services. These rules should *inter alia* provide for speedy departmental enquiries by competent Tribunals so that corrupt and inefficient public servants may be rooted out quickly and effectively. The rules should also be framed in such a manner that honest and efficient officials may have ample opportunities of proving their worth and merit. It should be made amply clear to Government servants that it is not only important to be honest but also to have the reputation of being honest. In this process of purification, it may be that a few innocent persons are also liquidated. But such exceptional and hard cases should not deter us from launching a regular campaign against corruption, nepotism and inefficiency in Public Administration. The Ministers also should be prepared to undergo the same process of purification by facing Impartial Tribunals whenever necessary. Everybody in the Government, from the highest to the lowest, should be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion and must be ever-ready to vindicate his integrity by submitting to enquiries and cross-examinations.

As the Planning Commission have suggested, all Government servants should be required to furnish returns of movable as well as immovable property acquired by them or their near relations during the preceding year. Under the existing rules, Government servants are required to submit details only about immovable property of their own; the properties acquired by their near relations do not come into the picture at all. It has also been recommended that the Central Government should establish a Special

Intelligence Department for tracing and investigating offences involving corruption and nepotism in the States. Even the best officers in the States may not be able to rise above certain local considerations in instituting impartial enquiries in their respective regions. The dishonest and the guilty should be given exemplary punishments; they should not only be dismissed from service but also heavily fined and speedily prosecuted. Corruption and dishonesty should be regarded as the worst crimes under the new laws of the land. Without adopting drastic measures in this regard, it will be impossible to rid the existing administrative machinery of its numerous faults and shortcomings.

Corruption is not the sole monopoly of any particular section of society. It is a hydra-headed monster which has to be fought on many fronts. The Public Servant, the businessman, and the public in general have to be tackled simultaneously in uprooting dishonesty from the Indian society. Let all of us read the signs of the times. Let us understand once and for all that the masses can tolerate many economic hardships and difficulties; but they cannot and should not tolerate corruption and inefficiency in the administration. India must forge ahead on the economic front; she must succeed in liquidating hunger, poverty and unemployment within a few years. Anybody who comes in the way of her progress will have to go.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

THE PLEBEIAN OUTLOOK ON POETRY

By SRI RAJENDRA SINGH AHLUWALIA, M.A.

SO insistent are the physical needs of life to-day that poetry is generally dismissed as mere frivolity. It does not seem to fit in the busy pattern of modern life. In an age of high seriousness and practical good-sense it smacks of sentimental rubbish of an effete and complacent bourgeoisie. It might have served, in the past, to relieve the ennui of a leisured aristocracy but ours is a different age. We are haunted by a sense of allround insecurity. The consolation of faith is not ours and science seems to betray us into an atomic conflagration. What use is the poet's sweetness and light in a world gone mad with the lust for power, self-aggrandizement and utilitarianism? Is poetry socially relevant?

It is not for the first time that such questions have been asked and doubts expressed about the validity of poetry. Centuries ago, Plato banished the poet from his ideal republic because he saw no use of mere imitators in society. Since then he has had a chequered career. He has been accused of sorcery, bracketed with lunatics, called an idle dreamer and also hailed as a prophet and the unacknowledged legislator of the world. His songs are known to have fired the imagination of the lover, the patriot and the revolutionary.

But by a strange logic of events the poet is only suffered and not taken very seriously by the common man. He is called in to beguile tedium, to purge or inject emotions in some mysterious way and then dismissed as an idle creature. His constructive contribution to life has been persistently under-rated because popular opinion tends to see in him nothing but a dreamer of dreams. Critics of eminence, too, frown at Arnold's dictum of poetry being a criticism of life which they interpret as reducing poetry to a handmaid of propaganda. The upholders of Art for Art Sake are horrified at the very suggestion of poetry being employed in the service of life. A certain set of critics thus confirm the popular view of poetry without in any way sharing or mitigating the hatred of the common people for pure poetry. Thus the poet has fallen between two stools. If he descends from the life of imagination to the

sordid reality of life he is accused by certain people of importance of debasing art and if he sticks to his ivory tower he incurs the indifference of the common reader. But here we are concerned with the popular misconception of the poet's vocation in creating which the poet cannot completely escape responsibility.

Time and again the poet has, for various understandable reasons, disregarded the importance of communication in his art. Sometimes he has been led into eccentricity in his anxiety to be original but mostly his intense desire to be sincere to his intuitive vision has been responsible for his lapsing into intelligibility. At other times the realisation of the inadequacy of his medium to express in its entirety the richness, the tone and the warmth of his peculiar but significant experience has driven him to esoteric experimentation with language and technique. This has resulted in hieroglyphic and extremely obscure expression much to the chagrin of the common reader. The symbolists, the imagists, the expressionists, the mystics and the sur-realists have all succumbed to this malady in varying degree because of their sincere desire to discover an emotional correlative for their inner vision.

Again, the peculiar nature of the subject matter has been often-times responsible for the poet's apparent indifference to coherent and logical expression.

Browning in his monologues took upon himself to lay bare the inmost recesses of human consciousness and thus became the victim of his complicated subject. The sur-realist poet's interest in the working of the subconscious and his desire to preserve the psychological truth of his experience has resulted in wayward and apparently contradictory expression, free from all shackles of grammar or logic. Croce's theory of Aesthetics has complicated the matter still further because he makes the poet a law unto himself and lends critical authority to eccentricity in expression.

Now the common man is indignant at this non-chalant attitude of the poet. If poetry is not for him what does it matter if it feeds the vanity of the poet himself or

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of a set coterie. The poet seems to say in effect "I have expressed myself. Take it or leave it." The common reader's reply seems to take the line, "If communication is not your aim, what is? Why clothe your experience in language if it is not meant to instruct or please others?" So the battle goes on.

Not that pure poetry is to be despised for not coming to the level of common intelligence, but the common man is not to blame for not liking a thing which obviously is not intended for him. Virtuosity in form is a poor compensation to the layman for the absence of the note of universality in such poetry and one might as well acquire a taste for mathematical formulae or crossword puzzles as for this type of poetry. The charge of obscurity against Browning in the 19th century and T. S. Eliot, in our own day, reflects the same impatience; not always justifiable, of the common man against the personal vagaries of even the greatest poets, and this in spite of the fact that the common man of the 20th century has found in T. S. Eliot the most realistic exponent of the frustration, the emptiness, the coldness, the inherent contradiction and the complexity of modern life, while Browning reflected in most vigorous and masculine language the mood of optimism of the common man of the 19th century. So while the charge of obscurity may almost be called flippant, it has, in extreme cases, and more often than not, tipped the scale against the poet. Even today the popular reaction to T. S. Eliot's poetry is one of bewilderment and confusion.

Another very common charge levelled against the poet is that of escapism. Quite a few poets, especially of the Romantic brand, turn their back upon grim reality and unconsciously soften the rigour of their experience by clothing it in a rainbow sheen. The common man refuses to be doped or duped. But in all fairness to the ivory-tower poet, let it be said that escapism does not necessarily exclude life as it is and answers a very deep urge in humanity. It is generally forgotten that the withdrawal of the poet from reality is born either of intense dissatisfaction with things as they are or of a burning idealism which will not let the things remain as they are. In either case escapism implies indirect criticism of

life. The escapist poet may not thus be said to have burnt all his boats as far as the actual life is concerned. He views it from a distance philosophically and attempts to bridge the imaginary gulf between the real and the ideal. For after all, the real and the ideal are not mutually exclusive in a wider sense of the term. The highest approximation of the real to the ideal is not only a continuous process in the history of mankind, it is a dream of an ever growing section of humanity and shall the poet be excommunicated for giving significant shape to such dreams. Judged ethnologically too, the escape to a never never land of make-believe, shorn of all the discordance, the imperfection of reality, answers a psychic need of man which exhibits itself in the inordinate craze for fantastic stories among children of all races. Such poetry we may despise in the work-a-day world but to it we turn for relief from the oppressive reality, boredom and fatigue of a mechanical civilisation.

So we cannot afford to banish the poet from our midst in spite of the multifarious preoccupations of modern life. He frees us from the narrowing intellectuality and satisfies the imaginative needs of a balanced and integrated personality. Poetry restores to us our childlike imagination and curiosity which science and our matter-of-factness progressively tend to destroy. Once upon a time the world was fresh. The appearance of a rainbow in the sky was an event. But to-day the rainbow stands disintegrated through a prism and we have catalogued its colours. It is a serious curtailment of our sources of enjoyment of beauty. Soon we would have rocketed the moon and men will rarely lift their gaze to the skies in awe and wonder, for, then the moon will only be another planet and not "the white maiden with cold fire laden" or "Diana with a girdle of pearls." Another feather in the cap of the scientist no doubt but one more infringement of the fast shrinking curiosity of the man in the street. Our ersatz civilisation is on the point of succeeding in making artificial rain. Then Good bye to the angels of rain and lightning too. Surely we require the poet to remind us occasionally that a blue sky bends over us all.

Then again the common man needs the poet to remove the film of familiarity from our eyes and restore a clearer and closer appreciation of beauty even in the meanest flower. Our daily familiarity with our surroundings breeds, if not downright contempt, at least callous indifference to their beauty which fades in the light of common day. We tend to take things for granted. We know that flowers bloom on our doorsteps and beyond that we need not know. But a Wordsworth will discover for us "the splendour in the grass, the glory in the flower". What is the good of looking at the sun when to-day's sunrise is a replica of yesterday's and every sunset seems like its brother? But a Shelley will tell the difference. He knows that no two sunsets are the same and nature rarely repeats itself. He points out the delicate tones and half tones that go to weave that splendid phenomenon called a sunset. A Shakespeare is required to take us by the shoulder and say

But look the morn in russet mantle clad
Walks our the dew of you high eastern hill

We rule our eyes and wake to the beauty of a sunrise. Yes, in a machanical age poetry is needed by the common man because it is an education in the appreciation of beauty.

The common man needs poetry on another account too. Poetry binds him to the spiritual heritage of the past. It enshrines the spiritual urge of humanity. It is not a matter of accident that almost all the known scriptures of the world are couched in song, that poetry was born with the birth of human expression and that savages lisped in numbers before they learnt their King's English.

The poet widens the frontiers of our consciousness and adds to our awareness of things. He heightens our preception of beauty and adds to our pleasure. For that reason alone the plebeian attitude towards poetry needs revision.

MY OLD AGE

By Mr. A. GALLETTI, I. C. S. (Retired)

O blest retirement, friend to life's decline,
Retreat from cares that now no more are mine,
How blest am I that crown in shades like these.

A youth of labour with an age of ease,
With pleasant work my latest hours crown,
Enjoy my life before I lay it down.
I husband out life's taper at its close,
And keep the flame from wasting by repose.

I always hoped, my Indian labours past,
Here to return and die at home at last,
Sink to the grave with unperceived decay,
While resignation gently sloped my way.

Nay, I have lived to see the cause succeed,
The Andhra Province formed and India freed.
I happy die, I that have lived to see
A new nation rise, a continent free;
And all the prospect bright'ning at the last,
My heaven commences ere world be past.

WHITHER KENYA?

By PROF. S. B. MOOKERJI, M.A.

If History teaches anything at all, it teaches that every age brings its challenge and that the future of human civilisation depends on how that challenge is responded to. The greatest challenge of our age is the upsurge in the stagnant colonial waters all over the world. This, in fact, is the most significant episode in the post-War world history. Miss the point and you miss the main clue to a proper understanding of contemporary history. Human civilisation, nay, humanity itself, is at the crossroads today. Their future depends on whether the powers that be recognised or not the right of 1600 million coloured people to order their lives in their own way.

The down-trodden black humanity of Africa—North and South, East and West—is on the march today. It is determined to be the master in its own house—by peaceful methods, if possible; by force, if necessary. The Mau Mau disturbances in Britain's East African Colony of Kenya is a case-in-point. A state of emergency has been declared in that Colony in October, 1952. British troops rushed to Kenya have created a reign of terror in that unhappy land.

The Mau Mau disturbances, in the last analysis, are Kenya's reply to the short-sighted obstinacy and selfishness of England—her 'No, No' to all legitimate demands of the children of the soil. The Mau Mau, described as a secret society, is, by and large, a political movement like any in history. Its membership is confined to the Kikuyus, politically most mature and conscious of the Kenya Africans. According to some foreign correspondents however, the Mau Mau is the secret wing of the Kenya African Union which "conducts a campaign above ground for political power and authority." The members of the Union are mostly liberal nationalists.

The Mau Mau owes its origin to both political and economic causes. Since the beginning of European settlement in Kenya at the turn of the current century, the Colony "has experienced the worst kind

of raw imperialism". Besides, the Government have persistently refused to give a square deal to the children of the soil. Too little has been done for them and that again, too late.

Kenya's plural community is composed of 24,000 Arabs, 38,000 Europeans, 123,000 Indians and 5,450,000 Africans. Though all the European settlers are not well off, the 2,000 European farmers live well and even luxuriously by African standards. This comparative affluence is no doubt a source of irritation. Before the advent of the Europeans most of the land in Kenya was held in common by the native tribes. But when Kenya was declared a protectorate in 1895, the Africans were expropriated with very little compensation. They were thus deprived of their only means of livelihood. The European intruders possessed themselves of 1670 square miles of the most fertile tract in Kenya. The helpless African to whom it belongs by all accepted canons of justice, equity and morality is warned off this whiteman's paradise. He cannot own land in it. No non-white can. The inferior land left to the African is wholly inadequate for his maintenance.

Helpless economically, the Kenya African is no less so politically. He is a non-entity in the political life of the Colony. Thus, while 38,000 Europeans have 42 representatives—75% of the total—in the Colony's 56-member Legislative Council, the 5,450,000 Africans, who constitute 97% of the total population, have only 6 representatives, i.e. less than 11% of the total membership. The African however has no vote. His representatives are selected by the European settlers through the English Governor. African offenders against Europeans are dealt with far more severely than European offenders against Africans. Forced labour existed till 1946. The Colonial Office inaugurated some time back a long-range scheme for improved African education with plans for three training centres for African women teachers. To be effective all such efforts should have been made a quarter of a century ago, if not earlier.

Little wonder that the submerged and tormented African humanity has started hitting back and it has been hitting hard—as hard as it can. The Mau Mau disorder is but a spark of the mighty conflagration that threatens white domination all over the Colonial world.

The prospects are gloomy in Kenya. The following eye-witness account bears quotation—"A forestate of this (British Settler) raj is the complete banning of meetings and the suppression of the vernacular press to prevent the Kenya Africans from carrying their message of non-violence to the masses. The situation in Kenya is deplorable and shocking. Violence has now given rise to a situation which is so shocking that terror has been let loose on the guilty and the innocent alike."

English settlers have been authorised to shoot Africans at sight. According to

the above eye-witness, Africans are being shot down everyday by the European settlers. Laws are made and unmade by the Governor acting on his own initiative and responsibility. The Evidence Act has been changed. A statement made by an unnamed witness is very often considered to be good evidence in a criminal trial.

The Mau Mau activities are but the foam on the ocean of Kenyan discontent. A great unhappiness fills in whole region "From Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America." The gods of White Hall must awake to the realities of the situation in Kenya. They must reconcile themselves to a reversal of values that confronts the whiteman in Asia and Africa. The writing is already on the wall. The footfall of the god of History is already audible. It draws nearer every moment.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

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

Hyderabad.

OUR Constitution has adopted the system of adult franchise which is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the people who are illiterate. Education of the people at least upto the elementary stage is an essential requisite for the success of a democracy based on adult franchise. Hence our Constitution has expressly laid down the urgency of the need to impart compulsory education to all children under 14 years of age. The Planning Commission too has urged the establishment of a school in every village. The modern State is a Welfare State which has other obligations over and above maintaining law and order. The success of any ameliorative scheme or any measure that is put on the Statute Book or any reform that is introduced will depend largely upon the people's co-operation and enthusiasm. As Dr. Kilpatrick says: "Learning of the right kind helps one to live better.....It is living that fundamentally concerns us".

Provision for compulsory elementary education has been made in various States.

But what we could achieve is but a fraction of the task ahead of us. In Hyderabad State only 10% of the people are literate and only 8,000 out of 22,600 villages in the State have primary schools.

The success of any scheme of compulsory education depends upon a number of factors which include (1) Co-operation of the parent (2) Soundness of the system of elementary education introduced and (3) availability of the funds.

While the most effective way of enlisting their co-operation is of course by having a compulsory education act, to put new enthusiasm into them and make them appreciate the good that education can do for their children, adult education is very essential. As remarked by the Royal

Commission on Agriculture in India: "A great obstacle to educational advance is presented by the apathy of the parents and no better method of overcoming this can be devised than by inducing them to realise in their own persons the benefits of education. When that apathy is overcome the financial difficulty is in a fair way to removal for a community which is convinced of the benefit of education." Besides adult education activity coupled with a net work of literary service will prevent recipients of elementary education from falling into illiteracy.

RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATED PEOPLE

In this connection there is a responsibility upon educated parents. As Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was emphasising recently at Karaikudi it should be possible for parents with four or five children to teach them at home and every family should become an elementary school. Thereby much valuable time and money can be saved and schools can concentrate their attention on the less fortunate in society. The weight of burden on the State will also be lessened.

We ought not to be content with mere providing of elementary education but should be alert about its nature and methods. Dr. M. Siddalingiah, educationalist from Mysore offers some valuable suggestions for making our elementary schools more attractive and efficient in his instructive book "Reorganising Elementary Education in Mysore". The requisites he lays down are:—

- (a) A better philosophy of life and education.
- (b) A curriculum suited to rural needs and capacities of a village child.
- (c) A better set of text books and materials in class room.
- (d) Revision of methods of examination.
- (e) Improvement of administration, organisation and supervision.

(f) Better methods of training teachers.

(g) Educating the parent and enlisting his sympathy.

Thus the problem before us is two-fold in character *viz.*, making elementary education more widespread quantitatively and more efficient and useful qualitatively. Such a gigantic programme needs at least a period of ten years and a vast amount of money not to speak of a large number of enthusiastic teachers. Considering the grinding poverty in which the poor of our country are enveloped it cannot but be free and hence the State has to bear a heavy financial responsibility. Finances, as Kautilya says, are the pivot of a State. But considering the undoubted significance and undeniable nobility of the project it is hoped that the public will be ready to bear any additional taxation. Ignorance is at least as deadly an enemy of ours as foreign yoke and we who throw off the latter yoke cannot be content to groan under yoke of ignorance.

ADULT EDUCATION

We must also emphasise the need for Adult and Social Education. Some work has been done in Madhya Pradesh and other States. What is wanted is to follow it up with education through the radio, dramas and literature. Educated persons who are finding it increasingly difficult to get suitable jobs can easily be absorbed for such work. Even the Universities should not give degrees unless a person has done some social work after taking his degree.

The Community Projects, which have been introduced in various parts of the States, can give an opportunity for new India and its citizens to educate the masses and to make them believe in democracy. For democracy can survive only to the extent that the citizens are able to discharge their obligations and use their vote intelligently.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

OF LIFE AND LOVE

The teachings of the Lord Buddha are charged through and through with love and mercy to man and beast and bird. In his "Light of Asia," Sir Edwin Arnold, describes the attitude of Lord Buddha to life in the following strain:—

"Of life, which all can take but none can give,
Life which all creatures love and strive to keep,
Wonderful, dear, and pleasant unto each,
Even to the meanest; yea, a boon to all
Where pity is, for pity makes the world
Soft to the weak and noble for the strong,
Unto the dumb lips of his flock he lent
Sad pleading words, showing how man, who
prays
For mercy to the gods, is merciless,
Being as god to those; albeit all life
Is linked and kin, and what we slay have
given
Meek tribute of the milk and wool, and set
Fast trust upon the hands which murder
them."

BELLOC AND HIS BOOKS

Hilaire Belloc, half English, half French whose name was so often coupled with Chesterton's for their versatility no less than their defiant Catholicism, died last month, aged 83. A scholar with a wide assortment of talents, he was poet, historian, novelist, essayist, traveller and journalist. His poetry delights us with a fine lyrical quality. Who that has read his ballad of "The South Country" can forget that rhythmical piece:

*I will hold my house in the high wood,
Within a walk of the Sea,
And the men that were boys when I was a boy
Shall sit and drink with me.*

It was he who said of himself, in a heartfelt poem:

*When I am dead, of me it may be said
His sins were scarlet, but his books were read.*

*Long ago Belloc wrote:
Of this bad world the loveliest and the best
Has smiled and said "Good night," and gone
to rest.*

This could have been his own epitaph!

WANDER LUST

Henry Thoreau, when asked if he had travelled much, replied, "I have travelled widely in Concord."

There, it seems to us, says the "Christian Science Monitor" is the solution to this perennial wander lust—to adventure out into the familiar and find the unknown in the known.

It was Thoreau's concord neighbour, Emerson who shocked the scholars of Harvard by telling them: "I ask not for the great, the remote, the romantic, what is doing in Italy or Arabia; what is Geek Art, or Provincial Minstrelsy; I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight into to-day, and you may have the antique and future worlds."

And it was Thoreau himself who devised the word "Saunter" from "Sainte Terre", or Holy Land, so that a Saunterer, he said, was one who made every walk a pilgrimage to the Holy Land that lies about us, hidden from the dull, habitual eye.

DEFENCE AGAINST ATOM BOMB

When Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, who supervised the creation of the first atomic bomb, appeared before the Congressional Committee, he was asked if there was any defense against the weapon. "Certainly," the great physicist replied confidently.

"And that is.....?"

Dr. Oppenheimer looked over the hushed, expectant audience, then whispered into the microphone—"Peace."

THE PROBLEM OF DEFENCE

The problem in defence is how far you can go without destroying from within what you're trying to defend from without—

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

EPITAPH

On the stone marking the grave of Mark Twain's daughter, Olivia Susan Clemens:

Warm summer sun, shine kindly here;
Warm southern wind, blow softly, here;
Green god above, be light, be light;
Goodnight, dear heart, goodnight,
goodnight.

THE ALLEGORY OF THE MAHABHARATA

BY PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA

University of Tehran (Iran)

THE Mahabharata is an image of the world as it really is, reflected from the genius of the great author, the Holy Sage Vedavyasa. We cannot say what the Mahabharata is any more than we can say what the world is. The world is different to different persons, and at



PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA

the same time it is the world. Similarly the Mahabharata also reacts in different ways to different persons, and at the same time it remains the Mahabharata. It is recognised as one among the greatest literary products of the world. It is poetry of the highest beauty; it is religion of the noblest kind; it is the deepest philosophy. All the sciences are there; the entire lore of man is included in it. It is truth of the sublimest kind. Thus has it been said that there is nothing in the world which is not in it and that "there is nothing in it that is not in the world also."

One of the most difficult problems in the Mahabharata that has baffled all and that has tickled many a sentimentalist, centres round the character of Draupadi, the unique heroine of this unique literary work. In the whole of Indian literature I have not been able to see another character that has any semblance to this heroine; nay in the whole world literature she stands out single, without a parallel. She accepted

*"The Mahabharata is an allegory; Draupadi is the soul controlled by the five senses." Mahatma Gandhi.

as her consort the third among five brothers, the heroes of the work, and she became their common wife afterwards, and had children from all the five husbands. This must give a shock to any sentimental moralist, and the work relating to this heroine with her five husbands, has attained the status of a fifth Veda, as being equal to, or greater than, all the four Vedas put together.

She was won by the third among the five brothers by his mastery in the use of weapons. The condition of winning her hand was that the suitor must be able to discharge five arrows at the same time so that the five arrows enter a cage, revolving rapidly, through five holes and hit a bird within the cage. The eldest brother was the very embodiment of Dharma and the second was all physical power. The two younger brothers distinguished themselves by their dexterity and intellectual equipment respectively. They were princes called upon to rule the country, and it will not be too far-fetched if Draupadi is regarded as an allegorical representation of the "Spirit" of the country. She is the Soul of the country controlled by the five virtues necessary for the true guardianship of the country. The joint function of the five is necessary for the proper control of the soul of the country; but she has to be won first by what the Middle Brother represents.

They had to face strong foes, and in the final conflict, they all destroy one or the other aspects of the dangers to the security and permanence of the realm. In this conflict, Dharma was pitted against those in the enemy camp who were endowed with intellect and wisdom and also some respect for Dharma, but who for some inscrutable reason got entangled in activities of evil in this world. It was physical strength that had to crush the biggest among the foes, while training and proficiency in the handling of arms destroyed the major part of the enemy. Dexterity and intellectual attainments play only a subordinate role in the conflict.

Shri Krishna is the really moving spirit in the whole story. Although he is the common guide and friend to all the five brothers, there is no doubt about his partiality for and attachment to the middle of the five of them. Shri Krishna himself does not bear arms in the war, but only drives the chariot of the brother whom he loves most. I may not be far from truth if I venture an assertion that what we have to learn from this is that the Divine does not directly control the Law of Dharma in this world, that He guides the activities of that man who supports the Dharma, that although the ultimate aim is to maintain Dharma, the Divine appears to be behind training and proficiency in wielding arms for supporting Dharma. But what He is specially attached to is not the mere physical strength represented by the second brother. There is a middle path between the ideal of Dharma and physical strength, and that is what the Divine guides in the activities of the world. That is what wins the "Spirit" of the kingdom.

The position of wise men like Bhishma, Drona, Vidura, Sanjaya, Salya and Kripa is another intriguing problem in the Mahabharata. They were the choicest among the people at that time; but in the war and all through the development of the plot leading up to the War, they were on the side of those who were opposed to Dharma. They did not approve of the opposition to Dharma; they openly declared their disapproval. Still they did not leave the party in opposition to Dharma and they even fought against Dharma on the side of the enemy of Dharma and also against the Divine, represented by Shri Krishna.

The fact is that the world is a complex of good and evil. It is not possible to filter off the evil and get the pure good side separate. Circumstances arise when the good are compelled to get entangled in the affairs of the evil; and then they cannot get themselves extricated from that position. They know their unfortunate position; but they have to remain in that post. Their presence on the side of the evil will have a mitigating influence on the

affairs of the evil people; they cannot take away the whole nation from the clutches of the evil, and in the interest of the nation that is put under the control of the evil power, they are constrained to remain in their position among the evil. They have no selfish intentions; they do not want to save themselves and leave the nation in the hands of the evil, the only profit in that case being that they would have the fame of having come away from the side of evil to the side of good.

Dharma knew that those people remained on the side of the opponents of Dharma with such very noble motives and that they had no selfish intentions. They paid homage to such wise and virtuous people even when they remained on the side of the enemy: but they fought against them with valour and killed them along with the enemies. And they on their part remained on the side of the enemies of Dharma so that they could defend the rights of the common citizens against any possible oppressions from the enemies of Dharma, fought for them and fell with them, knowing that at that time the nation had come under the protection of Dharma. Dharma rules the country; others practically recede to the back-ground.

There is a small point in the story of the Mahabharata, which may not be easily noticed by a casual reader; that is the succession to the throne after the rule of Dharma. It is rather surprising that Vedavyasa did not so construct the story as to enable the natural heir of the kin to sit on the throne after his death. It was only a grandson of the Middle Brother, who also happens to be the grandnephew of Shri Krishna, that survived; and he was placed on the throne. Here also there is a lesson. The "Spirit" of the country represented by Draupadi, won by the training and proficiency in arms, and Dharma put on the throne by the same power, cannot be saved from possible dangers and cannot be guaranteed permanency unless they are entrusted into the hands of the descendants of the same representative of that training and proficiency.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Truce in Korea

THE truce agreement signed on July 27 by the U. N. and Communist negotiators ends the three year old fighting in the Far East. It is with a sense of profound relief that this announcement has been received. For it was feared that the attitude of the South Korean President Dr. Syngman Rhee would not be quite helpful as he had more than once threatened to go alone in the event of U. S. persisting in its own plan of action. Good sense and self interest alike should dictate a plan of concerted action and it is hoped that President Rhee would do nothing to mar the even tenor of the course that may lead to a final and satisfactory settlement. We therefore welcome the President's pledge that South Koreans would not disturb the armistice,

while the Political Conference undertakes within a limited time to solve peacefully the problem of the liberation and reunification of Korea.

In a chasened mood the President declared that he had opposed the signing of the truce because it would

prove to be a prelude to more war, not less, to suffering and ruin, to further Communist advances by war and by subversion.

He prayed that his judgment of its effect might be wrong now that the armistice had been signed.

Within 72 hours of the signing of the armistice troops of both sides withdrew one and a quarter mile along the 150-mile front line. Thus fighting ended at 6-30 p.m. I. S. T. on July 27.

Gen. Mark Clark, the Allied Supreme Commander, with a correct appreciation of the historic occasion, said in a statement after signing the armistice documents:

We have stopped shooting. That means much to fighting men and their families and it will allow some of the grievous wounds of Korea to heal. Therefore I am thankful.

It is however only a step towards what must yet be done. The task now is to put the cease-fire agreement into full effect as quickly as we can and get down to working out an enduring settlement of the Korean problem.

I cannot find it in me to exult in this hour. Rather is it time for prayer that we may succeed in our difficult endeavour to turn this armistice to the advantage of mankind.

This is a very big thing that the truce has been signed and all the parties concerned deserve congratulations. For the signing of the truce has brought to an end a very terrible War. From the point of view of casualties and money spent, "I doubt," said Prime Minister Nehru at Karachi, "if any wars except the last two wars came to this."

We in India, said Mr. Nehru, are rather reluctantly participating in the Neutral Commission for the repatriation of prisoners and sending troops for guarding prisoners of war. It is a heavy responsibility which we normally do not take outside India. However, it was a very great compliment to India that the great countries who have been fighting each other should jointly invite India to undertake this responsibility. It will be improper for us to avoid it, and so we have accepted it.

The Last of the Liberals

A reader who was in close touch with Mr. T. R. V. Sastri during the week when he was struck down by the fatal illness writes as follows:

"I was with Sastri only a couple of days before his death. What do you think he was doing? He was typing his last article to the press—on the language controversy (which is reproduced in another page in this issue). When I pleaded with him that it would be a strain which he should avoid he said it was easier to type than to write; firstly because he could not hold his pen firmly and he had found himself drawing strange figures with his shaky hand. Secondly, typing letter by letter gave him time to think and write with ease.

Indeed, to the last his mind was so alert and so full of the spirit of enquiry and service to the nation that it is difficult to believe he was ill at all. And the end came suddenly. After a night's restlessness and temperature he became unconscious in the morning till he breathed his last at 1-45 in the afternoon of July 2.

His two sons Ramamurthi and Rajagopalan were at the bed side as also his

daughters and grandchildren. The ladies employed themselves in reading the Gita through twice as the body lay stretched in the hall, like a giant oak uprooted. The scene was most impressive, the silence of the afternoon broken only by the rhythmic chanting of the Gita."

So one by one, the great Liberals.—Sapru and Sastri and P. S. S. and T. R. V.—have all gone to their rest, leaving a legacy of unblemished public and private life as an enduring example to succeeding generations.

With them, Liberalism was not a creed but an attitude of mind, not a cold and frothy slogan but a way of approach—wise, tolerant and thoroughly human. Sastri himself was a towering example of one who stood for the pure milk of this Millite brand. "My fellow delegates and I know," he said at Nagpur in 1935,

that we are a handful in a vast country—we who have the courage and are not ashamed to own ourselves to be Liberals. I know the difficulties in the way of propaganda and recruitment to Liberal ranks in my part of the country. I am for converts to our ranks, if we can get them. If we do not get many no matter. We shall be content with Liberal principles permeating the lives of people."

And it was in that faith that he continued to work in after-years, taking a constant and lively interest in public questions and offering through the Press and on the platform the opinions of a serious and cultivated mind on those issues.

Such men have not lived in vain.

The Karachi Talks

The talks between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan which opened at Karachi in the last week of July could not have started under more favourable auspices. Ever since the change of Government in Pakistan there has been a definite change for the better in the relations between the neighbours. Nehru's friendly approach to problems confronting either countries has been reciprocated with equal warmth by Mr. Mahomed Ali. The result has been altogether satisfactory paving the way to a fresh approach to the solution of problems which have baffled and perplexed like, India and Pakistan in the past.

There has come over both countries a quick and wholesome realisation of the folly and futility of third party intervention in our affairs—an intervention which has only tended to worsen the situation. Hands off, said Mr. Nehru, who, for all his original mistake of referring the Kashmir issue to the U.N. seems now more than ever convinced that only direct negotiations between the parties could solve problems between neighbours anxious to live at peace and amity with each other.

The Karachi talks opened in an atmosphere of perfect cordiality to which the citizens seem to have reacted admirably.

The Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers have agreed that trade and travel restrictions between the two countries should, as far as possible, be removed or minimised, according to a joint communique issued at the conclusion of the three-day talks between the Prime Ministers.

The major part of the Prime Ministers' meeting was devoted to a discussion of the Kashmir problem, and "they have prepared the ground for further talks which the Prime Ministers expect to resume at New Delhi in the near future."

It is hoped that the talks which have opened under such favourable circumstances and in an atmosphere charged with good feeling on either side may prove fruitful and that all outstanding differences between the neighbours will be resolved to mutual satisfaction. We look to the continuation of the same spirit in the forthcoming Delhi talks.

A.I.C.C.

The feeling is widespread that the powerful A.I.C.C. is merely a creature of the Congress President, content to register his decrees without in any way exercising its right to voice its own views. Those who read the proceedings of the recent session of the A.I.C.C. at Agra would have rubbed their eyes to see how frankly and courageously some members expressed themselves even against officially sponsored propositions backed by the imprimatur of the Prime Minister and President of the Congress. We are not referring to the correctness or otherwise of the attitude taken by the opposition within the

Congress on particular issues. We even think they are wrong in certain specific issues. But the fact remains that there are members who think freely and are prepared to stand by their views.

One such case in point was the surprise defeat inflicted on the Congress Working Committee by the A.I.C.C. when during a two-hour heated debate on changes in the Congress constitution the amendment sponsored by the Working Committee seeking to raise the Congress membership fee from four annas to eight was lost.

The other instance was afforded by the frank and straight way in which Mr. Bisvanatha Das of Orissa criticised the socio-economic reforms suggested by the Working Committee in terms of vague generalisation. He accused the High Command of flaunting ideas that are the stock in trade of irresponsible folk without a due sense of realism. Speaking with some warmth he took the unusual step of opposing the resolution sponsored by the High Command. But he slipped into an irrelevant attack on the Hindu Code Bill which brought on his head the ire of the Prime Minister who did not mince his words in silencing the recalcitrant critic. Mr. Nehru flared up at the reference to the Hindu Code Bill. Launching a powerful attack against reactionary elements in the Congress he reminded the Committee

that the Hindu Code Bill was part of the Congress election manifesto. Those who did not like progress could leave the Congress.

Pak Propaganda Abroad

At a time when every effort is being made to heal the wounds of the past and make a fresh beginning in peace and goodwill between neighbours it is distressing to read the kind of propaganda that is still being regaled abroad. Here is a vicious piece from what is called "The Atlantic Report on the World To-day." We see no purpose in such writing except to fan the flame of bitterness and enmity between nations who have settled down to their work with fraternal feelings. What good is it to tell the world at this time of day: "Nehru had predicted earlier that a Muslim State carved out of India would collapse"—meaning that he is working towards that end!!

"Few people in the West, at first, wished Pakistan well"—the Report says, calling for world sympathy and support for the new State. No one grudges aid to an infant state, least of all India which is more interested in peace and order in her neighbourhood than those living 6000 miles away.

"Kashmir" says the Report "is partly Hindu, partly Tibetan Buddhist, but mostly Muslim. Yet India holds most of it".... "Nehru still holds the country, stalling off the endless demands by both the U. N. and Pakistan for a plebiscite." The report goes on to say:

Kashmir lies heavy on the Pakistani brow—heavier than Trieste on the Italian. The Pakistanis know that just an auto ride away are thousands of co-Muslims who would go to Pakistan if they had a free choice. What prevents the Pakistanis from rescuing their Kashmir brothers-in-faith is the presence of a well-behaved Indian army. New Delhi's position in this matter is that India is responsible for the maintenance of order in Kashmir,

And then comes the vicious attack on Afghanistan, the historic Muslim State which wants to be friendly with India. The Report cannot do this without a fling on India.

But the narrow corridor of West Pakistan, squeezed between a hostile Afghanistan and an unfriendly India, strung on its cities of Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar, is too tense to be healthy. How long would it take India's tanks to stab westward through the Punjab to the North-west Frontier severing West Pakistan like a broken hourglass? This is the question every Pakistani risks himself.

Now everybody knows that Afghanistan was there before Pakistan was thought of, yet we are told:

All the troubles that beset Pakistan seem to be in the western part. One grief is the persistent effort of Afghanistan—a true Muslim state complete with veils—to disengage a portion of the Indus Valley. This plan is called "Pushtoonistan."

The Afghans, warmly encouraged by India, wish to form a new half-moon-shaped state, running in a curve from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, and roughly paralleling the Indian border.

It is obvious that this kind of stuff will only injure the cause of peace and good-understanding between neighbours. It will do more harm than good to Pakistan. Sensible men in Pakistan will therefore do well to say, save as from such friends,

The Soviet Furge

History is repeating itself in Soviet Russia. Communist dictatorship brooks no comrade. The sudden dismissal of Mr. Beria, Minister of the Interior, and his arrest and doubtless a dramatic trial to be followed by his execution are just according to plan, familiar in recent Russian history. So it was when Stalin rose to power. We know what happened to Trotsky, Stalin's rival in Kremlin. The pattern is unchanged. After Lenin, Rykov was Prime Minister for six years. Then he was tried and executed. Then came Bukharin, Editor of the *Pravda*. He too was tried and executed. He was followed by Soko-lukov, Soviet Finance Minister. He was also sent to the gallows.

So writes Louis Fischer :

The 1936 and 1937 trials were skilfully staged by Genrich Yagoda as head of the secret police. But on March 2, 1938, Yagoda, a short thin man with a Hitleresque moustache, appeared in the dock of the biggest Moscow trials. On March 13, the court sentenced him to death for treason. Stalin had finally disposed of the man who defied him.

Yagoda's successor was Yezhov, a man about five feet tall. He intensified the purge. Then Stalin purged him. Yezhov's successor was Levrenti Beria, a Georgian like Stalin, short and ruthless.

Now Malenkov has purged him and cleared the stage of a possible rival.

Strange that the trusted leader and the elect of the party should in a few weeks be made to stand trial for treason and treachery to the cause of his party and country.

In a speech at the funeral of Marshal Stalin on March 9, Mr. Beria, Soviet Minister of the Interior, said :

The enemies of the Soviet state reckon that the heavy loss inflicted upon us will lead to disarray and confusion in our ranks. However, the calculations of the enemy are experiencing disappointment everywhere. He who is not blind sees that our party during its difficult days is closing its ranks still more closely that it is united and invincible.

The dismissal of Mr. Beria from the Communist party does not show that the party is united. This sudden reversal of values in the Soviet regime should give us an inkling into the working methods of communists.

Dr. Malan's Offer

Dr. Malan the South African Premier who has been carrying on a relentless campaign against India as part of his racial war against the coloured peoples is not content with misleading his own countrymen. He has gone out of his way to drag in friendly Australia into partnership with him, though it is clear the Australians are too wise and wide awake to be caught napping.

At a luncheon party to Mr. Menzies at Cape Town Dr. Malan is reported to have said that South Africa would assist Australia in the event of "any threat from India." It must have been highly embarrassing for Mr. Menzies to stand this preposterous nonsense. But he bore it with good humour and replied with a reticence bespeaking his good sense and urbanity. Dr. Malan's attempt to bracket the Australian Prime Minister with himself in his anti-Indian—and by implication anti-racial—crusade in South Africa was certainly ingenious. Australia needs no such protection from South Africa against the fantastic idea of any threat from India. Commenting on this absurd and undiplomatic utterance Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, former Indian High Commissioner in Australia pointed out rightly that

the racial problem of. South Africa does not exist in Australia and the liberty-loving Australians cannot but be dismayed by the spectacle of two million whites of South Africa treating eight millions of natives as untouchables and as worse than beasts.

We are relieved to learn that the English language Press in South Africa is not slow to deplore this thoughtless speech. Why go out of our way to antagonise this great country and nation, asked the *Cape Argus*.

The *Argus* goes on to add very pertinently :

The Indians were not sent here. They were invited. The Government of India never at any time wanted them to come and yielded only to extraordinary pressure.

These Indians maintain their own culture and 'civilization' only because we keep them shut up in Natal. This may be sound or unsound but it is no choice of the Indians. They would disappear as an Asiatic enclave if a more realistic policy of disperse, dissolve and digest were followed.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

IN THE MOTHER'S LIGHT (In two parts). By Rishabchand. Published by the Society for the Spiritual and Cultural Renaissance of Bharat, Madras. Price : Part I Rs. 2-8, Part II : Rs. 3-8.

These two volumes of essays by Sri Rishabchand are an attempt to expound the basic teaching of the Mother of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. The first volume consists of ten essays devoted to accounts of the Mother's discovery of her mission, the nature of true Peace, Love, self-surrender, the service of the Divine and the transformation of human nature that is to lead to a perfect manifestation of a Divine in material life—all set forth in the light of actual pronouncements of the Mother on these issues. The essays are lit up by telling quotations from the Mother's Prayers and Meditations. Eleven allied topics, viz. asceticism, the sub-conscious and the unconscious, dreams, mind, the conquest of desire, morality, religion and spirituality, money and its proper use, the human body, the life of life, yogic action and the 'brazier of love'—are dealt with in the second volume—again in the light of what the author conceives to be the authentically inspired word of the Mother. The devotion these essays reveal to the Mother and her teaching is certainly impressive, although few outside the Aurobindo circle will be able to share it or see in it anything except a rather peculiar manifestation of the Ishta-devata cult. But of some aspects of the teaching itself, all that we can say is that there is in them nothing radically different from the traditional, age-old teaching of the ancient seers of India. In this respect, one may say that Sri Aurobindo and the Mother seem to represent not a deviation from but a continuation of the ancient teaching. For example, on peace and non-violence, the new teaching is 'violence cannot be regarded with indifference..... Evil has to be smitten and smitten hard this need not in the least ruffle the inner peace.' This is scarcely distinguishable from Sri Krishna's extortion to Arjuna : 'Fight but without anger or hatred.' Sri Rishabchand feels that the use of 'soul

force' is an ideal for which man is not yet ready and doubts 'whether it destroys less than physical force would do.' But what is the evidence for his statement that "whenever it has been tried, it has violently disturbed the ordered march of humanity and upset its psychological balance." ? Of the goal of 'divine union,' Sri Rishabchand says that it is "Not union in the soul alone, not in the soul, mind and heart alone, but a union, constant, dynamic, honey dripping, transforming union even in the physical being, even in the cells of the body." It is perhaps in this very significant departure from the traditional conception of the nature of self-realisation that the whole novelty of the Aurobindo teaching lies. Man, says Sri Rishabchand, will one day awake from the nightmarish reality he calls his life and garner the golden harvest of a divine humanity upon earth, thanks to the grace of God in human form in the Mother. May be, Sri Rishabchand is right. We, who are not of the intimate circle of the devotees of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, are content that God's grace should manifest itself in whatever form personal or impersonal that it may choose for itself—a reaction we look with sincere interest, not untinged with admiration and wonder, at those like Sri Rishabchand, who see in the Mother, the Way and the Life.

PERSIAN RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY : Delhi Affairs (1761—1788) Translated into English with notes by Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, (Govt. Central Press, Bombay No. 4.)

These news-letters from the Parasnî collection translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar throw light on an important period of Maratha history. The Parasnî of Poona were hereditary Persian Secretaries of the Peshwa's Government. As Persian was the Court language of 18th century India it was the business of the Parasnî to translate all Persian correspondence into Marathi and frame replies on behalf of their masters in Persian. The records of this family now

in the possession of the Government of Bombay are being translated into English for the benefit of a wider public; and the first volume of selected letters is rendered into English by the well known scholar to whose labours in the field of historical research we owe all that we know of Moghul history. The news - letters under review which cover a hectic period in Moghul-Maratha interlude bring home to the reader what Mr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, deems "the weakness of the hold of the Rohilla on Delhi and make him feel that if Sadashiv Rao Bhau had not rashly precipitated the crisis at Panipat, the Marathas might have escaped unscathed." That is a large if. But students of history have enough material here to form their own judgment or to confirm the Director's verdict.

MODERN IDEAL HOMES FOR INDIA.

By R. S. Deshpande, United Book Corporation, Poona. Price Rs. 12-8.

That this book has already gone through four editions shows its usefulness and its popularity. The author has already made a name for himself by his other books on house planning. Enriched by his experience of other countries he shows how the problem of housing can be solved anew. Fully illustrated with plans and diagrams the book discusses in popular, non-technical style construction of modern houses to suit all tastes and purses. Now that the housing problem in India has become as acute as the food problem we have no doubt that this experienced Engineer's plans for new houses, combining comfort with economy, will be welcomed by contractors and co-operative agencies who are interested in house building projects. What with the experience of Pre fab scandals Government will be well advised to profit by the author's well timed suggestions for housing schemes. The book is enriched with some 300 plans and designs "to secure comfortable and attractive homes at moderate cost," as Sir Visveswaraya says in his Foreword. Unfortunately the estimates are based on pre war prices and that makes all the difference for the middle class builder. The author would do well, in his next edition, to furnish revised estimates in the light of current prices of materials and labour.

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Pyarelal. Navjiwan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

In January last a group of international thinkers met in Delhi to discuss Gandhian techniques to the solution of tensions between and within nations today. Sri Pyarelal, Gandhi's Secretary, who had had special opportunities to be acquainted with the theory and practice of his master's teaching of Satyagraha was one of those who participated in the discussions. In the brochure under review he gives in a brief compass as complete an outline as possible of the science of non-violence as propounded by Gandhiji, its nature and scope and the technique of its application to the problems confronting the world. This is a thoughtful and brilliant piece of writing which is enriched with two appropriate appendices on armed invasion and non-violent resistance. The first contains Gandhiji's reply to Mira Behn's questions on the methods of resistance in the event of Japanese occupation of India, and the second is an extract from Winwood Reade's excellent monograph on "The Martyrdom of Man".

SRI KRISHNA, THE DARLING OF HUMANITY.

By A. S. P. Ayyar. Rs. 4. Pp. 451. Published by M. L. J. Office, Mylapore, Madras.

This handy volume is a collection of innumerable incidents connected with the life of the Lord. These incidents have been culled from numerous sources such as the Bhaghavata, the Mahabharata and various other Puranas. The incidents have been arranged in chronological order according to their happening.

The book is noteworthy for the various and extensive quotations from the great Sanskrit Poets who have poured forth their lives for the Lord. Almost every such quotation is followed up by a parallel from foreign literature evidencing the enormous labour of the author.

The book is intended as a companion volume to the author's "Layman's Bhagavat Gita." Youngsters and teenagers of both sexes will profit considerably from the volume. In fact the author has intended the publication for that section of humanity.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE: HIS RISE AND FALL. By J. M. Thompson. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Could anything new be said on a subject on which more than 100,000 volumes, according to one authority, have been written? Yet the subject is one of perennial interest to students of history and biography; and since Holland Rose's book in 1901 and Rosebury's *LAST PHASE* no book has been published in England on this great historic figure who played so decisive a role on the fortunes of the world. Mr. Thompson's book is a sequel to the story so well narrated in his *FRENCH REVOLUTION*. It throws light on the French people in the post-revolutionary period. As early as 1934 Mr. Thompson published a selection, translated as *LETTERS OF NAPOLEON*. In the book under review he draws freely from these letters and the story of the rise and fall of the dictator is told in the background of Napoleon's life and activities in the main spheres of his interest; Corsica, Italy, Egypt, Germany, Russia and England. Altogether it is a fascinating account revealing the character and genius of a man, who as soldier and administrator has left the deep impress of his personality in the history of Europe. Mr. Thompson's main effort is to show Napoleon himself in all his strength and weakness but undoubtedly as the man of destiny who bestrode the world like a colossus. Historians and artists prefer to picture Napoleon on the battle field—a familiar enough figure on a white charger. But the Code Napoleon has outlasted his conquests. "His greatest conquest was not Europe", says Mr. Thompson "but the French Revolution. His most lasting monument is not the Arc de Triomphe or flags of the Invalides, but the laws and institutions in which he adapted the ideas of 1789 to the traditions of the monarchy, and enabled France to survive three invasions and a century and a half of political unrest."

ISOPANISHAD with a new commentary by the Kaulacharya Satyananda. Translated by Jnanendralal Majumdar. Edited with Foreword by Arthur Avalon.

MAHIMNASTAVA of Puspadanta with commentary of Jagannatha Chakravarti. Translated by Arthur Avalon.

Ganesh & Co, (Madras) Ltd., Madras 17

The first Edition of Arthur Avalon's *Isopanishad* was, published as long ago as 1918; and *Mahimnastava* has gone through two editions since 1916. These are rare treatises with rarer commentaries which we owe to the critical scholarship and devotion to Sanskrit studies of this celebrated savant. Sir John Woodroffe has, under the name of Arthur Avalon, unearthed many a classical manuscript and presented them in excellent English for the benefit of a world ignorant of the treasures buried in Sanskrit lore. Not the least of these admirable works, inaccessible in a readable form to the lay reader are these two volumes of rare interest to the scholar in pursuit of such learning.

There are, of course, many commentaries of the *Isopanishad*. But this one by the Bengali Tantrika Kaulacharya of the name of Satyananda is in the editor's opinion, of peculiar value as being written with lucidity and boldness from the standpoint of the *Idvartavada* of the Sakta—Agama in which Arthur Avalon has shown marked interest.

Mahimnastava of Puspadanta or the greatness of Siva is a hymn of devotion by the "flowery toothed" chief of the musical spirits called Gandharvas. In making the commentary (on the text and translation herein published) the editor has availed himself of that of Jagannatha Chakravarti which is here for the first time printed from a Bengali Manuscript.

Scholars and Bhakthas owe a deep debt of gratitude to the editor and publisher for resuscitating these rare pieces of ancient devotional literature.



DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 1 Tungabhadra reservoir opened.
- July 2 T. R. Venkatrama Sastri aged 79, passes away.
- July 3 Everest heroes in London.
- July 4 France offers self Government to the three associated states of Indo-China-Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.
- Lala Shanker Lal dead.
- July 5 Jan Sangh volunteers released: Kashmir agitation suspended.
- July 6 A. I. C. C. meets at Agra.
- Dr. Muzami, Mossadeq's candidate elected Speaker of Majlis beating Kashani.
- July 7 Nanga Parbat conquered by Austro-German expedition.
- July 8 Andhra State Bill published today provides for the formation of the new State of Andhra.
- July 9 Indo-Pak travel passport pact ratified.
- Agreement reached on Tungabhadra irrigation.
- July 10 Beria, Soviet Minister of the interior, dismissed and arrested.
- Cloth and Yarn control lifted.
- July 11 Dr. Malan declines to submit report to U. N.
- Dr. Salazar reiterates Lisbon's stand on Portuguese pockets in India.
- July 12 Joint statement of U.S. and South Korean representatives reiterates united action.
- Molotov declines U.S. aid to E. Germany.
- July 13 Maj. Gen. K. S. Thimmaya, G. O. C. Western Command to head Indian Force to Korea.
- Kashmir opposed to merger, says Abdullah.
- July 14 C. R. presents Andhra State Bill to Madras Assembly.
- State of Emergency proclaimed in Egypt following U. K. ultimatum.
- A delegation of over 30 artists leaves Delhi on a cultural mission to China.
- July 15 State Governments to raise 28 crores to finance capital expenditure.
- India ratifies world wheat agreement.
- July 16 Sri Chandulal Trivedi appointed Union Special Officer for Andhra affairs.
- Hilaire Belloc dead.
- July 17 Tensing and other Everest heroes received in Buckingham Palace.
- July 18 Madras Assembly passes amendment to Andhra State Bill for fixing boundaries.
- Govt. Loan in Madras and Bombay over-subscribed.
- July 19 Communists accept U. N. assurance on behalf of South Korea.
- Azerbaijan Communist chief Ragiroyv purged.
- July 20 Russia protests against mass visit of war-ships to Istanbul.
- July 21 Large scale deportations of alleged Indian nationals from Ceylon.
- July 22 India tightens passport rules.
- South Korea threatens that it will not honour pact with Reds.
- July 23 Madras Legislative Council adopts amendment to provide Upper House for Andhra.
- July 24 President Rhee opposed to foreign troops in S. Korea.
- July 25 Nehru—Mahomed Ali talks open at Karachi.
- July 26 Indo-Pak Premiers reach agreement on affording facilities for Gurudwara pilgrims.
- July 27 Korea truce signed at Pan Mun Jom: Fighting ceases.
- July 28 Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, returns home after two months' tour of U. K., U. S. A. and Canada.
- Fall of 10 day old Gaspar Government in Italy.
- July 29 Opposition amendment to Madras Education Bill passed by majority of two in the Assembly.
- July 30 Mr. Attlee, Labour leader speaking in the Commons criticises Dulles' stand on post-armistice talks.
- July 31 Senator Taft dead.



READERS' DIGEST



MR. NEHRU'S ROLE IN ASIA

The *Picture Post* publishes a series of interviews by its special reporter, Sylvain Mangeot, on the Asian members of the Commonwealth Conference. The first feature is on Mr. Nehru. The article feature is captioned "Nehru—After Korea, what next?"

If anyone had a right to feel snug when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in London after the Coronation it was Nehru. Truce in Korea was in the air—a truce he has worked for in the open and behind scenes with a tireless determination which has earned him little but



PANDIT NEHRU

kicks from the outside world. He has been denounced sometimes simultaneously as a 'near Communist' in the United States and as a 'tool of the Anglo-American imperialism' by Moscow and Peking—an irony which would appeal to Nehru more if the circumstances of attacks had not been so tragic. In London at least the Commonwealth Prime Ministers paid him a tribute for his efforts and acknowledged India's precious role in keeping a bridge open between the Western powers and China.

Not being of the petty sort who enjoy saying 'I told you so', Nehru tactfully refrains from rubbing in his conviction that if the United Nations Command has listened to his warnings against crossing the 38th Parallel, China would never have intervened directly in Korea.

Nor does he call embarrassing attention to the fact that both sides are now busy discussing terms curiously like those which came under such heavy fire when proposed by India. He is content to hope that there will be peace

in Korea and to look ahead to the next steps towards a real peace in the world.

His magnanimity in his moment of vindication and triumph is characteristic. It is all the more impressive because he is by nature a man who does not suffer fools gladly.

Not even the long years of patient struggle for India's independence or his cares and responsibilities as Prime Minister of a sovereign State have quite schooled out of him that faint air of exasperation at the follies politicians and governments can commit in the conduct of their affairs and the settlement of their differences.

Circumstances—and geography—have made him the spokesman of the non-self-governing, the economically backward and the under-privileged—of Asia's reawakening nationalisms.

Paradoxically he is by nature and personal upbringing the very opposite of what he has deliberately chosen to represent and fight for. He is aristocratic by personal tastes and temperament as well as by education. No Englishman could be more 'Western' in his manner and language—which enables him to tell us exactly what Asia thinks of us in a language we can understand. He is an aristocrat too in the impression he creates of being in the last resort a brilliant amateur—not in the sense of lacking skill or experience but because you feel that he has stepped into politics as a duty, and a necessary step to an ideal rather than as a profession or as a career.

In 1950, a day after India became a Republic, Nehru confessed to the writer in his Delhi study that his greatest and most elusive luxury is leisure.

Any overworked statesman could tell you as much without convincing you that he would not be bored stiff after a fortnight out of office. But coming from Nehru you feel it might really be true. The other day from the depths of his London armchair he explained that his political ambition for India was to be free from outside entanglements so as to concentrate on her urgent internal problems.

In realising these two ambitions Nehru has no immediate prospect of success. As an interpreter of the East to the West he looks like having his hands full long after Korea is settled.

And India, whether it likes it or not, is clearly destined to continue and expand her international commitments—at least while Nehru is at the helm. Perhaps after all it is the failure to reconcile himself to a life without entanglements which so often gives Nehru's well-bred face that air of rueful exasperation.

THE LINGUISTIC CONTROVERSY

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, scholar, lawyer and Liberal leader who died on July 2, was aged 79. To the last Mr. Sastri's mind was alert and quickly responsive to the pressure of public events. Foreign Missions in India and the language controversy engaged his attention, in the last week of his life as matters of momentous interest to the country. The following is the last article he wrote to the press and it appeared in the newspapers on the day he died. Mark the simple and lucid style of his writing—fully reflecting his clear and logical mind. It was all the more effective because of his clarity of thought.

"There are two questions which we must consider when we view the wrangle over languages in India. Do we want one language for India? What should be the language of the States?"

There is the Parliament of India in which the representatives of every State assemble and discuss the problems of the Union. We have adult suffrage and no qualification except that of age is fixed for candidates. All voters may be candidates. Men who cannot follow a speech in English, those who cannot follow a Hindi speech and men who know only their mother-tongue are there.

America forced English on all its citizens. Canada had to accommodate itself to two languages. Switzerland had to have three. Many of her citizens knew two languages and some all three. These countries cannot serve as an example to India with its more than a dozen languages of States.

Hindi is not the mother-tongue of all. It cannot make more progress in India than English has made. In one sense Hindi and English are alike stranger to the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. There are a good few who think that English should remain the language of administration. Their reasons are: English is going to be retained in education. The weight of opinion is for English medium in the Universities. English will secure both convenience and continuity. They think that Hindi is the fad of some. Acquisition of Hindi to the extent English is now in vogue will take a century. Hindi has no literature comparable with English and it must take a long time to improve it.

There is much opposition in the South and forcing Hindi on them will produce friction.

These are frankly utilitarians who will disown all sentiment in the matter. Language is a matter of exchanging ideas. There is no more intimacy between a man and his mother-tongue than between him and other languages. A mastery of a so-called 'foreign language' makes it native to you.

Mine lies mid-way to these extreme views. I confess to a sentiment that there should be one Indian language for India. But I do not wish to sacrifice utility for sentiment. The purposes which English serve now in India, it must continue to serve, until an equally effective substitute can be found to take its place.

The unification of India during the short British interlude in India by English being used all over India for its administration was an advantage which earlier far-seeing sovereigns aspired to, but did not achieve. The English language achieved it for us. We started our career of Independence with that inestimable advantage. If Hindi fixed as the common language of administration is to be made a no less efficient substitute, strong steps should be taken. To expect it to make its way of its own accord is to wait till Doomsday.

In my view the present system should continue until an efficient substitute is ready to replace it.

POSITION OF MOTHER-TONGUE

I see some signs of linguistic State-lovers desiring to go into State language immediately. Their desire is that every State people should be able to follow proceedings in the State. Here some discrimination is needed. The improvement of the mother-tongue is vigorously going on by new publications in them. That is all to the good. Politicians do not mean such activities but the use of language in politics.

In the meetings of municipalities and local boards etc., which may be of purely local interest, the use of the local language is appropriate enough and can do no harm. Just now legislation can only be in English. Other States should know what is being done. There should be co-ordination with the Centre. The Supreme Court may have

to deal with it. Now every court in a State knows the view of all the courts on any given question. If every court in the State, including the superior courts, should go into the local language we shall be laying the foundation for the dissipation of the unity that has been achieved and go back to the pre-British disunity or loose unity of India.

To express my view in general terms, local matters may be in the local language and any matter which is of a larger interest touching other States or the Union or the Supreme Court should be in the language for the time being of the whole of India.

Linguistic over-zeal may imperil our unity. The Constitution embodies unity as our aspiration. Paper aspiration is not enough. It must incarnate in the conduct of the citizens—a matter of slow achievement.

I do not approve of the linguistic division of the country. The division should be based on administrative or other considerations.

I know that pressure of opinion in a democracy leaves little freedom to the administrator. If a Commission or a committee of inquiry is set up, they should be free to recommend a division or to postpone it. All should acquiesce in what is determined.

Democracy is not easy to work. It requires certain virtues—wise compromises, acquiescence in what has been done, patient work for change of opinion or Ministry. If many people formed diverse opinions and each was sure that it ought to be accepted and was even ready to die for it, democratic Government cannot be carried on. Bellary and Tiruttani are not exhibiting the true democratic temper.

I have expressed my view and so will others express theirs. I do not say that it should prevail; only that it may be considered. In a democracy there will be opinions but no one should think that his view is the last word in wisdom."

ENGLISH MEDIUM FOR INSTRUCTION

Recently at Delhi some teachers of English met and recommended the continuance of English as a medium of instruction in the higher stages of learning. They are of the view, says the *Calcutta Review*, that not only English as a subject should be taught upto the first degree course but that it should be the vehicle of learning Arts and Sciences in the higher stages.

Knowledge of English has been acclaimed by them as essential for maintaining contact with the modern world. Again in view of the fact that Hindi or for the matter of that any other Indian language has not yet attained that stage of development in which it might be made the medium of education, particularly in scientific subjects, English should continue to be used for the purpose.

A few months back the Vice-Chancellors of a number of Universities also in a letter to the Prime Minister tried to bring home to him the necessity of continuing the existing arrangement regarding the medium of instruction.

Unfortunately some Universities in Northern India have already turned their back upon English and are giving training to their students through the medium of Hindi upto the first degree course. The drawback of this change is patent to all and need not be dilated upon here.

One thing, however, should be emphasised. The substitution of Hindi for English in certain Indian Universities will without doubt cut them off from their present intimate association with other Universities in which such substitution has not been possible.

It should never be forgotten that if English is to be replaced at all, in non-Hindi speaking areas it will be replaced not by Hindi but only by the regional languages. When such a contingency will arise the Universities will as a rule cease to be important factors of our national life. They would cater only to local needs and emphasise more and more local traditions. In other words they will then only stimulate localism while Indian Universities with English as the medium of instruction have so far contributed much to the growth of national solidarity. This is a contingency not to be contemplated with equanimity. It is doubtful, however, if those who are either enthusiasts for Hindi or in any event advocate the abolition of English, have given any thought to this aspect of the problem.

In the lower rungs it is a fact, says the *Review*, that children learn more easily if the medium is their mother tongue but in the higher stages when a student gets accustomed to a foreign language he seldom finds much difficulty in learning through that medium.

THE ART OF BEING A NOBODY

We are today authority dominated to the point of abjectness, says Eric Manners in the American *Mercury*. "We are handed (and accept) more advice, more counsels as to what is right and what is wrong, more urgings to a docile conformity more authoritarian."

There is no counting the publications today devoted entirely to handing us "rules" for rightly forming our characters, rules for dressing right eating right and speaking right and rightly getting ahead in the world and having marital intercourse at exactly suitable intervals. Even in many of our general periodicals, these "How To" directives have become as much a staple as the masthead "How To" has been erected into an omnipresent instruction, and we sit around with our mouths open, taking it in, more devoutly than a thirteenth century shepherd ever listened for the latest word from Rome. Budget your time. Correct your posture. See your dentist. Overcome your shyness. Write correct Business English. Do these exercises after forty. Just follow these rules and you too can join a standardized populace in one great gray goo of bumpless similarity.

That is the way it is; and it is perilous. The time is at hand, says the writer, if it is n't suddenly going to turn out to be too late, "for a sublime burst of putting ice cream on our cereal"—a very individual and odd thing to do.

This is the hour four for our finding, in a flash of ancient glory revived, the art of standing in just exactly the posture that comes congenially to us, speaking a language that is the native speech issuing from our own personality, let the Better Business English fall where it may, and having as much or as little marital intercourse as is mutually right for two living, breathing, uniquely individual human beings, making up their own minds out of love and out of the vivid intimacy of here-and-now, not out of the text of a manual. I urge a very old truth: You don't "form character," or "get ahead" or even "become more attractive to others" by doing anything so degrading as following a set of instructions. You do it by being somebody; and the somebody for you to be is yourself. If you are ever going to be somebody at all, it can only be by being that. All you can learn by listening to rules and sedulously conforming your life to them is the hideous art of how to be nobody at all.

Think over for a minute the people we have known who have most memorably seemed to have "character." Think over the ones who have seemed most interesting, most integrated, most truly—at the deep levels—"adjusted" to the astounding

adventure of being a conscious, free-willed, creative, ideal-harboring human being under the sun.

How many of these have been bound to the rails of the everlasting orthodoxies of a horrible How-To? How-To says that the right way to get rested is to sleep eight hours a night. Thomas Edison, listening not to How-To but to the direct inner voice of his own personal self and its needs, slept four. A friend of mine who's a physicist sleeps eleven. That's the natural sleep-way for him, and he's much too much of a man to be put off by some smallminded conformist's thinking it's funny.

MAINTENANCE OF SUEZ

General Naguib declared in an article published in the *Daily Sketch* (London) that Egypt had explored every possible peaceful means of settling the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Suez Canal. The article says:

We went as far as we possibly could to accommodate the British but it has become abundantly clear in the course of the recent negotiations which were recently suspended that Britain would not be content with less than full technical and administrative control of the base which is virtually equivalent to the stationing of troops in that Zone.

Not only does this constitute an infringement upon the prerogatives of Egypt as a sovereign State but it is definitely a subservient position for Egypt to accept.

The Egyptian Government cannot be expected to have on her territory a large number of British technicians receiving their inspiration from the British War Office direct and having the full management of the base while she complacently looks on.

We can supply the greater part of technicians needed for the proper working and maintenance of the base," Gen. Naguib wrote.

A limited number of British experts can be retained for a limited period during which they can train Egyptian technicians to re-place them.

This is one way out of the difficulty, but if the maintenance of equipment and workshops in the base is going to stand in the way of agreement, we would much rather dispense with them and we can fall back on our own resources for our defence and the defence of the area to which we belong.

If we are to maintain friendly relations between our two countries, it is high time for realism to pervade British policy and for formulae to give way to long-range vision, a vision broad enough to see that the strength of an agreement to quote Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons in connection with Egypt "does not rest in standing out of the terms of some written documents, but on the feelings of real friendship which you can have among peoples."

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Mr. George V. Allen, American Ambassador in India, described the Indian struggle for independence as a unique revolution in history.

Mr. Allen, who was addressing the American Alumni Association in Delhi drew parallels and contrasts between the independence movement and the early government of the United States and those of India. There seemed to him, he said, a rather close similarity between Thomas Jefferson's belief in the right and duty of a people to overthrow any regime which was not responsive to the interests and rights of the people, and in Gandhiji's belief in the right and duty of a people to disobey such a regime. "Civil disobedience, if successful," he added.

results in the relinquishment of power by those in authority, but achieves the result without resort to arms. Your revolution was unique in this respect.

The American Revolution, Mr. Allen said, was, like the Indian Freedom Struggle, primarily political Americans, like Indians, were chiefly interested in gaining their political independence.

But our struggle, like yours, was also partly social and economic. We wanted to get rid of aristocracy and to equalise economic opportunity as well as to free ourselves from British Governors.

The roots of American culture, the Ambassador said, were, in a very real sense, embedded in a soil not far from India.

Every American child was taught at his mother's knee the story of Noah and his Ark, of Abraham and Lot, of Jacob and Esau. These events had not taken place along the Mississippi or the Saint Lawrence, but in Mesopotamia, and still they were an intimate part of the heritage of every American child. "My cultural heritage," he added, "and yours are close neighbours, both in time and space".

Referring to the question of neutrality in the present world situation, Mr. Allen said he believed

as an ardent supporter of collective security, that the voluntary association of nations willing to align themselves against aggression was the best way to avoid another world war. But this association must be entirely voluntary. It could neither be bought nor achieved through threats or pressure. "Nevertheless, it is the only way I know to keep the peace".

Mr. Allen, however, recognised that America was a recent convert to the

collective security system. The United States was able for more than hundred years to keep out of European wars. Even as recently as 1938 America had enacted a neutrality statute in the vain hope of non-involvement. But, he said,

the early American statesmen were not neutralists in the sense of being indifferent to such problems as human liberty, colonialism and aggression. They simply did not want to be drawn into the quarrels of European Powers. They were faced with the tremendous job of organising a new Government and developing their own country. Distances were long in those days and America was remote. Global warfare was unknown.

NEW LIGHT ON SEPOY MUTINY

An account of how the leading Pandas (priests) at different centres of pilgrimage as well as a band of Sanyasins had helped a great deal in organising the first battle of Indian Independence, namely, the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, is revealed from two letters exchanged between the Rani of Jhansi and her Panda at Puri says *U.P.C.*

These hundred-year-old letters, secured by the Board of Editors entrusted with compiling the History of the Freedom Movement of India, are said to throw considerable light on how a network of organisations was established all over the country to carry out the plan for the Sepoy Mutiny, despite the primitive communication system of that period, and also on the role played by the Pandas in mobilising public opinion in favour of the revolt in rural areas. The Pandas, who had regular contacts with the people of all parts of the country, were very helpful in instilling the spirit of revolt against the East India Company among the masses who came on pilgrimage from the remotest corners of India.

One letter over the signature of Rani Luxmi Bai of Jhansi with the seal of her Court in Devanagari script affixed, which is addressed to Chandan Hazori, an influential Panda of the Jagannath Temple of Puri, gives details of the plan for the revolt and seeks his help in fighting the British. It appears from the correspondence that Chandan Hazori, who had his own seal and secretariat at Puri, immediately proceeded to Jhansi to advise the leader of the revolt. He wrote back from there to his officials, through a courier, that the officials of the East India Company were trying to establish his connection with the contemplated revolt and warned them not to leak out anything.

Besides these broad outlines about the country-wide movement for independence, the Board is reported to have also collected materials relating to hundreds of sporadic incidents designed to sabotage the British rule in India since 1757.

OUTLET TO SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

In the following final message to readers of *THE HINDU*, Colonel Sir John Hunt discusses the meaning of the climbing of Mount Everest by the British 1953 Expedition under his leadership.

With the ascent of Everest on May 29, 1953, the question is already being asked: "What next?" That this should be so is in itself encouraging both to us in the 1953 Everest expedition and doubtless to many other mountaineers. It implies not so much a doubt whether with the closing of this long-standing and epic struggle with the highest of mountains there remains any adventure worth the doing, as a hope that there still remain other outlets in this sphere.

There is indeed no ground for despondency about the aftermath of Everest. In a certain sense it may be regretted that this great peak no longer remains inviolate to hold out its challenge to the spirit of man. Yet in other ways it was good and it was timely that those last steps should have been taken along that final stretch of ridge last month.

As has been illustrated in lower mountain ranges continued efforts to solve a climbing problem tend, if unduly prolonged, to introduce a spirit of competitive rivalry which, while proper to some forms of sport, is foreign and indeed harmful to mountaineering. Undue competition is undesirable because it tends not so much to promote skill in the art and technique of our craft as to induce an inclination toward rashness and ill-judgment. Personal and national ambitions may take an unhealthy share in this process to the detriment of the higher inspiration which mountains can evoke in those who climb them.

I believe that with the climbing of Everest the interest in this great sport will be increased and become more widely spread. Many young people will be encouraged to go to the hills as an outlet to the spirit of adventure which is latent in most of us. Should this prove to be the case then, other considerations apart, the Everest saga will have been vindicated.

To those who climb mountains the sport is, and should continue to be, a source of happiness. We climb because we like it and to most of us this is sufficient reason for going to the high hills. But I believe there is behind this urge a deeper and more far-reaching message implicit in the hardships and the dangers to which mountaineering exposes its followers and the close comradeship which it helps to create. It is this last quality, transcending all barriers of race, creed, and language which is the true and lasting message of our venture. (Copy-right—By arrangement with *The Times*.)

VINOBA BHAVE

India, the land of pilgrims, has added a new variety to its antique and exotic assortment: Vinoba Bhave the leader and inspirer of the Land Gifts' Mission, says Mr. Hallam in a Press article.

Any morning at 4 o'clock you can see him and his companions trudging from village to village under a twilight sky. Behind lumbars a covered oxcart. And it's not until you look inside this cart that you realise that Vinoba is leading a new kind of pilgrimage. He himself is the very picture of a prehistoric Hindu sage. He is bent and bearded and carries a staff. He walks barefoot, swathed in coarse homespun. But the cart contains articles not usually indulged in by Indian ascetics. Among the bundles of bedding there are typewriters, stationery and a filing cabinet. For the cart is the Mobile office of a Mission which, in two years, has collected no less than one million acres of land as free gifts for landless peasants. If it reaches its target of 50 million, the Mission will have achieved the largest peaceful revolution in history.

The Land Gifts' Mission was started in 1951. That spring there was a meeting of rural workers in Hyderabad in an area where Communist agitators were murdering their landlords:

Vinobaji never uses money, so he decided to walk to this meeting although it was some 300 miles away from where he lived. On the way, in every village through which he passed, he came face to face with the misery of the landless peasants. When he reached Hyderabad he went straight to a village where Communist violence was daily expected and appealed to the landlords. "If you had four sons and a fifth was born", he said, "you would certainly give him a share of your land. Treat me as your fifth son and give me my share." Being Hindus the landlords' imaginations were touched. Land was given, and the Land Gifts Mission was born. In his two months in Hyderabad Vinobaji received nearly 12,000 acres in trust for the landless. The Communists there have never regained their hold.

From Hyderabad Vinobaji was invited to Delhi to meet the Pundits of the Planning Commission. It took him two months to walk the 600 miles, but on the way he received 18,000 acres. From then on, the rest of India began to compete for his services. And like Felix the Cat, Vinobaji just keeps on walking.

LEGAL POSITION OF PHYSICIANS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, writing in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Vol. XXX, Parts I—II) says that there were definite rules in ancient Indian literature pertaining to physicians, rules which must be considered as *leges* (*imperfectos* concerning the study of medicine, the qualifications of medical students and teachers and the qualifications of physicians. Every physician must be licensed by the state to be enabled to begin medical treatment and accept remuneration. There is plenty of information as to the ethics of the medical profession. When treating serious cases the physician had to inform the officers of government and were held responsible for any negligence in treatment. He was responsible for his *mithya* action when it was caused by *dolus*, *culpa lata* or *culpa levis*, and also when his *mithya* action was the result of misapprehension, false recognition of certain symptoms and when his wrong diagnosis was due to lack of knowledge. When wrong diagnosis was caused by error and not by ignorance, he was not to be held responsible. The degree of the penalty depended upon the degree of the wrong done and also upon the patient's social class. The Judge had discretion to impose his own penalties. The rules as to penalty to be imposed on physicians were intended primarily to safeguard the good administration of the state, as there is no specific mention of the right of the injured patient to an indemnity. The social esteem which the physician had was great.

NANGA PARBAT CONQUERED

The Nanga Parbat has been conquered.

The 26629 foot mountain was scaled by the Austro-German Expedition on July 4 at 10 in the morning in clear blue sky.

The conqueror, Aerman Paul of Austria. Planted the flags of the federal republic of Germany and Pakistan on the summit and stood on the top of the mountain for a few minutes.

The giant mountain, standing on outer fringes of the Himalayas, had so far repulsed eight attempts to conquer it.

In 1934 and 1937 two German Expeditions ended in complete disaster.

JAP METHOD OF RICE CULTURE

About five lakh acres of land in India are expected to be put under the Japanese method of rice cultivation by the end of this year, according to an authoritative source.

The Government of India have particularly impressed upon the States of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, where climatic conditions are well-suited, to adopt the Japanese method, the source said.

The Government of India would also shortly launch a propaganda drive through films, radio and demonstration centres to popularise the method, the source added. The Government were also considering opening up of a number of centres to train farmers in this method.

The West Bengal Government, according to the source, has promised the Central Ministry of Agriculture to put two lakhs of acres of rice land in the State under this by the next crop season. Bombay State is expected to adopt the Japanese method on at least 50,000 acres. It was believed that Bombay State would be able to make up at least half its rice deficit by next year by adopting this method. Orissa, Madras and Bihar are expected between them to put under the new method of cultivation about two lakhs of acres.

THE DEFENCE OF ASIA

Our aims in Asia are reasonably clear, says *the Reporter* (New York). We want to help mobilize the strength of our declared friends. And we want to maintain and strengthen the solidarity in major foreign-policy matters of the "border states" of South Asia, from Indonesia around to the Middle East.

If our aims are going to be well served by our attitudes and programs, we shall do well to recognize and act on three basic premises; First, the policy of arming Asians is bound to engage more and more of our resources and attention even if we can disengage most of our troops. Second, the security screen we build is a means to other ends—economic growth, social progress, decent and effective government. And third, our co-operation and assistance extend equally to those friends who do not want to become allies.

Otherwise, we take our soldiers home and lose Asia.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

MASS DEPUTATIONS FROM CEYLON

The Government of India's decision to tighten passport regulations in regard to deportees from Ceylon has obviously been misunderstood in that country. As a result, an unfortunate situation has been created leading to what one can not but regard as retaliatory measures. Colombo has enforced the new citizenship Act and the regulations that go with it almost with a vengeance.

What now happens is that hundreds of unfortunate people are thrown out of Ceylon, with no certainty that they are eligible for entry into India.

The Ceylon Government has also closed the Immigration Department to Indians seeking return visas and temporary residence permits, as another measure of retaliation.

A press note issued by the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon on July 22 explains the misunderstanding regarding India's action. The India Government, it says

do not and cannot object to the right of the Ceylon Government to determine who is an illicit immigrant. Nor is it the right of the Ceylon Government to issue the order of deportation questioned. It is only natural that the Government of India should have the right to determine who is or who is not an Indian nation.

Asserting what India had done was nothing but repetition of the action taken by Ceylon in respect of immigration of persons from India as long ago as 1949, the Press Note said it was an action which every Government in the world would take to safeguard their own interests and was not in any way wrong, improper and unfair.

Replying to the allegation, that India suddenly took action the note said:

If the modest request of the Indian High Commission for postponement even for a few days has been acceded to, this tightening up might not have come so suddenly. India's action is therefore nothing but defensive and though somewhat sudden, normal and friendly."

PLAN TO EXPEDITE REGISTRATION

Premier Dudley Senanayake has ordered early establishment in plantation areas of a number of sub-offices of the Department for Registration of Indian and Pakistani Residents in Ceylon.

South Africa

MALAN'S NEW BILL

The Governor-General of South Africa, Dr. E. G. Jansen, opening the new Parliament, said legislation would be introduced to put coloured voters on a separate electoral roll and give them separate representation in Parliament.

Dr. Jansen said the legislation to be introduced would include a Bill to validate railway regulations providing for separate facilities and amenities for Europeans and non-Europeans. The existing regulations were declared invalid by a recent judgment of the Supreme Court.

The Prime Minister Dr. Daniel Malan announced the day before that he would introduce a bill to validate this separate representation of voters of 1951, ruled unconstitutional by the courts. He said the election in April, which increased his majority from 13 to 29 gave him a mandate from the electorate to go ahead with his programme.

But to get the Bill made law, Dr. Malan will need a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting jointly.

Malaya

ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO MALAYA

Indians in Singapore have petitioned to the Colony's Governor, Sir John Nicoll for the creation of a representative unofficial board to consider appeals under the new Immigration order which bans free entry of Commonwealth citizens, including Indians, into Malaya from August 1.

The Regional Indian Congress in a memorandum told the Governor, while Indians in Singapore fully appreciated the objects of the new order meant to protect the present residents of Malaya, they felt uneasy about the absolute powers for one executive officer—the Controller—to decide the suitability of new entrants. The memorandum also desired the reduction of minimum wage limit for employees recruited abroad from 500 to 200 Straits dollars as it considered the present figure "high in comparison with the standard of living of the people of this country."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

KOREAN WAR ENDS

The Truce Agreement to end the three years' war in Korea was signed on July 27 at 10-01 (local time (06-21 hours (IST) at Pan Mun Jom as fighting died down all along the 150-mile front. The two chief United Nations and Communist negotiators, Lt. Gen. William K. Harrison and General Nam II, signed the Agreement to end all fighting in Korea 12 hours later.

Delegates had been negotiating for months in a bid to end the war, estimated to have cost more than 2,30,000 casualties.

The South Korean President. Syngman Rhee said in Seoul: "We shall not disturb the armistice while a political conference is undertaking to solve peacefully and within a limited time the problems of the liberation and reunification of Korea."

All fighting ended in Korea after the armistice was signed. Thus ended the war exactly after three years, one month and four days.

A.I.C.C. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at the Agra Session of the All India Congress Committee on July 6.

The Congress has welcomed the first Five-Year Plan as the basis of national advancement. The plan envisages numerous other activities and the A.I.C.C. welcomes the proposal for a national extension service which, it hopes, will speedily cover the whole of India and bring relief and opportunity of progress to every peasant and worker.

KOREA AND WORLD PEACE

The pace of progress must, however, be quickened, more especially in regard to land reform and industrial growth. The Committee attaches the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India. While progress has been made in this direction by several State Governments, much yet remains to be done in order to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land. The State Governments should take immediate steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings, with a view to redistribute the land, as far as possible, among landless workers.

The A.I.C.C. welcomes the general improvement in the international situation and the lessening of

tension between the Great Powers. The Committee trusts that a conference of representatives of the Great Powers will meet at an early date to discuss informally the various questions that have tended to produce conflict in the past, and will further consider the question of disarmament and the removal of political barriers to international trade and communications.

The conclusion of an agreement in regard to the prisoners of war in Korea removed the final obstacle to an armistice and it was confidently hoped that peace would be established in that country which had been devastated and ruined by war. That hope has not yet been realised because of the attitude adopted by the President and Government of South Korea, who have acted in clear violation of the terms of the prisoners of war agreement, and are making impossible demands for a continuation of war or a resumption of it after a stated period. The authority of the United Nations has thus been flouted and the hopes of peace imperilled. A situation has been created which is full of dangerous possibilities not only for peace but for the future of the United Nations.

The Committee trusts that the General Assembly of the United Nations will meet at a very early date to consider this critical situation and to take adequate measures to give effect to the terms of the armistice which have been agreed to.

AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST

The A. I.C.C. have noted with deep sorrow the conflict which is going on in certain parts of Africa resulting in the cruel and forcible suppression of large numbers of people. Behind this conflict lies the policy of racial and colonial domination. The Congress has always stood for colonial freedom and racial equality and this denial of both is a matter of gravest concern to it and can only lead to disastrous racial conflicts which may affect the whole of Africa and powerfully influence people in other parts of the world. Any assertion of racial domination will inevitably meet with resistance and no stable or peaceful society can be based on the theory of practice of a dominating race or of colonial control.

The Committee regrets that no way out has so far been found to resolve the conflicts in the Middle Eastern countries and that the path of negotiation is not being pursued. The situation in Egypt is particularly disturbing. A new Republic has been established there, which this Committee warmly welcomes, and the people of Egypt rightly demand the recognition of their full sovereignty in their land.

The Committee hopes that negotiations for a peaceful settlement of such problems as exist will be carried on the basis of a recognition of the sovereignty of Egypt.

NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO A. I. C. C.

Speaking in Hindi, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Congress President said in the course of his inaugural address to the Agra session of the A.I.C.C. that whenever he went to Europe he tried to draw the attention of European powers to the mighty resurgence that had come about in parts of Asia and was taking place in others.

Asia and Africa are awakening after a slumber of 300 and 400 years. The Asian and African people are standing up and no foreign power hitherto entrenched in these two continents can continue to hold sway over them. The sooner this is realised the better it is.

Sri Nehru referred to the situation in Indo-China and said that for many years war was going on there.

I have not the slightest doubt that that war is a war of independence of the South-East Asian countries. The question whether some other countries are helping them or not is another matter. It is a matter of sorrow that the French people and the French Government are behaving towards these countries in a manner which is not only harming these countries but themselves also.

Two or three days ago I read an announcement of the French Government that it proposed to give to these nations complete freedom. I do not know what the ultimate picture would be but this is a good decision. What results it would produce has to be seen. But I would respectfully ask of the French Government why they have not made a similar announcement about Morocco and Tunisia.

He had discussed various matters also with the Prime Minister of Pakistan in London, said Sri Nehru.

Our talk was of a rather general nature, naturally, because we had not time there, and it was decided that we should consider all these questions further at a later meeting in India or Pakistan. So, as at present intended, I shall probably pay a brief visit to Pakistan about the end of this month. It will be a brief visit because I cannot just then go for long. That, I hope, will be followed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan coming to India to discuss further.

INDIA'S PROBLEMS

Referring to India, Sri Nehru said:

Our problems are many, chiefly economic, but we are trying to solve them and I believe we are going to solve them. But one thing oppresses me, and that is the extent of unemployment that exists in this country. We must look into this matter. We cannot have any Welfare State unless we have full employment.

Sri Nehru said that an Andhra State would soon come into existence. In this connection he was surprised to find that

there had been some agitation in Bellary and some other districts over the "most trivial things." So far as Bellary district was concerned, a Chief Justice was appointed and his recommendation was accepted. So far as border problems of Chittoor and other areas were concerned, Government had already said that they would appoint a boundary commission or commissions to go into them. So he just could not understand why there should be any need for this agitation.

Apart from that, this kind of agitation, of stopping trains, burning buildings and the rest, was fantastic nonsense. This could not be allowed to continue. Any Government was not worth its name if it did not take every step to put down such agitation.

Are we a mature nation or a nation behaving like school boys? It is an astonishing thing that an attempt should be made to bring pressure upon the Central Government by stopping a train in some distant corner of India or to burn some building here or there. It only shows the folly of those people who make that demand and the weakness of that demand.

No Government gives in to any demands which are encouraged by hunger strikes and by stopping railway trains and burning buildings. Let it be known once and for all that no decision of Government is going to be affected by any hunger strikes anywhere in India.

Certainly, said Sri Nehru, it was up to a popular Government to abide by the people's will and to know what the people felt and what they suffered. Where Government made mistakes, they should confess those mistakes and retrace them, provided they realised that a wrong step had been taken. But any attempt by a small group here or there to compel Government to take action that in the Government's opinion or in the opinion of the majority was wrong action was obviously a foolish attempt.

The country faced various problems. One was apt to forget that the social structure was intimately connected with the other problems. Such social customs, however hallowed they might be by age, as came in the way should be got rid of.

If as I hope, we are to grow and take our status as a great nation, not great merely in size but in quality, then we must think in a big way and we must give up everything that narrows us

THE ANDHRA STATE BILL

The Andhra State Bill, which provides for the formation of the State of Andhra, was published on July 8. The Bill provides for the increasing of the area of the State of Mysore and for the diminishing of the area of the State of Madras, and for matters connected therewith. There are 64 clauses and nine schedules, with notes on clauses.

Schedule VII deals with provisions for the apportionment of assets and liabilities between Madras, Andhra and Mysore. The only reference to Kurnool as temporary capital is contained in item 12 of this schedule where it is stated "that any loan taken from the Centre in connection with the construction of buildings, roads, and other works in the City of Kurnool for the temporary capital of the State of Andhra shall be wholly the liability of the State of Andhra."

The provision for the formation of the new State is contained in Clause 3 of the Bill. It is to be a Part A State comprising Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts and Alur, Adoni, and Rayadurg taluks of the Bellary district.

The Bill provides for Alur and Adoni taluks being included in the Kurnool district and Rayadurg in Anantapur district.

The Bill has seven parts, under the headings—Preliminary, Formation of Andhra State, Representation in the Legislatures, High Courts, Financial Provisions, Legal Provisions and Administrative Provisions.

The Bill provides that till the establishment of a separate High Court for the State of Andhra the jurisdiction of the Madras High Court shall extend to the Andhra State.

The whole of the territory added to the Mysore State will come under the jurisdiction of the Mysore High Court.

The Madras Legislative Assembly on July 18 passed by 122 votes against 121 a recommendation that a proviso be added

to clause 3 of the Andhra State Bill that steps be taken for final settlement of the boundaries of the Madras, Andhra and Mysore, Orissa, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh States, either by mutual agreement among the States concerned or by a Boundary Commission or Commissions and districts concerned be thereupon reformed accordingly.

The Government amendment suggesting constitution of one or more Boundary Commissions for settling disputes that have arisen regarding certain border areas was withdrawn by leave of the House.

The Assembly on July 27—approved the Andhra State Bill—on the twelfth day of the discussion.

The House adopted the motion of the Chief Minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that "the proposed Andhra State Bill, 1953, having been approved and considered fully, this House is of the view that the bill should be amended on the lines indicated in the opinions and resolutions approved by the House."

The Assembly passed a resolution recommending the deletion of Sub-clause (5) of Clause 12 of the seventh Schedule, relating to the payment of compensation of Rs. 2304 lakhs by the residuary State to the Andhra State in respect of buildings.

LAND REFORMS COMMITTEE

The Government of India have appointed a Central Committee for Land Reforms to ensure the implementation of the recommendations on land policy contained in the first Five Year Plan. The Committee consists of members of the Planning Commission, the Minister of Food and Agriculture and the Minister of Agriculture.

Under the direction of the Central Committee, a new division is being established in the Planning Commission for work connected with land reforms. This division would function under the direction of the Central Committee and in close co-operation with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

PLEA FOR TWO WAY TRAFFIC IN EDUCATION

At the quinquennial Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth at Cambridge last month, Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University urged a "two-way traffic" of students and professors between Universities of Asian and other countries of the Commonwealth and of America with a view to promote understanding between the different countries.

Sri Ramaswami Aiyar said that a large number of Indian students were coming to Britain for studies. They formed the largest non-British element in the student population of Britain, exceeding even the representation from the United States. An increasing number of Indian students were going to the latter country for studies in engineering, technology, accountancy, business management and similar subjects.

This was, however, a matter of "one-way traffic" both to Britain and the United States, he said.

Pleading for a "two-way traffic" in this matter, he said that at least in such subjects as related to Asian topics, a large number of visiting professors should be entertained in Commonwealth and American Universities on a reciprocal basis.

Sri Ramaswami Aiyar referred to the substantial help that was being given by the United States to Asian education through the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller, Fulbright and other Trusts.

Multi-purpose projects in India were receiving help from the U. S., Sri Ramaswami Aiyar said. But he thought that unless a large number of Indians were trained in India to take charge of and man these projects without having to rely upon periodically sending Indian students to the United States, the ultimate purpose of these projects would not be served.

He, therefore, suggested that an appreciable number of American technicians, research workers and scientists should go over to India and train Indians there to take charge of her multi-purpose projects.

THE NEW MADRAS SCHEME

In answer to the criticisms levelled against the Madras Government's modified scheme of elementary education Mr. G. Ramachandran, Honorary Advisor to Government on Education (Elementary and Basic), says that the objections raised were based on misapprehensions. The three fundamental principles underlying the scheme were: first, that children should be inside school for only three hours; secondly, that there should be two sessions of the school during the day, the teacher handling two different sets of children during the two sessions and thirdly, and most vital of all, that the children should be accustomed to manual work and the idea should be taken away from their minds that manual labour is something contemptible. The two session idea, he said, was suited to a poor country like India where "we have less than 50 per cent of the children of school going age going to school." And the insistence on manual work would clear the ground for Basic Education in the future.



Dr. John W. Taylor recently was named acting director general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

HIGH COURT FOR ANDHRA

The Madras Assembly approved on July 21 the provision in the Andhra State Bill relating to the seat of the State's High Court.

The approval came at the end of a long discussion on the relevant clause. Amendments were defeated, one of them by the exercise of his casting vote by the Speaker.

As regards the date from which the Separate High Court should function, the Assembly resolved that "the President shall as soon as may be convenient or on the passing of a resolution by the Andhra State Assembly, appoint by notification in the official gazette a date for the purpose, not later than June 1, 1954."

Clause 36 of the Bill, which relates to the location of the High Court says: The High Court of Andhra, and the Judges and division courts thereof, shall sit at such place or places in the State of Andhra as the Chief Justice may, with the approval of the Governor of Andhra, appoint.

GUILTY OF CONTEMPT OF HOUSE

The Mysore Legislative Council passed a motion holding the Editors, and Printers of *Satya*, the *Deccan Herald* and the *Daily Post* guilty of contempt of the House.

It accepted the apology tendered by Sri Govindarajan, Editor and Printer of the *Daily Post*, and dropped proceedings against him.

It passed a motion that Sri Pothan Joseph, and Sri P. B. K. Menon, Editor and Printer, respectively of the *Deccan Herald* be admonished. Accordingly, the Chairman called them in individually, and admonished them.

As Sri Chamarbaugwala, Editor of *Satya* had disobeyed the summons of the House, and left for Bombay, the Council adopted a motion that he be taken into custody, and produced before the Bar of the House at the earliest moment. The proceedings, therefore against *Satya* were held over.

TRAMWAY TRIBUNAL'S AWARD

The award of the industrial Tribunal, Mr. S. Narasimhalu Naidu, in the dispute arising from the closure of the Madras Electric Tramways, was published on July 8 by the Government.

The Tribunal holds that the closure of the Tramway does not amount to a lock-out and that the management cannot be directed to reopen the business.

The management, the Tribunal states, has however, contravened the provisions of Section 33 of the Industrial Disputes Act in closing the concern during the pendency of the adjudication proceedings without the permission of the Tribunal.

The Tribunal awards to the workers compensation of 15 day's basic wages for every year of service up to a maximum of six months' wages among other reliefs.

Dr. U. Krishna Rao, Minister for Industries told Pressmen that the award of the industrial Tribunal would under the Industrial Disputes Act be enforced after 30 days of the publication, if the same is not implemented earlier by the parties concerned; or on such date as the Tribunal fixes for its implementation in the Award itself.

GUARDIANSHIP OF MINORS

The Legislation Committee of the Bar Council, Madras, has sent his opinion on the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill, 1953 to the Government. The communication says:

The Bar Council is of the opinion that as regards the application of the Act it is not necessary to have an inclusive as well as an exclusive definition of the word "Hindu" enumerating the several classes such as Virasaivas, Lingayats, Sikhs, etc. It will be better to provide that it applies to all persons who are Hindus. An explanation may be inserted to the effect that for purposes of the Act any person is a Hindu who is not a Christian, Muslim, Parsi or Jew, by religion. Tribes and sects who are not technically Hindus can nevertheless be governed by the Act which merely deals with a guardianship. In this manner the objective of securing a uniform Civil Code prescribed by Art. 44 of the constitution might be achieved.

STATE LOANS

The Five-Crore Rupees Development Loan floated by the Madras Government has been over-subscribed. Indeed over ten crores were received before the closing date. The response to the Bombay loan was equally satisfactory. It no doubt reflects the high level of credit enjoyed by the State Governments and the readiness, on the part of the people, to help financing the national development projects. The spontaneous success of the Loan may also be attributed to the attractive terms it offered.

Reports from other States, which are also floating internal loans to finance the development projects, indicate favourable public response. The all round success of the Rs. 22 Crore State Loans is certainly a happy augury for the projects. It is now upto the State Governments concerned to utilise the funds raised through the loans in a manner that will sustain and stimulate public confidence in them.

CLOTH MILLS FOR PAKISTAN

Two Japanese cotton firms have agreed to set up textile mills in Pakistan. It is learnt that they will hold 49 per cent of the share capital while Pakistan interests will hold the remaining 51 per cent. The capital of the textile mills will be Rs. 60 lakhs. Japanese technicians will run the entire concern and at the same time train Pakistanis. This is the first occasion that Japan is entering the field of industry in Pakistan.

After meeting her domestic requirements, Pakistan hopes to compete with India in the Middle East markets.

MANUFACTURERS' SUGGESTIONS

An investigation of the possibilities of reducing the burden of taxation, especially by pruning the mounting expenditure on Governmental administration, has been urged by the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation in the course of a resolution adopted on July 5.

NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

In a telegram to Prime Minister Nehru the Southern India Chamber of Commerce opposed any proposal for nationalisation of banks and insurance companies at present.

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

The sterling balances agreement signed last month between India and the United Kingdom is officially described in New Delhi as one of the most satisfactory post-war developments. The balances which accumulated during the war on account of goods supplied and services rendered by India during the war period had, at times, raised fears in the minds of the people that they might be scaled down.

The present agreement which embodies the decision announced in February last year solves the problem of these balances so that by the middle of 1957 when the present agreement expires, only that amount which is considered as adequate foreign reserve will be left and the rest will have been spent. The agreement provides, as announced in February last year, release of £ 35 million sterling every year from July.

Because of the favourable balance of payments position the utilisation of the annual quota has been less than scheduled. For example, during 1951-52, only about £ 15 million sterling were drawn, while in 1952-53, it was not necessary to draw at all. However, the agreement provides that the unspent balances can be carried forward, so that they can accumulate and be drawn upon when necessary.

On July 3, 1953, the balances stood at Rs. 711 crores (about £ 534 million) as against Rs. 683 crores (about £ 513 million) on June 27, 1952.

Although during the last one year, there has thus been some accumulation it is expected that as the tempo of developmental expenditure goes up, the unspent balances as well as the annual quota will be used up in future years.

FOREIGN COMPANIES IN INDIA

Mr. M. C. Shah informed Mr. Rahmatulla that from July, 1947, to December, 1952, 69 foreign business institutions in India had been sold to residents of this country and twelve had been liquidated. The remittances received during the same period for investments in India amounted to Rs. 8.3 crores.

PEARL BUCK IS 61

Pearl S. Buck, American novelist and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, was 61 on June 26.

Pearl Buck's most significant work, which won her universal fame, is "The Good Earth". It tells the story of the Chinese peasant Wang Lung and his passionate devotion to his land. With O'lan, his faithful, plain wife, he suffers poverty and famine. Yet he retains the land, eventually becomes wealthy, and takes a second pretty wife. His three children are a disappointment, for they do not love the soil. "The Good Earth" reflects the mood of the world depression of the late 1920's when the social systems of many countries were breaking down.

After its publication, it was a best-seller for 21 months, won a Pulitzer Prize (1932), was translated into 20 languages and has been dramatised and became a successful motion picture.

After eight Chinese novels, besides a translation of the classic Shui Hu Chuan ("All Men Are Brothers"), Pearl Buck cannot escape the public identification of herself with the Chinese background which she is so peculiarly fitted to depict. Her up-

bringing in China, her devoted study of the Chinese classics and her incomparably intimate knowledge of Chinese life and character are responsible for the success of her efforts to make this ancient civilisation comprehensible and significant to people in other parts of the world. In 1938 she received the Nobel Prize for Literature (the first American woman to be so honoured) not for one book, but for the whole body of her work.

Born Pearl Sydenstricker in Hillsboro, West Virginia, her parents were missionaries. She spent a lonely childhood in China living in Chingkiang on the Yangtse River. She could speak Chinese before she learned to speak English.

The first direct literary influence upon her was her Chinese nurse who told her tales of magic from Buddhist and Taoist sources. Sometimes her father would tell her of his adventures on his frequent journeys and her mother would talk to her about music and art, about the beauty of words and their use.

In all she has written 15 novels and 23 children's books. Her latest book is "The Hidden Flower," but to the world she will always be the author of "The Good Earth".

Jacquelin Cochran, at the controls of a F-36 saber jet, is congratulated by Maj. Charles Yeager, of the U. S. Air Force, for her feat of establishing several new flight records and being the first woman to travel faster than sound. Major Yeager was the first to break the sonic barrier. During her flying career, Miss Cochran has broken many men's speed records. She holds all the international men's speed records for propeller driven planes around the 100,500 and 1,000 kilometer closed courses.



AMERICAN PAPER BOUND BOOKS

Commenting on the complaint of the drain of Indian foreign exchange for paper bound American books, Mr. William Rutter, Representative in Asia of the New American library of world literature, New York city writes:

An investigation of Indian import export records will show that the American paper bound book purchases by Indian importers represents a very small part of the total outgo of exchange.

There is an open general licence on books, and this is no doubt in operation not only because of the exchange situation but also because the Government of India recognize the educational and entertainment value of books of many ideas and representative of all the world's writers.

It has been estimated that the number of American paper bound books sold in India each year is less than one per cent of the total sold in America itself. It may also be of interest to realize that of each Rs. 1-8-0 spent by an Indian citizen on a book, a large part remains in India as commissions and discounts to retailers and wholesalers.

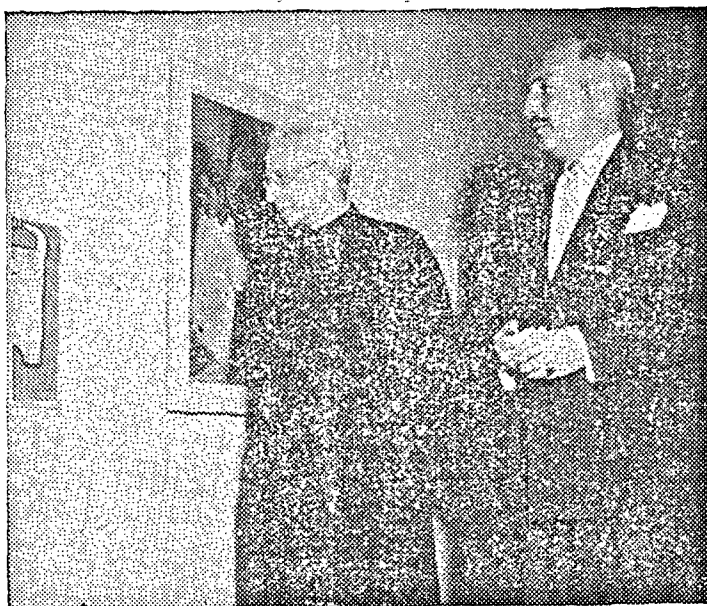
YOGA IN THE WEST

Mr. V. T. Neelakantan, Journalist, and Author who has returned from a tour of the United Kingdom writes to say that the West is now keener than ever to dive deep into Hindu philosophy and especially Kriya yoga which is a refined form of Raja yoga which makes it possible for people to be Grahastas and yet serve the Supreme Power. According to Sri Neelakantan Kriya yoga though bereft of the Hatha side of the Hatha yoga demands as much Vairagya as Hatha yoga itself.

NEW TYPE OF CHARKA

The experts appointed by the All-India Spinners' Association in Bombay have now invented a charka with which nearly 40,000 yards of yarn can be produced in a day. The cost price of this charka, if produced on a large scale, is expected to be Rs. 1,000.

The new charka, a variety of which is likely to be distributed in villages in different parts of India under India Government's supervision, will considerably increase the income of villagers engaged in this industry.



Dr. Sarvepelli Radhakrishnan, on a visit to San Francisco, sees the exhibit of Indian arts and crafts on display in the De Young Memorial Museum in Golden Gate Park,

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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 change 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 repeat their visits. 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 and 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 flinches 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 inter-linking the question of solution of a capital town by Andhra's 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, Brahmashri 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 lifelong. 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 in spite 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, enthrone, 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

—:o:—

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 noble mission, the earnestly religious zeal 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 Gandharvapuri, 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 moil 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 Murgao: "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.

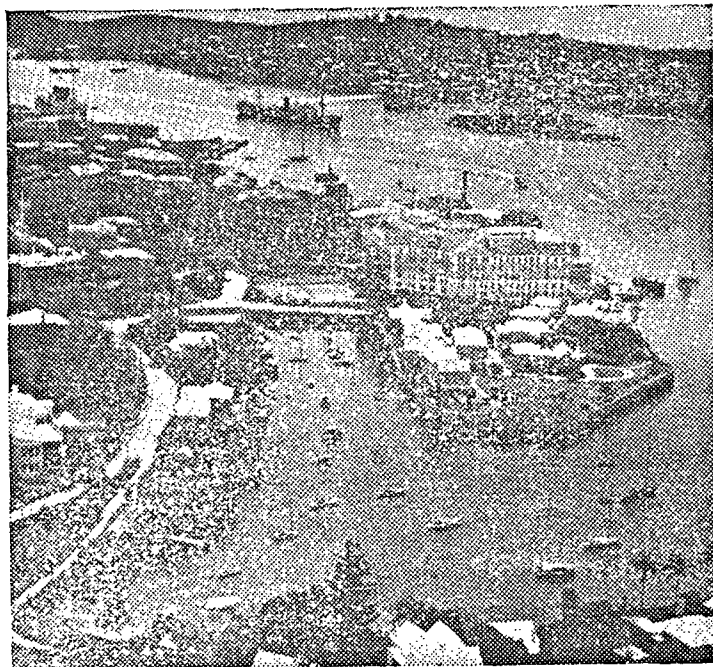
PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

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,

* Prabbuddha Bharata.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

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, inspite 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.

SEPTEMBER 1953]

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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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 Rishabhchand.
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 Rishabhchand 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 Rishabhchand 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 and 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 partymen—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 Brahmagyda 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 Brahmagyda.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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 of 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. Dharma-lingam 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 rack 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 four cylinder compound type, the high pressure cylinders working the adhesion

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. *Pravda*, 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 Bom, 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 Lyсенka, 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 1914 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 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 Sadar-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 un-issued 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. 15 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. Vasan'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. Vasan 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 Greek 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

We deeply regret to record the death of Dr. T. S. Tirumurthi at the age of 68. He had not only been a popular doctor but had done conspicuous service in educational bodies in various universities. Indeed he had thrown himself heart and soul into social service of diverse kinds. He was a keen and admiring student of Tamil literature and a man of deep piety and goodness of nature.



Robert G. Simmons, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Nebraska, touring India and Pakistan.

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THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.

PROFESSOR C. H. Alexandrawitch has contributed an interesting article on the Indian Constitution to the *Year Book of World Affairs*. He discusses certain aspects of the working of the Constitution of India as it concerns personal liberty; the judicial control of administrative power; the legislatures, the executive and the party; federal structure of the State and India's attitude to international law and relations. As a constitutional lawyer he offers 'an honest account about the Constitutional reality of India for a realistic appreciation of its attitude to public affairs, whether national or international.' As a result of his study he assures his readers that 'the international society can look with confidence on independent India as a new comer to the group of democratic States in which personal liberty is respected and political opposition is not suppressed.' He reiterates this view by closing his study with the declaration that India 'belongs to the brotherhood of nations which strive to make the rule of law prevail over the rule of force.'

During the course of his study he offers some interesting remarks. Taking personal liberty first, rather astonishingly, he finds fault with the Supreme Court for its refusing to go into the reasonableness of the grounds for detaining a citizen under the Preventive Detention Act even though he admits that the Preventive Detention Act is a quasi-emergency Act. The Supreme Court followed a House of Lords' decision given in *Liverridge vs. Anderson*. In that case, it was held that when Parliament vested the power to detain an individual if the Secretary of State had reasonable grounds for detaining him, the grounds

had to be reasonable to the Secretary of State. Professor Alexandrawitch suppresses the fact that if the Supreme Court has not gone into the reasonableness of the grounds it has examined them invariably as to their furnishing the detenu an adequate chance of rebuttal. As the Supreme Court held rightly the power comes from Parliamentary authorization not from emergency. Professor Alexandrawitch is wrong in asserting that if the English Parliament were to repeal the Habeas Corpus Act by statutory authorization to the executive to detain people, the Common Law would preserve the liberty of the citizen in peace time or otherwise.

It is unfortunate that Professor Alexandrawitch has lumped all the Preventive Detention Acts together by asserting that the original Act has been renewed from year to year. The original Act has not been renewed; every time a new Act has been passed substantially different from the previous one so that the Act in force now is miles apart from the one passed in 1950. Again the judges of the Supreme Court were not inclined to conform with the policy of the Government in the matter of preventive detention. They declared Section 14 of the original Act unconstitutional. They restored to liberty hundreds of detainees detained by the Government. As Professor Alexandrawitch concedes elsewhere they 'did not hesitate to declare laws unconstitutional whenever they violated fundamental rights.'

Some of the statements made in this study seem to imply that the executive in India has not shown a 'predictable pattern of behaviour towards political

activity' thus preventing the establishment of 'conditions of political calculability' for parties of the opposition. This is rather strange in view of his assertion elsewhere that in India 'political opposition is not suppressed.' The ban on the Communist party in Madras has been held illegal, the circulation of Communist newspapers and literature is unrestricted, members of the Communist party are free to make all sorts of allegations against the Government and promote every type of agitation from the formation of Andhra State to preventing an increase of tramway fare in Calcutta.

Like some lay students of the Indian Constitution, Professor Alexandrawitch seems to bemoan the fact that the political party in power is doing nothing to make the emergence of a strong unified opposition possible. He seems to recommend Kamal Pasha's ways to Pundit Nehru under the mistaken belief that Kamal Pasha *deliberately* encouraged the emergence of a second party as an *alternative Government*. He did nothing of the kind. Prof. Alexandrawitch is again wrong when he asserts that parliamentary Government based on a ministry enjoying the support of legislature is in principle possible only if combined with a two party system. Franco is a conspicuous example of a multi-party Parliamentary Government. Of course, as he shrewdly observes, we in India have no intention of copying the French Merry-go-Round.

Discussing the relations between the party and the executive, it is strange to find Professor Alexandrawitch criticising 'the concentration of power' in the hands of the Prime Minister. Faced with an unEnglish spectacle of the Chairman of the party executive claiming to control the Government, the Prime Minister took the only path open to him to preserve for him and his colleagues the traditional powers of the English Prime Minister and his Cabinet. English convention has it that as the majority of the House of Commons represents the *vote of the citizens*, the Parliamentary party is not usually subordinate to outside party authority. The subordination of the

Congress Government to party executive would have favoured the unEnglish spectacle of rule by a caucus not depending on popular vote

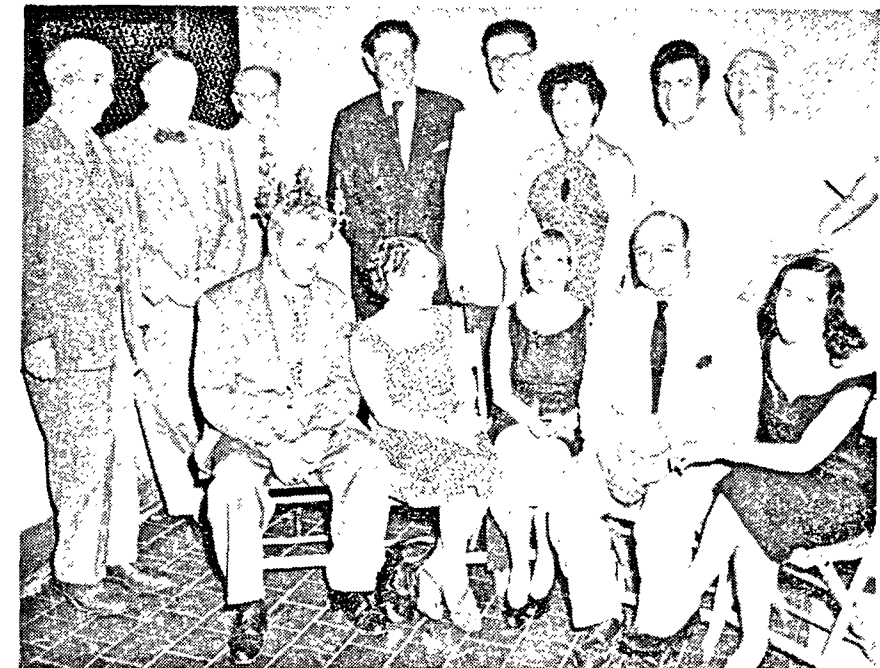
It is regrettable that in his attempt at piling up instances of the rise of monolithic power in the hands of the Prime Minister, Professor Alexandrawitch has suppressed certain facts with regard to Dr. Ambedkar's resignation. *The Annual Register* records that Dr. Ambedkar resigned because the Cabinet refused to proceed with the Hindu Code Bill. Sir Francis Low is nearer the truth than Professor Alexandrawitch who would have us believe that Dr. Ambedkar resigned when he was 'faced with *fait accompli* in a formal Cabinet meeting.' Dr. Ambedkar never said so. He complained of his *continual* exclusion from the membership of the Cabinet sub-committees apparently over a number of years. He had acquiesced in it, because as an anti-Congress member of the Congress Cabinet he expected no more. Nobody could have prevented a man of his calibre from reopening a question in the Cabinet if he had ever felt like doing so. Dr. Ambedkar resigned on the eve of the general election in order to improve the electoral chances of his party in the elections. Pundit Nehru as the Prime Minister of India exhibits no more sinister concentration of power than does Sir Winston in England.

Professor Alexandrawitch is again off the track when he asserts that in the present circumstances Congress *could* change the whole structure of the federation. Of course it could because the electors have returned it to power in Parliament and 26 States. Its majority forms more than two thirds of each House of Indian Parliament, necessary for an amendment of the Constitution by Parliament; it could easily secure ratification of an amendment of the Constitution in more than one half of the State legislatures. It *has* the necessary power; but it has *no inclination* to do so. In this it does not differ materially from the Conservative Government in England, which with a substantially smaller majority, has the *legal* right to alter the entire organization and functioning of the Government in England.

It is rather unfortunate that Professor Alexandrawitch either did not care to study all the facts about Mysore as a Class B State or has deliberately ignored them. He does not mention the very vital fact that the Government of Mysore ultimately consented to the transfer to another High Court of the case in which the Chief Justice of Mysore was involved. Thus the invocation of article 371 was not in vain. The withdrawal of the President's direction to do so was contingent upon the State's Government formally doing on its own what it had been advised to do by the President. It is surprising to find Professor Alexandrawitch making a distinction between the President and the Union Ministry in this matter. The advice given by the President to the Government of Mysore

conveyed the decision of the Union Government to Mysore. Like all Presidential orders in India or royal orders in England, this decision was conveyed in the only valid form in which it could be couched. It may be added here that Parliament has now vested the power of transferring a case from one High Court to another in the Chief Justice of India. Though Professor Alexandrawitch has not thought it fit to mention it, the President has now placed Mysore at par with part A States by notifying that no directions need be issued to Mysore under article 371.

Professor Alexandrawitch's study illustrates the pit-falls that beset the path of a foreign observer of the Indian scene even when he is living in India.



Dr. Pasupuleti Gopala Krishnayya, M.A., N.Sc., Ph.D., President and managing editor of World Capitol Publications and Films of New York City has been elected president of the State and Screen Foreign Press Club of America which has its headquarters at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The Club consists of journalists from all parts of the world who cover stage and screen activities in the U.S.A. Here Dr. Krishnayya is seen presiding over a reception the Club gave at its headquarters to Anita Loos, the authoress of *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. Rise Loos is seen sitting in the center of the picture with President Krishnayya next to her on the right side.

Educational Research & the Reconstruction of Indian Education

BY PROF. P. S. NAIDU, M.A.

Head of the Department of Education, Allahabad University.

I THE NEED FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

A prominent member of an Education Commission which toured North India recently asked, at an informal gathering, a pointed question. "Can the well established Training Colleges in the country, and the University Departments of Education, present to the Commission facts and figures relating to Indian education based on their objective and scientific studies? Have they done research in education and arrived at conclusions which the Commission can draw upon with benefit to itself?" There was silence in response to these questions. By asking these questions the member concerned put his finger on one of the most vulnerable points in Indian education. It is rather late in the day to wake up to the pressing national need, but better late than never. Research there must be as an integral part of the legitimate activities of University Departments of Education, and every important Teachers' College in the country, and the sooner these institutions take seriously to research, the better will they equip themselves for dealing with the formidable problems that they will soon have to face in the field of National reconstruction.

The need for sustained long term research in Indian Education is brought home to us by another consideration. During the last three decades and more, Educational Commissions, charged with various types and degrees of responsibility were constituted for reorganising our educational system. The fact finding function of these Commissions was discharged through questionnaires and interviews. On the basis of the data gathered in this manner these Commissions formed their own hypotheses, and then proceeded to deduce their conclusions. These conclusions, however, require objective verification. It is here that well planned research in education conducted by Teachers' Colleges and University Departments of Education comes in. In the

absence of such research work, the conclusions of the Educational Commissions stand unverified. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why reports of Education commissions often go into cold storage in our country.

Yet, people there are who are sceptical about research in education. 'Teaching is an art' they say, 'and as research is purely academic, it is not likely to help the teacher in his day to day work. And even if research leads to conclusions of practical value, no teacher is likely to act on them. There is thus general apathy, if not active hostility, to research in Indian education. This state of affairs is, however, unfortunate. Research plays a vital role in other professions. In engineering, medicine and industry research occupies a central place. If we conducted our medical and engineering services and our industrial production, says Prof. Clark in his *Study of Education in England*, 'with the same slipshod carelessness, the same disregard for precision of thought and language . . . with which we carry on our public discussions about education, most patients would die, most bridges would fall down, and most manufacturing concerns would go bankrupt.' Yet in the field of education, despite the disastrous results produced by unsystematic and unscientific methods employed, and despite enormous wastage of human material resulting from such methods, no attention is being paid to the investigation of the root causes of the trouble.

The pressing need for research in the higher branches of learning has been brought home to us by the Radhakrishnan Commission. The Report of the Commission rightly points out that 'the advancement of knowledge is a necessary condition of the continued validity of teaching, for unless a study is rooted in research, it will die. . . In India research has become a practical necessity for the continued growth of our national life.' These remarks apply with double force to the field of education, and research in education is most certainly a pressing

need for the growth of our national and social life.

There are other reasons why research in education should be given top priority in Teachers' Colleges and University Departments of Education. The teaching profession is under a peculiar kind of thralldom in our country. The professional teacher is being dictated to and held under servitude by those who are outside the profession. In the other professions no outsider dare give advice, certainly he dare not dictate to the men engaged in them. In the teaching profession, on the other hand, every layman arrogates to himself the right to talk expertly on all matters educational, and to dictate to the teacher what he should do and should not do. This state of affairs is due to the fact that the teaching class as a whole has done nothing to enlarge the boundaries of its own field of knowledge. It is my firm belief that the 'emancipation of the teacher will depend more upon his originality, insight and expertness than upon any other factor. And nothing would so effectively obtain for the teacher that expertness and the reputation for having it as his ability to conduct research in his own field; and to produce tangible results of value for the advancement of knowledge in the field of educational theory and practice.

THE TRAINING COLLEGES RESEARCH

The teacher, however, is not to blame for the unsatisfactory State of affairs in education. Till recently research in education was unknown in our country. Even the term 'educational research' was non-existent in the technical terminology of the pedagogue. The Master's Degree in Education was conspicuous by its absence in our country, and the Doctorate in Education is still a rarity. The result has been that research in the Humanities and the Sciences and Technology forged ahead, while research in Education is still sprawling at the starting line.

The blame for all this is to be laid at the doors of the Training Colleges and the Government Departments of Education which keep a strangle hold on these colleges. These colleges have not instilled in the minds of even their gifted pupil

teachers the spirit of adventure in education, the grit and initiative needed for pioneering in education, for facing challenging problems and for solving them according to scientific principles. The Training colleges seem to have dammed up the creative energies of those who would have developed into brilliant leaders in Indian Education. This unfortunate result may be attributed to the rigid system of training imposed on these institutions by an external agency, namely, the Government Department of education. When the universities took over the task of examining pupil-teachers and of awarding a Degree or Diploma in Education to the successful candidates, the deadening influence of the old wooden curriculum was not lifted, because Government continued to be the single largest employer in the field of education.

One plea however may be advanced in defence of the Training Colleges. The period of training was, and continues to be, only of nine months' duration. This period is hardly adequate for giving the necessary practical and theoretical training for the pupil-teachers. Research is unthinkable under these conditions. There is no doubt a great deal of force in this contention. But our complaint is that even the staffs of Training Colleges do not give any thought to research. In their day to day work they are continually facing problems, large and small, of vital import. Yet they by-pass these problems without giving any thought as to how they may be solved by modern scientific methods.

THE SCENE TO-DAY

So long as we were under foreign domination, this lack of creative thinking and experimentation in education did not matter much, as all matters educational—the policy, the form and content of education, the administrative set-up and even the methods of instruction, and the text-books—were settled in terms of the requirements of the foreign rulers. But today the situation has changed out of all recognition. The old horizons have faded away, and the old moorings have been dislodged. We have to formulate the very objectives of our national systems of

the mere determination of the objectives of Indian National Education will be altogether ineffective.

Education, let it be remembered, is a social and socialising process. It is, no doubt, the product of and reflects the social order in which it functions. But its function cannot be restricted to this subordinate role. Whether we will or no, the educational system of a country also conditions, of necessity, the development of society. The extent to which education determines the social order, and may be used for changing the social order has not been fully appreciated. In our country and at this critical moment it is imperative that we make a deep and penetrating study of this problem. It is of the utmost urgency that we study the interaction between social structure and the prevailing educational system with a view to remove social disabilities. Only so may social frustration be removed and social tension eased, and the underprivileged be rescued from the clutches of the communistic pest.

I am so fully convinced of the immediate need for this Sociological Research in Education that I wish to dwell on it a little longer. Education is man's conscious reaction to the challenge of the flux of time. But education is functioning, specially in our country, listlessly and apart from the real currents of life. Educational thought and practice have failed to help men adjust themselves to the rapidly changing scene around them. Under these conditions the sociological study of the interaction between education and social evolution assumes great significance for those who wish to plan for the education of our youth. Such a study correlates education with group life, and shows how educational thought and practice prevailing at various historical and cultural epochs are interlocked with social institutions. It is true that the cultural setting of historical epochs have influenced education, but at the same time education has also influenced the growth of culture. We have, therefore, to study this two-way traffic between education and the historico-socio-cultural climate of a given epoch.

In our country this is an entirely new field for research. But educational planning will be pointless unless it is based on the findings of the sociological research outlined above.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

The next major research theme that demands immediate attention is COMPARATIVE EDUCATION. Just as Educational Sociology derives its inspiration from and in turn lends strength and support to Educational Philosophy, so Comparative Education grows out of and gives support to Sociology of Education. It is only in recent years that efforts have been made in the West to inaugurate systematic research in Comparative Education. But many of these attempts have miscarried, and have tended to degenerate into chronological studies of policy, and administrative structures of educational systems in different countries. Of the emergence of education as a significant and potent product of the social dynamism of the nation or country concerned, and of the vital directing and moulding influence which education exercises over society, we learn next to nothing from these studies. This is perhaps due to the fact that historical studies generally lack social perspective. We can learn a lesson from the failure of these studies and direct research in Comparative Education on right lines.

The question may be asked, when we are engaged in the urgent task of reconstructing our educational system, when the time at our disposal for reorienting Indian Education is limited, are we justified in indulging in what seems to be an educational luxury? The answer is undoubtedly in the affirmative. The structure of a nation's education system is as characteristic and almost as important as the form of its constitution. Just as we have shaped the free constitution of our country after the model of the advanced democratic countries, so we can reorganise our national education on the progressive lines adopted in those countries. But before we can do this, we have to analyse the forces that have contributed to progress in education. It is here

that research in Comparative Education comes in.

Prof. Kandel points out in his book on Comparative Education:

The Chief value of a comparative approach to educational problems lies in the analysis of the causes which have produced them, in a comparison of the differences between the various systems and the reason underlying them, and finally in a study of the solution attempted. 'If we endeavour in a sympathetic spirit to understand the real working of a foreign system of education, we shall in turn find ourselves better able to enter into the spirit and tradition of our own national education, more sensitive to its unwritten ideals, quicker to catch the signs which mark its growing or fading influences, readier to mark the dangers which threaten it and the subtle working of hurtful change. The practical value of studying in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being fitted to study and understand our own, and in our case to improve our own.'

Comparative Education to be of value to us in the present crisis, should be confined to problems of pressing importance. Some of these are Compulsion in Education, Craft-centredness, Economics of Education, Rural and Agricultural Education, Vocational bias in the Secondary stage, the Multilateral System, Emergency Training of Teachers, Bilingualism, and Student Leadership. These problems have become similar in most countries that are not under dictatorial control. The solutions will, of course, be influenced by differences of national traditions and national cultures. Comparative Education, by first analysing the forces that control a particular phase of education in each country, and then by instituting a critical comparison between these forces in terms of national social backgrounds and national cultures, will suggest ways and means for tackling successfully the very same problems in our own country. Naturally therefore, the successive steps in Comparative Education will be to study each national system separately in its historico, socio-cultural setting, then to collect data on existing systems of education in various countries, and then to institute a critical comparison with a view to elucidate the causal connections between social structure and

education. Real insight will be needed to get out of this analysis guiding principles that will be of value to us in reconstructing Indian Education. But such principles will spring to light if research is conducted on right lines.

SURVEYS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

A major auxiliary to Comparative Education is Educational Survey. Survey has the same function and purpose on the national level as Comparative Education has on the International level. Within the country, particularly within our own country, differences exist between the various states in respect of Geographical, Economic, Social and to some extent even Cultural factors. Some of these points of difference are of great significance in relation to education. Research therefore should undertake the task of elucidating these differences.

The concept of survey is old and familiar in certain fields of knowledge, such as Geology, Zoology, Geography, Archaeology and Economics, but it is new and has also a different connotation in Education. Unlike other surveys, Educational Surveys cannot rest satisfied with fact finding. The interpretation of facts in terms of the cultural background is of greater importance here than elsewhere. A purposeful educational survey will have to probe into the economic, social, historical, geographical and other significant conditions of the region surveyed. The latest census figures will also constitute an integral part of the survey. And of course a MENTAL SURVEY OF THE BOYS AND GIRLS ATTENDING SCHOOL will be the most significant section of the general Educational Survey. The sole objective of this new type of survey will be to determine whether the educational programmes followed in the region concerned are in vital contact with life situations outside the school, and are exploiting to the full the educative potentialities of the environment in which the children are living.

—[To be concluded.]

THE MALAYAN TANGLE

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

WHETHER war solves or not outstanding problems is controversial. That it creates new ones is however beyond dispute. The current international situation supports the contention.

A problem—rather a series of them—confronts imperialism today. Regions as wide apart as Africa and South East Asia, Egypt and Korea are in turmoil. Each has its peculiar problems. The protest against the *status quo* has taken a different form in each. But the struggles in all the countries in the regions indicated above follow a common pattern. A common thread runs through them all. They are, in the last analysis, determined bids by the down-trodden, exploited and submerged humanity to order its life in its own way. Not a few discern, wrongly no doubt, the communist finger in the pie every where. They hold World Communism responsible for the prevailing unrest in the vast region extending "From the Iberian Peninsula around the Mediterranean littoral, through the entire Moslem world except Turkey...and Israel, on to South East Asia and inhabited by far more than one billion persons." The view that communism is responsible for the unrest today is based on a gross misreading and misinterpretation of history. The following extract from a recent Party Political broadcast of James Griffiths, Colonial Secretary in Mr. Attlee's Labour Cabinet (1945-1950), bears quotation in this connection:—

There are 1600 million peoples in the world whose skins are a different colour from ours. That is twice as many as the whole white population of the globe and all of them are demanding the right to order their own lives in their own way.

The clue to the unrest in Africa—North East and South—in Indo-China and in Malaya, is to be found in the above analysis. Revolutions can never be imposed from above or abroad. They do grow from within.

Every age brings its challenge and the future of a generation is determined by how it responds to the contemporary challenge. Challenge and response are the warp and

woof of the web of history. The future of our planet and of our species hinges today on the manner in which we respond to the greatest challenge of our times—the awakening of disinherited humanity, of countless men, women and children reduced to the position of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in their own lands, lands which are theirs by all accepted canons of equality, justice and morality.

The charming and romantic Malayan Peninsula is ill, very ill and unhappy today. Malaya conjures up a whole association of memories before the mind's eye. Time and again it has played a significant role on the stage of world history. At the grey dawn of history—in about 6,000 B.C. the forbears of the modern Papuans and Australians made their way to Papua and Australia *viz.* Malaya. They were followed 4,000 years later—about 2,000 B.C.—by ancestors of the modern Malayan race from Yunnan in China. They spread over Java, Sumatra and other areas of greater India later on. In historical times Buddhist Shri Vijaya and Hindu Majapahit monarchs dominated the Malayan scene one after another. The crescent and stars from the Arabian desert were implanted on the shores of Malaya in the 15th century of the Christian era. Islam has since remained the dominant creed of the Peninsula.

Malaya came in contact with England for the first time towards the close of the 18th century when Francis Light, an English ship Captain, obtained the lease of Penang from the Sultan of Kedah. The lease proved to be the proverbial thin end of the wedge and the whole Malayan Peninsula became a British Colony in the long run. The new masters of Malaya divided the country into three different parts for their own convenience. These were—(a) the Straits Settlements including Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Nanning and Province Wellesley; (b) in four Federated Malaya States, *viz.* Perak, Selangor, Negri-Sembilan and Pahang; and (c) the

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five unfederated Malaya States, *viz.* Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perlis. The leading strings in all the divisions, needless to say, were in the hands of the British Colonial Office.

Malaya, occupied by Japan in 1942 during World War II, was reoccupied by the Allies in 1945. The English proposed to set up a Union of Malaya, which was to include the whole of the Peninsula with the exception of Singapore. The powers exercised and the privileges enjoyed by the Sultans of Perak, Selangor, Negri—Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perlis were to be abolished. A vigorous agitation against these constitutional proposals led to their withdrawal. A new constitution was drafted by a mixed Committee of Officials and some Malayan members. The Committee recommended the formation of a Federation of Malaya and the retention of Singapore as a separate unit. The recommendation was accepted by the White Hall and the Federation of Malaya was ushered into existence on February 1, 1948. A British High Commissioner is the Chief Executive of the Federation. He is aided by an Executive Council of Official and non-Official Members. Singapore has a separate administrative machinery.

The constitutional changes indicated above fall far below the expectations of the Malayan progressives. The consequent discontent and sense of frustration have found expression in the terroristic activities of the so-called communist bandits, mostly ex-members of the war-time Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army (M. P. A. J. A.) The Chinese settlers in Malaya, the main target of Japanese fury during the war years, constituted the bulk of the Army. Most of them were communists or fellow-travellers. The Allied South East Asia Command (S. E. A. C.) liberally assisted the M. P. A. J. A. with food, weapons and ammunition. The latter believed that the victory of the Allies would be followed by democratic self-Government in Malaya. The hope has been belied and in protest the leftist elements in the country have taken up arms against the Federal Government. The insurrection,

which broke out in June, 1948, is now in its sixth year. The activities of the rebels are limited to banditry and isolated acts of sabotage and terrorism directed against the White planters and Pro-Government elements. They demand self-Government in a United Malaya. Official sources put the strength of the rebels at a few thousands. But the fact that they have held out for more than five years against the limitless resources of the United Kingdom supplemented by those of the United States of America points to one and only one commonsense conclusion. Either the official figures are ridiculously inaccurate or the Malayan people, a considerable section of them at any rate, are behind the rebellion.

The situation in Malaya seems to have been looking up in recent months. At what cost, please? A despatch from Singapore dated March 14, 1953, reveals that since the declaration of an emergency in Malaya in July 1948, 714 Indian settlers and their dependants have been repatriated to India. It states further that under the emergency regulations the Government took into custody 29,828 persons of different races. 26,618 of them have since been released or repatriated. The latter number includes 24,000 Chinese, 129 Indonesians and 12 Ceylonese among others. The Federal Government maintained at the time seven detention and three rehabilitation camps at an annual expenditure of 6,000,000 Straits dollars (approximately Rs. 10,000,000.)

8,000 insurgents and 3,800 Police and military personnel have lost their lives so far. About 4,000 civilians, mostly Chinese, have disappeared and have been killed or wounded by the rebels. More than 200 Indian settlers have lost their lives at the hands of the insurgents. 43 are missing. More than 2,000 insurgents have been captured by the Government forces or have surrendered to them. (The *Statesmen*, Delhi, June 22, 1953).

No Power on earth can hold down a people against its will for all time to come. Malaya is awake. All attempts to stop its onward march to the goal of democratic self-rule are sure to fail in the long run.

MOSSADEQ, ZAHEDI AND THE SHAH

BY SRI S. KANT, M.A.

WHILE singing songs of wine and women, Omar Khayyam could have little imagined that one day it would become difficult for Iran to think of even her daily bread and butter. The entire politics in Iran today hinges on one point only and that is: BREAD. Perhaps, keeping this in view, the Destiny is playing on the Iranian chequer-board with three men as pieces: Mossadeq, Zahedi and the Shah.

The tragedy is certainly the grimest in Iran whose rich oil-wells emit about 3,17,50,000 tons of petroleum per year; yet poverty and famines stalk through the length and breadth of the country. Just to improve the lot of the



DR. MOSSADEQ

common man, Dr. Mossadeq ousted the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and thus succeeded in checking an annual outflow of £ 5,00,00,000. But the oil refineries at Abadan could not function properly without the foreign technicians. Consequently, unemployment increased on one hand and on the other Iran could not get the annual royalty worth £ 80,00,000 which it had been receiving from the British Govern-

ment. The Government employees in Iran were reported to have not received their salaries for such a long period as six months.

There were only two ways open to assuage the public resentment which was mounting higher and higher as the days passed on. The first expedient was to create the means of increased livelihood and the second was to gag public opinion. Obviously, Dr. Mossadeq was helpless in providing jobs to his countrymen, so very unfortunately he chose to turn the Majlis into a rubber stamp. By political jugglery he managed to vacate 50 seats in the Iranian Majlis out of the total of 128. Now the position became like this that Dr. Mossadeq had captured 38 seats whereas his opponents retained only 40 seats. Whenever a resolution of non-confidence in the Mossadeq Government was tabled in the Majlis by the Kashani group, the Doctor would only wink at his followers and they instantly stamped out of the house. The result: no quorum, no proceedings. Dr. Mossadeq did not stop even here, he got the Majlis dissolved after a speedy referendum.

In order to divert public attention from the sorry state of affairs in the country, the Mossadeq Government began to tighten its grip over the Shah Mohammed Raza Pahlevi. They exacted about £2,50,00,000 from him for the development of public works. In a country where hunger nibbled millions of stomachs, such a tiny succour proved to be merely temporary.

Shortly, the wind began to blow in the opposite direction. The people began to suspect Dr. Mossadeq's motives. Would he invite Russia to start their oil refineries, they wanted to know? If not, what did this alliance with the Tudeh Party signify? This popular thinking was secretly spoon-fed by Sayed Ayatullah Kashani and the Shah as well. The reason needs no far fetched elucidations. Kashani, being the head of 250 strong religious sects dreaded the communist influence most for his own existence. The Shah too, could not help

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painting Dr. Mossadeq as a despot intoxicated with power snatched from the royal hands.

The Shah Pahlevi was enthroned in 1941 after his father was made to abdicate by the British. He tried hard to rule his country as a constitutional monarch on the western lines. But the people of Iran did not seem to have cared a fig for the constitutional monarchy. Their army and police are



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not organised by the state but they are actually wooed by the man, who wants himself to be inducted to the high seats of the Government.

At that time when the Anglo Iranian Oil Co. was told to fold its tents in Iran the Shah was, certainly, of the opinion that such a haste would jeopardize the security of his land. Instead of down-right nationalization the company should have been asked to remit a just and equitable royalty. But he had to bow down before Dr. Mossadeq's heady patriotism. When the Shah had his appendix out the critics said crudely and unkindly that the Shah as a result had less guts than before.

Time saw the Shah develop the tendency of compromising with his adversaries. He began to bestow his care on more pleasant pursuits as horse-races, rash driving of his powerful cars and flying of his own royal plane.

To gain control over the rising public tempers, Dr. Mossadeq pulled down Kashani from the speakership of the Iranian Majlis on the 1st July this year. Sayed Ayatullah Kashani is of 70 years of age. Officially only 68 years old, he has a ruthless and fanatic following known as the Fedayane Islam. He had been an erstwhile friend of Mossadeq. In the year 1949, when the Fedayan bullets graced the Shah, he fled the country and returned only recently after his inabsentia election to the speakership of the Majlis. He fell out with Mossadeq a short while ago and since then had mobilised the royalist elements and posed himself as the defender of the Shah.

There is a striking resemblance between the Mullah Kashani and Dr. Mossadeq. They both harbour a strong hatred towards Britain. Kashani's father was killed by the British troops during the first World War on orders from Gen Maud and he himself was thrown out of Iraq's holy places while Britain held the mandatory whip-hand there in the twenties.

Shorn of all power, the Shah could well see his fate when he was made to order the immediate return of his loving sister as soon as she touched the Iranian soil. Under such predicaments, it was but natural that the Shah should proclaim his well-wisher General Zahedi as the prime minister in place of Dr. Mossadeq and fly out of Iran on the 17th August.

While the Shah had been flying over the last chunks of his country a *coup de tat* was staged by the royalist troops but Dr. Mossadeq's vigilance crushed it in the bud. On this occasion writing in an evening newspaper, Dr. Hussein Fatemi backed the communist clamouring for a republic by attacking the "dirty, hated and shameful court" which in the past ten years has the support of the British Embassy.

Everyone in Iran was beside himself with joy on the dramatic escapade of the Shah. They in their ecstasy razed to the ground the marble statues of their erstwhile ruler.

And on the 19th August the news came as a surprise to the world that the Mossadeq

Government had been overthrown by the royalists headed by General Zahedi. The army captured all the Government offices. On the 20th August former premier Dr. Mossadeq was arrested. [The Shah has since ordered trial by Court martial of Mossadeq] Two days afterwards on the 22nd August the Shah returned to his country, saying he already knew that 95 per cent of his people stood behind him.

That 95 per cent populace which was engaged yesterday in demolishing the royal statues, today throngs before the army jail and demands that Mossadeq should be hanged on the gallows. Such is Tehran.

Meanwhile the Zahedi government has established itself comfortably in Iran. The new government hopes to publish its detailed programme in the near future. Meant to be an immediate relief they have declared to increase wages and to distribute medicines free to the poor.

It would be simply puerile to form any opinion about General. Fazollah Zahedi's new Government. The General had long been the Chairman of the Officers Welfare Board. To give him their unqualified support would be the best policy in the interests of these petty army officers who until recently had been cheering Mossadeq's regime. Secondly, Gen. Zahedi comes of a stock

related to the South Iranian tribes. These tribes had offered the Shah the second queen of Iran. Moreover, the new Government can count upon Sayed Ayatullah Kashani and his clique.

The situation in Iran, however, does not provide any indication advantageous to Britain. It is said that during the second World War General Zahedi intrigued with the Germans for throwing the Britishers out. Britain took the wind out of the General's sail by arresting him in time. Zahedi cannot forget the edge of the automatic pistol of Brig. Fitzroy MacLean thrust against his ribs when he was invited to put up his hands. In addition to it, Hussein Makki, the author of the nationalization plan, has promised his support for the new government.

Iran's sole problem today is how to provide her masses with their daily bread. Though supported morally by Islam, Dr Mossadeq could not put into force the prohibition law fearing a loss of nine crores of royals. General Zahedi's government should take care of the situation for its good lest the wine poured down the hungry throats induce them to go mad. Anarchy is the red-light danger for every country which newly wins her freedom. Iran's future will depend on her wisdom by which she defies the state of anarchy.

The Letters of Andre Gide to His Wife*

BY DR. AMARESH DATTA

LETTERS, except when they are rigidly commercial or written with a conscious purpose of display, are haloed by the grace of intimacy. Those written by friends to friends are obviously so and those written to one's wife are so delicately intimate that they can seldom bear the gloating eyes of the public. But with writers, poets and artists it is different. To a reputed author especially with a message or philosophy, letters whether written to friends or wife or beloveds, are yet another artistic medium of expression. Keats writing to his brother or friends spoke often of his poetic creed; and even his letters to Fanny Browne, Mr. Middleton Murry would have us believe, were not mere sentimental effusions of a love-lorn youth. Flaubert writing to Mademoiselle X, dwelt on the agony he had experienced in his restless search for 'le mot propre.' Instances can be multiplied *ad libitum* and even in letters evidently passionate and personal such as those written by Shaw to Allen Terry or Balzac to his sundry beloveds something of the literary grandeur of these writers can be easily traced. Tagore's letters to his wife have nothing secretly domestic about them—they reveal a characteristic aspect of his attitude towards life. Writers' letters are important from yet another point of view. Sometimes they are commentaries on their own works—a passing remark here, a casual observation there may help the readers to understand their writings better. Sometimes again when particularly the author happens to be a novelist or a dramatist and has as such, for art's sake cultivated a spirit of detachment, his letters reveal more explicitly his own personality and outlook on men and things.

But notwithstanding this peculiar importance of letters with regard to literary works, Andre Gide's letters may not seem to be so indispensable for he has his admirable Journals which are autobiography, memoirs of events and ideas, commentaries on his own works and those of other master-writers and

observations on the fundamental human relations all in one. Yet Madame Gide, nee Madeleine Emmanuele Rondeaux, his dear Em, holds a very sacred place in his inner life. He had been in love with this cousin of his long before their marriage which took place on October 8, 1895. It was a personal crisis that brought his Em closer to Gide and therefore, their union had a great spiritual significance to this ruthless and ravaged adventurer in ideas. Just after the death of his mother, Gide writes in his memoir, *IF IT DIE*, "I felt dazed—like a kite whose string has been suddenly cut, like a boat broken loose from its moorings like a drifting wreck at the mercy of wind and tide", but immediately he sees a ray of hope—a definite prop. "There was nothing now" he writes in the very next paragraph, "I could attach myself to but my love for my cousin; my determination to marry her was the only light left to me by which to guide my life—and indeed I felt I loved her more than I loved myself. Our sincerest acts are also the least premeditated—in loving Emmanuele—was it not virtue itself I loved? It was a marriage of Heaven with my insatiable Hell,—I believed I could give her my whole self and did so without any reservation whatever. Shortly after this we became engaged. "It was, therefore, not an ordinary marriage nor this love a mere domestic tie—rather abstracted on the sexual plane but profoundly significant on the spiritual level. It was the coming back of another Peer Gynt to the bosom of a Love in whose hopes and dreams he lived gloriously in the days of his spiritual conflicts, intellectual gloom and cynic despair. Madame Gide died in 1938 and on October 8, of the same year Gide notes down in his Journal: "Anniversary day of my marriage. A day that I made a great point of spending with her, occasionally rushing back from a great distance. During these recent days of anguish I got to the point of ceasing to be sad that she is no longer here; she could not have endured all this—I am gradually

DESTINY

BY HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADYAYA

Time with its secret passes by
Cloaked in a mystery of night.
Between a silence and a cry
Man moves, a shadow towards light.

For every human breath involves
Sky-scaling tragedy and strife
And each one ultimately solves
The packed significance of life.

Lonely we tread from day to day,
Each one a weary shadow-thing;
Our dreams are milestones on the way
Which mark the true awakening.

You have to struggle and to shape
Sheer resurrection from the tomb.—
Escape? Ah, no! there's no escape
Once you have known the mother's womb.

* By courtesy A. I. R. Gauhati—Shillong.

becoming accustomed to the idea of having to live without her, but without her, I am no longer interested in life." All this perhaps sounds very complacent and speaks of a smooth-sailing and flawless conjugal life. In a sense and purely on the human level it was certainly so, but the modern mind, alas! is not blessed with an all-consuming passion for an idea or object and even *les affaires d'amour* to him are subjects of intellection and are only one of the spokes to the crashing wheel that is life. To the critical and searching mind like Gide's this highly-prized love, therefore, is not and cannot be a panacea for life's innumerable problems. Thus even when he was deeply in love with his Em his inseparable companion was the Bible. Thus again he said he gave her his whole self without any reservation whatever, but a greater individualist could seldom be found among writers. And yet again he wrote his dialogues on homosexuality, collected in the form of a book entitled *Corydon* and declared it to be the most important of his works in spite of his dear Em. He put this clash on record in 1930. "It is certain that my love for Em" he writes in his *Journal*, "has greatly withheld my thought, but forcing it constantly to consider what it left behind and yet would have wished to follow along, I believe

that thought gained in depth and breadth what it lost in sharpness and impetus. Moreover, I am not even sure that I should have felt a sufficient need to write such works as *Corydon* or the second part of '*Si Le grain me meurt*'—unless I had been pushed on by so vexing a clash. There is hardly a day on which I do not feel checked by my love, by her thought." Gide could have said like Whitman—

Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
I am large, I contain multitudes,

but on no individual issue could the problem of human existence be finally resolved.

Such is the basic pattern of his conjugal love, perhaps very truly characteristic of our age. If it has succeeded it is due to his broad humanism, but if it failed—and success and failure are matters of interpretation—the cause is inherent in the complexity of our ever-expanding life on this earth. Gide's letters to his wife, now assuring and confident, then speculative and searching bring into prominence on the one hand the personality of the most courageous Jason of our time and on the other that of a woman, lovely and loving who had the rare power to inspire and sustain.



SMT. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT
Elected President, U. N. Assembly.



SRI CHANDULAL M. TRIVEDI
Appointed Governor of Andhra.

SOLAR UTILITIES, POWER AND LIGHT

BY SRI KAILASH CHANDRA AGRAWAL

—:o:—

HAVE you ever thought how much rain falls over the entire world in a year? I have just been looking up reliable figures and find that the average rainfall for the whole earth is 32 inches per annum. If this amount fell at one time, it would flood the entire globe with a sheet of water nearly 3 feet deep. The weight of this amount of water is 480 million million tons.

All of this must have originally evaporated from lakes, rivers and oceans, have been lifted to a cloud height of some 4000 feet, and dropped again as rain. To carry on this gigantic irrigation enterprise requires the expenditure of 220 million horse-power continuously throughout the year. So far as we know, this irrigation system has been at work for the benefit of mankind thousands and millions of years. Where is the pumping station with a capacity sufficient to carry this on year after year? The answer is, of course, the sun; yet only a very small amount of solar energy reaching the earth is consumed in running this rain-making machinery.

The greater part of solar radiation is used in heating and lighting the earth. The sun is the greatest utility company by which mankind is benefited. Think of the light and heat that come to us every day from the sun without a thought or consideration on our part as to the source of supply.

Have you ever stopped to consider what it would cost to light the world with sunshine if we had to pay for it? It has been remarked that every square yard of the earth's surface directly exposed to the sun receives on the average 1-1½ horsepower. We pay our electric light bills in terms of kilowatt-hours. If we think of the sunshine as a public utility, we might say that every square yard on which the sun shines is receiving from the Solar Power Company 1½ kilowatts continuously.

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Suppose we had to pay for the light—from the sun for an average 12 hour day of daylight. The bill for but a single day would amount to about 13 million million rupees even at the low rate of 4 as. per kilowatt-hour in our country.

If the sun were to dispatch to the Union Government the light bill for the Indian Republic for one year, it would call for a budget for illumination and heat of nearly 4745 million million rupees. This is a figure which reduces to relative insignificance the yearly Central Budget of some 7 thousand million rupees. Fortunately for us, Nature provides the sun's light and heat gratis and no Member of Parliament has yet attached a rider to any revenue bill calling for a tax on sunshine.

Such examples give us a little idea of the enormous amount of energy coming from the sun. Yet we on the earth are tapping but a very small part of the energy generated in the Solar Powerhouse. The earth itself can consume only ½ billionth of the amount of energy being generated and radiated by the sun. You see, the sun sends out its heat and light in all directions, and for every ray which strikes this tiny earth, 93 million miles away from the sun, two billion rays of sunshine appear to be lost in space, except for the few trickles that are intercepted by the other planets.

Knowing how much of the sun's energy strikes the earth and the small proportional amount which it intercepts, one can easily calculate the total output from the Solar Powerhouse. It is 343,000,000,000,000,000 (343 x 10¹⁵) kilowatts. The solar dynamos are running at full tilt and at continuous service.

Where is the fuel supply that keeps this power company in operation? Life on the earth during the past, present, and future is so dependent for its well-being upon this constant amount of

sunshine that we may well be interested as to how long the Solar Power Company may remain solvent and whether any shutdown is imminent while human beings continue to inhabit this planet Earth. Meanwhile, we are impressed with the apparent waste of the sun's natural resources so far as any use to mankind is concerned. Some day undoubtedly the sun will give out, but we are quite powerless to conserve any of its enormous waste for any future needs.

Millions of years ago sunshine provided the energy for growing the vast tropical forests of the Carboniferous era. It is the Carbon in those taller tree trunks that we are mining to-day in the form of coal, the chief source of fuel for our own public utilities. Boilers and generators turn this coal into light and power. Thus nature has stored in those primitive forests buried underground unthinkable calories of "canned" sunshine that brightens our highways and illuminates our buildings during the long wintry nights when the sun is below the horizon. So the sunshine of the past is being brought literally to light again. The ultraviolet light of our health lamps fed by electric current is again directly traceable to the sunshine of those days when the dinosaurs roamed through vast tropical forests, millions of years before they began advertising "Sinclair oils."

If we live where we obtain our electric current from utility companies operating solely by waterpower, we do not dodge the issue of our debt to the Solar Power Company. It is the radiation from the sun that transforms the water of the ocean, lakes, and streams into the ascending water vapour that condenses into clouds and falls in rain, feeding mountain streams, rivers, and the rushing torrents that turn the grant turbines of the hydroelectric power plants. All power companies are but subsidiaries of the Solar Power Company. If they use coal or oil for fuel they are drawing from the capital of sunshine stored in hidden vaults during the Carboniferous era. If they are hydroelectric plants, they are utilizing the sunshine of today and turning it into

electricity. For millions of years the parent company has been supplying the earth with its energy to the extent of 230 million million horsepower. At the quoted price of 4 as. per kilowatt-hour, the total indebtedness of the earth to the sun since the dawn of civilization has amounted to nearly 1,360,000,000,000,000,000 (136 x 10¹⁹) rupees. How fortunate we do not have to create bond issues for taking care of the accumulated deficit!

How long the Solar Power Company can continue to operate depends upon its source of supply, and to answer this question we must avail ourselves of the best guesses of science.

There have been many hypotheses to account for the maintenance of the sun's radiation. One thing is certain, the sun is not a burning furnace where combustion takes place. Strange as it may seem, the sun is too hot to burn. Burning is an oxidation process. The temperature of the sun, with the possible exception of the interior of sun-spots, is far too hot to allow oxygen to combine with any other element. In sun-spots, where the temperature is somewhat lower than the rest of the sun's surface, there is indication that oxygen does combine with some other elements. Were the sun composed of the hardest anthracite coal and were its temperature such that it could burn under ideal conditions, calculations show that it could not have kept up its present output of light and heat for more than 1500 years. Life could have scarcely gotten started on the planet with such a paucity of fuel supply.

In any man-operated power plant the source of fuel invariably comes from outside. Perhaps this is the reason why some scientists long held that matter must be coming into the sun from the outside to keep up its present output. The only known matter which comes to the earth from outside space consists of meteors. With this in mind, scientists once postulated that meteors falling into the sun were the chief source of its heat and light supply. Fortunately, however, this idea could be checked against experience. If meteors fall into the sun in any sufficient

number to be an appreciable source of fuel, many more meteors should be striking the earth on their way to the sun than have been found to do so from observations. It has been estimated that 400 tons of meteoric matter fall on the earth in a year. But as the earth can stop only $\frac{1}{4}$ billionth of such material falling into the sun, one would expect that two billion times the amount of meteoric matter falling to the earth would be plunging into the sun in a year. Even so, calculations show that the amount of energy released from this source would be so entirely insignificant a source of fuel supply that the sun could not possibly have kept up its present rate of radiation for more than 10,000 years on any such basis.

With the failure of tangible evidence for an outside fuel supply, astronomers began to turn their thoughts to the interior of the sun as the source of its own energy. Scientists know that although the sun is largely gaseous, the material of which it is composed is continually being drawn closer and closer together pressing inward to the interior as the result of the sun's gravitational attraction. As far back as 1854, Helmholtz applied this idea to calculating the amount the sun would have to shrink in order to keep up its present rate of output. His calculations showed that only 200 ft. of shrinkage per year were necessary. As this is too small an amount to be observed from the earth even with the most powerful telescope, one could not say whether he was right or wrong.

If, however, it is the shrinking of the sun which is responsible for its source of light and heat, one wonders how long the sun could have been shrinking at such a rate. This, too, is calculable. It was found that at the foregoing rate of shrinkage the sun could have kept up the present rate of radiation for 10 million years but hardly more than that. Meanwhile, geologists, calculated from the rate of deposits of salt in the sea and the formation of sedimentary rocks in the earth that the earth must have been receiving solar energy at the present rate for at least 100 million years. More recently, through

measurements of the rate of the radioactivity taking place in the earth's crust, it has been found that the earth's age is more nearly 20 times this earlier estimate. So, however intriguing the picture of a shrinking sun supplying light and heat, the contraction theory of Helmholtz has "gone with the wind" along with the meteoric hypothesis. Neither has contributed adequately to the picture of what keeps the solar engines going.

Our best guess now is that the source of energy is within the atoms of which the sun is composed. The two simplest atoms which we know anything about are those of hydrogen and helium. Hydrogen is a high explosive gas while helium is an inert non-explosive gas. Four hydrogen atoms constitute the necessary building material for one helium atom with just a bit of energy left over.

It appears probable that within the hot interior of the sun and the stars, the transmutation of hydrogen into helium is continually taking place, thus releasing an enormous amount of heat from the surplus energy left over from each combination of four hydrogen atoms as they form one helium atom.

Here, then, is a thought for the mysterious supply of solar energy. Every time four little hydrogen atoms make a helium atom, one per cent. of their weight is liberated as energy. On such a hypothesis, the sun could have well kept up its present radiation from as far back in geologic time as we have any reason to consider. Of course the sun is constantly losing weight in the process. This loss of weight has been calculated to be 4,200,000 tons every second, but we scarcely need worry just yet about this fuel supply being exhausted while the sun still has 2,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 (2 x 10²⁷) tons of matter left in it!

THE YOUNG IDEA

Teacher: "What was Washington noted for?"
Johnny: "His memory."

Teacher: "What makes you think his memory was so great?"

Johnny: "They erected a monument to it."

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE MAN AND HIS MISSION

BY SRI P. RAJESWARA RAO

IT is nearly five years since Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, the high priest of Indian Art, passed away from mortality to immortality. In order to have a comprehensive view of his eminence it is necessary to look at his life in the proper perspective. This son of Ceylonese father and English mother inherited oriental imagination and occidental thoroughness. His father Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy Mudaliar was a scholar



DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

and a barrister coming from an ancient Tamil family. He was also a Member of the Legislative Council in the middle of the last century and he was the first knight in Asia. His mother Miss Kentish belonged to a notable English family. Thus in Coomaraswamy the idealism of the East and the intense practicalism of the West were harmoniously blended. Though he returned to Ceylon at the age of 25 as the Director of Mineralogical Survey, he quickly discovered himself and his mission.

Till then he had no idea of the oriental heritage. His upbringing and education were out and out Western like that of Sri Aurobindo. He was well versed in Greek and Latin long before he knew Sanskrit and Pali. He got a Doctorate for his researches in Natural Science (Botany and Geology.) In spite of this unhelpful background—he made up the leeway by colossal strides. He clearly perceived the damage caused to oriental culture by the indiscriminate imposition of Western civilization. His conviction cost him his career. He gladly gave up his job and spontaneously and wholeheartedly devoted himself to the serious study of Indian Art, Culture, Literature and Philosophy. His first wife Ethel Mary, a German lady was a marvellous companion in the work. His monumental work, "Mediaeval Sinhalese Art" was produced with her co-operation. His second wife Ratandevi did the work on Indian songs. Srimati Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy, a savant from Argentina who was more a chela than a wife, assisted him in his later day work with sympathy and co-operation. In this civilization it takes two to make marriage successful. Evidently children are not enough.

Besides, he was an accomplished linguist well versed in English, French, German, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Pali and Hindi. He also knew something of Italian, Spanish, Ice landic, Dutch, Persian and Sinhalese. Above all he had a long vision, a keen perception, a rare balance of judgment and an impersonal attitude towards things. Gentle in speech, perfect in manners and unruffled by any hostile criticism, tall, of aquiline features and of distinguished bearing he wore European clothing, but always with a turban. His thoughtful eyes, his impressive beard, his sensitive nose and fingers—all these symbolised the scholar. He lived a pucca Hindu life in America. Not a day passed without his brow being adorned by the brilliant sandal paste and kumkum.

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DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

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Thus he chose to reside in Western land to serve the East better.

He saw around him a hybrid culture fast taking roots and transforming the fairy East into a colourless Eurasia. In this connection he travelled extensively in Europe and Eastern countries gathering material for his life-work. In 1917 he was appointed as a Research Fellow in Indian, Persian and Muhammadan Art at the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston and later became the Curator of the section of Indian and Far Eastern Art, where he remained as such till he retired a month prior to his passing away. He was justly regarded as one of the greatest scholars in that field. Under his guidance the Boston Museum acquired choicest collections on Eastern Arts, which have come to be regarded as the most important in the world.

His mission was to interpret the Hindu civilization of old to modern Hindu society so that it could help their cultural revival. While E. B. Havell spoke in terms of abstract philosophy and Vincent Smith was only a dry chronicler, Dr. Coomaraswamy was the real esthete (Rasagna) of high order. While supporting the Swadeshi Movement he pleaded for revival of our ancient arts and crafts and pleaded for avoiding cheap imitation of Western Industrialism. He put forth a strong plea for National Education and invariably stressed on spiritual and cultural values. He advocated a principled, orderly and integrated life of joy and beauty and praised development of personality over acquisition of knowledge. Thus the Indian Renaissance was completely summed up and expressed in him.

Referring to the Brahminical caste system he dared to maintain that, "it is the nearest approach that has yet been made towards a society, where there shall be no attempt to realise a competitive equality, but where all interests are regarded as identical." To those who admit variety of age in the human souls this must appear to be the only true communism. One cannot alter suddenly his subconscious heritage. Democracy is not standardising of every

one so as to obliterate all peculiarity. We cannot put our souls in uniform. Freedom consists in making the best of what we have, our parentage, physical, capacity and mental gifts. Evidently, "the institution of caste illustrates the spirit of comprehensive synthesis, characteristic of the Hindu mind with its faith in the collaboration of races and co-operation of cultures," as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan epigrammatically put it. Though it developed later into an instrument of oppression and intolerance and tended to perpetuate inequality and developed exclusiveness, originally it was the outcome of tolerance and trust.

He deeply deplored that "a single generation of English Education succeeded in breaking the threads of tradition and created nondescript and superficial beings deprived of roots—a sort of intellectual pariahs belonging neither to the East nor the West, the past nor future." He even warned that "Our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect, because they have yet to 'discover' India; they have not realised that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture, but an organised barbarism, and political pandemonium." Though Macaulay's method of education has come to its natural end it will take many long years yet for Indians to recover their spontaneity. He emphasised plain living and high thinking. Easy and pleasant life made possible by modern science is not the essence of civilization. It is a living spirit and not a mechanical apparatus. He has shown how absurd it is to exalt the economic man by ignoring the common man in every man, how very suicidal to attempt to live by bread alone and how disastrous to embark on rudderless voyage under the illusion that it is progress. We are not a rootless people deriving fickle inspiration from transient fashions. Nations like individuals become great not by what they gather but by what they give away. When the culture that we know and propose to restore was alive, learned men of foreign countries came in large numbers even though the

communications were primitive and the means of transport almost none, to study in India. Therefore, "the measure of our culture" as Dr. Coomaraswamy observed "is not that of our ability to learn new tricks but that of what we have to give."

He regarded Indian women as the best conservators of our culture since they have not yet been "brought up to date." His observation that "literacy in the modern world of Magazines and newspapers is no guarantee of culture whatever, and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read" is significant. Indian women well versed in the lore of Ramayana and Mahabharata, working selflessly for the joint family, may be unlettered but are not uncultured. Literacy is not education and education is not culture. Writing on the future of Indian women he pleaded that "it would be worth while to pause before we make haste to emancipate, that is to say, reform and industrialise the oriental woman. For it is not for Asia alone that she preserves a great tradition in our age that is otherwise preoccupied. If she should be persuaded to expend her powers upon externals, there might come a time on earth when it could not be believed that such woman had ever lived as the ancient poets describe. It would be forgotten that woman had ever been unselfish, sensuous and shy."

His contribution to the elucidation of the various facets of Indian Art was monumental. We have no doubt a good number of artists and art-critics, undoubtedly famous, great in their own way, but small in stature when compared to Dr. Coomaraswamy. "Occasionally", says the Italian historian Vasary, "Heaven bestows upon a single individual beauty, grace and ability so that whatever he does, every action is so divine that he distances all and clearly displays how his genius is the gift of God and not an acquirement." It was evident in Dr. Coomaraswamy whose genius could not be exaggerated and whose abilities were so extraordinary that he could readily interpret every aspect of Indian Art in the most original way.

The tremendous upsurge of awakening of art and thought in India had its impetus from him. He was actively associated with a number of learned bodies in the East and the West. He urged the Indian students going abroad for studies not to lose their culture, tradition and individuality; but to act as the accredited representatives of their country. His contribution to Indian Renaissance was unique and can be favourably compared with the combined contribution of Western savants, like E. B. Havel, Fergusson, Sir John Marshall, Percy Brown and others. He was without a peer as a scholar among Orientalists. It would be a discovery if one could find another like him any where whose studies and publications cover as wide a range and at the same time as numerous in quantity, as excellent in quality. His interpretation of the various facets of our heritage was classic alike for imagination, originality, dignity of phrasing and loftiness of thought. He took no sectional or compartmental view of life. He was noted for creative thinking and there was invaluable matter in whatever he said. He combined in himself the dignity of a master and the humility of a disciple.

We are told that when the springs of experience dry up culture becomes an affection, belief a dogma and behaviour a habit. But he had the faith and the vision to apprehend spirituality in our heritage. He did not hesitate to subordinate intellect to intuition, in spite of the fact that he was brilliant beyond words. He preferred inward realisation to outward experience. He demonstrated that our beliefs primarily intended to foster and promote spiritual life or in accordance with nature and the laws of the world of reality. His theories are not so much dogmatic dicta as transcripts from life. He was truly a perfected soul and reminds us of Valmiki, Vyasa, Vachaspati and Vidyanayana the greatest savants of antiquity. Above all his interpretation was inspired.

While alive he secured a place in history. For the fourteenth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica he contributed

eight articles on Oriental Art. Up to its thirteenth edition this publication ignored Indian and Asian Art. He was also invited to write to the National Encyclopedia of America on Eastern Art. In the fitness of things he was called upon to edit Words of Indian Origin for Webster's New International Dictionary. He produced the monumental work "Myths of Hindus and Buddhists" in collaboration with Sister Nivedita. He wrote his earliest work on Indian Dancing "Mirror of Gestures" with the help of Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakrishnayya. He covered Oriental Art and Culture region by region, period by period and piece by piece. It is no exaggeration to say that he reigned supreme in the realm of Oriental Art with regal dignity and utter simplicity. His supremacy had something like the authority of a natural element. He was the finest follower of Oriental culture and radiated fragrance far and wide. It is no wonder that the whole world bowed in rapt veneration before him.

Dr. Coomaraswamy was so immersed in his work that he never expressed himself in a reminiscent mood and indeed very little is known to the outside world about his private life. He was modest to the point self-effacement. His stock reply to any enquiry about his personal life was, "anything personal, anything to do with my own life must not intrude in my work, it would be 'Aswargya' to allow such things any space.....Not I, the I that I am, but He, is the part in me that should interest you". It may be of pathetic interest to note that Narada his son by Ratandevi who showed signs of becoming a great Novelist was killed in an aeroplane crash. His daughter Rohini who is an expert musician is lost to the East being under the spell of the West. Fortunately his widow Mrs. Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy proved to be a true Ardhangi and a veritable Saha-dharmacharini. In the fitness of things she has undertaken the task of editing several books that Dr. Coomaraswamy had almost finished and are nearly ready for publication. Their son Rama aged 21 is studying at Harvard.

Though Dr. Coomaraswamy was no politician in the usual sense of the word, he closely followed India's fortunes with interest and scrutinised the currents and cross-currents of her political activities. He lived to witness the dawn of Indian Freedom and even expressed a desire to retire and lead a Vanaprastha's life in Tibet or at the foot of the Himalayas. Besides, he left instructions to take his ashes to Benaras, to return them to holy Ganga. Though he is physically no more, he will live long through his writings and generations yet unborn will cherish his memory with pride and pleasure. His books and booklets, monographs and monumental works number nearly sixty. Incidentally his mission came to an end with his attaining the Biblical age of three scores of ten. In his death India and the East had lost the ablest and the best exponent of Art, Literature and Philosophy. His death can justly be classed as a national calamity since his guidance is most needed at this juncture. The best and quite appropriate way of honouring his memory would be to get all his works translated into the principal Indian and Asian Languages and institute professorial chairs on Art at the various Universities.



Carl Sandburg, noted American poet, biographer and novelist, was widely acclaimed on his 75th birthday.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

IN DEFENCE OF GREY HAIRS

Most of the arguments about the respective merits of youth and age are rather foolish, said Robert Lynd; but if we must have such arguments, Logan Pearsall Smith, who thought of his own youth as a time of ignorance and folly, has written a pretty passage which might be quoted in defence of grey hairs.

The debt of our civilization to the ancient Greeks is, of course, beyond all calculation, but in one respect we have no cause to thank them. Their adoration of the youthful human form, in contrast to the Eastern idealization of venerable age, has put a kind of blight on human life; our progress, as we grow older, in wisdom and humanity is thought of in terms of the physical decay which accompanies that luminous advance. We feel ashamed, instead of feeling proud, like the Chinese, of our accumulating years; we are always trying in vain to seem younger than we really are; and in our Western world it is by no means a compliment, as it is in the wise East, to attribute to others a greater age than their appearance might suggest.....our bones are ripening, it is true, for their ultimate repose, but how small a price after all, is that to pay for the knowledge we have acquired of the world and men, for the splendid panorama of literature and the arts which years of travel and study have unrolled before us, and above all for those adequate conceptions in whose possession, according to Spinoza's wisdom, true felicity consists.

FAREWELL

Look thy last on all things lovely,
Every hour. Let no night
Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
Till to delight.

Thou have paid thy utmost blessing;
Since that all things thou wouldst praise
Beauty took from those who loved them
In other days.

—Walter de la Mare.

THE MACHINE

A Machine is a great moral educator. If a horse or a donkey won't go, men lose their tempers and beat it; if a machine won't go, there is no use beating it. You have to think and try till you find what is wrong. That is real education.

The machine, furthermore, has made the present generation of average men more careful and conscientious than would have been thought possible in the Middle Ages. Just think of the millions of engines, motors and airplanes which are set going every day with human lives depending on them. Think of the millions of workmen who, as a matter of course, look over these machines daily and see that their innumerable parts are in order. And we, the public, trust our lives to them without further thought, trusting that among all those workmen no one will have made any important mistake. That is a thing which fills me with wonder.

—Gilbert Murray in *The Listener*.

WORK BEFORE EVERYTHING

Every man worthy of the name puts his work before everything else in the world—even above the woman he loves. If she tries to lure him from his responsibilities so that he may devote himself entirely to her he may allow it in the beginning, but not without acute remorse; and the day will come when he will belong to the woman who puts more craft into her game.

—Andre Maurois in "This Week Magazine."

FOR EVER YEARNING

The stomach is the only part of a man which can be fully satisfied. The yearning of man's brain for new knowledge and experience and for pleasanter and more comfortable surroundings never can be completely met.

—Thomas Edison.

SOWING AND REAPING

The law of sowing and reaping is concisely put in the aphorism:

Sow a thought and reap a habit,
Sow a habit and reap a character,
Sow a character and reap a destiny.

GANDHIJI AND LINCOLN

ON October 2, the world commemorates the birthday of Gandhiji. When Americans think of Gandhiji they think also of Abraham Lincoln. Many people of India make a similar identification of the two great leaders.

The former American Ambassador to India, Mr. Chester Bowles, has written of that feeling in these words:



Gandhiji as he appeared in Madras in 1915 soon after his return from South Africa.

"It is not difficult to understand why Abraham Lincoln, probably more than any other figure of American history, has won the reverence of Indians as he has won that of his own countrymen. The qualities that made him great were qualities on which Indians have always placed the highest value.

"He was a man of great wisdom, but it was not merely the wisdom of the intellect; it was the wisdom of the heart and soul, of compassion, and patience and tolerance, and understanding.

He was a man of indomitable courage, but it was not the courage of bravado and pride; it was the courage of spirituality, the courage that comes from faith in God and devotion to Truth and Justice.

This is the man whose birthday we Americans commemorate on February 12. In doing so, we gratefully acknowledge the God that gave him to us, for the qualities that made him a great American would obviously have benefited any country in which he might have been born. They were not American qualities; they were qualities of universal greatness.

Yet, the birth of such a man is only the beginning; he can only rise to greatness if the moral, political and social climate is favourable... if his spirit is, in essence, the spirit of his people.

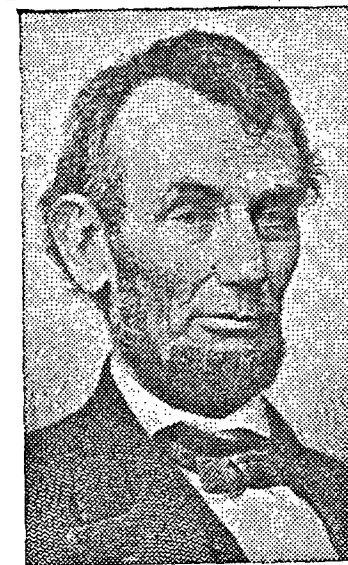
Gandhiji could only have arisen in India, so Abraham Lincoln could only have arisen in America."

That tribute by Mr. Bowles was made on the occasion of Lincoln's birthday. These are some of the words of Abraham Lincoln...

Let us have faith that Right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.

If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent."



Abraham Lincoln, 16th President of the United States, from an engraving of a photograph by Matthew Brady, Civil War photographer.

Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy."

"I know there is a God, and that he hates injustice and slavery.... If he has a place and work for me, and I think he has, I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but Truth is everything."



SRI T. PRAKASAM
Chief Minister, Andhra State.

Courtesy: Sunday Times

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The 29th State

AMIDST scenes of rejoicings and festivities appropriate to the occasion the new Andhra State was inaugurated by Prime Minister Nehru on October 1. Andhras who have played a distinguished part in the freedom struggle under Gandhiji have now before them fresh opportunities of service, even more arduous and inspiring than before. The eleven districts of the new State cover an area of some 63,000 square miles with a population of just over 20,000,000. In the limited field of their own new State, work of more intensive nature awaits them. There are vast tracts of fertile land watered by such life-giving rivers like the Krishna and Godavari. There are also areas of potential wealth waiting to be tapped by resourceful Andhras of enterprise and industry. Thus the State, for all its deficit budget at the moment, has all the making of a thoroughly viable and prosperous future.

Andhras are a gifted race and there is no lack of courage or statesmanship among them. In Governor Trivedi they have an administrator of rich experience and sympathetic understanding of the people and problems of the new State. And then their beloved leader, Prakasam, the 84 year old Nestor of Andhra politics, is there to guide them with courage and wisdom. Sri Prakasam quickly perceived the greatness of the occasion and rightly responded to the call of the State in preference to the demands of the Party. Some credit for this should go to Rajaji too for he made no secret of his conviction that if Presidential rule was to be averted in the new-born State the only way of doing it would be to put it in the charge of Prakasam, the indispensable national hero of the Andhras.

It is now for Andhras under his lead to mould their State nearer to their hearts' desire. And then in Mr. Pulla Reddi, their Chief Secretary, they have an

officer of proved ability and experience who can be trusted to make the best of the talent available in Andhra. Now that the new State is an accomplished fact even those who on principle were opposed to linguistic States, have nothing but goodwill for the Andhras and their State. The new State comes into being backed by the enthusiasm of earnest Andhras and with the best wishes of their fellow citizens in Madras, and indeed throughout the Union. Citizens all over the country join in warmly felicitating the Andhras on this happy occasion. They wish the foundations of the new State to be well and truly laid.

Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar

A lawyer and jurist of great eminence has passed away in the death of Dr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, one of the main architects of the Indian Constitution. Brilliant and versatile as an advocate he typified the best traditions of the Madras bar dominated in the past by such giants of the profession as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, V. Krishnaswami Aiyer and S. Srinivasa Iyengar. With no money and little social connections he had an uphill task in the beginning but his stout heart and perseverance and his natural gifts of advocacy won him the highest honours and emoluments of a career which engaged his talents for full five and forty years. Dr. Alladi endeared himself, above all, to his numerous friends and the young men of the profession by setting an example of a simple and austere life of unfailing courtesy and generosity.

But it was the part he played in the making of our Union Constitution that was at once the last and the most memorable of his contributions to the State. His vast learning and knowledge of Constitutional law, his ripe wisdom and experience, he placed unreservedly at the service of the nation, in spite of failing health. His death at the age of 70 is thus more than a loss to the profession, it is a national loss deeply mourned by the country at large.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who was elected President of the United Nations General Assembly has the distinction of being the first woman to be accorded this great honour. Certain factors in the election have invested the Assembly's choice with more than usual importance. Apart from her personal merit the fact that she represents India, and that the Indian standpoint in world affairs does count in the counsels of the nations are factors of no little significance. It must be remembered that Mrs. Vijayalakshmi herself, while fully conscious of the great dignity and the high responsibilities of the office, seldom indulged in the usual electioneering campaign. She left it to the Assembly's free choice and the verdict is one that has given general satisfaction to most of the members of this international body.

Whether it is an honour bestowed on India or amends made for denying her a place in the Korean Peace Conference, there is no doubt the choice is unexceptionable and appropriate.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi has done signal service to this country both at home and abroad. She is perhaps the senior-most in point of service to the United Nations itself, her association with this world organisation going back to the Second Session of the Assembly and unofficially to the San Francisco Foundling Conference. And then as leader of the Indian delegation in the present Session her choice is a graceful compliment to India which has played a significant and even a leading part in international affairs under the guidance of her brother, Prime Minister Nehru. She herself viewed her election as "a tribute to her country and a recognition of her (India's) profound desire to serve the purposes of the United Nations." She also regarded her choice as "a recognition of the part that women have played and are playing" in furthering the aims and purposes of the United Nations. Above all it is a personal honour richly deserved.

Estate Duty Bill

The House of the People unanimously passed the Estate Duty Bill, designed to bring about a non-violent social revolution in the country. The House which was critical of every clause of the Bill in the early stages of the discussion generously approved the measure.

Praises were heaped on the Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh, by members of all parties for the manner in which he had piloted the Bill.

The only important change that was introduced in the Bill during the three-week debate, was the raising of the exemption limit of Rs. 75,000 to Rs. one lakh.

Charting out the objective of the Bill, Sri Deshmukh, in his reply to the third-reading debate, said that the aims of Government in introducing the Bill were two-fold: to bridge the existing social gulf due to inequality in the distribution of wealth, and to help the States in raising funds to finance their development project.

"In the context of our needs," the Minister said, "the addition to our resources that this measure will achieve, will not, perhaps, be significant. But I expect in the long run the socio-economic consequences will be more important than the financial results."

Conspicuous luxury, he added, which was the concomitant of inequalities of wealth would diminish or be discouraged as a result of this measure.

Agreeing with the fear expressed by some critics of the Bill that it would break up large estates, Sri Deshmukh averred:

I am not alarmed by this. I think that is a consummation devoutly to be wished:

I do not expect capital formation, as we progress, from the rich. I expect capital formation which in its essence is saving of the common man for the good of the common man from the common man."

The enthusiasm which the House showed at the end of the debate was in a measure largely due to the tact and moderation evinced by the Finance Minister.

Malanism Rampant in S. A.

Replying to a short-notice question in the House of the People on the possibility of 900 Indian-born wives and children of South African Indians in Durban facing deportation, Prime Minister Nehru said that the Government of India had lodged a protest with the South African Government against the Immigrants Regulation Amendment Bill banning the entry into South Africa of Indian women married to South African nationals of Indian origin. Mr. Nehru said that no reply had so far been received.

"It will be noticed", said Mr. Nehru, that the Bill makes provision for the entry of wives and children from marriage or union entered into on or before February 10, 1953. It is also understood that the very large majority of the Indian-born wives who have recently entered South Africa will be covered by this provision.

The Prime Minister gave broad details of the Bill, which was introduced by the Malan Government in the South African Parliament on September 3. The effects of the South African Bill, said Mr. Nehru, were as follows:

No wife of a marriage contracted after February 10, 1953, and children from that marriage will be entitled to enter South Africa. Those few who have already entered would have to leave unless the Minister of the Interior makes a special order in their favour.

The wife of a marriage contracted on or before February 10, 1953, will be able to enter upto February 10, 1954, but not thereafter.

Children of marriage contracted on or before February 10, 1953, and born on or before February 10, 1954, will be able to enter upto February 10, 1956, but not thereafter. A child born after February 10, 1954, even though its mother has the right of entry upto February 10, 1956, will not be allowed to come.

That right of entry at any time of a person whose parents are domiciled in the Union at the time of his birth and who is brought to the Union within three years is taken away. Such a person born before February 10, 1954 of a marriage contracted before February 10, 1953, will be able to enter or re-enter only upto February 10, 1956.

Children of parents domiciled in, but born outside, the Union after February 10, 1954, will not be admitted. If a couple of Indian origin goes on a visit to any place outside South Africa and a child is born to them there, the child will have no right of entry in the Union. Children domiciled in but born outside South Africa, proceeding abroad and overstaying the period of three years, will lose the right of re-entry. If a wife domiciled in, but not born in the Union proceeds abroad and overstates the

period of three years she will lose the right of re-entry.

All kinds of difficulties are thus being placed upon Indians. The idea is to cut them off completely from the country of their origin in which they are accustomed to spend long holidays. At the same time the Department of the Interior is asking people of Indian origin to fill up long questionnaires as a preliminary apparently to the issue of identity cards. The Transvaal Indian Congress, "true to the traditions of Mahatma Gandhi, has asked these people not to fill in the forms circulated by the Department."

Thus the Malan Government is going ahead with its *apartheid*, in spite of U.N. disapproval or world protest. It is a challenge to civilised society and it is to be seen how world statesmen will react to it.

Universities and Students

In a statement on recent developments in some Universities Prime Minister Nehru said that something is radically wrong with the running of the universities. He appealed for urgent action by educationists to deal with the problem. He said:

We are all to blame for this situation, and we have all to pull together if our educational system is not to go pieces with all the evil consequences that it will bring about.

If it is necessary to change this system completely, he added,

let us do so. But in no event can we look passively at the rapid deterioration of what is meant to be a training ground in character, discipline, co-operative endeavour, knowledge, and if I may say so, a place to acquire a little bit of wisdom.

Referring to the basis of the student agitation—union membership—which led to strikes and closure of the two universities, Mr. Nehru criticised the system of compulsory membership and said the unions should be voluntary and should have full freedom, within limits, to function as they like.

A university union is not a trade union of industrial workers and yet, apparently, that is the viewpoint of some students who function exactly as if they were working in a factory, going on strike, forming action committees and the like. "That is not my conception of a university union or of student life in a university."



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY, 501, Madison Ave, New York, 22 U.S.A.

We have received another batch of 'Signet' and 'Mentor' books designed to instruct and entertain the lover of letters. Edith Hamilton's MYTHOLOGY draws freely from widely different sources—Greek, Roman and Norse. The book which has even sections deals with adventures of the heroes of old, half human and half divine. Edith Hamilton has retold the classic myths for modern readers in a pleasant and attractive way.

THOMAS JAFFERSON ON DEMOCRACY contains the essence of the American Statesman's political philosophy, judiciously selected from his letters and private papers, and edited by Paul K. Padover. Now Jafferson consciously abstained from a systematic exposition of his views on politics and society for obvious reasons. "He measured his public utterances with a view to achieving a maximum of political effect." Mr. Padover has done a fine job in presenting under suitable headings, the essence of Jafferson's mature thoughts on democracy and kindred themes.

AN AMERICAN DREAM GIRL is a complete and unabridged edition of James T. Farrell's exciting stories ranging in scene from Chicago and New York to Paris. Every-day occurrences and commonplace men and women glow with the light of adventure in some of these stories. Human ambition and frailty, the burgeoning of love and desire, comic dilemma and satire and tragedy all the emotions and conflicting passions are depicted with vivid realism. Here are also stories like "A coincident" "Literary love" or "Johnny's old man" with a realism as stark and devastating as in Zola or Maupassant.

Raymond Radiguet wrote DEVIL IN THE LESH when he was only 17 and he died at 20. Like Chatterton and Rimbaud he was an infant prodigy; and Aldous Huxley in his introduction pays a well-merited tribute to this precious youth who was already ripe in experience and the wisdom of life that comes only

of age. When one remembers the author's age one cannot but endorse what Huxley says so well, that it is a book, "extraordinary in being so mature so finished and so complete." It has about it, "a direction, a swiftness and a simplicity—all the qualities in a word that we expect to find only in the work of the ripest and most experienced artists."

THE RELIGION OF AN ARTIST. By Rabin-dranath Tagore, Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 2, College Square, Calcutta.

This essay consists of two sections—the first mainly autobiographical delivered as a lecture in China in 1924 and the second published originally in the *Visva Bharati Quarterly* in 1926 under the title "Meaning of Art."

Besides its autobiographical interest the essay discusses how in his case art merges in religion. "My religion is a poet's religion," he says, "all that I feel about it is from vision and not from knowledge. I frankly say that I cannot satisfactorily answer questions about the problem of evil or about what happens after death. And yet I am sure that there have come moments when my soul has touched the infinite and has become intimately conscious of it through the illumination of joy." That is the poet's confession. The Essay is full of fine thoughts finely expressed. "Art reveals man's wealth of life, which seeks its freedom in forms of protection which are an end in themselves."

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS. By R. N. BANERJEA A Mukerjee & Co., Ltd. Calcutta. 165 pp. Rs. 2-12-0

There is little new to be said about the seventh edition of a Popular Primer of Politics. It has served students for over two decades and will be even more widely welcomed for the new sections relating to the constitution of India and of the United Nations.

OCTOBER 1953]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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SRI AUROBINDO MANDIR ANNUAL.—No. 12 15th August 1953, Sri Aurobindo Patha-mandir, Calcutta.

Issued on the occasion of the 81st birthday of Sri Aurobindo—15th August 1953 this Memorial Volume is a welcome reminder of the thoughts and words of the poet-saint of Pondicherry. The first section contains poems and prose writings of Sri Aurobindo taken from the unpublished old manuscripts largely in the shape of drafts and notes—all the more important for their intrinsic value. Section two contains a chapter on "Talks with The Mother" by Natim Kante Gupta and other papers on Sri Aurobindo and his special activities in the realm of thought by N. Pearson, Indrasen, M. P. Pandit and Rishabchand.

The book throws a flood of light on certain aspects of Sri Aurobindo's teachings and is beautifully printed and got up.

IN THE LAND OF THE RISING SUN. Etc. By V. T. Neelakantan. Publisher: Author. Copies from Kriya Babaji Press No. 3 Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Road, Vepery, Madras-7. Price Rs. 2 Nett.

Mr. V. T. Neelakantan who has over a dozen books to his credit has shot out this book of travelogues dealing with Japan, Cairo, Shanghai, London. Written in racy style the chapters afford pleasant reading. Special mention may be made of the article on "M. R. A." and "What's London's Lure." It is a handy volume and will serve to drive the blues away, dealing as it does with the 'Women of Japan Today,' 'Peddlers of Japan,' 'Tea ceremony—Its Bearing on Japanese Life' and "When Japan Rests." The article on 'The Voice of God' is thought-provoking.

DISCOURSES ON MUNDAKA UPANISHAD. By H. H. Swami Sree Chinmayananda, Pp182 Price Rs. 3/- Enquiries with Sri. S. D. Shroff, 16 Park area, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5.

Citizens of Madras who had the good fortune to attend the *Gnanayagna* (Wisdom sacrifice) held by the author

during April to June last returned day after day enthralled and enriched in their wisdom. The subject matter of the present handy volume is a report by some of the close devotees of lectures delivered by the Swamiji on the Mundaka Sruthi of the Atharva Veda.

As will be seen, the lectures begin from the very beginning, in fact from the Santhi Mantra itself. At the versatile hands of the Swamiji the Santhi Mantra acquires significance which few have learnt to attach to it. When the Santhi itself has received such attention, the treatment of the main Sruthi itself needs no mention.

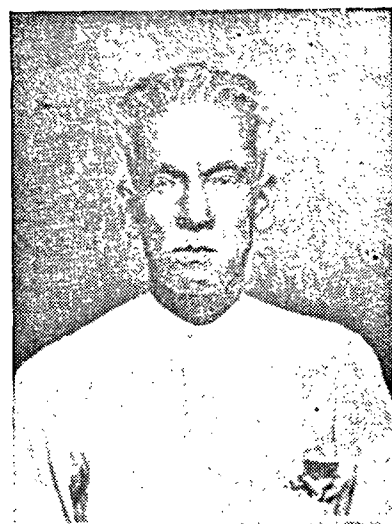
The Swamiji's treatment of the subject is not a mere verbatim or free translation with the use of a Sanskrit-English dictionary as is usual with many of our exponents of Vedic and classic literature. The very core of thought contained in the Sruthi has been crystallised for the benefit of the audience and presented to them in very pure and chaste language. The way ancient thought has been related to modern thought and explained in terms of contemporary understanding is the author's claim to original presentation of a subject touched upon by many from Germany and the U. S. A down to the little villages of India.

THE RACE CONCEPT. UNESCO, Paris. 103 pp. 2s 6d.

With Hitler's race doctrines kept alive in Malanism, this critical examination of UNESCO's Statement on Race is topical. The statement represents the conclusions of a distinguished body of anthropologists and other experts called upon to summarise the known facts regarding race differences and was issued in June 1951. It effectively demolished all arguments favouring racism and opposing race admixture. Such a controversial statement will no doubt have its detractors and even scientists have been found who cling blindly to race prejudices. But these specimens are fortunately out of date and few. These exceptional anthropologists and pseudo-scientists only confirm the UNESCO finding that there is no scientific limitation to the principle of equality of races.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1 Indian Custodian force arrives in demilitarized zone of Korea.
- Sept. 2 Separate P. & T. Circle for Andhra created with Kurnool as headquarters.
- Sept. 3 Admiral Nimitz, Plebiscite administrator for Kashmir, resigns.
- Sept. 4 Arrest of Amin Didi, President of Maldives.
- Sept. 5 Last contingent of Custodian force—1400 officers and men—leaves Madras for Korea.
- Sept. 6 Last batch of allied prisoners cross into freedom at Pan Mun Jom.
- Sept. 7 Party meeting of Congress Legislators of residuary State called off and C. R.'s position as Chief Minister to continue uncontested.
- Sept. 8 12 I. C. S. Officers allotted to new Andhra State.
- Sept. 9 Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the delegation to U.N. leaves for New York.
- Sept. 10 Indian Custodian force in Korea takes over charge of first batch of communist prisoners.
- Sept. 11 Council of State passes Andhra State Bill.
- Sept. 12 Gen. Hull succeeds Gen. Clark as U.S. & U.N. Supreme Commander.
- Sept. 13 C. R. inaugurates All India Conference of Indian Committee of Cultural Freedom.
- Sept. 14 The Shah of Persia orders trial of Mossadeq by court martial.
- Sept. 15 Smt. Vijayalakshmi elected President of 8th Session of U.N. General Assembly.
- Parliament passes Estate Duty Bill.
- Sept. 16 P. S. P. declines to release Sri Prakasam but offers to join coalition Government.
- Sept. 17 Indian issue in S. Africa included on U. N. Agenda.
- Sept. 18 Sri C. M. Trivedi appointed Governor of Andhra.
- Sept. 19 Vinoba Bhave and party assaulted by Pandas at gates of Deoghar temple.
- Sept. 20 Congress High Command deprecates agitation for new States.
- Sept. 21 Nehru lays foundation for Pilani Electronic Research institute.
- Sept. 22 Council of States passes Estates Duty Bill.
- Sept. 23 T. & C. Government's confidence motion fails.
- Sept. 24 Five-Man Japanese Economic Mission arrives in Calcutta.
- Sept. 25 Sri T. Prakasam resigns from P. S. P.
- Sept. 26 Chinese P. O. W's detain Indian Officer; Gen. Thorat's "exemplary conduct" saves situation.
- Sept. 27 Chief Minister Sri Krishna Sinha leads Harijans into Deoghar temple.
- Sept. 28 Bill to ban entry of wives into S. Africa passed.
- Sept. 29 Madras Government decides to Cancel licence to Tramways Company.—900 Members to quit Akali Dal in disapproval of Tara Singh's policy.
- Sept. 30 The Prime Minister, Vice President, Home Minister Katju and other leaders in Kurnool on the eve of the inauguration of the Andhra State on October 1.



KANNAPPA MUDALIAR

who printed the first number of this Review in January 1900 and was still doing his bit for the Golden Jubilee number in January 1950, passed away in his 77th Year on September 19.



READERS' DIGEST



MODERN WAR

According to David Cohn (in the *Saturday Review*, New York) ours is the first civilization that ever chanted its own doom, hour by hour, day by day, to the agonized, silent, antiphonal chorus of millions of people. How many years is it since we began the chant?

Yesterday: "... Fifteen of our airplanes failed to return." And now: "... Last night in Korea our patrols ... The French, in the seventh year of their Indo-China war ... The fighting in the Holy Land ... A flight of Vampire jets landed today at Hong Kong ... In Malaya yesterday Communist guerillas shot ... Rioters in Cairo's streets burnt ... Figures released to-day about our airbases in Greenland show. ..."

We listen comfortably in our living rooms, as to tales of far away and long ago, credulous but disbelieving.

For centuries European wars were largely fought with armies of mercenaries. The lives of the people of the homelands were often little disturbed by the conflicts. Now we have people's armies and total mobilization with the people and their cities as prime military targets.

This is how war looks to them, as described by Carlo Levi.

War weighs down upon the masses, although they take part in it, as a tremendous obscurity, as a phenomenon of nature, indifferent and mysterious. The cold stars of winter glitter in their familiar abodes in the cloudless sky; but from the four corners of heaven there swoop down, like angels or demons, the wings of the bombers. The howl of the city's sirens, in the gray down of the roofs, is the voice of war ...

A machine is speaking, a machine is fighting, and the man inside is no longer a warrior or really a man; he has merged with the machine and assumed its indifference, its certainty; together with it, he has turned again into a double monster, a beastlike monster of remote antiquity ... A thousand new Orions, evil and smiling, are out to hunt through the great forest of heaven. At the roar of their horns the dragons of old awaken, and blood, ready to be shed, throbs violently in every heart, which is filled with ancient terrors and the most ancient hopes.

EMPLOYMENT NOT DOLES

Prime Minister Nehru has described the idea of giving doles to the unemployed as "a wrong policy".

"We should plan to give work rather than doles" he has said, according to the latest issue of the All-India Congress Committee's journal, *Economic Review*.

The journal quotes Pandit Nehru as having said at a recent meeting of the Party:

Instead of always talking about unemployment we should adopt a positive approach to this important problem. We should devise ways and means of providing more and more employment to our people in different spheres of national life.

Our positive aim should be to provide hundred per cent employment to the millions of our countrymen. This, of course, cannot be done by any kind of magic.

I do not believe in giving doles to the unemployed; it is entirely a wrong policy. We should plan to give work rather than doles. Our people should be given productive work. We must produce our own goods even at a higher price rather than import them from outside. We must keep our people going. Even manual work will do for the time being. If the educated young-men do not accept manual work, our responsibility of providing employment to them ceases.

We must encourage our small scale and cottage industries even though their products may be dearer and cruder for the time being. The important thing is that we must produce more wealth and also distribute purchasing power among the people. This cannot be done through large-scale industries alone. The human aspect must be the over-riding consideration. Our people should feel the sensation of self-help in an economic life. Imitating the ways of other countries will not help as much. Our solution must be based on our conditions.

This extract of his speech, so far unpublished, has been reproduced by the journal over Pandit Nehru's signature.

INDIAN AND JAP DANCES

Hiroshi Ono and Miss Kiyoko Wainai, stage-dance artistes from Japan, who were in Madras recently, told P.T.I. in an interview that their visit to Madras had completely cleared their minds of the mistaken impressions they had about Indian dancing, particularly Bharata Natya.

They had gained an idea from what they had seen of Indian dancing in Japan, they said, that it was made up of very slow movements. Only after witnessing performances of Bharata Natya by exponents, they added, they could realise that Indian dance was not slow in movements, but actually very fast with a sweep and volume capable of holding audiences to undivided attention.

Till now, they could never imagine, Ono said, that Indian dances were founded on such basic movements. They appeared to be developed on graduated and elaborate training, he added.

Kiyoko Wainai (30), although retaining her maiden name, has been married to Ono (40), for ten years and the dancers have three children, all girls. The first two are twins, nine years old, and the third is aged six.

The dancer-couple, however, could not reconcile themselves to facial expressions, largely made up of glances of the eyes, involved in Bharata Natya. The Jap conception of dancing, they said, was movement of limbs and not expressions of the face. In fact, dances made up of facial expressions would be considered cheap and those who were not artistically inclined and had no background of dancing would deride it, they added. Both of them, however, said that they would try to introduce this feature in Japanese dancing.

Wainai said she and her husband would spread the message of Bharata Natya in Japan and help the Japanese cultivate a taste for this type of Indian dance. They found the Indian beat "Interesting" and the dance costume "modest yet striking," the couple said.

NEW HANDY PLASTIC DRAWING INSTRUMENT

An interesting new device recently placed on the British market is the "Quickdraw" drawing appliance which provides for quick accurate drawings, sketches and wiring diagrams to be made by either an amateur or professional draughtsman.

It consists of a transparent template, carefully cut with mathematical accuracy to produce angles, triangles and rectangles calibrated in inches and millimetres. It can also produce circles from 1/8th to 1 inch in diameter or sections thereof. In addition a set of nine accurately spaced pencil point holes enables equally spaced parallel lines to be drawn with the aid of a ruler. A typical use of this feature is for cross hatching while an interesting range of work can be carried out without the need for any additional instruments although it can, where desirable, be used in conjunction with compasses, scales or protractors. Without the "Quickdraw" rules, 'T' square, set of squares and the usual paraphernalia of the drawing office would be needed to do the same amount of work.

The base of the folder is 14" square covered in rexine leather cloth and as it is 5/16" thick also serves as the drawing board. Corners are provided to hold the paper in position and only one drawing pin is needed to keep it rigid. The lid of the folder is fitted with a pocket to hold spare paper, finished sketches etc.

The total weight of this device including folder is only 2 lbs. which makes it ideal for carrying purposes and for the making of drawings on the actual site. The maximum size of paper that can be utilised is 10 inches by 13 inches although smaller diagrams are easily obtainable.

There is no disease worse than evil passion, no enemy worse than ignorance, no fire like anger, and no happiness better than the acquisition of knowledge.

—Chanakya.

MOBILE PRESS

The *Times* of London has never missed a day's issue in all its hundred and sixty-eight years and this is a proud tradition that it naturally wishes to maintain. In case a day should come when the great presses at printing House Square would cease to roll, perhaps because of war or for some other reasons, the proprietors of *The Times* have had a mobile printing press made. This was recently on show in London and Sylvia Gray reported on it in the BBC's "Radio Newsreel", saying that the mobile press could take to the road in a convoy of three lorries and a trailer, and set up anywhere. The two leading lorries park side by side, close enough for their nearest walls to drop down to make the floor and join the two together; the third backs in behind the second with supplies of ink and paper for rolling straight over into the press. The fourth corner of the square is made by the trailer, ready to generate electricity to run the machinery. Within two hours *The Times* can go to press.

Reporters are out in a small fleet of cars, sending back reports by radio, others hand their story to a car that can stand anywhere within twenty miles of the printing unit. In it a compositor sits at a machine looking rather like an elaborate typewriter and as he types out his words they travel by radio to the lorries, to be set up in straight columns of metal type. Sylvia Gray found it uncanny to watch the keys usually tapped by a compositor going down by remote control, the type forming up in its correct order to be cast and the lead slugs, each a line long, dropping down in columns at the end. Less than a minute from the reporter's handing in his story it is being set up in type twenty miles away. All the intricate work of printing a paper goes on in the mobile press which has a small furnace for melting the metal, machines for producing the curved plates that fit on to the press and all the gear that is usually bedded down in thick concrete in the depths of a newspaper office. "Finally the presses start up and *The Times* comes thundering off them as it has done these hundred and sixty-eight years past."

ENDEAVOUR.

The current number of *Endeavour* the quarterly record of the progress of the sciences, (an International Organ of pure science conducted by a team of advanced scientists in Britain), has an impressive list of articles and contributors. It opens with a tribute to the tradition of Royal patronage of science in Britain, maintained through the centuries down to our own day. H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh in a message to this number, says that "*Endeavour* is doing a wonderful job keeping general readers, as opposed to specialists, informed of the progress of scientific research and technology." Of special interest in this issue are Sir Henry Dale's thesis on "A chemical phase in the transmission of nervous effects," and the beautifully illustrated article discussing the natural beauty of birds and their biological importance. Of equal interest to readers is the biographical appreciation of the 18th century French scientist Guillaume—Francois Rouelle who, according to Dederot, was an inspiring teacher of Chemistry—"a man who numbered among his pupils almost all the leading French chemists of the latter half of the 18th century." Other articles, besides reviews of recent scientific publications, are: "Stereochemistry: Its Basis and application to the organic compounds," "The Evolution of Adaptations," Biometry and the Inductive Method," and "Progress in Metallurgical Microscopy." Altogether a periodical of outstanding interest to readers interested in the advancement of scientific learning.

HER DOUBT

Dietician: "Yes, a few lettuce leaves, without oil, and a glass of orange juice. There, madam, that completes your daily diet!"

Mrs. Overweight: "Thank you so much, doctor, but do I take this before or after meals?"

THE CASUALTIES

The war in Korea is estimated to have cost more than 2,300,000 casualties.

From its start in June 1950 until May 26 this year it cost the British army 70 officers and 548 other ranks killed.

Other casualty figures for the same period given by a war office spokesman were:—Wounded: officers 158, other ranks 2,038; Prisoners: officers 39, other ranks 872; Missing: officers 12, other ranks 172.

British Commonwealth Army casualties for the same period were: Killed: officers 19, other ranks 465; Wounded: officers 98, other ranks 1,638; Prisoners: officers nil, other ranks 5; Missing: officers 4, other ranks 50.

American Army casualties were:—Killed: officers and other ranks 21,548; Died of wounds: 2,297; Wounded: 98,206; Missing: 11,344; Missing (not in action) 226.

There were at present about 12,000 British troops serving in Korea and Japan, he said, and 12,000 British Commonwealth troops in the same theatre.

An Air Ministry spokesman said the total number of R. A. F. casualties in Korea throughout the whole campaign was about ten of which about three were killed.

709 MILES PER HOUR

Squadron Leader Neville Duke set up his second world air record in 12 days, when he reached 709.2 miles an hour in his Hunter Jet Plane, over a 100 kilometres closed circuit in Survey.

The Royal Aero Club announced that the test pilot reached an average speed of 1,141.4 kilometres an hour (709.2 miles an hour). An official said:

The present confirmed record is held by Miss Jacqueline Cochran of the United States, who attained a speed of 1,050.182 kilometres an hour (652.55 miles an hour) in a North American 86 Sabre Jet aeroplane, at Edwards Air base, California on May 18 this year.

The official added:

If Squadron Leader Duke's new record is duly confirmed by the Federation Aeronautique Internationale, he will also have established the world's closed circuit course speed record.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION UNDER COLOMBO PLAN

India has provided five experts to assist South and South-East Asian countries under the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo plan. In addition, India has provided 33 students with training facilities.

The figures are included in the totals of 188 experts and 1,262 students as announced at the end of August by Mr. P. W. Curtin of Australia, recently appointed Director of the Technical Co-operation Bureau in Ceylon in succession to Mr. Geoffrey Wilson who returned to his post in the British Treasury.

Other details show that Britain has provided 86 experts. Australia 44, Canada 38 and New Zealand 21. Britain has taken 420 students, Australia 415, Canada 141, New Zealand 140, Ceylon 5 and Pakistan 4.

A. I. R. SELECTIONS

We have received a copy of the first number of *A.I.R. Selections*, a quarterly in English which has just been issued by the publications division of the Government of India. It contains some of the best talks broadcast by the various stations of *All India Radio* in recent months. The contents in the first number include such well known names as Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Sri Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sri C. Rajagopalachari and the selections are as varied as they are interesting. They range from topics like The Path to Right Action by the Prime Minister to Tribal Dancing by Verrier Elwin and Figs for Hunger by Bhabarin Bhattacharya. A publication of this nature would not only be of educative value, but would also give an idea of the scope of the talks generally covered by *All India Radio*.

GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE

"On what grounds do you seek a divorce Mrs Jones?"

"Incompatibility. I want a divorce, and my husband doesn't."

ATOMIC REACTOR FOR INDIA

India will have its own atomic reactor—a device to produce atomic energy—within about three years.

Disclosing this Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said in a recent interview that the location of the reactor had not yet been decided. He stated that adequate funds had been made available by the Government of India to the Atomic Energy Commission for this purpose.

Asked if India could produce an atomic bomb, Dr. Bhabha said, "India's atomic energy effort is directed to developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes and not for military use."

Dr. Bhabha said that the proposed uranium-cum-thorium factory at Trombay about ten miles north west of Bombay was expected to be ready within 15 months. The factory would be operated by Indian personnel who had been specially trained for the purpose.

Dr. Bhabha stated that there was no danger to public safety in having the factory at Trombay where two oil refineries are also under construction.

Replying to a question regarding the control of uranium-thorium ore in Travancore-Cochin, Dr. Bhabha said the mineral sands were owned by the Travancore-Cochin Government and controlled by the Government of India under the Atomic Energy Act through the Atomic Energy Commission.

PRIVY PURSES TO PRINCES

The privy purses to the various former Indian princes are paid by the Government of India from the consolidated fund of India according to the agreements entered into between the princes and the State Ministry. The Nizam is paid the maximum privy purse of Rs. 50 lakhs per annum. He is paid another Rs. 50 lakhs per annum as compensation for his Sarf-e-Khas (crown lands) taken over by the State Government.

Prime Minister Nehru, in a recent communication to former Indian princes, is understood to have appealed to them to move with the spirit of the times and accept a voluntary cut in their privy purses.

ANTI-SHOCK DRUG

From hospitals all over England, reports are now coming in about a signal success scored by British medical research scientists. It is the triumph of the combined work of chemists in laboratories and schools of medicine which has resulted in Dextraven, a form of anti-shock drug far in advance of anything produced in the United States, Germany, Sweden, and other countries.

When, through an accident or during a major operation, a person loses a lot of blood, it is imperative this loss should be replaced immediately. Blood transfusion is not always practicable.

It is nearly 40 years since research scientists discovered what is known as a plasma substitute, a form of liquid which could be administered by injection between the veins to restore the blood volume and so prevent what doctors term "Shock". But it had many disadvantages and nine years ago medical science produced dextran which is derived from sucrose and which proved a big improvement over the previous plasma substitutes like gelatin or gum saline.

As no research chemist will ever claim he has found "the last word" at any stage of his work, investigation into dextran went on constantly, concerned mainly with one problem.

The problem was how to manufacture on an economical scale, a form of dextran that would satisfy two essentials; that it should remain in the patient's body long enough to restore the blood volume satisfactorily and yet that it should be eliminated after doing its job.

Put simply, this problem boiled itself down to finding a form of dextran containing molecules within a certain range of weight, in other words molecules neither too small nor too large. This is where British research chemists have scored.

This result of years of work by scientists all over the country, working in conjunction with chemists at the Benger laboratories at Holmes Chapel, Cheshire, is now in the hands of hospitals who are reporting on its efficacy.

POLITICS AND SPORT

The two-day Parliamentary cricket match in Delhi last month was the subject of editorial comment in *Sunday Times* (London). "Nothing—not the stately piles with which Baker and Lutyens burdened the Delhi plain, not the thousands of miles of railway—between Cape Comorin and the Chenab, not the English tongue as a 'lingua franca' of the educated, not even the umbrella—proclaims the deep impress left on India by the British Raj than does to-day's news of a sporting engagement in the capital of the Republic," this newspaper said.

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and that grave and revered philosopher, Dr. Radhakrishnan, should lead rival teams in a Parliamentary cricket match may baffle most of the rest of the world, but will seem perfectly comprehensive and admirable to all Britons and Indians. 'Incomprehension will be increased in many quarters—and not the least in certain Senatorial minds in Washington—by the fact that Mr. Nehru who counts the Indian Communist Party as his irreconcilable enemy, should have selected for his team their Parliamentary leader.

That too indicates the persistence of a British tradition of keeping sport and politics apart.

BEVAN'S FUTURE

It has become customary, says Geoffrey Cox in *The Reporter* (New York), to regard Aneurin Bevan's future as a choice between two extremes, between power and frustration, between the Premiership and the fate of ending as "an elderly burlesque of an agitator, living in Chelsea." "Yet there is a third possibility. It may be Bevan's destiny to keep the Labour Party on a leftward bearing, to keep alive and clear its socialist beliefs, to prevent its slipping into the ideological sterility that has afflicted social democracy on the Continent, to provoke ideas in others even if he does not provide them himself. This may be his historic role, and he may already be fulfilling it. That he is doing so as a rebellious lieutenant rather than as an accepted leader may prove to be of only secondary importance."

INVISIBLE UNIVERSE

Radio waves received on earth 100 million years after leaving outer space raise the possibility that an invisible universe exists side by side with the one that can be seen, one of the world's greatest scientists said at Liverpool on September 2.

Sir Edward Appleton, President of the British Association for the advancement of science, told the Association's annual conference of "dark stars" whose existence has only become known through astronomy.

These dark stars have been discovered in the last few years. They give no light and are, therefore, invisible but do give off radio waves which can be received by a radio telescope which is an adaptation of radar.

Sir Edward Appleton, whose Presidential address opened Britain's annual scientific forum, said two important sources of radio waves from space had been discovered—one in the constellation of Cygnus and a more powerful one in the constellation of Cassiopeia. In each case there was no corresponding visible object on the star, he said.

"Could it be that a radio star is always a dark star and so a new type of object in the universe? Sir Edward asked.

If so, could it be that there is a duplicate universe only to be seen with a radio telescope as distinctly from a visual telescope?"

He suggested it might be possible to detect sources at greater distances by radio than by optical means and said much progress was expected from two large British-made radio telescopes.

Manchester University would have the largest single radio telescope in the world. A large radio telescope at Cambridge was already yielding new results in the mapping of radio sources.

PROMOTED

A Scotsman summoned his maid after forty years' service and announced: "You are considered from to-day on as a member of the family. In future: no wages."

ADOLESCENTS AND RESPONSIBILITY

Dr. J. Boswell Gallagher, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is of the opinion that rebellion in a household, while admittedly unpleasant to live with, is less harmful than too much dependence or excessive conformity. He affirms his belief that adolescents need to develop their own personalities; their independence, and a regard for other's rights.

The career, a boy chooses, he says, can be of less significance than that he has ideas about it, that it be his own choice.

He can, and should, be guided, but a poor choice of his own is better than for him to have no ideas of his own and blindly to follow someone else. Their own latchkey, their own bank account, a job, buying and caring for their own things, sharing in the family's problems, doing for others, buying their own clothes—all these develop a sense of responsibility and independence and make boys and girls feel that they are trusted and thought of as people who are trying to become adults. There is everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by efforts to help them to grow up. It may be painful to watch them try to become mature, but it should not be half as disturbing as to find that they don't want to do so.

Adolescents thrive on responsibility—the more you give them, the better they learn to handle it.

It is only when they are given much too soon, when without any preparation too much is expected of them, or when it is too long withheld and then thrown at them all at once, that they come a cropper. Rebellion is a straining at the bit; it is solved by loosening, not by tightening, the reins.

If young people are to develop into mature, independent, self-reliant men and women capable of respect of authority and for the rights and needs of others, they must be given ever-increasing opportunities to venture on their own.

They need to put meaning into that personality which love and security gave so fine an early start. As boys and girls grow, they must learn to protect themselves, to develop their own attitudes and interests, their own personalities. Free and independent themselves, they will have more respect for the rights and the opinions of others. To continue to run their lives, to continue to protect them, is to leave them without protection. The affection and security given adolescents in childhood will have been an empty gift if later they are not allowed to build on it—if they are not allowed temper and to test their mettle.

WORLD BANK & BACKWARD RACES

The 54-member nation World Bank in its eighth annual report says that much of its work is now centred in the industrially under-developed countries.

The report, covering activities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1953, was submitted to the annual meeting of the Bank's Board of Governors.

The Bank feels that the resources of most under-developed areas are adequate if effectively used, to support a substantially higher level of production and income. The report says the establishment in under-developed countries of institutions to weigh Government policy is a comparatively new phenomenon. Organisational innovations of this kind could enhance the effectiveness with which existing resources are used.

The report says the formulation and carrying out of a development programme should try to satisfy these five objectives:

1. To review the total of Government investment so that it will neither unduly restrict private investment nor exceed total capital resources and so produce inflation or other unhealthy elements.
2. To co-ordinate development-planning within the Government so that projects in one sector will be supported by whatever complementary investment is needed elsewhere.
3. To establish priorities among development objectives and plans to insure the best and most timely use of finance, man-power and other resources available.
4. To give encouragement by policies and specific measures to the most useful private activities.
5. To keep fiscal and economic policies consistent with the longrun objectives of economic growth.

The Bank says increasing number of under-developed nations had brought some or all of these functions together in a Governmental programming unit.

UNKIND

Barber: "Haven't I shaved you before, sir?"
Customer: "No I got that scar in France."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

MALAN'S RACIAL POLICY

The African National Congress, and the Transvaal Indian Congress have sent a joint letter to South Africa's Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, rejecting the statement issued by the Prime Minister recently, that sections of the 'coloured, and Malay people would be prepared to accept the Government's apartheid (segregation) policy as a condition for their development, and uplift.

The Kimberley Civic League, representing coloured Indian, Malay and Chinese groups, has also rejected any proposal to remove any coloured people from the common electoral roll.

The League states: "We challenge Dr. Malan to hold a referendum among the non-whites in respect of separate political representation for coloured people, the Group Areas Act, and other apartheid measures."

POPULATION REGISTER

The Transvaal Indian Congress has sent a circular asking Indians not to fill in forms which the Department of the Interior requires for the preparation of the Union's Population Register. Legislation setting up this register was introduced by the Government a few years ago.

BILL TO BAN ENTRY OF WIVES

The South African House of Assembly (Lower House) on September 28 passed the third reading of the Immigrants Regulation Amendment Bill designed to limit the immigration into South Africa of the wives and children of Indians already resident in the Union.

South Africa decided in February to withdraw a concession granted in 1914 allowing Indian women into South Africa to balance any discrepancy in the numbers of Indian men and women.

BAN ON MR. CACHALIA

Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Joint Secretary, South African Indian Congress, has been prohibited from attending any gatherings in any place in South Africa for two years.

Ceylon

IMMIGRATION LAW IN CEYLON

Contrary to expectations, the Ceylon Government is now expected to introduce the much-criticised Immigration Amendment Bill in Parliament, says a Press correspondent. The Bill was passed by the House of Representatives last year but was allowed to lapse, obviously in order to create an atmosphere of goodwill for the meeting in London of the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

A Press report in Colombo said that the Inspector-General of Police, Sir Richard Aluvihare, in a report to the Premier had urged the enactment of the Bill as early as possible "to cope with the increasing problem of illicit immigration into Ceylon."

B. East Africa

INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

About 45,000 Indians residing in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar are estimated to have registered themselves with the Commissioner for the Government of India in British East Africa as citizens of the Republic of India. This figure is nearly one-fifth of the total Indian population in the East African territories.

It is understood that more applications are likely to be received for registration as Indian citizens during the next few months.

Borneo

INDIAN AGRICULTURISTS

The North Borneo Government has just withdrawn the year-old invitation to India to send 10,000 agriculturists for settlement in the British Colony to develop its rice resources.

The invitation made last year contained proposals for giving settlers permanent land tenure, and local citizenship rights.

Recently the scheme was put in abeyance as the Colony Government was faced with "some local opposition," and also felt unable to finance even a pilot project.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

JOURNALISTIC ETHICS

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, which met at New Delhi on 25th and 26th September adopted an official code of ethics of the A.I.N.E.C. It runs:

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

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

(3) Journalists shall observe special restraint in reports and comments dealing with tensions likely to lead or leading to civil disorder.

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

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

(6) Confidence shall always be respected. Professional secrecy must be preserved.

(7) Any report found to be in-accurate and any comment on in-accurate reports shall be voluntarily rectified. It shall be obligatory to give fair publicity to a correction or contradiction when a report published is shown to be false or in-accurate in material particulars.

(8) Journalists shall not exploit their status for non-journalistic purposes.

(9) Journalists shall not allow personal interest to influence professional conduct.

(10) There is nothing so unworthy as the acceptance or demand of a bribe or

inducement for the exercise by a journalist of his power to give or deny publicity to news or comment.

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

(12) Journalists shall be ever conscious of their obligations to their fellows in the profession and shall not seek to deprive fellow-journalists of their livelihood by unfair means.

(13) The carrying on of personal controversies in the Press in which no public interest is involved shall be regarded as derogatory to the dignity of the profession.

(14) It is unprofessional to give currency to rumours or loose talk affecting the private life of individuals. Even verifiable news affecting the private life of individuals shall not be published unless the public interest as distinguished from public curiosity demands its publication.

(15) The Press shall refrain from publishing matter likely to encourage vice and crime.

CENTRAL CONTROL OVER

COMMODITIES

The desirability of amending the Constitution in order to give Parliament power to enact a single, permanent and consolidated law, conferring upon the Central Government the reserve power of control over any commodity at any time, is suggested by the Commodity Controls Committee whose report was submitted to the House of the People by the Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

It has expressed the view that for balanced progress in the economic field, the Government must retain the power of overall guidance and control and that controls of all essential commodities should be regulated on an all-India basis.

C. R. AND SAMPURNANAND ON THE BASIS OF INDIAN CULTURE

Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, told the second annual general meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom at Madras that, if civilisation meant happiness, the Communist attempt to control the minds of men and women—"as if they are raw materials like coal and iron"—must not be permitted.

Inaugurating the conference he told the delegates from all parts of India, "we have learnt to control nature but we have not learnt how to control our-selves." In recent years, control over nature and man's environment had spread out to a dangerous field—namely "to the obtaining of psychological power over the minds of men and women."

"Not freedom which may deteriorate into licence and anarchy, not State regulation which may deteriorate in tyranny, but self-control is the right slogan," he said.

GANDHI AND BHAGAVAD GITA

"As against the culture of unrestrained liberty which is the slogan on one side and the culture of all round State regulation which is the slogan on the other side, India stands for self-control, which is neither freedom nor regulation from outside. This is what Gandhiji stood for, what the Bhagavadgita preached and what was solemnly voiced forth in the ancient 'Upanishads,'" Rajaji said.

PATTERN OF CULTURE

Defining "culture" Sri Rajagopalachari said that culture was not just art or literature or dancing or music or painting, as it prevailed among a people. "Culture" he held, "is the pattern of behaviour generally accepted by a people. Culture is very far from freedom. No man of culture feels free."

STATE REGULATIONS

Sri Rajagopalachari said that "State Regulations" began as a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate competition that resulted from it. The practice of State regulations had resulted in the discovery of several evils in the remedy worse than the disease.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sri Sampurnanand, Home Minister, Uttar Pradesh, delivering his presidential address called upon "our leadership" to take an active part in shaping the cultural life of the people.

He said "this is the only way to lift the Indian intellectual out of the abyss of pessimism, frustration, cynicism and utter lack of faith in which he finds himself at present."

The theme of his address, he said, was "the neurosis of the Indian intelligentsia." There was no real effort to develop dance and music, as it had been developing all through the ages, because it did not really appeal to their leadership. The same was true of literature, Shri Sampurnanand said. The Universities too had failed "us miserably on what may be called the cultural front."

"India," he added, "is destined to be one of the important battle grounds of these ideologies and the men who profess them. His education and the bringing up of those, who are the present leaders of society, align the young Indian with the protagonists of democracy, but the call of Communism is no less insistent."

TRUMAN'S ADVICE TO U. S.

Mr. Harry S. Truman, former United States President urged the West to try every avenue to reach peaceful settlement with the Soviet group but warned them to negotiate from strength.

"We must negotiate from strength" he told a Labour Day Union. "Strength is what the Communists understand and respect. Strength comes from unity with our Allies, from the sympathetic understanding of all free peoples and from the power of our defence forces."

"If we allow our unity to waver, if our understanding with our Allies becomes misunderstanding, if we whittle away the power of our defence forces just when we begin to negotiate, then we invite disaster."

C. R. ON THE MADRAS MINISTRY

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, has given up the idea of convening a meeting of the Members of the Madras Legislature Congress Party, belonging to the residuary State. Announcing this, Mr. Rajagopalachari issued the following statement:

In view of a message communicated to me by Sri K. Kamaraj, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, through the Party Chief Whip, which was confirmed personally later, I considered that a situation had arisen to convene an urgent special meeting of the members of the Congress Legislature Party, belonging to the residuary State to consider the question of my continuing to hold the office of Chief Ministership. When I communicated this decision to hold a meeting to Sri Kamaraj on Sunday, September 6, he, however, denied any desire on his part for a change of Chief Ministership that I had mistaken his intentions and that there is no necessity for holding a meeting as proposed by me.

The President of the Indian National Congress, to whom I had communicated what had happened and my intention to hold a Party meeting, has, also sent a message which I have received, to the effect that he and his colleagues are firmly of the opinion that there is no occasion for a meeting of the kind.

I have, therefore, given up the idea of convening a meeting. I am issuing this statement in view of the several news items and comments that have appeared in the Press.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The Andhra State and Estate Duty Bills were among the four official bills passed by the fourth session of the House of the People which adjourned *sine die* on September 18.

The session, which began on August 3, was the shortest, and yet the busiest, of the House so far. For two weeks, it had to sit both in the morning and afternoon, casting a tremendous strain on members and staff.

One official bill—the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill—was referred to a Select Committee.

Despite all efforts, the House was unable to catch up on arrears of legislation. Twenty-seven bills are now pending before the House, including the Companies Bill introduced in the current session.

T. C. ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

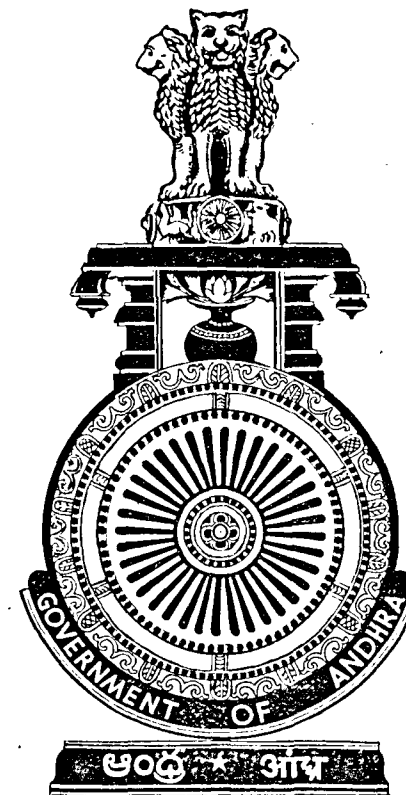
The Travancore-Cochin Assembly on September 23 threw out the confidence motion moved by Mr. A. J. John, the Chief Minister, by a difference of five votes, the voting being 51 in favour of the motion and 56 against. One member, Mr. K. J. Thomas, remained neutral.

His Highness the Rajpramukh has issued a notification dissolving the Travancore-Cochin Assembly with effect from the 24th September.

ANDHRA BOARD OF REVENUE

The Board of Revenue of the Andhra State, will function from Madras City until the Andhra Government is in a position to decide as to where it should be located.

The Board will, in consultation with the Madras Government, fix up suitable accommodation for the other departmental offices of the Andhra State in Madras City.



SEAL OF THE ANDHRA STATE

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The report of the Secondary Education Commission presents a picture of the present state of secondary education in the country and a preview of what is possible of accomplishment in the future.

In a volume of 16 chapters covering about 250 pages, the report dwells on the salient problems connected with secondary education and discusses in a practical and realistic manner the suggestions for a reorientation of the policy and methods to be adopted if education is to meet the needs of the country and provide suitable avenues of employment to the many who may take to it.

COMMISSION'S MAIN RECOMMENDATION

Diversified courses at High School Stage, with common core subjects, languages, social studies, general science craft.

Regional language as medium of instruction, while national language and one Foreign language also to be studied at middle school stage.

High Power Committee for selection of text-books.

Association of majority of teachers in Physical Education. More institutions for training Physical Directors. Periodical visits of school children to clinics.

School working days not to be less than 200 a year. 35 periods of 45 minutes each per week. Freedom to arrange school hours so as not to interfere with life of community.

School records to be considered in public Examinations. System of grading for evaluation achievements in particular subjects.

Guidance and Counselling in choosing subjects of study.

Increased facilities for technical education, starting at earlier stages and covering persons already in employment.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR HIGHER STUDIES

About 8,000 scholarships had been sanctioned by Government to be awarded to students from backward and scheduled classes and scheduled tribes for higher studies during the year 1953-54, said the Education Minister in a written reply to Mr. Hem Raj in the House of the People.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Delivering the Founder's Commemoration Day address on the occasion of the 24th Founder's Commemoration Day celebration at the Annamalai University on September 5 Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon of the Madras High Court, said: "The ideal of an University such as the one we have now should be to foster a kind of scientific approach to problems in the light of modern events." "Let us have sufficient courage," he added, "to act and speak firmly and wisely and discard things which do not fit in with the modern tendencies and ideas."

Dealing with the objects and ideals of University education the speaker said:

Among the many and varied objects of University education, the most outstanding and important fact is the obligation to provide higher education, which would foster and develop a sense of national unity and a common bond of citizenship with everyone in this land of ours in conformity with, and as adumbrated in, our Constitution.

COLLEGE OF MUSIC

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, addressing the students of the Central College of Karnataka Music, Adyar, on the occasion of the distribution of diplomas and certificates to them on Sept 4, stressed the value of music in developing character and exhorted students of music to practise and develop the art for its own sake.

Of 69 trainees who qualified themselves for the diploma in vocal and instrumental (violin and veena) music, 56 took their certificates in person. The successful candidates included 43 women.

CHAIR IN TAMIL

The Union Government has sanctioned a special non-recurring grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the creation of a chair in Tamil in the Annamalai University in recognition of valuable work done by the University in the field of education for the last 25 years. The University has Faculties in Oriental studies, Arts, Science, Engineering and Education. The opening of a Faculty of Fine Arts is under consideration.

SASTRI AWARD IN BANK DISPUTE

The Special Bench of the Labour Appellate Tribunal of India at Bombay rejected the contention of the All-India Bank Employees' Association that the Sastri Award in the dispute between banks and their employees was void.

Sri A. S. R. Chari, Counsel of the Association had contended that the award was void, because one of the members of the Sastri Tribunal, Mr. M. L. Tandon was not an "independent person."

The Second all-India Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes) of, which Sri S. Panchapakesa Sastri, retired Judge of Madras High Court, was Chairman, gave its award on pay scales, working hours, and allowances, etc., in April last. The third member of the Tribunal was Mr. V. L. D'Souza of Mysore University. Mr Tannan was formerly Principal, Sydenham's College of Commerce, Bombay.

Mr Tannan had appended a minute of dissent to the Award saying that while the amelioration of working conditions of labour was justified in view of the ultimate objective of Indian Social and economic policies, "I would, at present and in all cases where other interests much more fundamental stand to be affected, say 'hasten slowly' lest we overdo things which might later recoil on those whom it is our earnest desire to benefit."

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Provisions in the Indian Constitution relating to property rights came under fire in the Council of States when it discussed Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee's Bill to amend Article 31 of the Constitution.

Mr. Banerjee by his amendment desired that property should be guaranteed by the Constitution while its nature and limits should be provided by law. Property would be expropriated for general good only on the basis of law which would determine in which cases to what extent and in what manner compensation should be paid.

The Bill obtained support not only from the Communist benches but also from a Congress member, Mr. K. Rama Rao.

COURT ORDERS AWARD OF 'VARSITY DEGREE

On an application made by Tapendra Ray, a B.Sc. examinee for 1953, the Calcutta High Court issued a Writ of "Mandamus" directing the Calcutta University to declare the petitioner to have passed the B.Sc. examination and issue all the necessary certificates to which he was entitled under the rules of the University.

The petitioner obtained 553 out of a total of 900 in the examination. It was contended on his behalf that in as much as he failed in chemistry but by not more than five per cent of the full marks in that subject and had shown his efficiency by obtaining more than 50 per cent marks in the aggregate, he was under the rules of the university entitled to be declared as having passed the B.Sc. examination. Under the rules, in chemistry a candidate should obtain 60 marks in the theoretical paper and 40 in the practical one in order to pass. But there was also a provision to the effect that in the case of a candidate, who failed in one subject by not more than five per cent of the full marks and obtained 50 per cent of total marks, he shall be allowed to pass. In this case the university sought to justify its action by referring to a resolution in which the syndicate allotted the five per cent marks which is 15, in the theoretical and practical paper, in the proportion of 10 and 5 respectively.

His Lordship, Mr. Justice Sinha, observed that the syndicate had no power to override or vary or ignore a regulation passed by the Senate and sanctioned by the Government.

DEATH SENTENCE IN BRITAIN

A Royal Commission has reported in favour of retaining hanging as Britain's method of executing murderers but suggested that lethal injection should be examined as an alternative. The Commission, which probed every facet of capital punishment since 1949, recommended to the British Government to raise the age limit for the death penalty from 18 to 21.

SCHEMES TO DEVELOP HANDLOOM

Sri Patil said the following nine schemes costing about Rs. 68 lakhs have been forwarded to the Union Government which should make the final selection.

1. Scheme for opening of sales depots through out the districts.
2. Scheme for mobile vans to push up sales of handloom cloth.
3. Scheme for marketing handloom textiles and subsidy on sales of handloom cloth.
4. Scheme to organise weavers into the co-operative fold.
5. Scheme for replacement of existing looms by improved looms.
6. Scheme for installation of bleaching, finishing and calendering plant for the handloom cloth, and dyeing of yarn required by handloom weavers.
7. Scheme for production activities to be undertaken by weavers Cooperative Societies.
8. Scheme for directional technical, statistical and supervisory staff
9. Scheme for dye houses.

CIGARETTES FOR Rs. 35 CRORES

The total value of cigarettes consumed in India during 1952/53 was Rs. 28.05 crores exclusive of duty, and Rs. 35.50 crores inclusive of duty.

Mr. Arun Chandra Guha Deputy Finance Minister, who gave this figure in reply to Prof. D. C. Sharma in the House of the People on September 4 said the estimate was based on the quantity of cigarettes cleared from the factories and the quantities imported from abroad.

The ex-duty value of cigarettes manufactured in India during 1952/53 was Rs. 30.24 crores and inclusive of the duty the value was Rs. 37.59. crores.

THE WORLD BANK

Mr. Eugene Black is to serve as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for another five-year term, until July 1, 1959.

Appointed President in May, 1949, Mr. Black has been the U. S. Executive Director of the Bank since 1947. He succeeded as President Mr. John J. McCloy who became U. S. High Commissioner in Germany.

A NATIONALISED MOTOR FACTORY

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Commerce Minister, stated in the House of the people on September 5 that if in the next twelve months adequate developments do not take place in the Indian automobile industry to meet strategic demands, he did not see why Government should not take a step forward in the direction of having a nationalised factory.

"In my view the strategic demands are not merely the defence requirements, but also the transport requirements of the country."

Shri Krishnamachari made it clear that he was not committing the Government to any statement of policy on the question of a nationalised factory. He was only giving his own reaction to "a very good suggestion" made by a private member Dr. Krishnaswamy, who had initiated a one-hour discussion on the future of Indian automobile industry.

A FIRM MONETARY POLICY

The International Monetary Fund said that a firm monetary policy in India enabled that country to maintain relative stability in its index of wholesale prices, which was about the same in the first part of 1953 and in 1949.

This was achieved although between these periods, the index rose, and fell with movements of world prices of export and import goods, the fund said in its annual report for 1953.

The report said that during the last year a Fund mission was invited to discuss with the Indian authorities the related problems of development and finance in that country. "The fund is looking forward to further discussions of this kind, which should enable it to perform useful services for many of its members."

BILL TO AMEND FACTORIES ACT

A bill to amend the factories Act in order to give effect to the I. L. O. convention prohibiting employment of women and young persons during night in factories was introduced in the Council of States on September, 3 by the Deputy labour Minister, Mr. Abid Ali Jaffarbhoy.

Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI'S TOUR
IMPRESSIONS

Mrs. Indira Gandhi on her return from Europe said in New Delhi that one of the things which impressed her most during her recent tour of Soviet Russia was the way everything there was constantly and visibly changing and improving, with the result that wherever one went one looked into the future.

The Soviet people were the most "plan-minded" in the world, she said in a statement on her tour, and it was their endeavour not only to fulfil their plans on time but to "over-fulfil" them, trying to achieve more than they had planned.

"They look forward to a more comfortable and easier future, but they have no obvious cause for complaint in the present," she said.

She summed up her impression thus:

We can pick up many good ideas and profit from the experiences of the Soviet Union and other countries. But I do believe that every nation must ultimately find its own path and develop according to its own genius.

INDIAN GIRL STUDIES AGRICULTURE

The first Indian student to be admitted to the Kesteven Farm Institute in Lincolnshire is Miss Uma Patel of New Delhi, who has just completed a one-year course in general agriculture at the Dorset Farm Institute.

Miss Patel goes to Kesteven this month to study for the one-year course in arable farming and farm mechanisation. She will not be the only student from overseas at the institute: her companions will include young people from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Cyprus and Egypt. Of the 53 students admitted for the new session, 13 are women.

The Kesteven Farm Institute run on commercial lines provides both technical and practical training and its courses are a useful preliminary to more advanced training at a university or agriculture college.

NIXON PRAISES V. L. PUNDIT

Mr. Richard Nixon, U. S. Vice-President, praised Srimathi Vijayalakshmi Pundit, President of the U. N. General Assembly for the way in which she conducted the Assembly's meetings when he visited U. N. Headquarters on September 22.

"I was very much impressed by the way in which she presided over the session, since I myself am a presiding officer," he told reporters, after attending a meeting of the Steering Committee. "The meeting, I thought was conducted in a very dignified way."

The Vice-President remained at the meeting for about 15 minutes. He said: "I could not help but being impressed. The United Nations is a living, vital organisation."

A NEW CAREER FOR WOMEN

A new career is open to women in Britain—that of electrical engineer. Power stations are being built rapidly in the United Kingdom, and in consequence 300 graduates men or women, will be needed each year as generating-station staff alone. Women at universities and technical colleges are being offered training opportunities on equal terms with men. The British Electricity Authority has established a graduate training scheme for technical engineering staff, and a woman candidate selected for a course of instruction would, at the end of it, be on the same footing as a man, not only for pay and promotion, but for industrial experience.

WOMEN'S HOCKEY TOURNAMENT

An Inter-University women's hockey tournament will be conducted at Ludhiana from January 10, 1954, the Punjab University Sports Committee has announced Sri B. L. Gupta, Secretary, said the decision had been taken to encourage hockey among women students.

T.V.S & SONS

Messrs T. V. Sundaram Ayyangar and Sons have made history in south India as pioneers in automobile road transport, an ever expanding line of business in which their enterprise and perseverance have won for them deserved success. Their new premises in Madura were inaugurated last month by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, Madras, at a colourful function. A large and distinguished gathering was present, including ministers and prominent citizens of the state.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who presided over the function, paid a tribute to the enterprise and sound management of Mr. Sundaram Iyengar and his sons.

A number of messages, wishing the firm and the function success, were received on the occasion. We wish to add our own tribute to the energy and enterprise of the pioneers in this important field of road transport which is a distinct contribution to the development of South Indian trade and industry.

T. V. K. MUDALIAR

Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, noted Tamil Scholar and veteran trade union leader died at his residence in Royapettah on September 18th after being ill for a long time. He was aged 71.

Known as "Thiru Vi Ka" among his admirers, Mr. Mudaliar did great service in the religious field, having delivered lectures on Saiva Siddantha all over Tamilnad. He presided over the Saiva Siddantha Samajists' Conference thrice. He has written more than 50 books on subjects of varied interests from religion to social service.

Mr. K. BALARAMAN.

United Nations correspondents on September 18 followed the example of the General Assembly by electing an Indian as President of the United Nations Correspondents' Association. He is Mr. K. Balaraman of *The Hindu*. This is the first time that an Asian has been elected head of this international organisation which protects the interests of Pressmen of various nations covering the U. N.



SRI O. PULLA REDDI, I. C. S.
Chief Secretary, Andhra State.

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INDIAN INFLUENCES IN MODERN TIMES

BY SRI SISIRKUMAR MITRA

THE story of India's cultural influences does not end with the dawn of modern age or with the political changes that then took place in the countries of Asia and other parts of the world. It is true that the impact of European culture tended to create a new outlook in many of them, but the fact cannot be doubted that the contribution of India to the culture and civilisation of mankind has come to stay as a perennial source of inspiration. Though centuries of Muslim rule in India gave a setback to the movement of her cultural expansion, yet the work done by the forebears of the race was enough to lay the cultural foundation of the larger empire of the Spirit which India was to build up in the future. There can indeed be no better acknowledgment of this debt to India by the countries of the world today than the ready response they are making to her call upon them to rise to greater endeavours, to wake up to the truths of a higher life. In the recent Inter-Asian Conference in Delhi, the representatives of almost all the countries of Asia expressed in one voice and in the language of their heart their "unbounded gratefulness" to India, 'the Mother of our culture and civilisation.' The seeing minds of Europe and America have already begun to appreciate the unique greatness of India in the world of the Spirit. Her stupendous cultural achievements in the past have found their votaries in these continents.

The year 1671 is a landmark from which to date the beginning of a new phase in the movement of India's cultural expansion in modern times. It was in this year that the French traveller Bernier carried to France a manuscript

translation of the Upanishads in Persian by the Mughal prince Dara Shukoh. He was followed by several French missionaries and German Jesuits who published translations of Vedic and other Sanskrit texts, one of the latter having written a Sanskrit Grammar too. Voltaire's love of India and her wisdom and later, Amiel's insistence on the need of 'Brahmanising souls' for the spiritual uplift of humanity, are doubtless due to their contact with Indian thought they had through the above and other sources which began to multiply with the growth of Europe's interest in India, commercial at the beginning, then proselytising, afterwards cultural, when the superiority of Indian thought became more and more evident to the enterprisers of Europe.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the most outstanding figures who brought to light the wide range of Sanskrit literature and organised its systematic study and dissemination were the three Englishmen, Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke, all of whom 'aimed at a union of Hindu and European learning' and did much to introduce the ancient Sanskrit classics to the western world. Wilkins' earliest work was a translation of the Gita. Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, edited among other works, Manu, Shakuntala and several other Sanskrit plays. Colebrooke, the founder of Indian philology and archaeology, wrote extensively on various aspects of Indology and edited several Sanskrit texts, such as the grammar of Panini and Hitopadesha.

It was Germany which was the first in Europe to discover the hidden treasures of Sanskrit literature early in the nineteenth century and give a fresh

impetus to its study, a notable result of which was the influence it exerted on the German thinkers. To Schopenhauer the Upanishads came as a new *Gnosis*, a revelation, as it were. He said: "In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." Kant's central doctrine - that things of experience are only the phenomena of the thing-in-itself has been acknowledged as essentially a doctrine of the Upanishads. The influence of Kalidasa's *Meghduta*, "The Cloud Messenger" on Schiller's *Maria Stuart* is most obvious. Goethe modelled his Prologue to *Faust* on the prologue to Kalidasa's Sanskrit drama *Shakuntala* for which the German poet's rapturous praise is too well-known to require mention.

Another notable event in the expansion of Indian culture in the nineteenth century is the American Transcendentalist movement. In Concord, Massachusetts, there used to gather 1840's famous poets, authors and thinkers of America, to whom Emerson would read and re-read the Gita and the Upanishads. After reading Manu, Thoreau, the famous author of *Walden* and a member of Concord, wrote: "I cannot read a sentence in the book of the Hindus without being elevated." He recognised the Samkhya system as the only possible one for the masses. Walt Whitman, the poet, came into intimate contact with Emerson and had from him his initiation in Indian thought. His poem *Passage to India* is a plan for uniting the intellectual life of the West with the spiritual life of the East. And whatever Emerson himself has written is mostly Vedanta. His essays like "The Over-Soul" and "Circles" and poems like "Brahma" are the very echoes of Upanishadic thought. He once wrote: "Nature makes a Brahmin of me presently." The Vedantic note in Carlyle's writings is too evident to require recapitulation. And the Gita was the only book he chose to present to Emerson when the latter met him for the first time. There is a leaven of Vedantic thought in the poetry of Robert Browning; some of his lines read like paraphrases of Upanishadic verses.

Indian Culture began to enter the mind of Europe and other countries more widely and deeply when in modern times distance was annihilated by quicker and easier means of communication. Indeed the subjective tendency of the present age is to a great extent the result of the infiltration of Indian thought into the mind of humanity. An inner seeking is evident everywhere, an urge to know the deeper meaning of things. Receptive America has found it easier to accept and understand the light from India. In Europe the critical study and exposition of the various aspects of ancient Indian cultures had taken shape in the subject of indology. A galaxy of scholars have by their researches made an invaluable contribution to the reconstruction of India's past. There have been attempts too on the part of India to interpret her culture and thought to the world, to reveal to it the truth that shines undimmed in the adytum of her soul. Among the inspired sons who voiced the message of Mother India Swami Vivekananda stands out as a stately tower of light. His prophetic words were: "Once more the world must be conquered by India: this is the dream of my life. We must go out, we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy. There is no alternative. We must do or die."

This mighty son of India, made all the more mighty by his Guru's grace, thundered out to the world the central message of the Vedanta: "Thou art That." Never before was there one who had spoken of the divinity of man with such an electrifying intensity of conviction as that soldier of Light, that indomitable exponent of India's spirituality. His luminous interpretation of the Vedantic thought and its application to the practical life of men attracted seekers from almost every part of the world, who formed the first nucleus of a universal fellowship based on the intrinsic unity of man in the world of the Spirit. Whether it was America or England or the Continent, wherever he went, people of all classes flocked to him only to be illumined in their soul by a new light. Spiritual India, reawakened after a long sleep, found in him an inspired champion of the divine heritage of man: and the

materialistic West bowed its head before the majesty and sublimity of his message. The Math and the Mission, started by the Swami with the express object of giving form to the ideal he stood for, have since grown and expanded into a network of organisations of social and spiritual service spread all over the world.

But Vivekananda's influence has always been much deeper and wider than that we generally feel and know. He has been a force, a great dynamic force, from whom millions derive inspiration and the exalting strength of the divine light which he embodied. This is how he helps mankind to grow in readiness for the greater future that is to come to it as the end and consummation of its strivings through the ages. Thus by Vivekananda was given a new tempo to the work of India towards the building up of her spiritual empire in modern times.

To Annie Besant India was the mother of eternal wisdom. Her interpretation of Indian thought ranks her as one of those who raised India in the estimation of the world. The work of the Theosophical Society in disseminating the truths of Indian culture through its centres and exponents all over the world must be recognised, as also that of the Arya Samaj which emphasised the Vedic basis of Indian life and thought. Swami Rama Tirtha, who voiced Vedantic ideas in accents of fire, is still adored in Japan and America as an inspired messenger of India. Baba Premananda Bharati's Shri Krishna Home in America attracts hundreds of devotees from various parts of that country. Yogoda is another centre of spiritual culture there. India Society and the International School of Vedic and Allied Research, organised by the Indians in America are furthering the cause of Indian culture to which great service was rendered by James H. Cousins who in his lecture tours undertaken on several occasions unravelled to big American audiences the depth and profundity of India's aesthetic expressions, their psychology and motivation. The masterly and revealing exposition of Indian art and culture by Ananda Coomaraswamy has opened America and he world to the intrinsic significance

of India's creative genius of its achievements through the ages, whose subjective and objective history he has for the first time presented from the standpoint of their integrality. Coomaraswamy was verily an institution by himself, a dynamic centre of Indian values, whose influence was as wide as it was illuminating. Indeed his stay in America for nearly thirty years as the Curator of the Indian section of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts proved to be a most important factor in the expansive movement of Indian culture in that country.

Circulo Esoterico da Communhao do Pensamento in Sao Paulo, Brazil, is an institution whose professed aim is "to comprehend the spiritual wisdom of the world and particularly that of India. Lately it has organised researches into Vaishnavic thought. One of the many members of this Society who are devoted followers of Sri Chaitanya of Bengal, has started an inner circle called Tattva Sri Chaitanya. Vecente Avelino who was the Consul General for Brazil in India in 1930 belonged to this circle. He was a devout Vaishnava and an ardent admirer of Sri Ramakrishna. In an address at Panihati, near Calcutta, on the occasion of a religious festival organised by the Sri Gouranga Grantha Mandir to commemorate Sri Chaitanya's visit to that place, he said: "India is the only country which has known God and if any one wants to know God he must know India."

Ireland's interest in India deserves mention. It is said that the inborn spiritual inclination of this Celtic people is Aryan in origin and inspiration. The eminent Jurist Maine has shown that the old Brehon laws of Ireland are derived from the Vedic laws of India. The infusion of Indian ideas into the mind of modern Ireland which began towards the end of the last century, roused her sense of cultural kinship with India. This new illumination is acknowledged as one of those factors that heralded the great Irish literary and dramatic revival, which proved a powerful incentive to the political resurgence of Ireland. George Russel or A. E. and Yeats, both poets of worldwide fame, were the two

chief inaugurators of this movement. They showed a strong predilection for the spiritual thought and life of India and the poetry of A. E. at its best is literally soaked in Indian mysticism and rises to heights unattained upto now by any other Western poet.

Sir John Woodroff's achievement in the exposition of Tantrik thought cannot be over-estimated. Himself a follower of Tantrik cult, this great Englishman edited in a masterly way a number of Tantrik texts and most of his views on them are regarded as authoritative. It is mainly through his writings—a rare combination of insight and scholarship—that the ideas of the Tantras began to enter the mind of the West in modern times. Influence of Indian thought is most obvious in the philosophical writings of well-known English thinkers of today like Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley. Distinctly Indian is their idea of a new community of neo-Brahmins, which, according to them, is to emerge in the future as the next higher stage in the evolutionary ascent of man. In the thought of Gerald Heard there is a distinct note of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. In the Yoga School, started by these two English thinkers, many Europeans are having training in Indian methods of self-discipline. The greatest English novelist Somerset Maugham advises prospective writers to come to India for gaining knowledge of the higher values of life.

The eminent French savant, Romain Rolland, is noted for his deep understanding of the intrinsic meaning of Indian culture. His works on Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda show the reverence with which he studied them, and his appreciation of these two masters of modern India is remarkable for its perspicacity. In Sri Aurobindo he saw "the completest synthesis of the culture of the East and of the West, holding in his outstretched hands the bow of Creative Impulse, the promise of a greater Tomorrow." Paul Richard, that renowned French mystic, in the course of a talk in Paris in 1927 said: "Sri Aurobindo is verily Shiva himself. There is none like him in the whole world." Earlier in 1919 in a lecture

in Tokyo, he uttered the following words on Sri Aurobindo: "Now, the day is coming when after having been in the obscurity of his silence and retreat, the saviour of India, he will become in the full light of day the Guru of Asia, the Teacher of the world." India must never forget the valuable work done by French scholars in the world of Indology. Sylvain Levy's is a name that is to be cherished for ever in this connection. Institut de civilisation Indienne is a well known institution in France which aims at promoting the study and understanding of Indian life and civilisation in its various phases of development.

The famous German thinker, Count Hermann Keyserling, declared "India has produced the profoundest metaphysics that we know of." He spoke of "the absolute superiority of India over the West in philosophy. His school of Wisdom at Darmstadt was often attacked for the very reason that "he was transplanting Indian recognition into the West." The Summer School for Spiritual Research in Ascona, Switzerland, has the religions of modern India as one of its special subjects of study. Swami Ananda Acharya's Ashram in Norway attracts a large number of men and women from different parts of Europe, to whom it gives not only training in India's yoga but also ideas about her culture. The Academy of Sciences of Russia and its Eastern Institute section have for years been engaged in the study of Buddhism and other religions of India, the Epics also being included in their subjects of research. The Eastern Institute is taking keen interest in modern Indian languages. The Kern Institute in Holland and the Oriental Institute in Italy are reputed centres of research where under the direction of eminent European scholars important original work is being done on Indian art, archaeology and literature.

Among the Indologists of Europe in the present century Sten Konow of Norway is noted for his researches on the evolution of the religious thought of India: Glassenhap of Germany for his commentaries on many Sanskrit philosophical texts including one of Madhvacharya

(his father, also an Indologist, wrote a beautiful poem on Sri Chaitanya); Winter-nitz of Czecho-Slovakia for his monumental work on the history of Indian literature; Tucci of Italy for his studies in Vaishnavic thought. Macdonell, Rapson and Smith are England's eminent historians of Indian culture and thought. India Society and the recently started Society for Cultural Fellowship with India show that England wishes to deepen her cultural relations with India. It is not that the interpretation of Indian thought by these and other scholars of Europe and America has always been authentic. In fact, the spiritual, therefore the real, intention in India's cultural development has often been missed by most of them. Yet by their pioneer work they have all of them helped to rouse the world's interest in India and strengthen the foundation of her cultural empire.

The rise of Rabindranath Tagore to worldwde fame is another cause of India's figuring more prominently in the intellectual horizon of humanity. Nature chose him as the one man in history to receive for his poetry the unstinted homage of the whole of mankind during his lifetime. The poet of India became the poet of the world, a fact which together with his Visva-Bharati embodying his vision of the cultural oneness of mankind, has certainly furthered the cause of India's cultural expansion in modern times. "Visva-Bharati", in the words of the Poet, "represents India where she has her wealth of mind which is for all. Visva-Bharati acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best. It is India's invitation to the world, her offer of sacrifice to the highest truth of man. "Eminent scholars and indologists including many of those mentioned above responded to this call, came and stayed there in pursuit of their respective subjects of study imbibing all the time the life of India and the spirit of her culture. A tone of deep regard for India is perceptible in all their writings about her.

There is no doubt that the works of Radhakrishnan have enormously increased

world interest in Indian thought. The aesthetic vision of humanity has already opened to the splendour of ancient Indian art. Sister Nivedita and Havell are among those from outside who caught the true spirit of India's artistic expression and revealed it to humanity. A striking revival of this spirit in the works of many modern Indian artists has won for them fame and appreciation from various parts of the world. Abanindranath Tagore, the founder of this new School of Painting, and Nandalal Bose, his worthy disciple, are the great masters, the artist-exponents of modern India's aesthetic institutions. On seeing the famous painting "The Buddha carrying the kid" by Nandalal, shown in an exhibition in Geneva, a Swiss critic remarked: "I see behind this picture a great civilisation." India has contributed not inconsiderably to the advancement of modern Science. An Indian name is now associated with Einstein's Theory of Relativity. There are some notable Indians among the luminaries in the worlds of Physics and Chemistry. Writing about Sir. J. C. Bose's discoveries on plant life, Collum in his book *Life's Unity and Rhythm* says: "Bose is a landmark, a point from which to date the dawn of a new thought."

China's desire to renew her ancient bond of friendship with India finds expression in the writings and activities of her eminent scholars and thinkers, of whom names may be mentioned of Tan Yon-Shan, Jen Foo Kan and Ngo-Chang Lim. The foundation of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society by Prof. Tan is the great beginning of a significant movement which bids fair to usher in a new era of cultural fellowship between these two oldest peoples of history. The growth and expansion of its activities will mean preparation for a greater work in the future, the work of building up a new, better and united world through the joint efforts of India and China. In all her social and political thinking China had regarded the unity of mankind as the one aim worth striving for. Prof. Tan asserts his faith in that great ideal of his country and makes its attainment the goal of his Society. He appeals to

India for help and co-operation in this noble endeavour, since he believes that India alone can give that spiritual strength without which the aim can never be realised. Relating his impressions of a visit to the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, Tan said that as in the past China was spiritually conquered by a great Indian so in the future would she be conquered by another great Indian, Sri Aurobindo, the Maha-Yogi of India, who as he said "is the bringer of that light which will chase away the darkness that envelopes the world today."

Indeed the ideal Sri Aurobindo stood for is the only hope that mankind has before it at the present hour of its distress. A new Light had come to his vision, a Light that is descending on earth to remould man into a divine perfection. The gloom that thickens everywhere is the darkness of the night before dawn. The chaos and conflicts are the travail of the earth before its birth into a higher consciousness. Sri Aurobindo called upon man to wake up and be ready for this glorious consummation of his earthly existence. He worked silently, helping seeking souls and preparing the inner life of humanity. And response has already started coming from different quarters of the globe. On reading Sri Aurobindo's *magnum opus*, *The Life Divine*, the well-known English thinker Sir Francis Younghusband wrote: "I really do quite genuinely consider it the greatest book which has been produced in my time."* Chile's Nobel Laureate Gabriele Mistral says, "while Tagore awakened the latent music in me, another Indian, Sri Aurobindo, brought me to religion. He opened the way to my religious consecration. Indeed my debt to India is very great and is due in part to Tagore and in part to Sri Aurobindo."†

Of all the countries in the west, it is France that is evincing the most lively interest in Sri Aurobindo and his gospel of the divine life upon earth. Some of his books have already been translated into French and there is a growing demand

for them. Is there a spiritual affinity between India and France, a secret psychic kinship? The future is big with far-reaching possibilities and it would be wilful blindness to overlook this first flutter of the soul of France at the healing and delivering touch of India's light. We have already quoted the glowing tributes of praise paid by Romain Rolland and Paul Richard to Sri Aurobindo. Here is another no less glowing but undoubtedly more moving, from Maurice Magre, the distinguished poet, thinker and novelist of France: "O Maitre, Tu es assis dans la solitude parfaite, la serenite divine, l'extase realisee. Mon admiration s'eleve vers toi dans le silence de la nuit, vers toi qui as franchi la porte de la perfection. Dis-moi comment doit s'elever la spirale de la meditation, donne-moi une formule de priere, meme une syllabe a laquelle je m'accrocherai comme un nageur qui a trouve une bouee."** These utterances are not the passing effusion of a few sentimental lovers of India, they represent a real, insistent want felt by the progressive section of humanity all the world over. They are the cry of the resurging soul of man, a cry for peace and harmony in the world torn by war and discord.

The empire of the Spirit of which India has dreamt through the ages and which it is her sole privilege now to build up in the mind and heart of mankind will become a reality and take its definite form when man turns towards the Word of the Master, the last Creative Word of India which she has been waiting since the dawn of her history to deliver for the redemption of the human race, for its liberation into a higher life of Knowledge, Bliss, Freedom and Harmony which are the very basis of India's spiritual kingdom as envisaged by Sri Aurobindo.

* *A la Poursuite d la a Sagesse*. "O Master, Thou art seated in perfect solitude, divine serenity, realised ecstasy. My admiration rises towards thee in the silence of the night, towards thee who has crossed the portals of perfection. Tell me how to ascend the spiral of meditation, give me a formula of prayer, even a syllable to which I may cling like a swimmer who has found a buoy."

THE CHARM OF OMAR KHAYYAM

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

HEREIN lies the charm of Omar Khayyam? In his own Persia Omar had his bright and dull days. But ever after Fitzgerald rendered the Rubaiyat into English, Omar has enjoyed a growing popularity. Yet what is this poem that lovers of poetry so much delight in? It is a drunkard's song in which without name the toper praises the pleasure of making himself in wine; and in the course of doing that he also makes use of a lot of blasphemy mockingly referring to God, His aims and works. How can such a poem engage the attention of a serious minded person even for a few moments? Still the fact is that wise and good people, as well as the mere lovers of pleasure, have found in it not only delight but also consolation and even inspiration.

The first thing to be noted in an enquiry into the secret of the charm of Omar's poem is perhaps the fact that what is known as his Rubaiyat is not a single poem. It was Fitzgerald who gave that form by joining together a number of fugitive pieces, some of which were Omar Khayyam's and many written by others. Omar's own stanzas were imposed on many different occasions. He was a professor of Mathematics, and according to Dr. Arberry he recited a Rubai at the end of a stiff lecture just for the diversion of himself and his students. These were so popular that they happened to be preserved. This origin of the Rubaiyat suggests the mental state behind each Rubai, and takes away something of the sting that there would be if the sentiments expressed are taken to be serious expressions of thought and feeling. Even otherwise it is a fact that the best of minds, very often only the best minds, have their moments of doubt and darkness and desperation. Not only great mystics but also men of such differing mentalities like Wordsworth and Carlyle have had their passage through the valley of the shadows. To all such and to all whose minds are agitated by spiritual disturbance the echoes that they find in so many of the stanzas of Omar Khayyam must give a sort of consoling,

even if disturbing pleasure. At moments, for many,

'T is still unclear, for what sublime
And purposed end, so cunningly
The Artist of Eternity
Arrayed me in the bower of Time.

Again many may complain:

Much have I wandered over the face
Of earth, by mountain and by plain,
And all my wandering was in vain:
The world is not a better place.

Whether these thoughts be right or wrong, their reflections in the poem give a sort of pleasure of present sympathy or of past experience. Then from these when the poet rises to a sort of courage there is again a peculiar pleasure, as when he says,

If unto us no rose is given
We are content to gather the briar,

or

I am not one to brood with fear
Upon the hour I shall depart:
That half of life delights my heart
Far more than this I suffer here.

The complaint of suffering here and the consequent dissatisfaction is increased by a sense of fatalism. However false the notion may be it is a general fear that so much is fated by the superior powers, and this feeling recurs again and again in the Rubaiyat.

Since thou hast written long ago
Whatever good I may have sought,
Whatever ill through me is wrought,
What, Lord, remains for me to do?

The good and the ill are given, or rather, with the good the ill is always given:

He Who hath given to the fair
The laughing lips of merriment
Bestows, as please His intent,
The sighs of anguish and despair.

Nay more, griefs are many times more than the good things. Hence,

Make haste to taste thy fill of mirth,
Ere the cold blast of Fate arise
And drive our life-wisp down the skies
Like rose petals spilled to Earth.

This may not be anybody's settled philosophy of life; but there is no doubt that a sneaking, fleeting feeling of that kind disturbs the undercurrents of weak humanity. During such aberrations of the

* Times Literary Supplement.

† The Aryan Path February, 1947.

mind there may even be moments of rebellion and even of blasphemy, not consciously nursed or accepted. Many stanzas of Omar Khayyam must appeal to moods of this kind.

It is said that intensity of feeling can make even wrong doing appear attractive and even beautiful. That is sufficient justification for the attraction of many passages in the Rubaiyat. There is such heartiness in the presentation of the joy and delight of the wine, and there is such tenacity in the toper's pursuit of the goal that the stanzas are capable of giving sheer delight to all but narrow puritanical minds. Such devotion as the following lines show must needs have special treatment :

O let me with good wine be fed —
My dear companions, do not fail! —
Until my cheeks, now amber-pale,
Be changed to rubies, rich and red.
And when I die, as die I must,
Wash my cold body all with wine;
Carve me the timber of the vine
For coffin to preserve my dust.

After death if the clay of his body is to be used for anything else he asks that it may be used to shape a "rounded bowl". Finally,

"If, on the day when all shall rise,
Ye should desire to search for me,
Be sure, as you shall see,
Before the tavern's threshold lies.

Hence

Come, darling wine, to my embrace,
My only love, fool that I be,
And I will drink unceasingly,
And never fear for the disgrace.
Come, help me to my drinking now,
And I will drink, till all who spy
My rounded paunch will gape, and cry,
"Ho, vat of wine, whence comest thou?"

What can indeed be done with a man with such singlehearted devotion?

But it is not singlehearted devotion to the goblet that is the only charm of the Rubaiyat. As presented by Fitzgerald and as now presented by a new translation by Dr. Arberry (from whom the quotations here are taken) there is great variety in the attractions of the poem. Heartly enjoyment of the pleasures of life and love is interspersed with a great deal of wisdom. There are vivid glimpses of an understanding of the true relations between God and man. In spite of all the tall

claims he makes the author is perfectly aware of his utter insignificance before the creator of everything. This fills him with a most refreshing humility, which is all the stronger on account of his sense of sin. At the same time his trust in God is such that he sees no cause to despair. Worry in any case is folly and it ought to be avoided. There is a stout heart behind that outlook. And that heart he wants to keep joyous, for unless the heart is free of care nothing we have can give us joy:

If my dear darling leaned on me
And pressed her ruby lips to mine,
If my glass held in lieu of wine,
The Fount of Immortality:

Or were my music Venus' voice,
And Jesus' self my comrade glad,
Yet, if the heart in me was sad,
What reason were there to rejoice?



Irving M. Ives, United States Senator from the State of New York, was unanimously elected chairman of the International Labor Organization by delegates from 66 countries at the 36th annual Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland.

Educational Research and Reconstruction of Indian Education

BY PROF. P. S. NAIDU, M.A.

Head of the Department of Education, Allahabad University.

II PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO INDIAN EDUCATION

FROM ends we now turn to means. Philosophical research having formulated the aims of Indian education, and Sociological research along with Surveys having indicated the lines along which our educational system should be reorganised, we have now to devise methods for carrying out our educational plans. It is here that Psychology comes in. The techniques evolved in the psychological laboratory can be adopted with considerable advantage to the solution of educational problems. And the modern statistical methods that have yielded striking results in psychology may also be applied to educational data. One healthy effect of the steady application of these highly specialised experimental and statistical techniques will be to keep out the unqualified and incompetent lay meddlers in education.

Our first need in respect of the means for carrying out educational plans is a set of tools for sizing up the psychological nature of the school going population with a view to determine their educable capacity, and their normalcy or otherwise. The psychological and educational norms for Indian children are bound to be different from those for the young ones in foreign lands, as our social and cultural climates are unique. It is utterly fallacious to accept norms drawn from foreign studies. Hasty improvisations based on foreign models will only lead to confusion. What we need at once is a reliable tool for the survey of National Intelligence of the school going population in our country, and of adults also if possible. The forging of such a tool is a stupendous task, but it must be done. It must be accomplished by a band of educational psychologists drawn from different parts of the country and working in collaboration. The great value of a

general intelligence scale to the research worker in education will be readily recognised. Whether one is engaged in the study of educational and vocational guidance, of backwardness in school subjects, of attitudes and interests of boys and girls, or even of behaviour problems in the infant school, one has perforce to gauge the 'g' factor on the population under observation. Even in dealing with the minor problems arising in the class room, the research worker will find the determination of I. Q. necessary in the interests of his investigation. In fact, I. Q. is the basic factor in all practical studies in education. And the absence of a scale for measuring it is keenly felt by those of us who are engaged in educational research. I can speak from bitter experience in this field. The progress in many a significant practical problem taken up by my students in the post-graduate and research sections of my Department is being held up for want of a reliable intelligence scale.

Alongside the general intelligence tests, verbal and non-verbal, we should take up the construction and standardisation of achievement tests in all the school subjects. Here, of course, there will be wide variation from state to state. Within the limits imposed by the language and the courses of studies the work of bringing these scholastic tests into existence must be taken up by the teachers themselves. Without these tests, several pressing problems in the field of practical education will remain unsolved.

Apart from these tests we have to mould other psychological tools for assessing individual differences among children. Tests of aptitude and interests and of personality suited to our conditions have to be constructed. Psychological studies have also to be made of differences due to sex, age and the home and school environments. These differences are of great importance in educational guidance.

Let me refer to a very restricted region of this field of study, namely, difference in image-type and their bearing on the modes of learning in children. It will be seen at once how profoundly significant these differences become in the class room.

There is one field of research in educational psychology to which little or no attention has been paid and that is the exploration of the emotional life of Indian children, at the conscious as well as the unconscious level. The emotional climates of different countries have of course certain broad similarities. Fear, love, hate, and aggression have a certain family likeness all over the world. But the significant local differences due to different cultural backgrounds and family atmosphere have to be studied if we are to succeed in educating the youth of our country on right lines.

Vocational Guidance is looming large in our horizon just now. But vocational guidance will be fruitless unless it is preceded by educational guidance in the secondary school. The question which the research worker has to face and answer in this context are these; What are the causes of important individual differences between children? To what extent is the 'cast of mind', to use a characteristic expression of the Norwood Committee, determined by heredity, and to what extent by the environment? At what age is this 'bent' clear enough for purposes of educational guidance? What psychological justification is there for directing boys and girls into literary, scientific, constructive and aesthetic groups? Does factorial analysis reveal the existence of as many as four factors, or fewer? Over what period of time should this classification be kept fluid before it is made finally rigid? Here we have a battery of problems which requires a team of research workers for its solution. Our requirement at the moment is a systematic and exhaustive study of the different phases of the psychological development of boys and girls in the Secondary School. Child Psychology has done an excellent job of it in tracing development in early childhood, but development in early and late adolescence is still a sealed book to us. In the absence of these developmental

studies we cannot forecast what type of education will best meet the needs of our children.

In the programme of scientific means which we have to devise for realising the ends of a truly Indian system of National education, we have perforce to give top priority to the forging of psychological tools. Without these tools nothing of value may be achieved in education. Of course, these tools have to be supplied to us by the psychologist, but when this help is not forthcoming it is best that the task is taken up by the research worker in education.

THE CURRICULUM

Next in importance comes the unexplored region of the curriculum. We seem to have taken the existing curriculum too much for granted. That large areas of it were lifted bodily out of alien curricula and transported to our educational system without any reference to our national traditions, and that those areas completely fail in respect of one of the most fundamental aims of education, namely, the transmission of our own culture, are being seen only now. The research worker has a plentiful crop of fruitful problems in this field.

The school curriculum can never be static. The world is changing, and our knowledge of this changing world is also changing. The question that we have to answer is the question that Spencer asked long ago:—'What knowledge is most worth?'. Is it knowledge of craft or of food production, or of home management or of poetry and mathematics? No answer can be given offhand. The answer will depend firstly on our philosophy of education, on the aims that we have accepted as being legitimate for Indian education, and secondly on the psychological stage of evolution of the mind of the children for whom the curriculum is intended. Research then is needed to determine these two aspects of our curriculum.

Typical examples of the problems that curriculum research has been handled may be found in the Report of the Norwood Committee. Is there an optimum age for teaching children to read? When should

the formal teaching of number begin? When should children begin to study history chronologically? What is the best age for beginning a foreign language? Should general science be taught along with physics, chemistry and biology, or should the former precede the latter? True, these questions may be answered on the basis of crude experience of teachers, but we need authentic answers based on objective research, because experience may be varied and may lead to conflicting conclusions. Witness what the Norwood Committee has to say about History.

By some teachers the purposes of the teaching of History are regarded as so comprehensive and of such paramount significance in education that the place of History and its accompany studies would absorb the major portion of the curriculum. By other teachers it is felt that history demands an adult mind and interests, and that it is in the sixth form that real historical study should begin.

Again speaking about foreign languages the Report says,

A beginning in foreign languages cannot be postponed to the age of 13 plus. We consider that the first language should begin at 11 plus. Pupils who show promise should begin a second language almost at once. We should suggest too, that Latin might be the first language more often than is at present the practice.

We see at once the relevancy of the conclusions, particularly of the last one, to the conditions prevailing in our country at the present moment. However valuable they may appear at first they must be tested, and such testing can be done only by the research worker.

Apart from these, there are the psychological and psychoanalytic foundations of the curricula that have not been studied by research workers either here or abroad. Even the existence of a psychoanalytic problem has not been suspected by our scholars. Consider for instance, the role of science in our curricula. What part does it play in developing the total personality of the child? Which of the deep lying urges and impulses does it touch? Does science help in resolving the complexes hidden in the unconscious or does it only tend to add to them and create frustration in the minds of children? What is the result of the impact of science on the deep unconscious, or the racial unconscious? These are a few of the questions which crop up as the student

of educational psychology enters into curriculum research. These are ignored in the usual type of curriculum research in foreign countries.

Not only in respect of science, but in respect of every subject included in the curriculum, even in respect of such subjects as craft-work, modelling and handwork, there is urgent need for probing into their psychological and psychoanalytic foundations.

THE TEACHER & HIS PSYCHOLOGY

One other research problem in Educational Psychology deserves immediate attention, and that is the Psychology of the teacher. There is a peculiar Indian tradition of 'Teacherhood' handed down to us from ancient times by those remarkably gifted teachers, the Upanishadic Gurus. Now, what is the secret of those spiritual giants? What was the nature of their mental make-up which fitted them peculiarly for the teaching profession? How did they manage to transform or transmute their unconscious so that it neither affected them adversely nor infected the minds of their pupils? Can we make a successful job-analysis of the ancient teaching profession in our country? And can we with the aid of such analysis construct a Teaching Aptitude Test for selecting candidates for admission to our Training Colleges? These are challenging questions which must be taken up at once by research workers in the field of Educational Psychology.

EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

Having marked the high lights in the field of Educational Psychology, I pass on to the next group of problems which I designate the Technological group, comprising the administrative, organisational and methodological problems in Education. Some amount of research has been done in this field. The cost of administration, the function of inspection, the causes of wastage, the optimum size of the class have been studied in a way. I should like these studies to be reopened and redone along strictly scientific lines in the changed environment in our country.

And I may mention that new problems are appearing in our horizon. The multilateral school which is being brought int

existence in certain states is bound to create a plentiful crop of problems for the research worker, and so is the question of bilingualism in the new set-up. And even the perennial problem of examinations is going to take on a new colouring in the changed atmosphere in our country. These and other questions of a similar nature have to be viewed in their proper Indian perspective for purposes of Educational research.

THE RESEARCH SCHOLAR IN EDUCATION

From a survey of the problems let us turn to the worker who has to handle these problems. We should constantly keep before our mind the fact that the field we are to investigate is a social field. We should, therefore, take full advantage of the newly forged weapons of sociological research. The research worker in education should familiarise himself with the latest developments in Sociometry and Experimental Sociology. Educational research is peculiar and exacting in the sense that it demands of its votaries qualities which make for success in the humanities as well as in the positive sciences. The ability for synthetic creative thinking and the ability for handling objective data by rigorous quantitative methods are both required in the field of Educational Research. And in addition the research worker in our field should have thorough mastery over statistics. I am convinced that our serious shortcomings as psychologists in this country are mainly due to the absence of a well organised Indian School of Statistical Studies. It is gratifying to note that our Government is thinking of establishing an Asian School of Statistics. I should like to prescribe a course of thorough training in Statistics for all research workers in Education. Besides, I should like to insist on every aspirant for the status of a researcher in Education acquiring a grasp of Contemporary Psychology with its educational bearings. In particular the potential research worker should be completely at home in modern Depth Psychology. Without an understanding of the forces operating at the unconscious of the learner, in the learning situation, it

will be vain to expect any significant results from research in Education.

Next to the research worker, the organisation for developing research merits our attention. We need at once an All India body for co-ordinating and guiding Educational research in our country. An All India Council for Educational Research with a Central Bureau attached to it should be brought into existence immediately. The aims of the Council should be similar to those of the Committee for research which was constituted by the British Psychological Society a few decades ago. Our Council for Research should formulate problems in order of priority, advise individuals and institutions about their research programmes and put them in touch with experts in the field concerned, collect and disseminate results of research, prepare and publish summaries of current research studies, maintain files of research journals, bulletins, reports etc., organise a central reference library, provide statistical and mechanical aids to calculation, provide expert statistical assistance where needed, and also maintain a record of failures in research as a warning to research workers in education. If we are to achieve any significant results in educational research we should bring into existence an All India Council of Educational Research with branches in every state in our country. Let us hasten to bring such a body into existence.

CONCLUSION

Let me now sum up by mentioning the order of priority that I should like to assign to research problems in Indian Education. First the Philosophical with the Sociological problems closely following on the heels of the former, then the Psychological and finally the Technological group of problems such is the order that I wish to prescribe for our research workers. In a sense it is true that all problems are of equal importance and that attempts should be made to solve all of them simultaneously. But if we are to have a hierarchical grading among them, then the order mentioned above is the best suited to our conditions at the present moment.

—Concluded.

Compensation to Displaced Persons from West Pakistan

BY PROF. A. C. MINOCHA, M.A.,

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THE problem of integrating displaced persons into the economic system of the country has been carried out in two stages; interim relief, and rehabilitation to end the necessity of continued relief. Rehabilitation is more important than relief. Up to the end of 1952-53, a sum of Rs. 125.65 crores has been spent on the relief and rehabilitation of refugees from West Pakistan. The following table contains a broad outline of the expenditure incurred by the Government from 1947 to 1952-1953.

Grants	..	55.32	Crore Rs.
Loans	..	20.19	" "
Housing	..	49.26	" "
Establishment	..	0.87	" "
Miscellaneous	..	0.01	" "
Total	..	125.65	" "

Out of roughly 25 lakh urban displaced persons from West Pakistan, housing provision has been made approximately for 23.71 lakhs. Over 150 colonies and townships have been built to accommodate them. At present only 37000 unattached women and children and old and infirm persons are being looked after at the government expense. Government has discharged its obligations to evacuees well, and a reasonable degree of success will be conceded to it in an impartial verdict.

But one important problem which still awaits solution, is the problem of compensation to urban refugees from West Pakistan. Permanent urban rehabilitation largely depends upon the payment of compensation for immovable property left in Pakistan. The rural compensation in the form of quasi-permanent allotment of land was made in most cases three to four years ago. This gap of three to four years in the case of urban compensation is being felt by the urban refugees from West Pakistan.

About three and a half years ago, claims under the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act were invited in respect of urban property left by displaced persons

in West Pakistan. The Act did not include (1) immovables (2) properties belonging to trusts (3) certain kind of rural houses of those who have not received rural compensation in the form of land. (4) open plots in village sites. The Chief Claims Commissioner has estimated that the claims passed by the Claims Organisation, aggregate to Rs. 625 crores. To this figure may be added the value of land possessed by displaced persons in Sind and elsewhere who have not been allotted evacuee agricultural land.

There is complete unanimity about the need for the payment of compensation so as to make rehabilitation on a permanent basis. The main controversy arises regarding the compensatory pool and the method of payment. The question of compensation has been under the active consideration of the Government of India for a long time and the government have made certain commitments for its payment. The late Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar held out solemn assurances with regard to the payment of compensation. Government's commitment was embodied in the Ayyangar Formula which is contained in the following utterance of Sri Ayyangar:

There would be three sources from which such compensation would be paid. Firstly, the properties left by Muslims in India, say X. Secondly, such difference in values of respective properties as may be realised from Pakistan, say Y. And lastly, a substantial amount from the Government of India, say Z that you rest assured would satisfy the displaced persons.

The above statement of Sri Ayyangar was highly welcomed in refugee circles and displaced persons were made to believe that compensation was round the corner. Ever since the Ayyangar formula, Teck Chand Committee and later on a series of conferences invited by the Rehabilitation Ministry in September 1952 to hammer out a scheme for compensation, emphasised that a cash contribution over and above government's assets in the form of houses and loans, would be made by the Government of India

But all the hopes of displaced persons regarding a handsome contribution by the Government proved false, when Sri Ajit Prasad Jain, the Rehabilitation Minister, declared in the Indian Parliament in its last session that nothing was final about the scheme of compensation. Sri C. D. Deshmukh in his replies on Finance Bill conceded that the government were committed to the payment of compensation but did not accept the payment of a handsome contribution from public funds towards compensation. In other words compensation could only be paid out of the evacuee property pool or after a settlement with Pakistan but there was no commitment so far that government's own resources could be utilised for the payment of compensation. It is quite true that the Ayyangar formula was propounded before Mr. Deshmukh joined the Cabinet but that does not mean that the Commitments of the government change with a change in the personnel of the Cabinet. After rosy and buoyant utterances of Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain regarding compensation, the news that government will not contribute a handsome amount to the compensatory pool as promised by Sri Ayyangar, came with the "shock of an anti-climax". The compensatory pool as visualised in the scheme of the Rehabilitation Ministry consists of the following items;—

(a) Evacuee property valued at 90 crore Rs.
(b) Money invested in houses and loans total 82 crore Rs. (3) cash contribution of the Government of India-15 crores.

Total.....187 crore Rs.

The above pool can only meet 30% of the claims registered but in the case of rural rehabilitation the compensatory pool met 66% of the land claims.

Again the evacuee property pool valued at 90 crore Rs. has uncertainties and complications. Today's estimate may substantially be reduced in the final reckoning. It will take time to enact laws for the disposal of evacuee property and by that time the evacuee property will further deteriorate and its disposal will not fetch the same amount as visualised in the scheme. Secondly, houses have been built by the Government at a high cost which includes

'departmental charges' of C. P. W. D. and contractor's profits. Expenditure of housing (nearly Rs. 60 crores) also includes the sums incurred on roads, parks, schools, hospitals etc, the provision of which is the primary duty of the state. Moreover, money spent on temporary structures and tents cannot be recovered as none of them can be sold. Total amount of loans which has been advanced to displaced persons from Western Pakistan, is 22 crores. These loans have been advanced to refugees under (a) urban small loans, (b) Rural loan scheme, (c) educational loans. These loans have been paid to petty agriculturists, businessmen and cottage industry workers, most of whom are not in a position to pay and so these loans will have to be scaled down or written off on humanitarian grounds. Making allowance for these factors, the compensatory pool will boil down to one third of the amount envisaged in the above scheme.

Taking all factors into consideration, we conclude that the total amount of 187 crore Rs of the compensatory pool is an overestimate. The amount payable from this pool will not even be sufficient to pay 20% of the verified claims. This is quite a meagre amount as compared with the allotments made to rural refugees. This sum is quite inadequate for rehabilitating 25 lakh urban refugees who have exhausted their resources during this period of six years. The problem of urban rehabilitation hinges on the payment of compensation. The hopes of getting something from Pakistan (Y in the Ayyangar formula) have not materialised. There seems to be no gain of Karachi talks on the issue of immovable evacuee property. The gap between the Indian claim and the Pakistan claim is a vast one. The Government of Pakistan does not accept a solution on a government-to-government basis but insists on the exchange of properties on individual-to-individual basis, which is not acceptable to the Government of India. There has been no assessment of evacuee property in Pakistan and unless this is done nothing substantial will emerge from the talks of the officials of the two governments. Thus for the present we rule out any amount to be recovered from the Pakistan

Government. If the scheme of rehabilitation is to spell rehabilitation, not frustration, the proposed cash contribution will have to be very considerably augmented.

There are instances in the past when compensation was paid out of the government funds. During the World War II the U. K. Government paid compensation to those whose property was destroyed by enemy bombing. The Government of India paid compensation to the victims of Kangra earthquake in 1905. Only a few years ago compensation was paid to sufferers of an explosion in Bombay docks. Recently the Government of India agreed to give cash and land grants to political sufferers. Displaced persons have suffered on account of the Partition of the country, and have paid the price of our freedom. They can be treated on the lines of political sufferers. Similar instances may be multiplied to show that substantial amounts have been paid as compensation from the government funds.

Recently the Government of India have announced a list of high priority cases for payment of compensation for property left behind in Pakistan. These include, widows, old and disabled persons, inmates of widow homes and infirmaries and persons living in mud huts in the Punjab and certain new refugee townships. The allottees of mud-huts in the Punjab and Delhi by an order of the government have been made permanent owners against their claims of property. But such type of high-priority refugees form a very small minority of the total claimants.

A SCHEME FOR COMPENSATION

* If the Government are to give about 60% compensation against assessed urban claims, as in the case of rural refugees, the total pool will have to be increased to the extent of 400 crore Rs. and not 187 crore Rs. as given in the scheme of the government. Taking the pool of evacuee property and loans at a liberal estimate of Rs. 100 crore, the Government have to contribute about 300 crore Rs. to fill the gap. This amount is not to be paid immediately in one instalment but its payment may be extended over a number of years. The payment of Rs 60 crore annually from the government finances will save considerable amount in capital

expenditure which is otherwise unavoidable. Annually the Government spends large amount of money on urban displaced persons in the form of loans, maintenance allowances, education, housing etc. Such expenses will be saved if compensation is to be paid. Payment of compensation will affect economies in recurring expenditure and expenses on infirmaries and rescue homes will considerably be reduced and some economies in administration will also be possible. A part of the amount is to advance against evacuee property and loans, part is to be paid out of the proceeds from evacuee property and part is to be given in the form of cash or bonds maturing within 3 to 4 years. The interim payment of 60 crore Rs. can be made against evacuee property and loans. Delay in the payment of first instalment will cause further frustration among refugees.

Another method for finding the wherewithal for compensation suggested by economists and refugee leaders, is the imposition of capital levy. But the Government of India has neither accepted the proposal for capital levy nor the liberty tax. If we consider the large amount of money which the government have to pay to refugees from West Pakistan and then from East Pakistan at a later stage, capital levy of a minor amount becomes inevitable. Such a levy is not something unprecedented or fantastic. In national emergencies of extra-ordinary magnitude, fund-raising devices tapping the entire population have been resorted to. Without such a levy it is not possible to raise funds for the rehabilitation of refugees.

The problem of compensation is of great importance and to think that by disdainfully ignoring the problem the government can restore social equilibrium would prove a sad delusion, for a huge floating population is the deadliest potential enemy of peaceful progress. Programmes for rehabilitation must become an integral part of the programmes for the reconstruction of the economy. Rehabilitation is not an isolated problem but a part of the general problem of developing the country.

IRON BOOMS IN BELLARY

By MR. RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI

FOR ages the rock hills in west Bellary and Sandour have enjoyed a stillness unmolested even by the forest ranger. The presence of manganese in Sandour was known and taken advantage of by foreign firms but iron though noticed in the entire range was mined for only desultorily. Of late, however, the number of mining concerns has increased from a handful to 35 or so. As someone humorously remarked the age-old hills are being cut away and sold at a profit of Rs 5 per ton! Some believed that at this rate the hills will disappear in 5 years! Speculations from Bombay have, on the other hand, taken lease of some hills for 50 years and they anticipate enough business for 300 years and have invested even in branch railways from the foot of the hills, to cut expenditure on transport.

Iron mining is good business if India will only carry the ore in her own ships to the port of the buyer; for iron ore at Madras harbour is paid for at Rs. 47-8-0 per ton free on board whereas Japan pays Rs. 160 per ton free on sea. But the way investors have crowded into the business narrowing down the margin of profit is cruel; no bank would advance money on iron ore mining.

The woes of one iron ore miner are worth retailing. In the first place he has to provide himself with a Government licence for mining. The fee is Rs. 100 per year. If it is Government land that he is going to mine he has to make a deposit of Rs. 200 and a payment of Rs. 1-0-0 per acre outright. The royalty to Government is fixed at Rs. 0-8-0 per ton of iron ore and he has to meet also the land revenue to Government. Above all these, he has to grease the whole way, top to bottom, before he can get started with these preliminaries and this snow-balls to Rs. 2000, to put it cheaply.

If the land selected for mining happens to be privately owned, the land owner demands from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per acre. Land near the hills is richer in iron and calls for higher payment, sometimes as high as Rs. 2000 for 100 acres. The approach road to the mine-field is a costly

outlay. Right of way cost Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and the formation of the road spells thousands of rupees. In one case it was Rs. 3000. It should be negotiable by lorries. Private land bears the revenue to Government but royalty has to be paid by the mine-owner.

Having got the land and acquired the right to mine, the prospector secures the labour. Iron ore is about 4 feet from the ground level. Middlemen maistris undertake to find labour at Rs. 10 per 100 c. ft. (10x10x1) of iron ore broken to pieces of about 12" to 18" and stacked. The labour had to be supplied with pick axes, crowbars, shovels etc. at the cost of the mining concern and also housed on the land in huts erected to withstand sun and rain. Each hut measuring 20 x 10 feet costs Rs. 100 and at least 5 such huts had to be provided. The implements took away Rs. 1000. In order that stacked ore was not pilfered away and otherwise to stand guard over the camp two Gurkhas had to be engaged at Rs. 75 per month. Even the Gurkhas had to be supplied with kurkis at Rs. 20 each. And there was the establishment for accounting and supervision. Altogether for 10 men, 2 Gurkhas, office staff, office rent, stationery etc. the miner whom I interviewed said that he spent Rs. 1000 per month.

Let us assume that the mining has started and stacks of iron ore are ready for transport. The nearest railway station, Bellary is 10 miles away and transport by private lorry is billed at Rs. 5 per ton from site to railway yard, loading into and unloading from lorry inclusive. At the station yard plots had to be rented out so that the material could lie over for shipment by waggons. Plots were rented out from the Railway department at Rs. 53 per 1000 sq. feet per year. At least three plots were found necessary for this mine owner. Here again labour had to be engaged for stacking at Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per woman or man mazdoor. Loading into waggons was carried on round the clock, waggon position being on the run throughout. On an average 500 tons were despatched monthly by this mine owner to Bombay for shipment

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IRON BOOMS IN BELLARY

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to the continent of Europe at 10 dollars Free on Board.

At Bombay the consignment had to wait for a ship for four months at a time and so at the dock rent had to be paid at Rs. 900 per plot of 1000 sq. yards for stacking per month. Each shipment was roughly 2000 tons. Before the buyer agreed to buy he took certificates of analysis of the iron ore—one by the exporter of the stacked ore at the mine and the other by the buyer before shipment at the dock, analysed by an analyst of international integrity and repute. The cost of analysis ranged from Rs. 50 to Rs. 62 and the percentage of iron in the ore was fixed at 62 as standard quality. Anything above 62% was paid for pro rata. Iron ore from Bellary usually yielded from 62% to 70% of iron. 10 dollars per ton was the price for 62% Fe.

There were other ports for clearing iron ore such as Marmagao on the west and Madras, Kakinada and Vishakapatnam on the east. Disembarking was also at American or Japanese ports. The mine-owner whom I contacted affirmed that 10

dollars meant Rs. 47-8-0 per ton as against the cost price of Rs. 44 or 45. The margin of profit was only Rs. 2-8-0 per ton, he said. On an average the investor could make from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1250 per month which was poor return for the outlay. After all, the business could not last for more than 5 years, he said and it depended so much on waggon position, shipping position and international relations. I pointed out that if war broke out — "Not in the near future..." he broke in and even if it did, he felt sure the Government would nationalise mining of iron and block private enterprise from making huge profits.

There were other gamblers in the market, who exploited, bought and sold at the railway yard, took big risks and speculated, jeopardised quality and lowered the integrity of international trade. Their concerns 'floated' really and dissipated profits in cut-throat competition but to the layman one thing was clear, solid wealth could be gained only with solid wealth even though it was handy for the mere scratching of the soil.

BEFORE THE FACT: A SHORT STORY

By MR. L. D. CLANFIELD

"WHETHER or not Freud unduly stressed the sexual angle of motives or inhibitions, frustrations and the like is really still a question. But we are learning that the subconscious or the unconscious, whichever you like, is the real ego or self. The surface mind, which the layman believes to be the true consciousness, is now suspected to be a mere vehicle by which the wishes and desires of the inner or central self are expressed."

The psychologist lit another cigarette and continued: "We cannot explain paranormal happenings. We only know that such do occur. All we can do is to record them and hope that in due course they may provide us with a basis or line of thought. Thus we hope to eventually build up a set of laws which may be applied as are those of other

sciences. Consider a case of this nature. Ten years ago today - for I remember the date very well - a man came to see me. He told me that he was suffering from a very disturbing series of dreams. It seemed that every night for the last ten days, those previous to his visit to me, he had dreamed that he had murdered his wife. Each dream was exactly the same and followed the same sequence of events. They started with him getting out of bed and stealing over to that of his wife and looking at her with hatred. Then, on a sudden impulse, seizing pillow and suffocating her by pressing it over her face. My patient told me that he never actually saw her face but knew it was his wife because of her vivid red hair. He lit no lamp and the crime was committed by the light of the moon which, he impressed

SIR RONALD ROSS

BY SRI N. HARINARAYANA

upon me, was very bright. Much brighter than he had ever seen a moon.

By questioning I obtained the following information. That he was nearing seventy and his wife had been dead for over twenty years. He had never married again for he had never felt any desire to do so. His married life had been very comfortable and he had never felt any desire that he was aware of to hurt or injure his wife when she was alive. This gentleman - I shall mention his name later - then gave me two important pieces of information. First, he told me that his father had been a very choleric and jealous man and that his mother had possessed beautiful red hair when she was a young woman. Second, he had a son in India. But he made it clear that his son was unmarried and unlikely to marry. An abortive affair of the heart while the boy was at the University had turned him into a confirmed misogynist. Of course, I did not place much reliance on that. Probing deeper - he came to see me a number of times - I found that lately he had been suffering from insomnia. A chemist he had consulted had recommended some sleeping tablets and it was due to these that the old man was being sensitized. How and why, I do not know for the pills were of a common brand. I switched him over to something else and his disturbing dreams immediately ceased. So he paid my fee and went away happy.

But I wasn't happy because although I had succeeded in stopping the dreams I still did not know why they had ever occurred. There must have been a reason. I tried to get in touch with my patient again but he had died suddenly of heart failure. And that, I thought then, closed the case. But I was wrong for a small item of news in this morning's paper gave me the answer after-mind you - a lapse of exactly ten years. Running through this morning's news I came across an unusual name for an Englishman, that of Hector Arthur Priam. My old client had been named Priam, and I had no doubt that the man referred to in the paper was the son. It appears that young Priam, a Univer-

sity Professor in Calcutta in Eastern India had married a much younger woman than himself. And note this well - a woman with flaming red hair. Well, the young wife soon found that the staid and elderly professor could not satisfy her hot blood so she took a lover. The Professor bore his wife's infidelity for some time then suddenly murdered her. He got up in the night and suffocated her with a pillow. Just as his father had dreamed of doing."

Taking a few sips of his drinks the psychologist resumed his narrative:

"Now I would remind you that in his dreams old Priam remarked upon the brightness of the moon. It was, of course, a tropical moon that he was seeing. Considering this case with its murder sequel in Calcutta I came to the inescapable conclusion that in some inexplicable manner a murder instinct or wish in the grandfather had been strong enough to transmit itself through two generations and find culmination in the grandson.

This sounds incredible, but private inquiries I had made into old Priam's family justified it. Old Priam had told me that his Mother was famed for her lovely red hair. But what he didn't tell me - for reasons of family pride, no doubt - was that his mother undoubtedly gave his father serious cause for suspecting her fidelity. From that I deduced that the seeds of murder were planted in the grandfather but did not mature until circumstances were just right and parallel. This happened exactly in the case of the grandson, red hair and all. If we can pass on physical and mental traits why not those of the unconscious of which we know so little."

The psychologist paused to light another cigarette. Nodding seriously he then said: "Yes, I knew that would be your first question. Why did not the grandfather murder his wife? He never got the chance for he was found dead in his bed one morning. The verdict was heart failure and it may have been. But I have often thought that his red-haired wife may have forestalled him.

"HE slew the dragon and delivered mankind from the immemorial bondage". Thus wrote *The Times* of the man whose most memorable achievements were made in India. This was when Sir Ronald Ross passed away on September 16th twenty years ago. His life is a remarkable story of dogged persistence and brilliant achievement, and was spent in the service of humanity.

Born on the 13th of May 1857 at Almora, Ronald showed early inclinations and interests which certainly did not promise the man he had become in his later life. He displayed an artistic bent at an early age; he loved poetry and music and cultivated both. Not only in his youth but later in his life when he had become celebrated for his scientific achievement, he wrote poems which were published at various times. A contemporary appraisal of his poetry is as follows: "His warmly humanitarian outlook often moved him to satire while his practical view of life preserved him from decadent tenderness. The lyric element was strongly present in him." Perhaps even if he had not unmasked the killer among the mosquitoes, he could still have relied on his poetry to keep his name alive!

His marked artistic aptitudes left his father unmoved. His father, an army General, had decided upon a medical career for his son, and carried out his decision. In 1874, Ross was at Bart's, pegging away, doggedly at medicine. In spite of his undoubted intellectual ability, Ross did not distinguish himself at college. Perhaps this was due to his preoccupation with too many subjects at once. He became a brilliant dabbler, and there might have been fear whether he would remain one. "He devised new methods of shorthand and phonetic spelling, studied mathematics, and invented a new system of geometry and entered the realm of astronomy and philosophy." But one desire underlay these frantic excursions into fresh fields the desire to do something for humanity. It was only a matter of time and chance to know which field of activity he should choose as giving him the greatest opportunity for his humanitarian work. Ironically his own choice fell on medicine last.

However Ross got his degrees, went through the training and joined the Indian Medical service.

He returned to India and was posted to Secunderabad. Still unable to grasp an idea of his mission in life, he went through his routine duties for twelve years. But what he saw in the hospitals changed his mind. A large number of British soldiers, infected with malaria, were admitted into the hospitals every year. It was widespread in the country and took a toll of lives. A large number of people perished due to this dreaded disease, and a larger number suffered from it. The agonised faces of the patients wrung from the poet in Ross the following lines:

The painful faces ask; can we not cure?

We answer, No, not yet; we seek the laws.

He made up his mind to seek the laws in earnest after twelve years of of routine work.

But there had been doctors and scientists before him, who had made their own discoveries in this field. Alphonse Laveran had conclusively proved that malaria was caused by a parasite which got into the blood and multiplied enormously there. This was a severe blow to the age-old belief that malaria was caused by bad air breathed from marshy places, swamps and stagnant pools. It was not all. The problem was, how could it get into human blood and how did it spread? Sir Patrick Manson, who had earlier proved that filariae, which caused elephantiasis, were conveyed from one human to another by the mosquito, suggested the possibility of the mosquito being the agent for the spreading of malarial infection also. This was supported by the fact that marshy places which were the breeding grounds of the mosquitoes, were also hot-beds of malaria.

Ross's interest in malaria had been stimulated, and now he began to read Laveran's Theories and tried to test them by examining blood specimens of malarial patients. At first he was disappointed, and this led him to doubt slightly Laveran's conclusions.

His doubts were cleared by Patrick Manson in 1894. That year Ross went to

England on furlough and one of the first things he did was to arrange for the publication of one of his novels. After this he went to Bart's where he met Manson, and their acquaintance grew into a fast friendship lasting their lifetime. Discovering Ross's enthusiasm and sincerity, Manson initiated him into his own theories, showed him the parasite and the characteristic black pigment accompanying it, and encouraged him to start work to prove the mosquito as the carrier of the malarial parasite and to trace the parasite from human to human.

Ross's enthusiasm swelled. So impatient was he to start work that as soon as the ship, carrying him to India, set sail, he began to prick his fellow passengers for drops of blood and to examine them. On landing, he obtained more blood specimens from the Indians at one rupee a prick!

Ross realised the stupendous task before him. There were about 2,000 varieties of mosquitoes, and he must find out which among them carried the malarial parasites. Back in Secunderabad, he started a mosquito farm, and began to breed as many species as possible. His investigation consisted of making the mosquitoes bite malarial patients, then dissect them after sufficient time had been allowed for the parasite to develop, and examine their various parts under the microscope. All his research was carried out in his spare time. Working eight hours a day besides his official routine, he toiled away at his experiments, and as time after time the parasite eluded him, his determination to track it down grew stronger.

Patrick Manson, with whom he was in constant correspondence, encouraged him constantly.

The first major interruption occurred when he was in the middle of his work. He was transferred to Bangalore as sanitary officer to deal with the cholera outbreak there. Ross was dismayed but he had to comply with the orders. However his research work was not broken off completely and there he formed the conclusion that the culex variety of mosquito, responsible for elephantiasis infection, was not the one he was seeking. After one year of work, he finished his duties in Bangalore in 1897, and was granted two

month's leave. As a holiday resort, he chose a malarious jungle, and naturally was himself stricken with malaria. He was almost pleased with it, and he remarks that he gave a warm reception, to the parasite by dosing himself with quinine, and then brought out his microscope and counted the number of parasites in his own blood, and calculated the time they took to breed.

When his leave was over, and his application for an extension of the leave was turned down, he went back to Secunderabad, and continued his researches with unabated vigour. The hot summer months passed by and August came, but there had been no results so far.

On August 20th, he was doing his experiments as usual. The mosquitoes were being dissected and examined under the microscope. Batch after batch disappointed him, and he came to the last batch, obviously tired. He did as usual and looked through the microscope and then found the unmistakable black pigment in the lining of the walls of the stomach of the mosquito, and the cells of the parasite. He was so tired that, after noting down this fact, he went to sleep and only after waking up, did he realise the importance of the observation! The elusive parasite had been tracked down at last! The carrier of the malarial parasite was at last identified as the species of mosquito known as 'anopheles.' Ross was so excited and elated over this discovery that he broke into verse:

This day relenting God
Has placed within my hand
A wondrous thing; and God
Be praised. At His command
Seeking his secret deeds
With tears and toiling breath,
I find thy cunning seeds
O million murdering Death.

For the rest of his life, that day was celebrated as the 'Mosquito Day.'

But still his work was not over. True, he could see the mysterious flagella in its true colours as a male sperm of the malarial organism, wriggling about in the mosquito's stomach in search of a female cell to fertilise. The carrier of the parasite had been identified, but how did it transmit it to another human being? Was it thro' drinking water or by its bite?

Just as he was getting down to seek the answer, he received an order from the army authorities to go to Bombay. That would mar his research work, and hence Ross protested and begged to be allowed to remain in Secunderabad to continue his vital work. But it was in vain. In December of that year, his account of the discovery was published in the *British Medical Journal* while he himself was languishing in Kherwara, a tiny station devoid of malarial specimens. Manson however used his influence at the Colonial Office and managed to get Ross's case heard. This time, the army authorities went to the other extreme. In January of the following year, Ross was ordered to Calcutta for full-time research but was asked to investigate, besides malaria, the other tropical disease, Kala-azar and was given six months' time for both tasks! Ross knew it was too heavy a burden and told the authorities so but they stood firm. The best he could do was to get permission to tackle malaria first.

Since he could not get malarial specimens, he set to work on a similar parasite found in birds. There he finally proved that the parasite went back to man the same way it had come—by the bite of the mosquito, and thus completed the life-cycle of the parasite. Ross proved it by letting mosquitoes, fed on malarious sparrows, to bite twenty eight healthy sparrows, twenty two of which showed symptoms of the infection, after a week.

He communicated his discovery to Manson and Laveran. Manson announced his colleague's discovery to the British Medical Association in July, 1898. Since Ross was engaged in his work on kala-azar afterwards, it fell to other scientists to work out the life-cycle of the human malarial parasite. The 'bad air' theory however died hard, and some scientists were slow in accepting Ross's theories. Manson however supplied convincing proof and shattered their scepticism.

The greatness of Ross lay in the fact that he was not merely a rigid scientist interested in dry-as-dust theories. He did not trace the life-cycle of the parasite for the pleasure of doing so; he spent exhausting hours at his research work so

that he might rescue mankind from the terrible scourge. He did not rest on his laurels but energetically threw himself into the task of protecting and safeguarding mankind from the dreaded disease in the future. He declared that the only way to stop the spreading of malaria was to remove systematically the breeding-grounds of mosquitoes. He put his theory into practice when he took out a private expedition to West Africa, instructed the local authorities as to how to control mosquito-breeding and showed them how to do it. He called it 'sanitary Bolshevism'. This successful operation of his led the French Suez Canal Company to invite him to undertake a similar mission in Ismailia in Egypt. As a result of their work, in four years, the incidence of malaria there almost dropped to nil.

Ross retired from the I. M. S. in 1899, and was given a post at the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine where he remained till 1912. Then honours flowed to him in a continuous stream. He was made a Fellow of Royal Society in 1901, awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1902 and knighted in 1911. During the first World War, he was given the post of Consultant in Malaria, and served in that capacity at various places. He was awarded the K. C. M. G. for these services. In 1926, the Ross Institute and Hospital of Tropical Medicine was established.

Now thanks to Ross, Malaria, which has slain its millions, is no longer a mysterious disease. It is still stalking humanity but not with such deadly terror. The Panama Canal which at first could not be constructed owing to the prevalence of Yellow fever and malaria there was later completed after the whole region had been subjected to sanitary measures. The development of the prophylactic treatment of the disease and the improvement of sanitary measures by the discovery of the insecticide, D. D. T., helped the Fourteenth Army in its advance thro' the Jungles of Burma during the Second World War. Such has been the advance in malarial control after Ross's discovery that mankind can almost say: 'O Death, where is thy sting?'

Origin and Growth of the Indian Navy

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[President Dr. Rajendra Prasad reviewed the Indian Naval Fleet in the Bombay harbour in front of the Gateway of India on October 10. The President as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces witnessed the most spectacular ceremony in the history of the Indian Navy. This is the first review of Indian Naval Fleet ever to take place.—ED. I. R.]

THE history of the Indian Navy, as we know it today, dates back to 1613, when the Indian Marine was constituted as a fighting force of the East India Company and played its part in the wars against the Portuguese and the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

In 1685 the headquarters of the Indian Marine were moved from Surat to Bombay and the following year the name of the service was changed to Bombay Marine by which name it was known till 1830.

Up to 1735 the ships of the Marine were built in Surat but in that year the present dockyard site in Bombay was acquired and developed as a building yard. By 1775 the Bombay Dockyard was comparable with any in the world and it was universally recognized that a Bombay teak-built ship was superior to the vessels built in Europe. The only ships-of-the-line ever built for the Royal Navy outside the United Kingdom were built in Bombay.

During the First World War several of the troopships of the Royal Indian Marine (as the Service was then known) were converted to auxiliary cruisers and in this capacity they served with the East Indies Squadron of the Royal Navy in the Persian Gulf and in the Red Sea.

R. I. N. COMES INTO BEING

After the Armistice in 1918, the Royal Indian Marine was reassigned its pre-war tasks but in 1928 the service was reconstituted on a combatant footing. Six years later the Indian Navy Discipline Act was passed by the Indian Legislature and on September 8, 1934, the Royal Indian Navy came into being.

During the Second World War the Navy expanded from a force of some 2,000 officers and men to a total strength of 30,000 and modern ships began to be added to the Fleet. Sloops of the Royal

Indian Navy undertook convoy duty in the North Atlantic and in the Indian Ocean and also assisted in various evacuation operations.

During the operations in Burma the Royal Indian Navy acted in support of the Army and took part in several successful combined operations on the Arakan Coast. After the war Indian ships proceeded to Japan as part of the occupying forces.

Before the dawn of freedom—August 15, 1947—India could hardly be said to have a Navy of its own. What small forces of ships and escort vessels existed was merely an adjunct to the Royal Navy although it did useful work during World War II. August 15, 1947, found this small force further reduced owing to the partition of the country in which roughly one-third of it went to Pakistan together with the three of the most important naval establishments.

India, therefore, had not only a great deal of leeway to make in developing her navy but had also to begin almost from the beginning in building up her naval establishments. Besides, there were other problems that called for attention—modernisation of armament and equipment and re-orientation of training methods, and, above all, the gradual Indianisation of the Service.

Plans for the expansion of the Navy were immediately taken in hand by the Government of India. Before the year was out, an agreement had been reached between the Governments of India and Great Britain under which H. M. S. ACHILLES, a 7030-ton Leander Class cruiser which distinguished itself in the memorable battle of the River Plate, was to be transferred to the Indian Navy.

When the cruiser renamed as DELHI, arrived in Bombay on September 15, 1948, the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,

was himself there to welcome the Indian Navy's flagship with due ceremony. He described it as "a symbol of the gradual growth of our Navy" "DELHI is young for us", he said, "but it is also old and hardened in experience". A cruiser, he added, was an emblem of war but it was also an emblem of war to help maintain peace.

FORMATION OF SQUADRON

The acquisition of DELHI was followed by the appointment of Vice-Admiral (later Admiral) Sir Edward Parry, (who commanded the ACHILLES during the battle of the River Plate) as Commander-in-Chief, Indian Navy. He held this office from August 15, 1948 to October, 1951.

A beginning has thus been made. It was followed, the next year, by the purchase of three destroyers from Britain, H. M. S. ROTHERHAM, REDOUBT and RAIDER and later renamed RAJPUT, RANJIT and RANA respectively. After a thorough work up in the Mediterranean the three Destroyers arrived in Bombay in January, 1950. With these was formed India's first destroyer flotilla under the command of Captain A. Chakraverti.

Simultaneously, with the frigates JUMNA, SUTLEJ, KISTNA and CAUVERY, which came to India's share after partition, a frigate flotilla was formed under Capt. B. S. Soman.

TRAINING ESTABLISHMENTS

Having acquired the ships, the problem was to get the officers and men for these ships and to train them. India on partition had lost three training establishments, a number of experienced officers and men and she needed specially trained staff. Here, the Admiralty came to the help by undertaking to train officers and men in batches.

At home, too, the training establishments at Jamnagar and Bombay were expanded and new training centres were opened at Cochin and Vishakapatnam. The Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun (now known as the National Defence Academy) was re-organised in January, 1949 and a Joint Services Wing was set up to give combined basic training to future officers of all the three Services. The Naval cadets of the joint Services Wing, after doing a combined course for two years, are sent to the U. K. for

further training extending over four to six years. It is, however, planned to carry out their entire training in India as soon as facilities for such training are sufficiently developed.

The principal training centres that India got on partition are I. N. S. SHIVAJI, the Mechanical Training Establishment for officers and ratings at Lonavla (Bombay) and I. N. S. VALSURA, the Electrical School at Jamnagar. In 1948 new training centres were added—I. N. S. NENDURUTHY at Willingdon Island, Cochin, and the Boys Training Establishment at Vishakapatnam.

The Cochin centre has had a large number of direct entry officers and ratings and is now the largest I. N. training centre with courses in Seamanship, Gunnery, Signals, Torpedo and Anti-submarine, Supply and Secretariat and Cookery.

NEW NAME & ENSIGN

On January 26, 1950, came a change in the name of the Navy which was of considerable significance. On that day it dropped the title 'Royal' which had been associated with it for long and since then it came to be known as the Indian Navy with the White Ensign yielding place to the Indian Navy Ensign at all Naval establishments and ships.

Similarly, in the crests of the Indian Navy the old Tudor Crown was replaced by the Asoka Lions and the former Star of India by the Lotus.

The next epoch-making event in the history of the Indian Navy took place on May 27, 1951. On that day, the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of India's Armed Forces, presented the President's Colour to the Navy at a ceremony in Bombay.

Though the Indian Navy has been making good progress in every sphere of its activities, it has still a long way to go.

NO OBJECTION

It was a pleasant summer evening and the young man had been parked on the girl's front porch for hours.

"Would you like to take a walk?" she suggested at last.

"I'd love to," he agreed.

"Well, then," she retorted yawning, "don't let me stop you."

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

HOUSEWIVES OF HARROW

BY MR. EDWARD JAMESON

In Memory of English Train Disaster, October 8th, 1952.

It is not always in October
That grief falls like rain.
But we heard the bell toll, though far
away
Though far away on a cool crisp
morning.
We had talked of Autumn and a week's
end wandering
Over rough terrain toward the painted
woods,—
And we recalled the sombre sun,
Red, and fallen low
In the late afternoon,

It is not always near the sweetbriar
That Death awaits us slyly there . . .
I thought of another one, as you or I,
That Sunday treading the silent
yielding turf
Down in a copse and through a grove
of beechen trees.

The commuter with his ticket
Dashing through the wicket
To another routine day ;
And the lady on her way
For the latest tea-room chatter,
And such other things that matter.
A boy in knee-length pants,
From Sussex or from Hants,
Who was taught to Sir
All he deemed superior.
Old ladies bowed and bent,
Wearing lace and lavender scent,
Musing on the Diamond Jubilee—
(It might have been to you, or me !)

They had been just little girls,
Wearing pinafores and curls,
Years ago when they rode down
To see the Queen at London town . . .
"And think that we have lived, my
dear,
To see the young'un crowned next
year!"

It might have been to you, or me,
Sucking at a plum,
Or gazing out of the window tediously,
Heedless of a distant drum. . . .
The squire who weekly rode to Hounds,
Was on his way with fifty pounds ;
And brokers' clerks, who daily ride,
Laid the business phrase aside,
And transformed themselves to sport-
ing men,
—An act that daily reached its acumen :
"It was hardly cricket," one began . . .

And now who would know it
Which was Agnes Drew, and what was
Corporal Blowitt ?

Fog-bound, holding death ;
What I don't know is this ;
With what foreknowledge or on what
golden promise
Do others die more bravely ?
I stood with the housewives of Harrow
And watched them wind the long white
winding sheet
With their hands humble, yet holding
tenderness, pride ;
We might have been more brave, in
death, knowing this.

TODAY (October 24) is the United Nations' Day when India once again re-affirms her faith in the ideals for the realisation of which the world organisation was established eight years ago. It is well-known that the U. N. has frequently strayed from the noble principles which are enshrined in its charter ; and that particularly during the last 12 months many of the decisions it has taken have created frustration and dismay in India and elsewhere. But as the Prime Minister recently declared in reply to suggestions that India should withdraw from the U. N. :

The U. N. in spite of all its failings—and they are many—nevertheless is a great world organisation. It does contain within it the seeds of hope and peace and it would be a most unfortunate and perverse attitude for any country to try to destroy this structure because it is not to its entire liking.

The India Government had held steadily to this belief and firm support of the U. N. has been one of the basic principles of India's foreign policy. At the same time, it is realised that the U. N. is what its members make of it and that inevitably the present international strains and stresses have had their impact on every unit of the organisation.

As far as India is concerned, her firm belief in the U. N. has impelled her to take an active part in the organisation within the limits of her capability and within the policy she has elected to follow of friendship to all countries. India's contribution to the U. N. has been recognised by the election of Smt. Vijayalakshmi as President of the General Assembly. This was the first time a woman has been elected to this high office.

India is also a member of the Economic and Social Council and of a number of specialised and subsidiary bodies including the Committee on Information from Non-Self Governing Territories, Peace Observation Commission, International Law Commission, Fiscal Commission, Statistical Commission, Transport and Communication Commission, E. C. A. F. E., Social Commission, Commission on Human Rights, etc.

In all her activities in the counsels of the U. N., the aim and objective of India and her representatives have been to secure, in the interest of peace and human betterment, the maximum agreement possible on all reasonable proposals. She has tried to judge each question as it arises on its merits and in conformity with the spirit of the Charter.

It is against this background that India's participation in the attempt to solve the Korean issue in the U. N. should be judged.

Ever since war broke out in Korea in June 1950 with possibilities of the conflict spreading in the Far East, India has attempted both within the U. N. and outside to use her friendly influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities.

The people of India can take legitimate pride in the fact that the ceaseless efforts of her Government and leaders contributed to resolving differences and the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea. This contribution has been recognised by the entire world. As a recognition perhaps of these efforts, India was called upon by both the commands to undertake the onerous task of Chairman and executive agent of the N.N.R.C. in Korea. India agreed to accept this responsibility which involved the sending of about 6,000 Indian troops.

The part which India has played in bringing about peace since the war broke out in Korea in 1950 can be considered to be the high water mark of her policy of friendship and peace as well as her participation in the counsels of the U. N.

Another important contribution by India to the U. N. has been in the sphere of human rights and welfare. During the last five years, the greatest challenge the U. N.'s has had to face to its Charter and Declaration of Human Rights has been from South Africa. The Government of that country has been busy reviving through the apartheid laws the Herrenvolk doctrine against which the world rose up in world War II. India brought up the issue of the treatment of

people of Indian origin before the General Assembly in 1949 and in subsequent years and despite the U. N. caution to South Africa not to proceed with the Group Areas Bill that Government has placed it on the Statute Book and started implementing it. India has continued her efforts in the U. N. against this inhuman law and in the Seventh Session as well as in the current session, the matter has been kept alive by India's delegates.

Under the 1952 December resolution of the U. N. a three-member Commission to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa was appointed. The report of the Commission, just published, completely vindicates the Government of India's fears that the South African Government's policies constitute a threat to world peace.

India also took a leading part in the debates on the Tunisian and Moroccan questions.

India's firm belief in the U. N. has impelled her to join in the attempt to

make it what its name implies—"United Nations". The basic question in the words of the Prime Minister is "whether it is an organisation which offers scope to every independent country to come into it or whether it is a selective organisation of nations representing some particular viewpoint." India has continually urged the inclusion of the People's Republic of China which speaks for over 450 million people and without which the U. N. is incomplete. India also supported last year the inclusion of new members, namely Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordan, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal and Libya and Japan.

Less spectacular than the activities of the political bodies of the U. N. but of more lasting and greater human value has been the work done in the economic and social fields by various commissions and specialised agencies of the Organisation.



UN General Assembly President Mme. Pandit of India, is shown as she welcomed former U.S. President Harry S. Truman on his visit to UN headquarters.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

India and South Africa

In another page we publish the substance of the report of the U. N. Good Offices Commission in South Africa and India's stand on the South African issue as presented by Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal in the U. N. Political Committee. Mr. Jooste the South African spokesman has since replied to the charges levelled against his Government. Any one who reads the two statements will be struck by the difference in the tone and temper of the arguments urged by the spokesmen of the respective Governments.

Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal reiterated that the South African Government had been deliberately following discriminatory policies against Indians and persistently refusing to co-operate with the U. N. in settling the differences.

This is common knowledge borne out by experience in recent years and obvious to all disinterested observers. But what was Mr. Jooste's answer? He coolly suggested that India preferred not to have her differences with South Africa composed and that she had a motive for not doing so—it was part of a wider campaign to besmirch the fair name of South Africa. But what are the facts? Year after year, the U. N. Assembly has called upon the South African Government to suspend the implementation of its anti-Indian measures and enter into direct negotiations for a settlement. But it has always refused to do so. It has also arbitrarily declined to co-operate with the Good Offices Commission set up by the U. N. which ultimately had to report its "inability to carry out its tasks." Not only has the South African Government by its deliberate policy of racial discrimination against Indians violated the fundamental principles of the U. N. Charter and provoked conflicts which are a danger to world peace but it has also flouted the authority of the U. N. of which it is a member. As Mr. Dayal told the Committee, the issue is not the exclusive concern of India or South Africa.

Violation of the Charter is a matter in which the whole membership of the U. N. is concerned and which only the U. N. can remedy.

Now the question of the treatment of the people of Indian origin in South Africa had been under discussion between the Governments of India and of South Africa for almost half a century. Various agreements were arrived at which the South African Government had honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

It is because the position of the Indian population, instead of improving, has been steadily deteriorating that we were compelled to bring this matter before the U. N., he said.

In our view, the present actions of the Union Government amount not only to a breach of international agreements but also of the basic provisions of the Charter to which that Government, like all other member Governments has subscribed.

This organisation, therefore, is doubly interested in this problem and the fact that it is seized of it should assist in a peaceful settlement of it by negotiations and would by no means hinder such negotiations.

Indeed as has been repeatedly pointed out the U. N. would be false to its trust if it fails to take note of the South African Government's continued recalcitrance and to try in every way to uphold the principles of the Charter and secure equality and justice for oppressed nationals.

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.

One more link with the past has snapped in the passing of Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, veteran Congress leader and ex-Minister of Madras. A social reformer from his early days and a pioneer in agricultural improvement, Dr. Rajan was versatile in many ways having been a popular Doctor and a successful author in Tamil. One of the earliest of Indian revolutionaries who worked in close collaboration with the late V. V. S. Aiyar, Dr. Rajan lived to be a successful Minister of Health in the Rajaji Government. His record of active service both in and out of office is one that will long be remembered not only in his own home town but throughout the Province.

United Nations

October 24 marked the eighth anniversary of the United Nations Organisation, an institution which came into being on the ashes of the League of Nations. The new organisation has achieved much and failed much too. Those who harp on its defects and failure forget that it is perhaps the only organisation that has in it at least the seeds of hope and peace in a world distracted and that the present as well the future of mankind would be much more dismal if there were no such common ground for all nations to gather in. No wonder that the occasion is marked by celebrations by some 80 nations of whom 60 are member nations.

As a matter of fact it is an occasion not so much for rejoicing as for re-assessment of what the U. N. has done and of the possibilities in store for it. In judging its record in the past we must remember one or two important factors which have a direct bearing on its work. In the first place it must be remembered that it was the creation of the big Powers who won the great war. Their immediate aim was to enforce peace. There are yet a few countries which have not been admitted into the organisation. And then it is "neither a world Parliament nor an organ of world government established in a democratic basis." These are obvious limitations under which it is now functioning. It is up to the member nations to make it a world organisation of undisputed authority with the power, moral or physical, to enforce its sanctions on recalcitrant nations. As it is there are dissensions even among the original big four and the defiance of more than one member nation now and then, makes it appear impotent or superfluous. But with all these limitations it still remains the one world forum for aggrieved nations. Is it nothing that the U. N. makes it possible for the whole world to listen to both sides in great debates? How much of jealousy and fear which might otherwise break into deadly action could escape in

the smoke of mere controversy? And then it cannot be denied that it has shown courage of conviction and acted up to its resolve in a case like Korea.

And so as we look back upon the last eight years, says Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the President of the current session in her birthday message:

We cannot but admit that progress towards world peace has neither been from nor fast, but on the credit side of the United Nations ledger is a picture of men provided by the United Nations Organisation at work in large areas of the world eliminating disease and helping to raise living standards. In other areas, the United Nations is at work trying to ease frictions that might lead to war.

Nobel Peace Prize

Mr. George Marshall, former United States Secretary of State and author of the Marshall Plan, has been awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize.

Churchill's eligibility for the prize for Literature has been questioned in certain quarters, not altogether without justification, but none will dispute the Peace award to George Marshall of the United States. This is, of course, in recognition of the aid to war-scarred Europe by a plan which is named after him. The Marshall Plan has undoubtedly given a new lease of life to the devastated areas in Europe and the prosperity of West Germany as the rehabilitation of France and Greece and other countries owe not a little to his exertions.

Mr. Marshall first won world prominence as United States Chief of Staff in World War II. After the war he led a United States mission to China in an abortive and controversial attempt to make peace between the Communists and General Chiang Kai-shek. President Truman called on him to occupy the highest American Cabinet post as Secretary of State in January 1947. Placed in charge of United States foreign policy he gave his name to the Marshall Plan by which America poured out wealth to help west European reconstruction.

Albert Schweitzer, musician, theologian, philosopher, author and medical missionary in the African jungles—gets the award for 1952.

Indian Custodian Force

By all accounts the Indian Custodian Force in Korea is doing its job with skill and patience and the President of the Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission Gen. Thimayya has been praised for the tact and judgment with which he handled more than one ugly situation in the P.O.W. Company. The success that has attended their efforts has elicited warm appreciation of other neutrals though South Korea at one time threatened to undo the good work so chivalrously undertaken by India.

Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, paid a tribute to the part played by the N. N. R. C. and, in particular, by the Indian Chairman, General Thimayya, and by the Indian troops under the command of General Thorat. He said in a reference to Indian troops in Korea in a statement on world affairs in the House of Commons:

With exemplary tact and patience they have controlled the turbulent prisoners and are carrying through the first stages of a difficult process of explanations as provided for in the Armistice Agreement.

The other day Mr. R. G. Casey, Australia's Minister for External affairs, paid a glowing tribute to the work of the Indian Custodian Force in Korea, and said:

The situation there calls for infinite patience on the part of those in charge of the Indian troops. India has shown a good deal of patience, and I think the officer-in-charge there, Lt-Gen. K. S. Thimayya, Chairman of the Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission, would do well to continue his persuasive tactics which, I feel sure, will succeed in the end.

America, afraid to strike but willing to wound, has unfortunately tended to encourage South Korean intransigence, though she has subsequently seen the error of President Rhee's ways and pleaded with him for moderation. American critics of India seem to show little understanding of the difficult role that India has undertaken. They forget that this role was not sought after by India but that it was thrust on her; and India fully alive to her responsibilities as a member of the United Nations has shouldered the burden no less than the privileges of this position. To persist in regarding India as an enemy of South Korea just because she gives ear—

as she should—to Communist complaints, is obviously unfair. It was unfortunate that several anti-Communist prisoners had been killed in riots, but discipline was necessary and the riots, as has been pointed out by a leading American newspaper, were not markedly different from those of last year in which American troops had to use force.

There is every reason to expect and insist that India will interpret the regulations fairly with justice to individual prisoners.

Certainly, the United States cannot afford to impugn the motives of such an important friend as India merely to assuage the prejudices of Syngman Rhee. Nor can we dictate that the Repatriation Commission adopt only our views if we ever expect to find neutral nations to take on other dirty jobs in the future.

"The Rhee Government, as every one knows, is anxious to resume the war; and as the *Washington Post* observes:

It does not follow that its standard of judgment is a fair or reliable one for the United States and United Nations Command to adopt.

Nobody will envy the Indians their work under circumstances of great difficulty and suspicion of interested parties. Let it however be remembered that they did not ask for the job, and once they had undertaken it they are not likely to shirk it to oblige Rhee or others of his ilk. But as the *Manchester Guardian* rightly pointed out:

The Indians' task is hard enough already, with tempers in Korea frayed and running short. Is should not be made any more difficult by needlest criticism from outside.

Our Task in Korea

Prime Minister Nehru said at Patna that India was not going to shirk the responsibilities it had undertaken in Korea.

He referred to certain criticisms that had been voiced in India to the effect that India had unnecessarily undertaken a dangerous task in Korea and said:

Have we learnt in all these years to turn our back at the slightest sign of risk or danger? We shall not shirk our responsibility in Korea. We shall try to fulfil it to the best of our ability."

"Generally", Sri Nehru said, troops are sent to other lands to fight battles. But we do not want to fight with any one. I want you to know that our troops have gone to Korea carrying the Indian flag, the symbol of peace and goodwill, on a unique mission of peace.

They would try to discharge their duties peacefully and truly and would not shirk their responsibility, he added.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE PROMISE THAT IS NEW CHINA, By Prof. K. T. Shah. Vora & Co., Bombay. 342 pp. Rs. 4-8-0.

WINDOW ON CHINA. By Raja Hutheesingh. Casement Publications Ltd., Bombay. 191 pp. Rs. 2-4-0.

CHINA IS RED WITH PEASANTS' BLOOD. By B. Sitaram Goel. Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta. 92 pp. Rs. 0-6-0.

RED BROTHER OR YELLOW SLAVE? By B. Sitaram Goel. Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta. 82 pp. Rs. 0-6-0.

One would have thought that Communist Shah and Socialist Hutheesingh, who both enjoyed the hospitality of New China at about the same time, would have submitted similar reports to the public. Actually, however, no two reports could be farther apart. They agree in their carping criticism of their own country and its leaders. As for China, Hutheesingh consciously refused to be taken in by the monotonous repetition of select slogans and statistics. Always anxious to strike a line of his own and too sceptical to swallow official propaganda, he cross-examined every possible source and very soon distinguished himself for the displeasure of his guests. The resulting findings are that the New Democracy is not Communism, based as it is on a peasants' and not a proletarian revolution, nor yet socialism, but something in between, where private agriculture and industry are more than just tolerated. Hence Democratic Dictatorship, Democracy for the People and Dictatorship over the reactionary and anti-revolutionary. In the process of its establishment, the Dictatorship liquidated the recalcitrant even without the benefit of the law. Not that the law would have helped, for, in China, as in some other new democracies, an intolerant ruling party shows little consideration for popular reaction to legislation and presumes a man

to be guilty until he proves otherwise. Through Peoples' Courts, brain-washing, forced labour, artificial prices, Government monopolies, deceit and propaganda, the party in power keeps its hold on the people. The intellectual, the focus of revolt, has confessed and changed his philosophy or been wiped out. The peasant, the back-bone of the revolution, is propitiated by the dole of expropriated land and awaits ignorantly the inevitable doom of collectivisation. Hutheesingh ridicules the claims of industrialisation, increase in the output of food grains and the Huai River Project, as he found that these are of little little consequence.

From this highly critical estimate, we turn to Shah's promise. There is no doubt that Prof. Shah wanted to be impressed. Notwithstanding his preoccupations with a flighty Secretary, food, warm welcomes and the disputed leadership of the Indian party, he was impressed—mostly by the information furnished by Chinese. This and the predisposition towards Communism and charity to the guests detract from the value of this volume. Even factual data relating to the trip were collected from the Secretary's diary. These defects apart, it is clear that the credulity of the good Professor was exercised on occasions, as when the train was fumigated miles from the Korean front in an obvious effort to emphasize the complaint of bacteriological warfare and when inconvenient questions regularly elicited evasive replies.

Sitaram Goel is fanatically anti-communist and is prepared to make the same use of propaganda as his enemy. In his first pamphlet, his thesis is that the peasants' revolution involved the extermination of millions and resulted in no increase of food production. The other pamphlet seeks to establish that China is Russia's satellite and that Mao cannot be Tito. The moral is that we should keep away from Communism and China. Do we really require such propaganda?

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WRITERS AND THEIR WORK. CHARLES DICKENS: By K. J. Fielding; John Galsworthy: By R.H. Mottram; H.G. Wells: By M. Belgion; George Orwell: By Tom Hopkinson; Walter de la Mare: By Kenneth Hopkins, (Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras-2. 2sh. each).

These pamphlets published under the auspices of the British Council serve a very useful purpose in ministering to the needs of the growing body of English educated men in India. No less than 40 pamphlets dealing with the life and work of British authors have appeared so far. The latest in the series dealing with such popular authors as Dickens and Wells and Walter de la Mare are a welcome addition to a the series to which well known writers in contemporary England have contributed. Each is a study in cameo of the life of a poet or author of repute with a critical appreciation of his work, ending with a complete bibliography. For every age has its own perspective and it is good to have fresh revaluation of the works—even of the classics. Mr. Fielding is not so much concerned with Dickens as in his biographers; Mr. Mottram writes with evident appreciation of Galsworthy both as man & artist. Wells had never a sterner critic than Mr. Belgion. Mr. Hopkinson is frankly critical of Orwell; while Hopkins writes with evident enthusiasm on Walter de la Mare. There cannot be a more welcome or appropriate introduction to the study of the authors themselves than these brief but interesting studies in literary biography.

OUR INDIA—1953. By Minoo Massani. Oxford university Press, Mount Road, Madras, Rs. 5.

The first edition of Minoo Massani's masterly book on India with illustrations by C. H. G. Moorhouse was highly interesting and novel in its treatment of facts and figures touching the nation's life and economy. It at once caught the imagination of students and elders and became very popular. But it is obvious the figures and statistics could not be the same after partition and the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Mr. Massani has therefore revised the book thoroughly with additional illustrations by the same artist whose collaboration made so much for the popularity of the book.

MAHAYOGI By R. R. DIWAKAR, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY. Price Re. 1-12-0

Last year the Vidya Bhavan gave us Louis Fischer's two volume biography of Mahatma Gandhi. Appropriately enough on the 15th August this year we have a book of absorbing interest on the life and Sadana of Sri Aurobindo from the pen of Sri Diwakar, Governor of Bihar.

Son of an Anglicised Bengali, with a pure European education, scornful of everything Indian, Aurobindo became the pioneer of a patriotic movement for the liberation of India and finally a Yogi in the right Indian tradition. The story of of his inspiring life and thought is told in simple and moving words in a three hundred page volume packed with facts and details gathered from first hand sources.

Mr. Diwakar's book is a triumph of condensation dealing as much with the external as with the inner life of the Yogi. The scheme of the book is fairly simple. The first six chapters deal with the facts of Aurobindo's life and the gradual development of the drama of which he was the hero. The rest of the chapters are devoted to an intimate study of his Sadana, and his teachings which the author holds are far more important to humanity than anything else.

The book which opens with a foreword by Sri K. M. Munshi recalls Sri Aurobindo's attempt to convert the Congress into an instrument of revolutionary action. It may be that the attempt failed at the beginning but it was his programme of non-co-operation, boycott and swadeshi and national education and voluntary organisations that was so successfully worked out by Mahatma Gandhi and with such resounding results.

Mr. Diwakar has thoughtfully provided his book with a few appendices, a bibliography, a glossary and an index—all very useful for ready reference and invaluable to lay readers and book lovers.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

— z : —

- October 1 Andhra State inaugurated by Prime Minister Nehru at Kurnool.
- October 2 Gandhi Jayanti day.
—Indian troops restore order in Korea P. O. W. camp.
- October 3 Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer passes away.
- October 4 U. S. Government to consider non-aggression pact with Russia.
- October 5 Two more Ministers for Andhra sworn in; Pattabhirama Rao and Thimma Reddi.
—K. L. P. breaks with Congress.
- October 6 British military & naval forces despatched to British Guiana to check Communist domination.
- October 7 Stalin's son banished to Siberia.
—India not to withdraw from N. N. R. C. in spite of Korean threats.
—President inaugurates Chandigarh, new capital of the Punjab.
- October 8 Nehru cables to Churchill his concern over situation in P. O. W. camps.
- October 9 Commonwealth cricketers arrive in Bombay.
—Madras Cabinet expanded from 9 to 12.
- October 10 First naval review by President in Bombay.
—U. K. suspends Guiana constitution.
- October 11 Martial Tito warns he would send troops into Zone A of Trieste which Western Powers are handing over to Italy.
- October 12 Allen, U. S. Ambassador in India flies to Korea after talks with Nehru.
—Prime Minister Senanayake of Ceylon resigns.
—Sir John Kotelawala sworn in as Prime Minister.
- October 13 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates Consultative Committee of Colombo plan in Delhi.
- October 14 Ghulam Nadiq, President of Kashmir Assembly says that accession to India is "irrevocable."
- October 15 Sir Winston Churchill awarded Nobel Prize for Literature this year.
- October 16 India opens debate on S. A. apartheid in U. N. Political Committee.
- October 17 Madras Governor lays Foundation stone of Gandhi memorial at Rajbhavan Estate, Guindy.
- October 18 Britain, France & U. S. invite Italy & Yugoslavia to meet at conference to decide Trieste issue.
- October 19 U. N. Committee approves Bolivian motion urging Moroccans' right to self-determination.
- October 20 Sir Winston Churchill in the Commons favours big four meeting.
- October 21 Cairo talks on Suez fail.
—France boycotts U. N. Committee debate on Tunisia.
- October 22 Mr. Dudley Senanayake arrives in Madras.
—India & Pakistan announce conditions for R. T. C. talks on S. Africa.
- October 23 Japan elected associate member of G. A. T. T.
—Differences within N. A. R. C. on the question of using force.
- October 24 India Government issues Ordinance to aid Textile Industry.
- October 25 Italy offers to pull back troops from Trieste if Yugo will do the same.
- October 26 Ordinance on Bank liquidation issued.
—Additional tax imposed on extra-mill dhoti production.
- October 27 Dr. T. S. S. Rajan passes away at Trichy.
- October 28 U. N. Committee votes continuance of Good Offices body on S. A.
- October 29 India's first Radar Training Centre opened in Bombay.
- October 30 North Koreans agree to meet "explainers" at the instance of Gen. Thimayya.
—Mr. Nehru invites Ceylon Premier Kotelawala for talks on Indo-Ceylon issue.
- October 31 George Marshall of U. S. awarded Nobel Peace Prize for 1953.



READERS' DIGEST



DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Mr. Dulles, U. S. Secretary of State, says that "hunger, poverty, disease, and illiteracy provide an open invitation to subversion." He has in mind the subversion by communism, says Mr. M. N. Roy in the *Manchester Guardian*. But the same factors, which destroy the political and social stability of a country, "may make it ripe for the operation of subversive forces of another kind; communism is not the only threat to freedom and democracy."

The threat to democracy in India, he says, grows out of the cultural tradition and the prevailing intellectual atmosphere. A change of the latter is the precondition for the success of democracy in India.

Economic aid, however liberal, could not serve the purpose. In our time economically developed countries have fallen victims to authoritarianism and dictatorships. The experience in China proves that economic aid alone does not promote the cause of democracy in a country where a popular enthusiasm for that cause is absent.

A realistic approach to the problem of democracy in India in the light of the lesson learned in other countries shows the need for a powerful educational movement to change the mentality of the people.

The kind of education required cannot be imparted through the established academic institutions. Under the prevailing conditions these serve the purpose of intellectual regimentation; private institutions imparting a free liberal education do not exist in India. The prime need is not the reform of the education given to the masses.

What is necessary is that the mentality of the educated middle class, which constitutes the spearhead of Indian politics, must be changed.

Nationalism is still the predominating political passion of the educated middle class. Nationalism is a totalitarian cult. Its appeal to tradition also promotes the authoritarian mentality. As long as the educated middle class is inclined to a totalitarian cult and is culturally predisposed to authoritarianism, democracy hangs in the air. It has no social foundation.

The indifference of the middle class to the democratic values of life may breed communism as easily as authoritarian nationalism.

Supposing that economic development with American aid should improve the condition of the masses, an embittered and ambitious middle class will still be there to delude and mislead the masses. The siren call of communism reaches the Indian masses through the educated middle class. As a matter of fact, in the underdeveloped countries of Asia communism is a middle-class movement. The only hope for protecting democracy in India is therefore a free and liberal education such as will awaken the critical faculty in the educated middle class and teach them to place individual freedom above totalitarian or collectivist ideals.

It is hoped that the few Indians who have undertaken the uphill task of laying the intellectual and cultural foundation of democracy in this country will also have the benefit of American generosity.

A realistic view of the conditions in the country will enable the American friends of Indian democracy to appreciate the historical importance of the task undertaken by the promoters of an Indian Renaissance movement. By pointing out the threats to democracy inherent in Indian conditions Mr. Dulles has rendered a valuable service. It is expected that others should see that economic aid advocated by him by itself, will not go very far. It must be supplemented by what may be called a spiritual aid. And in that respect the great benevolent foundations of America can be reasonably expected to make their contribution to promote the cause of democracy and freedom in India.

GERMAN PLAN TO IRRIGATE DESERT LAND

An ambitious German plan, drawn up during World War II by Hitler's experts, to irrigate 5,000,000 acres of the Western Desert is now being examined by Egypt's revolutionary leaders.

The master mind behind the plan which aimed at turning the desert into the garden that it was in the time of the Roman Empire, is Georg Borg, the Wehrmacht's wartime chief of industrial production, who was specially chosen by Goering to carry out the project "when Romel's Afrika Korps had conquered Cairo."

The Borg Scheme would take at least five years to complete and its cost is estimated at £100,000,000.

Within ten years, it would provide food and employment for at least 5,000,000 of Egypt's teeming population.

WHY BUDDHISM DISAPPEARED FROM INDIA?

It is a moot question why a religion like Buddhism, which spread not only all over India but also over almost the whole of eastern Asia, should disappear from the land of its origin, leaving today only a bare trace in Chittagong, and in one or two isolated places in the country.

Muslim vandalism of the twelfth century, says Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt of the Calcutta University in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, was undoubtedly responsible for the extermination of Buddhism from India, resulting in the monks' flight with their manuscripts to Nepal and Tibet, but the actual basic causes for the disappearance were more internal than external. These may be analysed as follows:

1. *Loss of royal patronage* Scanning the history of the rise and fall of Buddhism during the first twelve centuries of its existence, it will be observed that its rise coincided with the patronage of kings and nobles, and its decline with the lack of such patronage. After Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, Buddhism maintained a thin thread of existence up to the time of Emperor Asoka under whose auspices it rose to the highest pitch of its popularity, but soon after his death it was relegated to a position secondary to the Jainas and the Ajivikas.

2. *Lack of a well-knit lay community.* The close relation that has been shown between the rise and fall of Buddhism and royal patronage and its withdrawal is mainly due to the fact that this religion was essentially a faith bereft of rituals and, above all, a faith that could be professed by a person belonging to any community, Brahmanic or non-Brahmanic. Its religious literature did not make any provision for its lay followers to perform the common ceremonies of birth, initiation, marriage, or death and allowed them to continue to observe the code of rituals which they were already observing. As a result, the lay devotees followed Brahmanic, Jain, and other customs and ceremonies though they might have developed firm faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, and they took the Trisaranas without the least hesitation.

3. *The worship of gods and goddesses.* The introduction of the worship of gods and goddesses in later Buddhism narrowed the gulf between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

4. *The appearance of the Tantric cult.* The incorporation of the Tantric cult into Buddhism further narrowed the gulf between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

5. *Absorption by Brahmanism.* The last and most important cause of the disappearance of

Buddhism from India was its absorption by Brahmanism. Though Brahmanism never openly permitted the conversion of non-Brahmanic followers, there are instances from the earliest times how, by covert means, the mass conversion of several non-Aryan tribes was effected, and then they were included in the Aryan fold and became part and parcel of the Brahmanic society.

The history of the admission of Sudras into the Aryan society reveals clearly this absorption of non-Aryans by the Aryans.

Ancient rishis like Agastya, says Dr. Dutt, at considerable risk to their lives, went to distant lands inhabited by non-Aryans, performed sacrifices there and observed religious rites till they were able to attract the non-Aryans into the Aryan religion.

Even today the same thing is happening, as we find when aboriginal people, with their savage beliefs and customs, settle down near a village inhabited by Hindus. The Brahmanas of the village in course of time approach these aboriginal people, incorporate their gods into the Hindu pantheon, and even officiate in their worship and rituals. The aboriginals take this as a great friendly gesture and lose no time in transferring their religious allegiance to the Brahmanical priests; and it does not take long to regard these aboriginals as Hindus though they are kept separate by caste and communal restrictions.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

Scientists forecast the shape of things to come here to-day with visions of cooking by the power of gravity and deserts made to flower with condensed sea water.

The keynote for the opening round of addresses at the annual Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was set by industrialist Lord Dudley Gordon, who outlined the prospects for "engineering in the next 2,000 years".

His opening speech to the engineering section contained these warnings and prophecies:

(1) The sun, the tides, the power of gravity and the hydrogen in the air and sea may have to be harnessed as power sources to replace coal and oil which is running out and water which is limited.

(2) Heat may have to be gathered from volcanic bore holes but there was the danger of "the release of forces which would obviously cause some terrible catastrophe."

(3) Agricultural production would have to be increased by better irrigation and this might even include using condensed sea water to irrigate vast areas such as the Sahara desert.

CANDID THOUGHTS ON NON-VIOLENCE

In the course of an article in the American weekly, *The New Republic*, the Rev Arthur W. Blaxall writes:

I am myself convinced that any individual whose conscience revolts against certain legislation is entitled to express his conviction by refusing to obey the law if he is prepared to suffer the consequences. I am, therefore satisfied in my own mind that there is ample ground in South Africa for peoples of all races to defy various laws on the Statute Book. As I say, it is a matter for the individual conscience, but when such a mental attitude is deliberately cultivated and trained it is natural that those who love peace above all things, and loathe violence in any form should carefully examine the organization before they give support either morally or practically. I have, therefore, had to ask myself a number of questions which I shall endeavour to enumerate as follows.

Can this movement in South Africa be called a spiritual movement, or is it merely an attempt to secure political advantage?

Twice I discussed it in the first six months of this year with Manilal Gandhi, who should be in a position to judge this issue. I gained the impression that at the beginning of this year he was very doubtful, but of late, from correspondence and articles in *Indian Opinion*, I gather he is impressed with the movement although still critical. It is not without interest that from the beginning the organizers have encouraged the people to observe days of prayer, and although it may be possible to criticize this it must be admitted that it indicates some measure of spirituality. It has been said again and again that the campaign has broken out because the non-Europeans are desperate and have no other way of expressing the fact that they are frustrated beyond endurance. To this must be replied that frustration has either spiritual influence, or an utterly demoralizing one. If it is spiritual influence it produces character which can go to great lengths as the world knows from the life of Mahatma Gandhi and others in other places. To me indications are not lacking that this campaign in South Africa is a spiritual development but I am still waiting to see it consolidate into a steady movement educating the masses to disciplined character development.

The movement, says the writer, has grown by the spiritual force of the non-violence which has been maintained. Many who were sceptical at the beginning have stopped to think. And in many cases thought has led to personal action.

It is the type of strength which grows by realization of itself; power of this nature will not be intimidated by threats of severe punishment. There is very little of accepted Communistic technique in this so it does not look to me as if

the few "named" persons exercise any influence out of proportion to their numbers....

The serious charge is that there is little leadership among the Africans and that they are entirely led by Indians. This is a serious thing for anyone to say without evidence which the writer personally does not think exists.

I know some leading Africans have refused to take part in the movement, but on the other hand many of those who are risking a good deal are men and women of high standing, and quite definitely not the type who would be influenced by anyone. It is a very serious thing in South Africa when people in responsible positions try to insinuate racial jealousies and antipathies which do not exist, or, if they do, are due to other factors which can be dealt with in their own sphere. Few things are more diabolical than a whispered campaign, a practice which has become all too common in South Africa.

Has the campaign so far justified itself? From several sides he has heard that even if it should be decided to close the campaign as such and dissolve the organization, leaving individuals to do as they may decide, the sufferings of those who have been in jail and beaten are fully justified by the fact that the non-European people have realized the power they possess even without resort to any sort of violence.

That worldwide interest has been expressed has also greatly encouraged them, although the more intelligent leaders feel embarrassment when some well intended friends overseas express themselves rather crudely, and are influenced by superficial knowledge of life in South Africa. However, there can be no question that non-European people in South Africa know that the moral support of freedom-loving peoples is behind them in their struggle to develop....

HARNESSING THE SUN

Harnessing the sun's energy is the newest idea for producing electrical power. Dr. Lawrence J. Heidt, associate chemistry professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. Alan F. McMillan have discovered such a method.

The technique involves the chemical breakdown of water into hydrogen and oxygen by the sun's rays, and later burning these two gases to produce heat.

Though it is still in an elementary stage, the scientists are nevertheless convinced that they have opened up a promising new line of research in harnessing the sun's rays, by using a sun-activated chemical system.

HALF THE WORLD ILLITERATE

Half the world's men and women can neither read nor write and there are no schools far nearly half the world's children, observes the United Nations Report published last month.

In some countries, the birthrate was going up faster than new school buildings, so that the number of illiterates was, in fact, increasing.

In almost all Asia, south of Russia, almost all Africa, much of Latin America and most of the Pacific Islands, the Schools' position was "gravely unsatisfactory" declared the fifth Annual Report of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

With the lack of schools, naturally, goes a high percentage of illiteracy.

The low productivity of these areas tended to drag down the life of the rest of the world by failing to provide raw materials and foodstuffs to meet the world's needs, and by their inability to buy products from countries in the more literate half of the world.

These considerations had helped determine the educational programmes of UNESCO—which has the twin aims of furthering the cause of peace and the common welfare of mankind—the Report declared.

To deal with the illiterate adult, UNESCO had developed the concept of fundamental education, which had now taken root in many parts of the world, and was developing rapidly. Systems of free and compulsory education, as developed in the West, appeared essential in countries which had not so far achieved universal school attendance.

The most important problem facing countries attempting to establish effective systems of compulsory education was the economic and financial one.

Popular demand for education was on the increase and Governments were opening schools with the most meagre means—often under canvas, in reed, bamboo and mud huts. Technical aid was already being given and international investment in many underdeveloped areas would eventually increase the resources of these countries.

IN DEFENCE OF LINGUISTIC STATES

Recounting the forty-five year old agitation which has at last borne fruit in the formation of the Andhra state, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Governor of Madhyapradesh who had himself taken a leading part in the movement discounts the popular idea that linguistic provinces are apt to lead to fragmentation of India. He says: "The measure will only add two more provinces to the nine that are tabulated under Part A. When this idea materializes, ten existing States will yield place to seven new ones as follows:

Existing States	New States
1. Madras	1. Andhra
2. Bombay	2. Tamil
3. Madhya Pradesh	3. Kerala
4. Travancore-Cochin.	4. Karnataka
5. Mysore	5. Maharashtra
6. Hyderabad	6. Gujrat
7. Coorg	7. Vindhya-Koshal
8. Sourashtra	
9. Vindhya	
10. Bhopal	

To carve out two additional provinces from out of a country which has an area of 12,80,000 square miles and a population of 35 crores is so small a change that a decade hence people will wonder why there was so much ado about so little an alteration. The Andhra Province cannot be administered aright by the Andhras or the non-Andhras or both unless it is recognised that it is not the result of a Depressed Class mission or a Backward Community movement, but that it is meant to realise Swaraj in its full import so that the spread of education in colleges, the conduct of the administration of justice in courts and the transaction of affairs in Councils may all be effected through the medium of the mother-tongue."

NOBEL PRIZE FOR MEDICINE

A British and an American scientist were jointly awarded this year's Nobel medicine prize by the Caroline Medical Academy.

They are Dr. Hans Adolf Krebs, professor of biochemistry at Sheffield University, and Dr. Fritz Lippman of the Harvard Medical School, now at Massachusetts General Hospital.

FACTS ABOUT THE ANDHRA STATE

The Telugu-speaking districts in the Madras State comprise of Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, parts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor. But the whole area where Andhras live and speak their mother tongue, Telugu, will comprise not only the above-mentioned districts but Ganjam and Koraput districts which are presently in the Orissa State; the eight districts in Hyderabad State viz. Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Atrai-i-Balda, Nalagonda and Mahaboobnagar and the Andhra areas of South Bastar and Chanda in the C. P.

The total area of the 11 Andhra districts is 67,284 square miles. According to a writer in the *A. B. Patrika* who gives statistical information respecting population and production in the New State, this area is comparable to that of Bihar, Bombay, undivided Punjab and Bengal. It is bigger than the States of Orissa, Assam, Sind and N. W. Frontier Province. The following table will show clearly the above facts:

Name	Square miles
Bombay	76,443
Madras	126,166
(Bengal) un-	71,442
(Punjab) divided	99,089
U. P.	1,06,247
Bihar	69,745
C. P.	98,575
Sind	48,133
Assam	54,951
Orissa	32,193
N. W. F. P.	14,263
Andhra	67,284

Now it becomes clear that the Andhra area of the present Madras State constitutes a territory which is only exceeded in extent by the State of U. P., C. P. and Bihar. As it is, the 11 Andhra districts of the Madras State constitute an area which is as large as that of Italy and much larger than Belgium, Holland, Greece, etc. If the undisputed areas are taken into account, Andhra State becomes the fourth biggest State in Indian Union. But if all the Telugu-speaking areas are combined, then 'Visala Andhra' State becomes the biggest State unit in the Indian Union.

The following table will show the population of Andhra in comparison with other States:

Name.	Population
Bombay	2,03,50,000
Madras	4,93,42,000
(Bengal) un-	6,03,07,000
(Punjab) divided	2,84,19,000
U. P.	5,50,21,000
Bihar	3,63,40,000
C. P.	1,68,14,000
Sind	45,35,000
Assam	1,02,05,000
Orissa	87,29,000
N. W. F. P.	30,38,000
Andhra	1,88,28,000

The population of the Andhra districts in the present Madras State is nearly equal to that of Bombay and bigger than that of Assam, C. P., East Punjab, Sind, West Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province. If the 15,00,000 Andhras of Ganjam and Koraput, the 1,00,00,000 Andhras of Telengana in Hyderabad State and the Andhras of Chanda and South Bastar in C. P., are taken into account, then the population of that Andhra State (Visala Andhra) will be bigger than that of any existing State in the Indian Union barring U. P. The most important thing which should be carefully noted is, that the language spoken by all the abovementioned areas belong to a distinct race which is not at all the case with the Hindi-speaking people of North India. No problem of the transference of population from one area to another will arise.

HIGHWAY SLAUGHTER

Every prospect pleases and only some drivers are vile, writes Ray Mom Moley in the *American News Week* taking stock of Automobile accidents in the United States.

We are killing about 40,000 in automobile accidents this year and maiming more than 2,000,000. Our accidents are costing perhaps nine billions in specie. The Korean war cost us in three years 25,604 dead, 8,529 missing, 2219 known captured, and 103,492 wounded.

Consider how we would feel and what we would do if a foreign enemy were conducting a truceless, ceaseless war against us which was costing, in civilian deaths, injuries, and material losses, the automobile figures cited above. And yet the enemies who are doing this to us are the fools who infest the highways.

HOW TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. V. L. Mehta, former Finance Minister of Bombay and a member of the Central Taxation Inquiry Committee, has pleaded for more production through small-scale industries for creating additional employment in the country.

In an article entitled "How to combat unemployment" in a recent issue of the weekly *Harijan*, Mr. Mehta says that it is "only when the production through small-scale industries replaces foreign production" that there would be a net gain from the point of view of additional employment. Among the measures suggested by the Planning Commission the "development and extension of cottage industries" should be considered as the most fruitful for increasing the scope of work "in the immediate future."

Mr. Mehta writes that

land development, land reclamation, soil conservation, extension of irrigation, intensive cultivation, introduction of dry farming, resort to mixed farming, encouragement of subsidiary occupations for agriculturists and development of village and other cottage industries represented lines of action which, taken together, would considerably relieve the pressure of rural unemployment and simultaneously raise the standard of living of the bulk of the people.

The combined effect of all these steps will be to reduce the growth of unemployment in urban areas

since it will check the trek from the village to the town which, more than any other single factor, is responsible for the increased demand for urban employment that is witnessed today in our midst.

THE BIHAR THEATRE

The second issue of this new journal—*Bulletin of the Bihar Academy of Music, Dance and Drama*, is a welcome addition to current cultural literature. This quarterly which is packed with illustrated articles is devoted to the promotion of these cultural activities throughout India with special articles on the folk dance and music of Bihar. Being the first of its kind it is bound to create wide interest particularly as it aims to satisfy the taste of the high brow no less than of the average folk. The line drawings of dance poses are an attractive feature of this journal.

HINDU PLANNING OF LIFE

Can life be made progressively more purposeful? Can life be planned in such a way as to provide every period of it a fresh meaning and purpose of its own which was again integrally connected with a higher ever-absorbing purpose where life and death attained a Everest purpose and all-satisfying significance? Hindus answered these questions by their well laid-out asrama scheme of life, says a writer in the *Vedanta Kesari*.

What is this asrama scheme of life?

It will suffice to indicate from a representative law-giver like Manu, what exactly asrama mode of life came to mean in its full-fledged maturity;

The span of life is one hundred years. All do not live upto that age; but that is the maximum age one can expect to reach. This should be divided in four parts. As one cannot know beforehand what age one is going to reach it is not to be supposed that these 4 parts are each of 25 years. They may be more or less. As stated in Manu IV. 1. the first part of man's life is brahmacharya in which he learns at his teacher's house and after he has finished his study, in the second part of his life he marries and becomes a householder, discharges his debts to his ancestors by begetting sons and to the gods by performing yajnas (Manu V. 169). When he sees that his head has grey hairs and that there are wrinkles on his body he resorts to the forest, i. e. becomes Vanaprastha (Manu VI. 1-2). After spending the third part of his life in the forest for some time, he spends the rest of his life as a Sannyasin (Manu VI. 33).

This is broadly the asrama scheme of life, the ultimate end of which was accepted to be the realisation of the Self or liberation. Another Hindu concept, says the writer, is that of four Purusarthas or values of life, viz., dharma, artha, kama, moksa, which can be respectively translated as righteousness, lawful earning of wealth, enjoyment of unforbidden pleasures of life, the attainment of liberation. Of these moksa was considered the highest purusartha which was to be sought through all other purusarthas or values of life and to which all other values were to be subordinated. Of the four purusarthas artha and kama could be sought only in Grhastha asrama. All the other three asramas were to be exclusively devoted to dharma and moksa.

BOOKS THAT CHANGED AMERICA

Some time ago the *Saturday Review*, (New York) devoted a special issue to books that have changed American life and thought in the hope that it may help, in a small way, to give them the wide circulation they merit.

Every so often it happened, wrote Mr. Eric F. Goldman, America would be rushing along, staking out farms and throwing up factories, exulting and worrying and denouncing, and suddenly somebody, facing a stack of blank paper, would touch the paper with magic. A book appeared and things were never quite the same.

Here are the thirteen books which, according to Mr. Eric F. Goldman in that article, have changed America.

1. Thomas Paine, "Common Sense," (1776).
2. The Federalist Papers (1788).
3. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Uncle Tom's cabin" (1852).
4. Herbert Spencer, "The Study of Sociology" (1874).
5. Henry George, "Progress and Poverty" (1879).
6. Charles Sheldon, "In His Steps" (1897).
7. Sigmund Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams" (published 1900; translated. (1913).
8. Charles Beard, "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" (1913).
9. John Maynard Keynes, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace."
10. John Dewey, "Human Nature and Conduct" (1922).
11. Sinclair Lewis, "Babbitt" (1922).
12. Lincoln Steffens, "Autobiography" (1931).
13. Wendell Willkie, "One World" (1943).

SUNDAY TIMES

The completion of 25 years of the *Sunday Times*, the Madras popular illustrated weekly, was marked by a special Silver Jubilee Edition to which a number of prominent men have contributed articles of general interest and of appreciation. Mr. M. S. Kamath, the founder-Editor of this Journal which occupies an important and significant place in weekly journalism in India was one of the fine young men of grit and character shaped by Mrs. Annie Besant in the stirring days of *New India*. A journalist to the finger tips Mr. Kamath introduced new and attractive features which have caught the public imagination and ready support. That it has fully sustained the standard and tradition set up by the founder Editor and made itself an invaluable periodical for the common man is evidence of the ability and care with which the successors have conducted it through the quarter of century of varying fortunes. The holiday atmosphere of light reading coupled with an emphasis on the moral and spiritual values of life has made the journal an unfailing companion to the lay public in India—a role which the journal has played with competence and distinction. One or two other journals have since caught up the tone and method of presentation which is a subtle form of tribute to the original. Apart from titbits of entertaining value the periodical has laid stress on the value and meaning of life as lived and exemplified by the lives of the saints and sages of India. This is public service of undoubted value. We wish the Journal continued prosperity and public support.

FLYING SHIPS OF THE FUTURE

Flying ships carrying more than 1,000 passengers will be common place before the end of the century, according to Sir Ben Lockpeiser, Secretary of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

He told scientists at the conference of the British Association: "I believe the necessity for such aircraft will be dictated by technological as well as economic consideration. There will be a new future for flying-boats because as land aircraft becomes larger and more heavy, the provision of adequate concrete runways will present a very serious economic problem."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN S. A.

On Oct. 16, India opened the debate in the 60-nation Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on the treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa.

Sri Rajeswara Dayal who spoke for India said that it was with no satisfaction that they found the question coming for the seventh-time before the United Nations.

He told the Committee that the South African Government, "with a singleness of purpose, worthy of a better cause," continued its discriminatory policies and the Group Areas Act became law in June 1950.

It was "disheartening, but necessary," said Sri Dayal "to put before the Assembly some of the disabilities under which the Indo-Pakistani community in South Africa lived. The implementation of the Group Areas Act, involves a series of measures which will mean the uprooting from their homes of many thousands, the loss of much property, the ruin of many lives, and eventually, the economic strangulation of the entire Indian community in South Africa."

The right of entry into South Africa of Indian women married to South African nationals of Indian origin and of their children was specifically provided in the "reciprocity resolution" of the Imperial Conference of 1918 when the South African representative expressed his Government's agreement with the resolution on the subject, and again in 1927 when the Cape Town Agreement was reached at a round-table conference between the Governments of India and South Africa, Sri Dayal said.

The Indian citizens of South Africa sought no special privileges or extraordinary rights. They wished only to live honourably and freely and in equality with all other citizens of South Africa irrespective of their colour or creed.

British Guiana

INDIAN CONCERN OVER GUIANA

While official comment on the situation in British Guiana is not available, there is no doubt that the Government of India is watching developments there, with interest, observes the Delhi Correspondent of P. T. I.

The British Colonial Office, which overthrew the legally established Government of British Guiana by violence, is acting contrary to the spirit which has animated so conspicuously the efforts of the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill to bring about international understanding and peace.

Ceylon

MONEY ORDERS TO INDIA

Statistics collected from six out of the 19 post offices in Nattika firka, show an astounding deficit of about Rs. 55,000. This distressing deficit in Ceylon money orders to this area is caused by the new exchange central restrictions on money orders to India by the Government of Ceylon.

A good many of the population of the Nattika firka are dependent on remittances from Ceylon.

Mauritius

INDIA'S ENVOY IN MAURITIUS

Mr. Anand Mohan Sahay, at present Commissioner for the Government of India in British West Indies including British Guiana, has been appointed Commissioner for the Government of India in Mauritius.

Fiji

MR. RAJKUMAR FOR FIJI

Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, formerly Foreign Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, has been appointed Commissioner for the Government of India in Fiji.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

U. N. COMMISSION'S REPORT ON APARTHEID

The Apartheid Commission headed by former Economic and Social Council President, Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, reported to the United Nations that South Africa's racial policy constituted a violation of that country's pledges as a subscriber to the U. N. Charter and a threat to peaceful human progress.

The Santa Cruz report came to the definite conclusion that all arguments advanced by India and other countries urging the United Nations to study apartheid as a threat to peace were "unchallengeable".

The following are the points made by the Commission in the final chapter titled "conclusions".

Apartheid stems from the Nationalist Party's belief that it must safeguard at all costs "the western Christian civilisation" to which the white race was a heir, and safeguard its dominant position vis-a-vis the coloured peoples despite that race being in a minority of one to four.

Apartheid might aim at maintaining and developing "a sense of colour" and safeguarding the purity of ethnic and racial characteristics. But it lowers four-fifth of the population to the level of "insulting inferiority" rendering development of their personality most difficult, if not impossible.

It produced "serious internal conflicts" and an increasing state of tension. At a time when stress was laid on rapid industrialisation and there was far greater manpower Apartheid was a contradiction of the current trend to raise "unevolved peoples".

Even as regards 3,65,000 people of Indian and Pakistan origin, they were "members of the most evolved groups" and those countries were greatly concerned at the policy of discrimination. Wherever there was solidarity between peoples of "colour" as in other parts of Africa, Middle East and Asia, this policy had roused alarm.

The Commission is convinced that there was a grave danger of hostile sentiments against the white race growing in the wake of nationalist movements.

Apartheid was contrary to the goal of the UN Charter and the pledge taken by South Africa under Articles 55 and 56 thereof to "take joint and separate action in co-operation with world

organisations for the achievement of principles of equal rights and universal respect for fundamental freedoms without distinction of race etc." The policy also contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Section E of the Uniting for Peace Resolution and various resolutions passed by the Assembly on race questions. Human masses subjected to discrimination will never willingly accept it. An explosive situation threatening internal and external peace would arise, leading non-European peoples towards the belief that only in agitation and subversion lay hopes of liberation.

THE COLOMBO PLAN

The Colombo Plan Consultative Committee at Ministerial level ended its deliberations at Delhi on a note of optimism after unanimously adopting the second annual report and deciding to set up an information unit in Colombo to serve the Governments, the Press and the public of the member-countries.

The communique recorded highlights of development in the member-countries of South and South-East Asia.

It said:

In India, irrigation works benefited 3.5 million acres of land during 1952-53. The Central Tractor Organisation reclaimed about 510,000 acres. Owing partly to good seasons, but also as a result of these and other developmental measures, the production of food increased by nearly five million tons as compared with 1951-52.

Work on Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud and Tungabhadra and other projects was progressing satisfactorily. Power generation capacity was increased by 315,000 k.w.

The Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory and the Telephone Factory went into production.

The production of fertilizer increased from 35,000 tons in 1951-52 to 230,000 tons in 1952-53. The construction of three ships was completed.

333 new railway locomotives were commissioned, which included 90 procured from domestic production.

The two principal producers of iron and steel were expanding their production capacity. Two oil refineries were being erected near Bombay. The production of cotton cloth reached 4,700 million yards, a post-war record. The production of coal increased from 32 million tons in 1950 to 36 million tons in 1952, and that of steel from 1,004,000 tons in 1950 to 1,103,000 tons in 1952.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
AT CHANDIGARH

Addressing a mammoth gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of Chandigarh the new Capital of the Punjab on October 7, President Rajendra Prasad, said:

"I consider it a great pleasure and a privilege to inaugurate this new capital town of the Punjab. It is a pleasure because the new capital symbolises the urge, the indomitable desire of the people of this State to come into their own by getting over the temporary set-back which the partition gave them. It is a privilege, because an opportunity of inaugurating the capital city of a State like the Punjab comes only rarely.

"I congratulate the Government of the Punjab, especially the engineers and the administrators whose doggedness is mainly responsible for turning a dream into a reality. I remember how, not long ago, the Capital Project was looked upon by a section of the people as a mirage, a mere dream and a luxury having little chance of materialising. It was contended by spokesmen of the Punjab Government that the new Capital would be the largest single step towards the rehabilitation of displaced persons. Thanks to your perseverance, the sympathy and monetary assistance extended by the Centre in an unbounded measure and, above all, thanks to the unstinted support you were able to enlist of our Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, all the hurdles were soon crossed, and doubts dispelled.

"It is indeed a tribute to the zeal and ability of the engineers and architects that within a little more than two years of the start of the work, the Government have found the rising city suitable enough to be occupied and used as a capital."

"As one goes round and sees this new township, one cannot help feeling that it is going to be one of the most modern towns on this country. Apart from the many advantages, it will bestow upon the people of this State, this city has also provided ample scope for new experiments in town planning and architecture. In this new town, I am told,

the needs of the people have been harmonised with architectural requirements and considerations of utility and bare comforts of the residents have been collated with the requirements of aesthetics and modern designing. Chandigarh can be justly proud of having the best living quarters for peons and dufftries in India. Each residential unit for this class of employees here contains two rooms, a small verandah, court-yard, a kitchen, a bath-room and a pull-the plug lavatory. Three water taps and four electric points have also been provided in each unit. Similarly, in other spheres of life, the planning of Chandigarh promises to be unique in many respects.

"As the Biblical saying goes, sometimes good cometh out of evil. If I may say so, the coming into being of Chandigarh is going to compensate the people of the State for their recent suffering and inconveniences. Planned and designed as the Capital is and situated as it is at the foot of the hills, I am certain, in course of time, it will become a prize possession for the people of this State and, possibly, the envy of other States. When new rail and road links, now in the making, are completed, Chandigarh will almost become the most central place in the Punjab. It is going to have a steady influence on the administration and economic development of the State.

"With the move of the Government to the new capital, Chandigarh enters a new phase. You have been privileged to see a new town rise up during your life-time. You will now have an opportunity to build up its civic traditions, because a town is not merely a collection of buildings, howsoever well designed; it is what its citizens make it.

"Let me hope that Chandigarh will in every sense be an expression of the urge to forge ahead and the creative genius of the sturdy people of this State. To the extent that the new town of Chandigarh will be free from old traditions and encumbrances of any kind, I hope it will blaze a trail not only for those who come and stay here, but also for others, I also hope its residents would develop the best traditions of citizenship."

GROUPING OF DISTRICTS IN MADRAS

The Madras Government have decided to reduce the strength of the Board of Revenue from three to two Members and appoint three Divisional Commissioners to be in charge of the 14 districts of the State.

The Government have also accepted, in principle that the Board of Revenue, as such, should be ultimately abolished and its functions entrusted to the Divisional Commissioners.

The three Divisional Commissioners will have their headquarters at (1) Madras City, (2) Tiruchirapalli, Madurai or Pudukottai and (3) Coimbatore or Ooty.

The three Divisions will respectively comprise (1) Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot Salem and Tanjore; (2) Tiruchirapalli, Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli, and (3) Coimbatore, the Nilgiris, Malabar and South Kanara.

KASHMIR'S ACCESSION TO INDIA

Mr. Ghulam Sadiq, president of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in a recent speech said: "So long as we are alive and the blood of our martyrs is fresh, we shall not allow Pakistan or any other interested foreign Power to gain a foothold on our motherland."

Addressing a gathering of 10,000 persons at the conclusion of the Tehsil National Conference convention at Kalgam, Mr. Sadiq said that if there had been delay of only a few hours in the availability of India's armed forces in 1947, when raiders from Pakistan attacked the Kashmir territory, the entire State would have been plunged in blood.

Our interests and the future of the State, he added, "are safe only with India and no other country. We take our accession to India in three subjects as final and our decision is irrevocable."

THE MADRAS CABINET

Three additions have been made to the Madras State Cabinet, increasing its strength from nine to twelve.

The new Ministers are: Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, M. L. C.; Mr. K. Rajaram, M.L.A.; Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Finance, and Mrs. Jothi Vencatachellum. Mrs. Vencatachellum is a Harijan.

GOA'S STATUS AFTER MERGER

A deputation led by the Goan Nationalist leader, Dr. Tristao De Braganza Cunha, waited on the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, during his visit to Bombay.

In a press statement, Sri Furtado, Secretary, of the United Front of Goa, said Sri Nehru had said that Goa would be an autonomous state within India when it merged. He advised the Goan leaders to stop the agitation which was being carried out in some quarters to merge Goa with a state in India.

The statement added, on being questioned whether Goa's position after liberation would be that of the three categories of States, the Prime Minister replied in the negative and added that Goa would be a State similar to Kashmir quite in accordance with the Constitution.

On the linguistic question, Sri Nehru informed the deputation that Goa's Language would be the same as that is now spoken there.

SEVEN-MAN CABINET FOR ANDHRA

The portfolios of the Seven-man Cabinet were finalised on Oct. 6. The provisional allocations of the first five ministers were modified. The Ministers and their portfolios are:

1. Sri T. Prakasam, Chief Minister: Home (Public Services, Political Information, and Publicity.)
2. Sri N. Sanjiva Reddi, Deputy Chief Minister: Home (Home, Police, law and Order, and Passports), also State Legislature, Elections, Public works, and Transport.
3. Sri K. Koti Reddi, Revenue Minister: also Food and Registration.
4. Sri T. Viswanatham, Law and Finance Minister: Also Commercial Taxes, Religious Endowments, and Schedules Areas and Tribes.
5. Sri D. Sanjivayya, Planning and Public Health Minister: Also in charge of Cooperation, labour, and Rural and Harijan welfare.
6. Sri S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao, Education and Industries Minister: Also Excise and Prohibition, and Women's Welfare Department.
7. Sri P. Thimma Reddi, Local Administration and Agriculture Minister: Also Forests, Animal Husbandry, and Fisheries.

AIM OF ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, delivering the Convocation Address of the University, on October 22, said that the aim of the Annamalai University "has been and will be to deal with a compact series of scientific, literary and humanistic studies with special emphasis on the great Tamil language and literature and South Indian history, music and art."

The Vice-Chancellor added that the University stressed the importance of Sanskrit as one of the taproots of our religion and culture and of English as the indispensable link between us and the world outside in the realms of science and modern literature and art as well as in commerce and industry, and international politics and economic policies.

The convocation was held in the Srinivasa Sastri Hall. Mr. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras and Chancellor of the University, presided.

JOBS FOR THE EDUCATED

The Union Ministry of Education at the instance of the State Governments have inaugurated an educational programme for relieving educated unemployment on October 2, Gandhi Jayanti.

The programme, envisages the employment of 30,000 teachers during 1953-54 and another 50,000 in 1954-55. For each new teacher the Central Government is to contribute 75 per cent of the salary in the first year 50 per cent in the second year and 25 per cent in the third year, the remainder being the State's contribution. The Union Government will also give grants for equipment to new schools. Under this programme, the Union Government will also assist the States in the establishment of 3,000 Social Education Centres during 1953-54 and of another 5,000 in 1954-55. For the period of the plan, that is upto the end of March, 1956, the Central Government will assist the States to the extent of 50 per cent of the salaries or honoraria to teachers and of contingencies, the latter subject to a maximum.

WEST BENGAL SCHEME

A scheme of expansion of education and welfare services throughout West Bengal has been inaugurated. This scheme will relieve unemployment among matriculates, and those more educated.

At a function held in Calcutta Shri Pannalal Bose, Education Minister, West Bengal said that the scheme will engage some 30,000 teachers, in three years by annual instalments of 10,000. The exact figure has not yet been decided upon but it will not be far wrong to take these as likely quotas that will be assigned to this State by the Central Government.

This scheme will relieve unemployment among Matriculates, and those more educated. The range of salary will vary from Rs. 55 to Rs. 100 according to qualifications.

Teachers so employed will be employed:

(1) In expanding primary education, by reinforcing existing primary schools, by opening new schools in buildings borrowed or improvised or even one teacher schools under trees, so that West Bengal already covered by about 15,000 primary schools might have no unschooled areas left and elementary education would flow into every creek and corner of this State, into every clearing in the forests, and into the precincts of mills and tea gardens where children are growing up without education. At the present moment 43,000 primary teachers are teaching 15 lakhs of children, another 30,000 ought to universalise elementary education in this State in, say, 10 years, particularly as it is going to be made compulsory. That will be carrying out the directive that there should be free and compulsory education for every child within reasonable time.

(2) A good proportion of these teachers will be placed in Calcutta and other municipal areas, i.e. in cities and towns, and will be attached to social (adult) education centres. They will instruct all adults who had no schooling and will disseminate culture.

There will be about 200 such centres to begin with.

R.Y. CONCESSIONS TO STUDENTS

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Railways, disclosed that in the next Railway Budget half-rate travelling concessions and other facilities to students' excursion parties would be provided so that "the students may get a correct insight into every corner of this vast country and also understand its different problems". Mr. Shastri was replying to a public reception.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Government of India's draft proposals for the reform of judicial administration in India so as to make it less expensive, less dilatory and less cumbersome have been communicated to State Governments and High Courts for their comments.

The Government of India have pointed out that judicial administration in any country could not function efficiently without the active support of the people. The best way, according to the Government of India, to secure the participation of the people in the administration of justice is to make the maximum use of panchayat courts and benches and by the universal enforcement of jury trials in Sessions cases.

During the last two decades and more, it is pointed out by the Government of India, the State Governments have come to regard court fees as a general source of revenue which could be utilised for miscellaneous purposes. While the State neither pays nor receives costs in regard to any criminal proceedings, it is quite different in the case of civil cases. Here the litigant is required to pay heavy court fees which, besides meeting the cost of civil as well as criminal justice, leaves a substantial surplus in many cases with the State Governments. It is felt by the Government of India that justice should be free and if it is imperative the suitors should pay only just that amount necessary for the provision of civil justice.

D. A. TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

The Chief Justice Mr. B. P. Sinha and Mr. Justice G. P. Bhut of the Nagpur High Court directed the Madhya Pradesh Government to "reconsider" the question of rates of dearness allowance applicable to ministerial servants drawing Rs. 400 per mensem and less.

Their Lordships said that when the Union rates of D. A. were applied to categories of public servants, drawing above Rs. 400 per month and not to those drawing below Rs. 400, "a discrimination is made, which demands an explanation."

Their Lordships were delivering judgment in the petition filed, by Mr. G. C. Mandawar, President, M. P. Ministerial Servants' Association. The petitioner sought the issue of writ of "mandamus" directing the Government to adopt Union rates of D. A. for ministerial servants in receipt of pay upto Rs. 400.

Stating that no explanation had been forthcoming from the Government Pleader, which might "reasonably justify" Government's decision to give different rates of D. A. to employees, drawing less than Rs. 400. Their Lordships observed:

"We were surprised to find that in matter of such far-reaching importance both to the State and its employees, the Government Pleader had received no instructions and could not consequently state any principle or reason for not extending to servants of lower categories the Central rates, which have been given to the servants of the higher categories."

Their Lordships said, "Presumably, this is not a case of the line being drawn on financial considerations for in that case we would have expected a uniform reduction in the Government of India rates for all Government servants of the State. What other considerations prevailed on the State Government to make a distinction have not been disclosed to us."

In the absence of "any intelligible and reasonable basis having been disclosed to us for the discrimination," their Lordships directed the State Government to reconsider the question.

COMPULSORY REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES

A Bill seeking to provide for the compulsory registration of all marriages in the State has been published in the Bombay Government Gazette.

Failure to get a marriage registered is sought to be made punishable under the proposed legislation, though non-registration would not affect the validity of the marriage.

The Bill prescribes imprisonment extending up to one month or a fine extending up to Rs. 200, or both, as penalty for a party neglecting to send or deliver a memorandum of marriage in the prescribed form to the registrar of Marriages concerned. It also prescribes rigorous imprisonment extending up to three months or a fine extending up to Rs. 500 or both, to a Registrar for failing to file such a memorandum.

WORLD BANK'S LOAN TO INDIA

An offer of a loan of five million pounds sterling to India for development purposes from the World Bank out of Britain's capital subscription has quite recently been made.

This was announced by Mr. Reginald Maudling, economic Secretary to the Treasury and Leader of the United Kingdom delegation to the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, at a press conference held in Delhi on October 14.

The offer of this loan to India, it was mentioned, was for financing a steel project and the D. V. C. project.

Mr. Maudling further stated that Britain had authorised the World Bank to release sixty million pounds sterling over a period of six years as loan aid to Commonwealth Countries for expenditure on development projects. It was now decided to throw open this loan aid to non-Commonwealth countries also which are participating in the Colombo plan.

The primary condition of such loan aid is that the schemes to be financed out of it should contribute to the balance of payments of the sterling areas as a whole.

INVESTMENTS IN INDIA

The U. S. Department of Commerce, told American investors that a significant aspect of the climate for investment in India is a growing recognition in India that private foreign investment as well as private enterprise in general have an important part to play in economic development. The commerce Department, in a comprehensive handbook, entitled "Investment in India," said that as a result of this attitude there exists a willingness to offer terms of entry that are attractive to foreign investors.

"This development," says the handbook, "has come about gradually and has been made known more by actions than by words. Data on foreign companies receiving approval or engaging in negotiations for approval to invest in India indicate that an increasing number of U. S. and other foreign investors have been admitted on what appears to be mutually satisfactory terms."

WORKING AT NIGHT

A Bill to amend the Factories Act in order to give effect to the ILO Convention prohibiting employment of women and young persons during night in factories was introduced in the Council of States early in September by the Deputy Labour Minister, Shri Abid Ali Jafferbhoy.

The amending Bill also seeks to carry out amendments in respect of provisions in the Act for annual leave with wages and also certain other amendments to remove some practical difficulties experienced in the working of the Act.

According to the statement of objects and reasons attached to the Bill, the present provisions relating to annual leave with wages have been causing considerable difficulty particularly in determining the 12 months "continuous service" for eligibility to leave with wages. It has therefore become necessary to simplify the provisions so as to remove any cause for difference of opinion between employers and workers.

The present Act as worded excludes some of the presses including Government presses from the scope of the Factories Act, as they cannot be considered as being carried on by way of trade or for purposes of gain. As this was not the intention of the original Act, the definition of manufacturing process is to be amended to make this intention clear.

UNSTAMPED CLOTH

The Government of India has decided to permit, with immediate effect, all cloth manufactured for domestic consumption, but not price-stamped, to be exported out of India, the shipment to take place not later than December 31.

The Deputy Chief Controller of Exports, Madras, in a Press Note said that export of Kakinada cotton would be allowed freely until further orders from the ports of Madras, Visakhapatnam, Tuticorin, and Dhanushkodi on shippers filing the shipping bills in the prescribed form and manner.

WELFARE OF CHILDREN

Mrs. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, Chairman of the Panel for the welfare of the handicapped, delinquent and destitute children appointed by the Planning Commission, said the problem of juvenile delinquency resulting from destitution was greater in India than in any other country.

Mrs. Jadhav told a Press conference in Bombay that the object of the Panel was to make "on-the-spot studies" of institutions working for the welfare of the handicapped, delinquent and destitute children and recommend to the Commission "principles and methods of assisting these institutions".

A Maximum of Rs. 15,000 will be given by the Planning Commission as assistance to any such institution for expanding its activities, provided the institution itself can raise an equal amount. The Panel, which is now on a tour of Bombay State, will submit a report to the Planning Commission in November on its present tour.

MRS. VENKATACHALAM

Mrs. Jothi Venkatachalam, the new member of the Madras Ministry, was born on October 27, 1917 at Rangoon. She studied for the Cambridge University examination there. She is the wife of the Madras businessman, Mr. P. V. S. Venkatachalam, the present Sheriff of Madras. Mrs. Venkatachalam is connected with a number of social service organisations and religious institutions and is an Honorary Presidency Magistrate and a member of Film Censor Board.

WOMEN'S FEDERATION PRESIDENT

Miss Dorothy F. Leet of the U.S. has been elected president of the International Federation of University Women which has a membership of 150,000 in 31 national federations or associations, including those in India and Ceylon.

Miss Leet is president of Reid Hall, an American centre for university women of all countries, in Paris.

INDIAN MISSION TO JAPAN

The Indian Goodwill Mission to Japan, led by Srimati Ammu Swaminathan, left Tokyo on Oct. 19 after a successful three-week tour of Japan.

Srimati Swaminathan, on the eve of her departure, said in a statement:

"We believe our tour will further strengthen the existing ties of friendship and understanding between the peoples of Japan and India.

I am impressed with the way Japanese women have taken on every kind of work. They have shown the rest of Asia the real meaning of dignity of labour.

Everywhere we have gone we have been treated with exquisite courtesy and warm friendship from all classes of Japanese people.

We shall carry back vivid impressions of this beautiful country and its polite, hospitable and industrious people.

WOMEN'S WELFARE DEPARTMENT

The Women's Indian Association, Madras, has in a memorandum to the Chief Minister, requested the State Government to continue to work the Women's Welfare Department with women officers.

In the course of the memorandum, the Association says:

We are surprised to learn from a reliable source that the Women's Welfare Department, which was developed by women and managed by women officers for the past twelve years for the benefit of women, mostly in the rural areas, is to be under men-officers. In our opinion, this is a retrograde step especially when capable women are available in our State.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

An appeal to the Indian women to devote themselves to the work of social reconstruction was voiced by various speakers at the twelfth biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India, which began its four-day session in Lucknow on Oct 15.

WOMAN D.P.I FOR MADRAS

Srimathi O. C. Srinivasan, Deputy Director of Public Instruction has been appointed to officiate as Director of Public instruction, Director of Public Libraries, and Commissioner for Government Examinations, Madras, with immediate effect vice Mr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu.

TUNGABHADRA DAM

Two hundred and eighty-six foreign engineers, who attended the International Engineering Conference held at New Delhi in January 1951, visited the Tungabhadra Dam site when the work was in progress.

The foreign engineers were all favourably impressed with the quality of the work, and the efficiency with which every operation was being carried out.

The Tungabhadra main dam is a stone masonry dam 5,942 feet long and 160 feet high above the lowest foundation level, and is intended to store ultimately 3.06 million acre feet of water to command about two million acres of land in Madras, Andhra and Hyderabad States. There is an overflow section 2,300 feet long intended to surplus 650,000 cubic feet per second flood discharge.

CHANDIGARH

On Oct. 7 addressing a mammoth gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of Chandigarh, the new Capital of the Punjab the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad called upon the people of the Punjab to shed differences and make the State attain such a position in the country that it would become worthy of emulation by other States.

He reminded the people of the State that being sentinels of the strategic border State they carried a heavy responsibility on their shoulders. Therefore, they should not only undertake the duty to protect the border, but should lead an ideal life coupled with strength that even the people beyond the borders should realise the need of having friendly relations with India.

The ceremony took place in a specially erected pandal at the foot of the blue ranges of the Kasauli Hills.

TAMIL FESTIVAL AWARD FOR
"AVVAIYAR"

The Reception Committee of the sixth Tamil Festival presented on Sept. 2 a silver shield to the Gemini Studio as a token of its recognition of the contribution the film "Avvaiyar" has made to revive the ancient glory and culture of the Tamils.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR CHURCHILL

Sir Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, was awarded this year's Nobel Prize for Literature.

The Swedish Academy officially announced the award in formal session on October 15. It consists of an illuminated scroll, a gold medal weighing 10 ounces and a money prize, payable in sterling, of 1,75,292 Swedish crowns (about £12,390).

Sir Winston Churchill is the author of more than 30 books including collections of his speeches which are masterpieces of idiomatic English. His books range from an early novel through biography, autobiography, travel, to his memoirs and great works on contemporary history.

THREE EMINENT MEN OF MADRAS

Unveiling portraits of the late Sri N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar and Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, who were members of the Committee of Management of the Vivekananda College on October 19, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar paid tributes to the services rendered by them in various walks of public life in the city in particular, and the country in general.

INDIAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY

The 19th Annual Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society will be held in Delhi under the auspices of Delhi University on December 24, 25, and 26. Dr. Ram Behari, Head of the Department of Mathematics, Delhi University, will preside.

EXPORT OF ELEPHANTS

The Government of India have decided to decontrol the export of elephants. No licences will be required to export elephants abroad. The Government had fixed a quota of 126 elephants for export in March last.

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MAHARASHTRA

BY SIR J. L. SATHE, C.I.E.

IN these days of persistent agitation for linguistic provinces one never can tell when new provinces will not spring into existence. It is desirable therefore that we should have some idea of the problems facing the new provinces which are, so to say, in the offing. We are fairly familiar with the problems facing our own province and are too apt to think that residents of other provinces also are equally familiar with them. But the fallacy of this assumption will dawn at once on any one who pauses to think what knowledge he possesses regarding other provinces. Then he will realise that men of other provinces may also be just as ignorant of the problems of his own province as he is of the problems of other provinces. Now Maharashtra is one of the provinces in the offing. So the readers of the *Indian Review* residing in other provinces may perhaps like to arm themselves with some elementary facts of this province in case they have to confront some of the controversies regarding Maharashtra which will certainly arise before the province comes into existence. I hope that the readers of this valuable magazine will find it interesting and not too elementary. My object is to arm the reader with facts which may enable him to understand controversies when they do arise not to lead him into controversies by anticipating them. Hence I have given in this article plain, simple and uncontroversial facts leaving the reader to plunge into controversies later if he is so inclined to do.

The plain meaning of Maharashtra is 'Great Kingdom'. We need not go into the disputed question how this magnificent name came to be appropriated by

this province alone or rather portion of a province. It may have been due to the pride commonly entertained by every country or kingdom all the world over that it is the chosen and greatest country in the eyes of God. Or it may be due to derivation from the name of the Maratha clan by processes of elision and amplification of letters in pronunciation. But it is no use going into this controversy as it will serve no purpose as even learned historians are not agreed upon any one theory.

Let us now see what area is actually included in the province of Maharashtra. There is no doubt that the centre of old Maharashtra was Paithan on the Godavari river which is now in the Nizam's dominions. Even now there are a few districts in these dominions which are inhabited mainly by Marathi speaking people and which are called Marathwada in that state. They were the very core of old Maharashtra. But the war of liberation waged by Shivaji in the 17th Century took a firm hold in the western and hilly portion of Maharashtra where the Muslims were unable to deploy their large armies to advantage. Hence it was this portion which got liberated first and came to be called the Swarajya portion of Maharashtra. It included then the Kannad speaking districts of Bombay state as well, for those districts did not have a separate war of liberation of their own but were content to join their efforts with those of Shivaji. So until say about 60 years ago Maharashtra included all that portion of Bombay state which lies south of the Tapi river. But among many of the fissiparous movements which arose during the last

60 years of British rule in India, was the movement for linguistic states and the kannadigas fell a prey to the allurements of a United Kannad province. Since then the Canarese speaking districts of (1) North Canara (2) Dharwad (3) some portions of Belgaon (4) and Bijapur do not wish to be styled as Maharashtra and have set before themselves the goal of a united Kannad state along with the Canarese speaking district of Nizam's dominions and the whole of the Mysore state. I shall have something to say towards the end of this article *re* linguistic provinces in general but I do not wish to say anything about the desire of the Kannadigas to have a separate province of their own as a discussion on this subject is likely to cause offence even where none is meant. Maharashtra then as understood now includes only the following districts viz., (1) East Khandesh with Jalgaon as capital, (2) West Khandesh with Dhulia as capital, (3) Nasik (4) Thana (5) Colaba with Alibag as capital (6) Ahmadnagar (7) Sholapur, (8) Poona (9) North Satara (10) South Satara (11) Kolhapur and (12) Ratnagiri. These 12 districts are not enough to form an economic administrative unit. So efforts are being made at present by political leaders in Maharashtra to include in the new province the Marathi speaking districts of (1) Berars (2) Madhya Pradesh and (3) the Marathwada districts of Nizam's dominions also, with Bombay city as the capital. I understand that some sort of agreement has been reached among the leaders of these areas *re* the conditions on which this amalgamation of all Marathi speaking districts into a United Maharashtra should take place. I shall now give my readers an idea of the topography of Maharashtra. The area is divided by the Sahyadri range which runs north to South and divides the country into (1) Kondon i.e., the narrow low lying area studded with low hills lying between the main range and the Arabian Sea. This area comprises in the main the 3 districts of (1) Thana (2) Colaba and (3) Ratnagiri. The remaining 9 districts constitute the Desh i.e., the plateau of Maharashtra which is about 1800 feet high and slopes gradually towards the East from the main Sahyadri range. The main drainage of this area is through

the rivers (1) Godavari (2) Krishna and (3) Bhima. These are small and comparatively unimportant rivers in Maharashtra but towards the end of their courses the Godavari and the Krishna became gigantic rivers vying with the Ganges and Brahmaputra in their might. A reservoir is being built near Nasik by building an earth dam across the Godavari. The work is nearing completion and when complete the greatest height of the dam will be over 250 feet. I believe that though earthen dams are quite numerous in America this is the first big dam to be constructed in India, and if successful will be a land mark in the history of dam building in India. What is more remarkable is that the whole of the work has been done with the help of bull dozers and tractors and very little manual labour has been employed except drivers, mechanics and engineers. I would strongly suggest those readers who are interested in dam construction to go and see the work in progress before it is completed in June 1954.

RAINFALL

While Konkon has a heavy rainfall ranging from 150" to 60", the plateau or Desh is deficient in rain and does not usually get beyond 15" to 35". In fact the eastern portion of this plateau is known as the famine area. The monsoon rainfall as it advances east from the Sahyadri range tails off until on the eastern fringe of Maharashtra it falls perennially. Further East the rainfall somehow increases and Marathwada usually gets enough rainfall. This phenomena of scanty rainfall in the famine area is known as the Rain Shadow. In view of this scantiness of rainfall preservation of the river water is an urgent problem and one of the controversies which has embittered feelings between Maharashtra and Gujrat is the one relating to the Koyna project which is a scheme costing umpteen crores of rupees. It was not included in the 5 years' scheme and Maharashtra thought that its interests were neglected. There are other smaller projects also under consideration and unless some of them at least are taken up without delay feelings are likely to run high in Maharashtra.

Thus far about the territory of Maharashtra but when speaking of countries it is the

people and not the territory which counts far more. Thus when we say that America is a big nation, we have the Americans who inhabit U. S. A. in view and not the territory. Similarly when we say that the young Isreal nation is wonderful, we have the Isreals occupying a portion of Palestine in view and not the arid and desert wastes which they have now converted into luxurious fruit gardens by the dint of their labour and imagination. I think that we are apt to attach undue importance to geographical territories. But it should not be so. Thus supposing we Indians had been occupying U. S. A. and the Americans India, the relative positions of the two nations, would, I am sure, have been nearly what they are now in spite of the fact that we had the rich and virgin country of U. S. A. The only difference it would have made would have been that then it would have been said that the Americans were a lethargic and poverty stricken nation and that the Indians were a go ahead and energetic race. I shall therefore give here as briefly as possible some information *re* the people who inhabit or inhabited Maharashtra in the near past.

It is always extremely hazardous to make general statements *re* the character of a people, for if one tries to be fair one is apt to cause offence unwittingly to a whole nation. So such general statements are usually euphemistic and do not serve much purpose in presenting a true picture. In my opinion just as the character of a nation is formed by its leaders, so also is the character of the people reflected in the leaders for the interaction between the masses and the leaders is always reciprocal. I think therefore that the best way to give my readers some idea of the people of Maharashtra and their character, will be to glance rapidly at the principal leaders who arose in the country and who have left a stamp on the people's character. The reader can then draw his own inferences. I shall not go into ancient times for my information of that period is very scanty. But glancing from the 13th century onwards we see a vast panorama of intellectual giants. The first name I would mention is that of Hemadri Pt. He was the chief minister of some King of Deogini who

was however of no great importance. But Hemadri was a great administrator, a scholar and an architect. The written script of Marathi *vis.* Modi owes its origin to him. There is also a style of temple-architecture left behind by him which is known as Hemadpanthi.

The next name which occurs to me is that of the great saint Gyaneshwar who lived before the invasion of Alauddin Khilji. He has written a scholarly commentary on the Gita which many consider more valuable than Gita itself and what is most remarkable about it is that he scorned to write it in Sanskrit and wrote it in the Marathi language which was then current. Even now you can see thousands of devotees shouting "Gyanba Tukaram" during Ekadashi pilgrimages. Eknath another saint who came 200 years after Gyaneshwar also wrote his commentary on Bhagwat in Marathi and he was probably the first saint to preach the abolition of untouchability. He invited untouchables to dinner at a Shradha performed by him and he himself went to dine at the house of an untouchable. You can imagine what moral courage all this must have required on the part of a Brahmin saint in the 15th century!

After him may be named the host of saints like Tukaram, Namdeo, Ramdass and others who were followers of the devotional school. Contemporary with Ramdass and his disciple was Shivaji the founder of the Maratha empire. There is no other name in Maratha history which has more captivated the minds of all residents of Maharashtra than his. But he was only the most perfect symbol of the virtues which animated the inhabitants of Maharashtra in those days. We are often apt to consider that the rise and fall of nations are dependent upon an individual or upon accidental circumstances. But this is far from truth. The rise is due to hard work for moral regeneration which had taken place among the people. This regeneration gave rise to the ambition of Swaraj among certain people at whose head Shivaji placed himself while others remained loyal to their Muslim masters. This led to a

sharp civil conflict among the Marathas themselves between the supporters of Shivaji and those of the Bijapur kings and numerous persons had to lose their lives on both sides. But we cannot help respecting the people who fought on both sides owing to their moral convictions. This moral regeneration was not a freak of nature but result of the steady efforts of the long line of devotional saints mentioned above.

Next we come to the long line of soldiers and statesmen in the time of the Peshwas' rule. Here we come across the names of (1) Balaji Vishwanath (2) Baji Rao the great (3) Madhavrao the great (4) Mahadaji Shinde (5) Malharao Holkar (6) Ragho Bharrari (7) Nana Phadnavis—names of which any nation may fitly be proud. In the early British regime we come across the names of Krishna Shastri and Vishnool Shastri Chiplunkar. They were father and son and both ardent reformers as well as rivalists. They wanted reforms but not a blind imitation of the West. Then came the giant politicians and social reformers of the later 19th century viz. (1) Tilak (2) Agarkar (3) Ranade (4) Bhandarkar and (5) Gokhale. On Tilak apparently fell the mantle of the Chiplunkars. Agarkar devoted himself entirely to social reform as in his opinion no political progress was possible without it. Ranade was the inspirer behind the whole generation of political, social as well as economic reformers of those days. He had to avoid taking active part in any political movements owing to the fact that he was a Government servant. Gokhale was the avowed disciple of Ranade. Dr. Bhandarkar was a great social reformer and a Sanskrit scholar of worldwide reputation.

About the character of the people it is difficult, as stated above, to generalise, as the society is divided into sections with different traditions and ideals. But it may be safely asserted that in no other state of India at present will be found more devotion to duty and loyalty to an ideal than in Maharashtra. It was this which led in the beginning to a bitter civil war between the Marathas

who were loyal to the Muslim rulers and those who were loyal to the creed of Swarajya. It was this which made the martyrdom of Sambhaji possible. When after his capture he was brought before Aurangzeb, he was asked to embrace Islam. In reply he hurled some abuse. Thereupon Aurangzeb ordered his tongue to be cut off. He was again asked to embrace Islam and the same reply was received. So his eyes were put out. Again he was asked to embrace Islam and when the same reply came his ears were pierced. Ultimately he was placed on the spike. It was this loyalty to the ideal of Swaraj which enabled the Marathas to wage the war of Independence against Aurangzeb for nearly 20 years after Sambhaji's death until Aurangzeb died a broken and disillusioned man in Ahmadnagar. It was this devotion to duty which led Tilak, Agarkar and Gokhale to form the Deccan Education Society for the spread of English education at considerable self sacrifice. They vowed to work the Institution merely on a living wage and the Society is still run on the same lines, though it has grown enormously in its activities. In fact this Society has served as a model to numerous other societies for similar purposes throughout the state. It was this loyalty to an ideal which led Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and Mr. Devdhar to found the Poona Sewa Sadan, Mr. Karve to found the Women's University and Mr. Gokhale to found the Servants of India Society. It is unnecessary to name more examples of this self sacrificing spirit for the cause of an ideal. I am, afraid, however, that I must mention here one defect which springs from an excess of the above virtue of devotion. Maharashtrais are, I am afraid, generally unforgetful and unforgiving. They are often narrow-minded and seldom magnanimous. It was this defect which led a narrow-minded idealist to murder the Father of the Nation soon after Independence was won.

I shall now deal with only one more subject before I close this short article and that is about the formation of a United Maharashtra as a linguistic province. I am totally opposed to the formation of new provinces on linguistic basis. I am afraid that if such provinces are

formed, it will revive the rivalries between the Maratha, and the Sikh, the Rajput and Gujrati, the Bengalee and the Telugu and so on, which existed in India for a thousand years before the British came into power. But if a United Maharashtra is formed, then, I am afraid that the question of the inclusion of Bombay city in Maharashtra will give rise to a bitter controversy. But in my opinion the correct solution to such a controversy has been already given by that eminently learned, eloquent and handsome lawyer from Padua who went to help the Duke of Venice to try Shylok's case against Antonio. Portia first appealed to the Jew for mercy, but when this appeal was spurned by him she told him that both he and Antonio were bound by the law of the State and that Shylok could have his pound of flesh. Thereupon Shylok exclaimed that a Daniel had come to give judgment and started to whet his knife. Portia asked him to tarry and said that though he could have his pound of flesh, he was not entitled to a drop of blood. Further that he must have his exact pound of flesh no more and no less, and that if in taking his pound of flesh, he drew a drop of blood or took a little more or less of flesh his property would be forfeit to the state. Every one knows the rest of the story, so I need not repeat it here; but the moral of it is that traders who come to a city for business whether they be Shyloks or Antonios must abide by the laws of the land. When a city grows in commerce and industry as Venice did, it becomes cosmopolitan in character. But those traders and industrialists who throng there from outside to make their pile of money must definitely understand that they can stay there only so long as they abide by the laws of the land; otherwise they must go. If the foreigners increase in such numbers that all of them taken together equal or even surpass the indigenous people they can not turn round and claim that the reins of Govt. should be handed over to their hands. So the correct solution of the Bombay problem is to find out which is the indigenous population. For this purposes one has to be practical and, accept

historical facts. One cannot go to ancient history or prehistoric facts and say for instance in the case of Bombay that the Adiwasis whoever they are, are the indigenous people and so both Marathi speaking and non Marathi speaking people are foreigners. In modern historical times Bombay is situated in and surrounded by Marathi speaking population. So there is no question that here the indigenous people are Marathi speaking. Luckily the non-Marathi speaking people taken together even now do not equal, much less exceed, the Marathi speaking people. So it follows that Bombay must be included in a Marathi speaking State. If this is not done the discontent in Maharashtra can better be imagined than described.

The writer of this article does not claim any copyright in the solution suggested above. This solution is capable of application to any city where a similar question arises *e.g.* Trieste or Danzig. If in view of the anxious news which is coming every day from Trieste, any reader decides to cable the above solution to Marshal Tito and the Foreign Secretaries of America, England and Italy he is at liberty to do so and the author of this article shall have no objection!

BRAHMA

If the red slayer think he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again.

Far or forgot to me is near;
Shadow and sunlight are the same;
The vanished gods to me appear;
And one to me are shame and fame.

They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

The strong gods pine for my abode,
And pine in vain the sacred Seven;
But thou, meek lover of the good!
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven.

—Emerson.

INDIA'S FUTURE MUSEUMS

By Mr. WILLIAM D. ALLEN

Editor, "World in Brief."

OURS is an age of visual education. The use of pictures is increasingly important to us. More than ever we want to see the actual objects of which we are thinking. Although all of us are within this world-wide trend towards the visual, the tangible, the down-to-earth, it is the intelligent and alert but untrained or illiterate masses who have most to gain by visual education.

The small provincial museum is potentially the most dynamic and economical method by which to bring visual education to everyone, especially to the humble masses. By "small provincial museum" I mean a simple exhibit hall designed to fit in with local conditions, local architecture, together with a small fire-proof storage place for objects of value. I saw similar "halls" at the great Lahore Congress of 1929.

As in so many other fields of life, the prime problem here is of free circulation. There are amazingly rich accumulations of arts, crafts and historical objects which could circulate with very low expense from town to town. The small town museum need not possess a single object to start with. All that is needed is the organization of lending program among a number of these simple exhibit halls, which, if not already on hand, need not cost more than a humble peasant's shed.

Of course there is much more intended in all this than the cultivation of good judgment in India's future artists. The refined, sensitive, creative individual will always find something to inspire him. More importantly, the masses of a nation can be guided by the examination of pictures from many lands to a keener use of their eyes. The farmer who has looked at a collection of pictures of farmlands will be keener at noticing his own farm, its qualities and defects. The factory worker who has looked for an hour at the many great paintings from all over the world showing people at work will not only discover that what he himself is doing has beauty in it, but will become more sensitive to the differences of good and bad, correct and careless.

This capacity of art to increase the capacity of the human eye is due to the fact that all great artists of all times and lands have been themselves so keenly aware of the life around them. It was their role to register what they saw. Because the better artists did this so well, they help all of use to see more clearly. Seeing is learning. The more you notice the more you are awake. The more awake you are the more you live. Hence the arts of India and all other lands can stimulate India's masses, and thanks to the correct and economical records of art available in reproductions, this vast material can be had in the poorest village for almost no cost.

Once the village has its exhibits hall, which incidently can be also the place for community activities, religious gatherings, the main hall of the school, there are many other uses that suggest themselves. For instance, the same place where pictures hang that show farm life in many lands and many centuries, can have on the floor, by the walls, under the pictures, an exhibit of the best vegetables the local farmers have raised. There is no separateness about art. Art is just life made clearer to the eyes.

The small museum can be closely linked to the wonderful program of community development that India is promoting. Reproductions from the arts of India and other lands hanging from the walls will increase the importance of the exhibit going on at the same time of the neighborhood's latest machines or the products of its basic education school. The same museum can have exhibits regarding health, or photographs showing what has been achieved in clearing tanks. The local artist or photographer will be stimulated to do better work in registering what is going on in his community if he knows it is to be given public recognition. The art class in the local school will become roused to do its best if its work will be seen by the parents, as part of the life of the whole community. Frequent, usually monthly, change of exhibit stimulates the people to come again and again.

The word "museum" has become associated with "mausoleum," in all lands. Many more museums would be built except for this old-time idea that a museum has to be imposing, terribly expensive, a "monument". In the case of a national museum for India, however, much can be said in favour of the old concept. The central museum in the capital should certainly impose itself upon the world, be built of fine materials, give a sense of the permanence and glory of the nation of India. A mood of deep respect among the visitors should prevail. However this should not go so far as to frighten away the less well dressed and timid villager. Nor should the central national museum be delayed too long in its development for fear that it would not keep up with those 'rivals'—the Louvre, the London and Rome and Washington museums. Even at the centre, the museum is part of India's sinews, the integral blood of national renaissance, not some inconsequential though pretty adornment. So helpful in national development can a central national museum be, that speed in going ahead would seem more important than holding to very high standard, if funds are short.

After working in museums, and visiting most of the great museums of the world, I can state with confidence that

there are vast hoards of materials instructive to the people of India, which are lying as surpluses awaiting the call to be utilized without any charge except transportation. I know private owners, in New York City alone, who have tens of thousands of objects, mainly reproductions but also original works of great value, who would be happy to give them without charge if a program were developed by which they could be circulated among the villages of India. Such a world embracing view of the arts and crafts would not, I am confident, reduce Indians' appreciation of the beauties of India. It would merely stimulate the eyes of the millions, and one of the byproducts of this would be a heightened appreciation of local creative arts.

A final but perhaps significant point in favour of the local museum with frequently changing exhibits is that such exhibits greatly stimulate tourism. The Indian as well as the foreign tourist wants to see as much as he can with his eyes, through the methods of visual education and quick visual enjoyment. The town that offers a museum makes the traveller wish to pause and look. Thus the traveller and the intelligent but illiterate farmer reveal their kinship in this world of ours, a world of eye-appeal.

SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By SRI SUBHASH J. RELE, M.A.

THE present South African Government has announced that its ultimate goal is Apartheid. Apartheid means total separation of the races. The rulers of South Africa believe in the theory of a master race which form the basis of all imperialism and colonialism. A ruling white minority of 2½ millions is engaged in trying to insure its permanent supremacy over a non-European majority that, however, includes some 300,000 Indians, 1,000,000 coloured and 8½ million Africans.

According to Dr. Malan, the White man must dominate the African scene. The Africans must be kept in their

place and protected against the penetration by people from Asia. Dr. Malan's ideal is to lead Africa along the path of European civilization through a policy of Apartheid.

The Africans, neglected, oppressed, and insulted by their rulers, want to live like a human being. They have developed a common aspiration which bears the stamp of genuine nationalism. The Government, however, have adopted the policy of unmitigated terror against the African people. It has passed a number of laws which seek to extend and harden the country's long-standing system of discrimination. The

Group Areas Act of 1950 provides that all lands in the Union will be divided and controlled by the Government for purposes of ownership and occupation by different racial groups. The entire population has been classified for this purpose into three principal categories viz., White, Native and Coloured. The Act empowers the Government to establish by proclamation 'Group Area' for the exclusive occupation or ownership or both of any of the above groups. Disqualified persons and companies, are debarred from acquiring fresh lands in any Group Area not meant for them. Under this Act they would get no compensation for loss of property or business. A number of laws besides the Group Areas Act have been passed in recent years with a view to enforce Apartheid. The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949 forbids marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans. The suppression of Communism Act, 1950 empowers the Government to take action against those who, in the opinion of the Government encourage hostility between European and non-European races. This Act really aims at suppressing just agitation by Indians and Africans for the genuine grievances. A number of compartments are reserved for the exclusive use of Europeans in the Union railways. Apartheid has been introduced at Johannesburg railways station from July, 1949 by providing separate entrances for European and non-European passengers. There is apartheid in 847 of the Union's 1250 post offices. Admission of African students from territories outside the Union of South Africa to missionary colleges, schools, universities, etc., in the Union has been prohibited. Johannesburg has besides separate public transport facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans. The majority of the population consisting of natives and the coloured people is practically disenfranchised. It is the whites that are predominantly represented in Parliament. The Central African Federation plan further implies the perpetuation of alien rule.

In terms of Article 13 the purpose of the United Nations is to promote and

encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction. The question of racial discrimination in South Africa has been before the United Nations General Assembly since its first session. The Assembly in 1946 passed a resolution expressing the view that the treatment of Indians in the Union was not in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements and emphasized the need for a satisfactory settlements and asked the two Governments to report at the next session of the Assembly. The Resolution, however, was rejected by the South African Government. The Assembly passed similar resolutions at four subsequent sessions but to no purpose.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who represented India warned the United Nations against the consequences of racial discrimination resulting from the Union Government's policy of racial discrimination. She said:

The situation in South Africa constitutes not only a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter to which all of us member states of the United Nations have subscribed but also a threat to international peace.

The Union Government flatly refused to accept this contention.

Thereupon, the Seventh Session of the Assembly appointed the three-man commission whose report has now been presented to the President of the Assembly. The Commission has suggested ways and means of settling peacefully the South African question.

As the Chief architect of the United Nations, the British Government believe in the promotion of International peace and the principle of self-determination. Racial discrimination represents an open and flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. A policy based on fear and breeding everlasting racial hatred is certainly explosive.

By no stretch of imagination can the question of racial discrimination be considered domestic. It should never be forgotten that persecution and misgovernment wherever found are no longer domestic affairs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

By SRI T. S. RAMACHANDRAN, I.C.S.

Director of Community Projects and Secretary to Government, Madras.

COMMUNITY Development Projects Ltd., is a nonprofit making international administration established in 1951 to recruit, train and subsidise international teams of voluntary technical personnel for long term experimental development projects in under-developed communities. The editor of this interesting symposium,* Mr. Ruopp, has very wisely and pleasantly started this symposium called "Approaches to Community Development".

A symposium was originally a drinking party, and then a banquet with philosophic conversation and finally a collection of views on a particular topic. This symposium, as our philosopher Vice-President has said in his delightful Foreword, approaches the problem as a contribution to world development. It accepts the basis that the industrially developed countries of the West and the under-developed countries of the East can co-operate to raise the welfare of the people of both areas without imperilling the dignity and the liberty of the individual.

The great Dadabai Nowroji, whom Mahatma Gandhi called the Father of the Nation, said "there can be no free competition between the capitalistic bloated Europe and the poverty stricken Indian Nation". This view emphasised the opinion that a high standard of living in the West is based on a low standard of living in the East. Exploitation need not necessarily mean slave-driving or the use of superior military force to extract the wealth and welfare of one country to produce a higher standard of living in another country. In one of Rider Haggard's novels this is explained thus:

"In the third quarter of the 19th century, the European ship arrived with gold and silver as then the trick of forcing people to accept paper currency in return for raw materials had not been invented. The trader offered a higher price than the local natives for copra, ivory, ground-nut and other raw materials. The first exchange took place of these raw materials in return for gold and

silver. Next the European trader displayed brummagem goods like mirrors, lace' combs etc. and collected back the gold and silver he had paid for the valuable raw materials. Sometimes he even gave in exchange soap made out of a portion of the groundnut he had bought. In the final result; valuable raw materials had been exchanged for trifles and finery and the under-developed natives left with their desire to produce more raw materials to get more tinsel and finery."

This is one of the reasons why we find the Colombo plan criticised as emphasising over-development of agriculture for the benefit of the industrially advanced countries to the detriment of a balanced economy in the under-developed countries.

This book tells us that everywhere, in the words of the Introduction, "ours is a world of village communities, of peasants and pastoralists, who spend most of their lives within the small group of kith and kin and whose values have their roots there". So Community Development as such is for essentially agrarian communities with the necessary adjustments to their subordinate status in terms of the world market and world political power.

In the second introduction Mr. Hart discusses the non-government contribution, mainly of the United Nations and the specialised agencies like the Technical Assistance Board. The Point Four Programme was the beginning of such attempts. The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia, assisted in this work Missionary organisations like the Indian Village Projects supported by American Congregationalists and by the Y. M. C. A. have also made their contributions. But these will suffer the danger of an attitude of patronisation on the side of the givers and of exaggerated gratitude on the side of the receivers. The three important questions (1) How and at what level can non-governmental programmes be undertaken, (2) what should be their content and (3) where can they be carried out most profitably are discussed by Mr. Hart interestingly.

* APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT Ed. By Phillips Ruopp. With a foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. W. Van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague, Bandung.

The first chapter by Mr. Nieuwenhuijze on 'Implications' discusses the dilemma of, on the one hand idolatrous worship of things Western, and on the other hand of rationalised rapture of western materialism.

The second chapter on 'Social Values and Community Development' by Mr. T. R. Batten is mainly concerned with conditions in Uganda.

The third chapter on 'Social Change in a Non-Literate Community' has also an African background.

Chapter IV by Mr. Jaspan is really rather sketchy and reads more like case notes for a more reasoned thesis.

In Part II, Chapter V, Mr. Arthur Hazlewood examines the Economic Background. He is followed by Mr. Beckett on the Development of Peasant Agriculture. He very correctly points out the negative results of attempting to realise quick returns on agricultural investment by large-scale mechanical farming in tropical and sub-tropical areas. Very often these 'improved methods' have really proved to be 'unproved methods' and far from preventing have increased soil destruction. Whether a peasant is better off by consuming large quantities of stabilised, processed foods and supplementing them with vitamin tablets, or by sticking to raw foods and taking his vitamins in local herbs and vegetables as recommended by J. C. Kumarappa's school may bear further investigation.

Chapter VII on 'Land Tenure and Land Reform' is too controversial a topic for me to discuss. I can only express my general agreement with the final conclusions.

Agriculture is not a profession or an occupation; it is a way of life. Though it is not possible to post-pone reforms until the general dissemination of knowledge, certain conditions conducive to the success of these reforms must necessarily be fulfilled. These conditions are the existence of a national administration, well organised and competent, and trusted by the agrarian population even though measures are enforced or recommended which may be understood only by a few".

Chapter VIII on 'The Role of Rural Industries', after an intelligent discussion of the problem, comes to grips with the question 'how small industries can meet the competition of larger ones by utilising

many of the same techniques that had met their wants originally, relatively so efficiently.' In all areas, to prevent foreign aid ultimately becoming a foreign incubus, the amount of foreign aid and the size of any programmes undertaken should be small initially, and should be increased slightly in direct proportion to the stability achieved.

Chapter IX is only an Economic Caste Study of Sugar and Welfare in Java.

In Part III we really come to the most important problem of Community Project Development, namely, education for Community Development. In Chapter X, Mr. Graham, quoting the Fundamental Education Bulletin, says:

Any minimum fundamental education must enable men and women: as workers to control their physical environment, and to conserve and exploit the natural resources of the earth so as to raise their standard of life; as citizens to live together in harmony in their communities-family, group, tribe, and nation, and eventually in a world society; as individuals to bring out the best that is in them, to achieve physical health, and to develop self-respect through spiritual, moral, and mental progress and the formation and fulfilment of noble aspirations.

I think the new system of education emphasising character and capacity rather than literary ability now attempted by the Madras Government cannot have better ideals than these.

Chapter XI deals with the Field worker. The problem of doing work without trained personnel and of postponing work will always be with us. A bad workman quarrels with his tools but a good workman improves tools he has got.

In Chapter XII Mr. Dickson deals with Co-ordination and Team Work and in Chapter XIII Mr. Attygalle describes an educational case study in Ceylon.

Part IV deals with regional considerations in Africa, The Arab Middle East, India, Indonesia, and Latin America.

In a review of a work by many hands I have not found it possible to summarise generally but have been compelled to indulge only in particular analyses. The book is worth a detailed study even apart from its being a pioneer volume.

RELIGION IN THE INDIAN CENSUS

By SRI ASHISH BOSE

RELIGION in India has not only affected the moral and social lives of her teeming millions but profoundly influenced the economics and politics of the country. It has been the most potent factor both in maintaining the *status quo* and in bringing about social change. It is religion which has kept alive our civilisation and it is religion which has brought about the disintegration of India. It has moulded our past and fashioned our future.

In 1947 the sub-continent of India was partitioned solely on the basis of religion. And the census assumed a roll which no demographer would dream of ascribing to it. As religion was the basis of political representation there was much communal jealousy and rivalry and numbers artificially swelled on paper. Indian census statistics have been notoriously inaccurate in the past. The Census of 1951, the first in Free India, was perhaps the most scientific and the least inaccurate census in the history of census operations in India.

BEFORE PARTITION

The following table shows the position of Hindus vis-a-vis Muslims in Undivided India:

year	Hindus (per cent of the total population)	Muslims
1881	74.3	19.7
1891	72.3	20.2
1901	70.4	21.2
1911	69.4	21.3
1921	68.6	21.7
1931	68.2	22.2
1941*	65.7	24.2

Thus in Undivided India, there was a steady and continuous decline in the percentage of Hindu population. Religious statistics are mainly affected by the varying rates of natural increase in population of different religion groups, conversions and migration. Thus in Travancore-Cochin, while the total population increased by 3 times during 1881-1951, the Hindu population increased by 2.5 times, the Muslim by 4 times and the Christian by 4.7 times during the same period.

The causes of the declining percentage of Hindus in Undivided India are in brief: (1) the conversion of Hindus, particularly

Scheduled Caste Hindus, "Untouchables" and tribal people to Islam and Christianity; (2) the creation of a class of Anglo-Indians; (3) the higher birth rate among Muslims and Catholics compared to that of Hindus; (4) the attitude of census officials in the matter of enumeration of the religion of the tribal people. "In 1911 Mr. Gait, the Census Commissioner, when visiting the Bombay Presidency on tour converted 70,000 Bhils from Hindus to Animists by a stroke of the pen." (Bombay Census Report): and (5) in 1941 the new concept of "community" was introduced whereby a person born in a tribe was counted in the category of "tribes" irrespective of the religion he or she professed. Thus the percentage of Hindus was artificially reduced.

* In 1941 the system of enumeration was changed and statistics of "Communities" were collected. So the figures for 1941 are not strictly comparable.

AFTER PARTITION

In 1951 the concept of "community" was abandoned and religion was recorded as revealed by the person enumerated. The following table shows the religious composition of the population of the Republic of India (excluding those living in Jammu and Kashmir and Part B Tribal Areas of Assam where the Census was not taken) as revealed by the Census of 1951:

	Population (in millions)	per cent of the total population
1. Hindu	303.2	84.99
2. Muslim	35.4	9.93
3. Christian	8.2	2.30
4. Sikh	6.2	1.74
5. Jain	1.6	0.45
6. Buddhist	0.2	0.06
7. Zoroastrian	0.1	0.03
8. Jews (26,781)		
9. Other Religions (Tribal)	1.7	0.47
10. Other Religions (Non-Tribal)	0.1	0.03
Total	356.7*	100.00

Comparable statistics of the previous censuses for the present territorial limits of India are not available. The following table shows the percentage of communities in India (i.e. The Republic of India excluding Jammu and Kashmir and Part B Tribal Areas of Assam) in 1941:

* This figure does not include the returns of 268,602 persons in Punjab whose records were destroyed by fire.

	per cent of total population	
1. Hindus	61.94	} 75.89
2. Hindus-Scheduled Castes	13.95	
3. Muslims	12.58	} 1.84
4. Indian Christians	1.78	
5. Anglo-Indians	0.03	
6. Other Christians	7.03	
7. Sikhs	1.30	
8. Jains	0.45	
9. Parsees	0.03	
10. Buddhists	0.03	
11. Tribes	7.88	
	100.00	

Thus roughly speaking, during 1941-51 the percentage of Hindus has gone up from 76 per cent to 85 per cent, this is mainly due to the assimilation of most of the tribal population into Hinduism and the post-partition Muslim emigration to Pakistan and Hindu immigration into India.

The following is a brief statistical study of the main religions in India.

HINDUISM

Hindus form an absolute majority in every state of India except in PEPSU (where they are 49 p. c.) and in the Part D Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands (where they are 30 per cent.) According to the adjusted figures of religious composition of the population in 1921 and 1931 for the territory of India where the 1951 census was taken with the exception of Assam, West Bengal and Punjab for which figures are not available, Hindus were 84.40 per cent in 1921, 84.34 per cent in 1931 and 86.89 per cent in 1951. Thus as a whole, in the states other than those directly affected by partition, there has been no significant change in the religious composition of the population except that large numbers of members of tribal groups have returned themselves as professing the Hindu or Christian religion as the case may be. But going into details we find that Hinduism was losing ground to Christianity and Islam in several states. Thus in U. P. the Hindu population was 85.96 p. c. in 1881, 85.86 p. c. in 1891, 85.20 p. c. in 1901, 85.05 p. c. in 1911, 84.92 p. c. in 1921, 84.36 p. c. in 1931 and 83.67 in 1941 (85.05

p. c. in 1951). During these decades the percentage of Muslims and Sikhs was continuously increasing. In Travancore-Cochin the Hindus were 69.6 p. c. in 1901, 67.0 p. c. in 1911, 64.1 p. c. in 1921, 62.1 p. c. in 1931 and 59.3 p. c. in 1941 (60.2 p. c. in 1951). All these years the percentage of Christians was continuously increasing.

The trend towards declining Hindu population has been checked by the partition of India. The percentage of Hindu population has increased in all states after the partition.

ISLAM

The percentage of Muslim population has come down obviously as a result of the partition. Thus in Punjab the Muslims are only 1.9 per cent to-day. The Muslims are concentrated in North India, East India (except Orissa) and parts of Central India. They are 22.08 per cent in Assam, 19.85 per cent in West Bengal, 15.4 per cent in Bhopal, 14.28 per cent in U. P., 11.82 per cent in Hyderabad and 11.34 per cent in Bihar.

CHRISTIANITY

The Christians are concentrated in Madras and Travancore-Cochin in South India and Assam in East India. Christianity was introduced in Travancore-Cochin in the first century A. D. and the number of Christians has been steadily increasing there. The Christians who formed 23.8 per cent of the total population of Travancore-Cochin in 1901 were 32.0 per cent of the population in 1951. In Assam a large number of tribal people are Christians. In the Hills Division of Assam the percentage of Christians is as high as 35.41 per cent. During 1941-51 the Christian population of Assam increased by 64.4 per cent while the population of Assam increased by 19.1 per cent. A large number of conversions are mainly responsible for this. In 1951 the Christians were 32 per cent in Travancore-Cochin, 6.47 per cent in Assam and 4.15 per cent in Madras.

TRIBAL RELIGION

Till 1921 the tribal people were described in the census tables as Animists. In 1941 they were classified as belonging

to the tribal community. But in reality the tribal religion is not separate from Hinduism. And even if this is denied, the persons belonging to a tribe should have their free will in recording their religion, whatever it is. In 1941 they were denied this right. A Khasi returning himself as Hindu or Christian or just tribal was classified as "tribal" irrespective of his or her religion. Thus in 1941, 7.88 per cent of the total population of India belonged to the "tribal community." In 1951 the tribal people had the right to record the religion they professed and the result was that the great majority of them returned themselves as following Hinduism and only 0.47 per cent of the total population of India was found to be following tribal religions. Thus in Assam during 1941-51 Hindus registered an increase of 82.7 per cent (of which displaced persons contributed 8.5 per cent) against the population increase of 19.1 per cent. There are absolutely no followers of tribal religion in big states like U.P., Madras and Bombay. The followers of

tribal religions are concentrated in Bihar (52 p. c. of the total number of followers of tribal religions are found in Chota Nagpur Division), West Bengal and Assam. There are a few in Orissa, M. P. and Hyderabad.

OTHER RELIGIONS

Among the followers of other non-tribal religions, the majority are in Assam, Bombay and Madras. The Jews are concentrated in Bombay State (75 per cent of the total population of Jews is found in Bombay State.) There are some in West Bengal and Travancore-Cochin. The Parsees are also concentrated in Bombay State (87 per cent of the total Parsee population lives in this state.) The majority of Buddhists are in West Bengal (mostly Chinese.) Bombay has the largest number of Jains in India. The Sikhs are concentrated in Punjab, PEPSU, Delhi and U. P., Bombay is truly the land of many religions. It has the highest percentage in India of Parsees, Jews and Jains besides a large number of Muslims, Christians and Sikhs.

INDISCIPLINE AMONG STUDENTS

CAUSES AND REMEDIES

BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

COMFORTABLE materialism of Victorian age has been succeeded by two world-shaking wars. Crowns have tumbled to pieces in Europe and middle-East. The emergence of free nation states in Asia and the racial menace in Central and South Africa are facts. The birth of New China is a world-shaking event.

Particularly since 1921 in India when a thin wiry man called GANDHI returned from South Africa, he openly preached and practised the technique of non-violent disobedience to lawless laws.

In 1942 violence and lawlessness prevailed at such a level that thousands of students went underground, sabotaged the telegraphs, telephone lines, post-boxes and vans.

BESANT'S WARNING

When brick-bats were used, Annie Besant, a dynamic worker, wrote a courageous leader in the *New India* that they should be met by "bullets". This "spirit of lawlessness resulting in loss of respect for law which he (GANDHI) was creating through Civil disobedience would react against the Indian Government and people would disobey authorities on the lines taught to them by GANDHI."

UNREST, FRUSTRATION AND OVERCROWDING

There is to be found among students in Colleges and Universities a growing frustration and unrest accentuated by overcrowding. The tie between the teacher and the taught is very thin.

A Committee presided over by Justice O. H. Mootham, a fair-minded and clearheaded judge, had opportunities *inter alia* of diagnosing this malaise and suggesting a few remedies for the premier Allahabad University.

By far the great majority of students are individually well-behaved and the problem which confronts the UNIVERSITY is not so much that of individual misconduct (although that is bound to occur among 6000 students) as of a certain aggressiveness which arises in part from a feeling of insecurity and in part from a belief that it is only by some form of mass action that authorities can be persuaded to give attention to their grievances, real or imaginary.

Justice O. H. Mootham is a dignified product of English institutions who visited nooks and corners of our University and met as many witnesses as possible before making this profound diagnosis.

STUDENTS' DAILY LIFE

Neither having the atmosphere of the Ashram of old nor having the efficient tutorial system of the West the students are left to themselves after their listening to lectures inspiring and instructive or dull and common-place. The majority of the students faced with insufficient Common rooms, small libraries, few 'social amenities' and very little chance to play games go back to their hostels, homes or wretched lodgings—out of 6000 the hostels at Allahabad University cannot accommodate even 25%.

Socio-economic frustration after 1947 exploited by violent political parties, the baneful influence of the CINEMA, and the failure of the UNIVERSITY "to offer leadership or to canalise young men's high spirits" into useful channels—these have added their quota to unconventional modes of living left behind by the stay of Americans in this country.

The Universities have been manufacturing graduates whose standard has fallen as testified to by the Union and State Public Service Commission Reports.

The Colleges and Universities have been justly charged with TIMIDITY, INDECISION AND PARTIALITY in their approach to Discipline.

REMEDIES

Listless famished students, indecent and boisterous behaviour, apathetic soul-less teaching, neglect at home—all these are facets of the situation. Remedies have thus to be at a planned long-range level and at a short-range approach.

STRENGTHEN BONDS BETWEEN TEACHER AND TAUGHT

The solution undoubtedly lies in STRENGTHENING THE TIE BETWEEN TEACHER AND PUPIL. This presupposes the necessity of the tutorial system which again means more teachers.

The Universities are facing THE CRISIS now whether they are to manufacture meaninglessly a vast number of graduates or to do the work of an autonomous body inspiring in its members "respect, affection, and loyalty". Put shortly, is the University to be a *factory* open to all or is it to be a *chosen place* of tranquil retreat admitting only the fit?

A DANGER AHEAD

Our Universities besides being fed by tuition fees *largely depend on State-aid*. What is going to be the attitude of our Governments at the Centre and States towards these centres of leadership, individuality and freedom?

A few State Ministers have not been found wanting who want to convert Universities into Departments of State. Hitler first started with infiltrating the fountains of free thought—the Universities—with the morbidities of the *Mein Kampf*. *Democracies can never grow where Universities are tampered with and starved out.*

ROLE OF THE TEACHER

At a short range level, stigmas have been noted in the recruitment of teachers, the growth of teacher politicians, and the pernicious habit of dull dictation of notes in class-rooms. When I studied in the Law College, Madras, I never took notes dictated by dull teachers.

Teachers' Associations have sometimes degenerated into trade-unions and inter-

fered with the normal maintenance of discipline by the heads of departments of teaching.

Whether at the short-range or long-range levels, a *large responsibility* lies on the shoulders of teachers, the pillars of an University.

The grades of the higher University teachers compare only with provincial Civil Servants. In poor India we as a body of University teachers must not hanker after money. The University is not the place for accumulation of riches but it is a *temple of learning*, built on character, quest of TRUTH, and pursuit of HARMONY. Those not imbued with such a *moral purpose* should not go to University Centres.

A PLEA FOR SERVICE AND SACRIFICE

The tone of a great centre of learning and dependable scholarship depends on its Vice-Chancellor at the apex of a band of noble and valiant scholars.

The onus of choosing the Vice-Chancellor admits of improvement. The policy of the State towards Universities should evince *trust and far-sight*.

Basically and ultimately a band of teachers inspiring the emotional youth to a life of activity and achievements can alone save Indian Universities from impending disaster.

Anglo-U. S. Attitude and the Problem of Trieste

By SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

AN announcement issued simultaneously from London and Washington states that both the British and American Governments are desirous of settling the problem of Trieste. The area of Trieste is seven hundred and eighty square Kilometers. When the second World War came to an end the Trieste area was divided into two zones. It is learnt that zone 'A' comprises about two hundred and twenty eight square Kilometres, and is inhabited by about 3,00,000 people. On the other hand the area of Zone 'B' is five hundred and fiftysix square Kilometres and about 70,000 people inhabit this Zone. Zone 'A' was placed under Anglo-American military regime. It is reported that about ten thousand troops were stationed there. On the other hand Yugoslavia used to administer zone 'B'. But it was always claimed by the Government of Italy that the entire region of Trieste should be entrusted to it.

The reports recently received state that Yugoslavia is in favour of internationalizing the port of Trieste and of incorporating the Istrian hinterland into the territory of Yugoslavia. Here it may be pointed out

that the claim kept up by Italy to the entire region of Trieste is not very old. History bears evidence to the fact that Trieste belonged originally to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The claim of Italy seems to have been based upon a change which was effected at the end of the first World War. It appears from history that de Gasperi was forced to face a Communist movement in the month of March 1948 when elections were being held in Italy. At that time the Communists were leading a vigorous movement in Italy and Yugoslavia had very close connection with the Government of Soviet Russia. Consequently the three major western Powers thought it wise to give a promise to this effect that the whole of the Trieste region would be given to Italy. But in reality the three major Western Powers found it very difficult to honour their promise in view of complications in the field of international politics. Besides Yugoslavia failed meanwhile to maintain good relation with the Government of Soviet Russia. The Civil administration of zone 'A' was entrusted to Rome as a concession to Italy, though zone 'B'

remained under control of the Government of Yugoslavia. The arrangement in regard to Trieste, recently announced from London and Washington indicates that both the British and American Governments want to hand over the full control of zone 'A' to Italy. Here it may be pointed out that Zone 'A' includes the port of Trieste. Both the city and port of Trieste are, at present, predominantly inhabited by the Italians. The port served Eastern Switzerland, Southern Germany, Austria, Western Hungary, Czechoslovakia as also Yugoslavia and Italy. Hence it seems to us that the character of the port of Trieste is international.

On the other hand Yugoslavia will remain in control of Zone 'B' as per recently announced Anglo-U.S. arrangement. It is no doubt true that Italy has not formally given up her claim to the entire region; yet she appears to have accepted the new Anglo-U.S. arrangement. The result is that Yugoslavia offers opposition to the arrangement and is determined to make it a failure. It cannot be denied that the people of Yugoslavia made great sacrifices to liberate Trieste and the Istrian Peninsula. The statement published by the Government of Yugoslavia says that during the last World War 42,800 Yugoslavians were killed, 7,000 war disabled, 95,460 arrested and deported. Besides 19,357 houses were completely destroyed and 16,837 destroyed partly. Hence it is quite natural that the Yugoslavians will not be able to reconcile themselves to the unilateral Anglo-American decision. Besides the Italian Premier has recently declared that Italy regards her control of Zone 'A' as the first step towards incorporation of the whole of the Free Territory into Italy. This fact has greatly aggravated the situation. In other words Italy, in the opinion of the Government of Yugoslavia, will try to gain hold of the entire region and to employ it "as a vantage point to push an expansionist course in the Dalmatian coasts". Here one is tempted to ask why Yugoslavia is led to suspect Italy's intentions. It seems to us that the attitude of Yugoslavia towards Italy has been determined by a fear and this fear owes its origin to a policy which Italy in the era of Mussolini used to pursue. The political commentators state that the way Slavs and Italians

are scattered in the region of Trieste has greatly complicated a solution of the problem of Trieste on strictly ethnological basis.

A report received from Rome states that Italy made a proposal to this effect that a plebiscite should be held in the entire region of Trieste. Possibly Italy was led to make this proposal because she knew that Italians constituted an overall majority. Besides the policy of Italianization which the Government of Italy pursued in the period between the first and second World Wars forced many Slavs to leave the territory. Hence it seems that an agreement through direct negotiations is very difficult. A journalist writes that the new Anglo-American arrangement "is more empirical than a doctrinal one". In this arrangement no mention is made of a plebiscite, though recognition is given to partition. Some political commentators expect that "the withdrawal of the major foreign Powers from the scene can ultimately help the two states directly concerned to come to an understanding perhaps with smaller frontier rectifications".



75-year old Sandburg, one of the outstanding American poets was lauded as an interpreter of the American people.

SCIENCE AND OURSELVES

By SRI TRIBIKRAM PATI, B.A. (Hons.), M.Sc.

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COMTE * might well have embarked upon a genuine adventure of ideas while hazarding the conclusion that the progress in Ethics and the social sciences had lagged behind the advance in physical science. But to-day this conclusion is almost a home-truth. Under the spell of technological 'abracadabra' the scientist revelled in the study of inert matter, and even when he betrayed a saner aptitude for the study of life, in his intellectual outlook he remained essentially an extrovert. His initial triumphs over the ravages of nature, however partial and incomplete, tempted him to touch with the magic wand of his intellect almost every sector of the entire arc of extra-human existence. True, man developed science also for his own sake; but that was not so much for the analysis and understanding of himself as for his comforts and curiosities.

At certain points, however, the scientist's interest in animate nature seems to have even transcended the limitations of human capacity and to have made of him something of an 'Alice in the Wonderland'. Specially reared and trained butyl-acetone-producing bacteria have been harnessed, for example, to take formulae which no chemists dare separate, split them up and rearrange them to produce newer and newer chemicals. Perhaps Pasteur could not have conjectured, even by the widest stretch of imagination, that at one stage of scientific evolution micro-biology would become so replete with technical knowledge as to shower upon the bald head of Industry a hail-storm of starched collar, blasting explosives, face-powder, paint-thinners, penicillin, vitamin-pills, photographic films, false teeth, antiseptics, plastics, special aviation fuel, bomber-noses made of synthetic resins, and even the lacquer on the finger-nails of Miss 1952. The all-out sterilization campaign against microbes evoked from no less sober a critic than Aldous Huxley the pungent sarcasm on the superstitions of a

scientific age—"There are mothers who find it necessary to sterilize the handkerchiefs that come back from the laundry; who, when their children scratch their finger on a bramble, interrupt their walk and hurry home in search of iodine;..... One is reminded irresistibly of the ritual washings and fumigations, the incessant pre-occupation with unclean foods, unlucky days, and inauspicious places, so common among all the primitive peoples."* On the other hand, the consuming passion for the piquant has led us to interpret even human situations and symbols through the medium of weird and eerie mechanical techniques. How touching are the confessions of a talkie-visitor, whom the whole of the literary world holds in esteem.—"I went to the Talkies. It was my first and last...Science assembles us, Art does not unite us...We have grown distrustful of what is within ourselves; for that, we have learned, is no longer of importance. Space and Science insulate us from the sympathy of humane communication...Our ways of life, under the compulsion of mechanical powers with which it would be useless to argue—they have no heads, as kings had, to be cut off—are shaping us into flocks with the same faces, the same wool and the same desires." And how bitterly sincere is the end. "There may be more than we think in that myth of the Gorgon's head: but instead of into stone its modern victims are changed into mutton."† What right, then, have we, the 'modern victims', to make a laughing-stock of the blonde, who at the bang of an orchestra, she attended for the first time, whispered into a friend's ear—"By Jove! That's just the radio; only you have to close your eyes."?

The whole trend of modern thought, however, reflects a revolt against the deification of lifeless matter. The development

* From the essay 'The substitutes for religion in "Proper Studies"' (Chatto and Windus, 1927).

† From the essay 'Beauty and the Beast' in "Out of Soundings" (William Heinemann, Ltd., 1931) by H. M. Tomlinson.

* Auguste Comte (1798—1857), the celebrated French Positivist.

in the recent past of the various sociological and anthropological sciences, ranging from Ergonomics to Eugenics, is a heartening augury. Even among pioneers like Heisenberg, Bohr and Schrodinger opinion is sharply divided over the suspicion that nothing beyond a statistical average is within the ken of the scientific observer, the issue of the predictability of the so-called voluntary human behaviour, and the concomitant questions of free will and determinism. Understandably enough matter, pure and simple, has proved recalcitrant in the strictly theoretical sense. But even in the practical sphere the intensity and horror of uncontrollable material forces have outstripped even our wildest expectations, compelling us to throw into the limbo of oblivion almost all the conventional categories of thought.

The mental and moral torpor that came close on the heels of the plethora of materialistic progress has not gone without adequate response from the more delicate and susceptible souls among the 'homosapiens'. These men, the visionaries of a new order, had, of course, their own shares of schizophrenia that has become symptomatic, so to say, of modern culture. But it dawned upon them that something was slipping through the fingers while we were all frantically grabbing at the last vestige of life. Alexis Carrel, the author of that sparkling book "Man, the Unknown" was not the only one to realise that man, having failed to distinguish the prohibited from the lawful, had tumbled down into an unromantic world, "born from the whims of scientific discoveries, from the appetites of men, their illusions, their theories, and their desires"*, and that the very foundations of our civilisation are faulty, if only because we laid down those foundations without an adequate understanding of ourselves, of our body and consciousness, which are subjected to natural laws, more obscure than, but as inexorable as, the laws of the outer universe.

The distinction drawn by Galileo between the primary and the secondary qualities of objects was grossly misinterpreted

* Alexis Carrel, N. L., "Man, the Unknown" Pelican Books, 1948) p. 34

during the subsequent phase of scientific progress, and led, along with parallel doctrines like the dualism of the body and the soul,* to a precipitation of the prejudice that the quantitative laws of form and dimension and their physical correlates were more substantial than the qualitative aspects of reality. It has been justly contended by some eminent thinkers that this accent of emphasis on the quantitative has been mainly responsible for the time-lag between the physical and the socio-biological sciences. The available data concerning the organic structure, the psychic mechanism and the moral substratum of the total human personality is bound to remain, for a long time to come, as scrappy as the jagged bits of a jig-saw-puzzle. Yet these data provide the only logical basis for the restitution of man's truncated individuality. With a cadence of confidence in the resurrection of man through the prophylactic virtues of the sociological sciences Waddington writes—"Older sciences which are pushing ahead from a well-secured base at the end of a long and well charted road of previous discoveries may well be tempted to look down their noses at such guerilla parties. But the skirmishers are out on the track of social order, and they will get a satisfactory analysis for it in time."†

The maximum caution must, however, be exercised to ensure that the failure of the creed of materialism does not accentuate an equally lop-sided spiritual reaction. The avowed antagonists of the cult of matter may easily succumb to the extremist doctrine of the primacy of the mind or spirit. Freud is a very relevant and outstanding instance. Indeed, the study of the physico-chemical characteristics of blood-serum and of its protoplasmic permeability or ionic equilibria is as indispensable an ingredient of a synthetic knowledge of man as the analysis of memory, dream, libido, telepathy or even of mystic revelations and intuitive perceptions. Without getting tethered to any preconceived tenets the progressive

* Created by Descartes.

† C. H. Waddington, F. R. S., "The Scientific Attitude" (Pelican Books, 1948), p. 79.

scientist, be he an anatomist or a political economist, must reckon with man, not merely as a psycho-physiological creature, or in Samuel Butler's phrase, as 'a domestic animal attendant upon machines', but as the very measure of civilisation. Then, and not till then, can he aspire to save man from the imbecility of the manual or intellectual proletariat, reorganise his split personality and prevent the tragic atrophy of his soul. How refreshing it is to read the last lines of Thomson's brilliant essay 'Biology and Human Progress'—"Finally, it is often and rightly said, as we have

just been suggesting, that Man must be considered in the light of Organic Evolution, the outcome of an age-long process—and also a promise. But we must also envisage Organic Evolution in the light of man, since it is in Man that Nature finds its chief significance. We might say, *Finis coronat opus*, were we not reluctant to think of any full stop to the evolutionary process as a whole."*

* Sir Arthur Thomson, 'Biology and Human Progress', an article in "An Outline of Modern Knowledge" (Victor Gollancz Ltd., September, 1934), edited by Dr. William Ross, p. 250.

THE CENTRAL NEED IN EDUCATION

BY SRI RISHABCHAND

Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

THE Upanishads lay down in definite terms the basic principle of an integral education:

Twofold is the knowledge that thou must have,—this say the knowers of the Brahman, the higher and the lower knowledge.

Of which the lower, the Rigveda and the Yajurveda and the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda, Chanting, Ritual, Grammar, Interpretation and Prosody and Astronomy. And the higher by which the Immortal is known.

—Mundaka, 1. 1. 4—5.

If knowledge is the object of education, and not the mere "advancement of learning", as one of the leading universities in India curiously has for its motto,* and if the knowledge aimed at is an integral knowledge, that is to say, one that will promote the growth and perfection of the whole being of man, and not only of his mind, then the Upanishadic dictum quoted above stands as a counsel of unimpeachable wisdom and affords the best guidance in the solution of the problem of education.

It goes without saying that education has been one of the most baffling problems in the modern times. It is being increasingly perceived that the mind and life

* It is, indeed, a most inept motto for an Indian University.

of man cannot be rescued from their present condition of chaos and blind self-will except by an ideal education conducive to a harmonious growth of the human being. But in order to be able to develop the whole being of man, education must be based upon a true knowledge of man,—what man is composed of, what is the centre of his being and what the aim and purpose of his manifold life. The philosophy of education must be based upon a sound philosophy and psychology of man. But the modern system of education woefully suffers from a lack of any definite and coherent philosophy inspiring and guiding its development, and is therefore tossed between conflicting ideologies. It recognises only the reasoning and pragmatic mind of man as the highest faculty he possesses, or, if it is awake to the promising discoveries of the modern psychology, especially to the restitution of intuition as a much higher faculty than the reasoning mind, it does not know how to stimulate its development in the students. Besides, its almost exclusive inclination towards secularism makes it pitifully narrow and short-sighted, and deprives it of its higher utility as an agent of a harmonious development of man.

The present exclusive stress upon secularism, is indeed, the bane of modern education. Not that secularism is bad in itself. It is supremely welcome, if it means a respect of Matter and material things and a solicitude for a harmonious ordering of material life. Physical well-being and prosperity are legitimate enough ends in themselves, and a stable foundation for any progressive socio-cultural structure. "Matter is Brahman," says the Upanishads, and the ancient Rishis prayed for a happy and prosperous material life. But Matter is not all, nor are human possibilities confined to material-mental achievements. "There is a self that is of the essence of Matter—there is another inner self of Life that fills the other—there is another inner self of mind—there is another inner self of Truth-Knowledge—there is another inner self of Bliss", says the Taittiriya Upanishad. Man comprises all these selves in himself. His finiteness is instinct with infinity, his mortality pulses with the breath of immortality. It would, therefore, be disastrous to his growth if, in the name of secularism, he is condemned to limit his vision to the superficialities of existence and live in the restless, groping twilight of his mind. Within him lie infinite ranges of his own existence, levels upon levels of his own consciousness unexplored, perhaps even unsuspected. Powerful and luminous faculties sleep in the unplumbed depths of his being, an awakening of which can bestow upon him a mastery of Nature much greater than even the mastery dreamt of by science. Will he sacrifice all these magnificent possibilities to his present obsession with secularism? Will he sacrifice his soul to his engrossing preoccupation with the mortal body and its petty passing needs and amenities?

Both the knowledges spoken of in the Upanishads have to be acquired—the higher and the lower, para and apara. Spirit and flesh have both to be conquered, heaven and earth both to be united in one's widened existence. But the primacy and superiority of the higher knowledge cannot be impugned. If the lower has derived from the higher, as all ancient knowledge affirms, then the secret of the perfection of the lower lies in the higher. The ancients lived a more or less happy and

harmonious life, because something of this secret was known to them. But we moderns have laughed the spirit away and spurned as superstition the higher powers and possibilities of human life. This divorce between the higher and the lower, the inner and the outer, the core and the crust, has to be healed, if man is to be redeemed from his present state of moral and spiritual inanition. The soul of man cannot be starved with impunity. Most, if not all, of the social maladies of the present times and the general confusion and decay of all higher values stem, in the last analysis from the innate shortcomings of modern education. If man is unhappy, aggressively egoistic, meanly, or perversely selfish, beastly in his passions and propensities, insincere in his thoughts and hypocritical in his dealings with his fellow men, it is his education or want of good education that is primarily to blame. The habit of lying, insubordination and deceit so rampant today among the students, argues a complete bankruptcy of the modern education. It is only by a return to the integral truth of man's being and a rediscovery of the lofty purpose and composite nature of his life that education can become again, perhaps more extensively than ever before, a power for the harmonious development of human life.

As all ancient wisdom knew, human life is a field for perfection and a divine fulfilment by continuous self-transcendence, and education is the most potent means of fostering this self-transcendence. By educating or bringing out his latent faculties, by awakening the dormant levels of his consciousness, and by opening his vision to the splendours of his destiny, education can lift man from the shoddy normalcy of his life and lead him by progressive stages to the divine goal of his being. But it must be an education that can educate or evolve, not only his mind, but also his soul; impart to him not only the lower (apara) knowledge, but also the higher (para) and thus help the integral flowering of his being. All education that fails to combine the two knowledges and does not provide a ladder of self-transcendence is doomed to stultify itself.

CHRIST'S LAST DAYS

BY MR. A. GALLETTI, I.C.S. (Retired.)

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THAT Christ lived long after the crucifixion and spread the gospel outside Palestine is proved by stray passages in St. Paul's Epistles, the Acts and the 4th Gospel, which escaped the editors when the canon was settled and passages irreconcilable with the Ascension were excised; and by the interpretation of texts referring to the Ascension in the 2nd and 3rd Gospels.

BETWEEN 35 AND 40 A.D.

Paul had been persecuting the Church for some years when he went to Damascus to persecute the Church Christ had founded there and Christ himself. Christ converted him. The proof of this is in Gal I.12, I Cor 9.I, XI.23, XV.8. Paul did not go to Jerusalem for three years. Why should he? He had had the gospel at first hand. He went on a mission to Arabia, and returned to Damascus, before going to Jerusalem to come to terms with Christ's brother James and Peter.

ABOUT 53 A.D.

2 Cor XIII. 3 et seq:—"And Christ is not weak towards you, but is mighty among you. For, though he was crucified in weakness yet he is still in the land of the living by the power of God... though I share Christ's weakness in dealing with you, I shall share the power of God, by which he is still alive." The resurrection was for the term of Christ's natural life, not for a few days on earth on the way to heaven. Christ was still a weak human being, but had been exalted above all other men by the Resurrection.

ABOUT 60 A.D.

Acts XXV: Fastus tells Agrippa what the charge against Paul is. "When the accusers stood up, they brought no such charge as I had expected, but things of their religion, and of one Jesus who was dead, but Paul affirmed to be still alive."

ABOUT 63 A.D.

Eph. III 14: "Christ is our peace, who made Jew and Gentile one... that he might create a new mankind out of the two... he came and preached the gospel of peace to those far off and to those near." Evidently the evangelisation of those far off took place after the crucifixion.

AGAIN ABOUT 63 A.D.

Phil. I. 20-21: I am in two minds whether to depart and join Christ, which would be much better, but it is more needful for you that I should work on here, and, being persuaded of this, I know that I shall abide and bide with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith. "Christ had been preaching for about thirty years to those far off, first at Damascus, then probably at Babylon—I Peter was written from Babylon, and perhaps he had sent word that he was setting out on his last stage to, perhaps, India. Paul wanted to accompany him, but felt that his first duty was to the Churches he had founded in Europe. We have a clue which connects Christ with India. A portrait of his mother "by St. Luke" is preserved at St. Thome near Madras. The existing portrait is certainly not the original, but may well be a copy. Who except Christ would have brought a portrait of his mother to India? She had not begun to be a person of any religious importance—the nativity myth had not yet been invented—but doubtless Christ was fond of her, and may have taken her portrait with him when he set out on a mission to the ends of the world.

The evidence of the author of the 4th gospel, who was of course the Elder John, not the Apostle. John tells us of his last sight of Jesus by the Sea of Galilee. Christ told Peter he should accompany him on the mission to those far off. Peter wanted to know whether John would come too. Christ said, No, John must await his return—no doubt

because he was so young. John was then a school boy studying at Jerusalem and must of course complete his studies.

THE PROOF IN THE ALLEGED LOST END OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

Eusebius says that in the eldest and best MSS known to him the Gospel of Mark ended with the words "for they were afraid" XVI. 8. It ends there in most of the oldest and best MSS known to us. The last 12 verses printed in our bibles are an interpolation. One early Armenian MSS has the last 12 verses but separated by a note. They are now known to scholars as "the longer conclusion." The Shorter Conclusion has not been lost. It appears in some of the best MSS, in the African Latink in the text, in the margin in one Greek cursive. It runs: "And all that had been commanded them they briefly reported to Peter and his company; and after these things Jesus himself appeared and from the East and West sent through them the sacred and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation." This is the original conclusion which has not been lost at all. The longer conclusion was substituted for it, or it was simply excised, because it was inconsistent with the Ascension. Its meaning is quite clear. After the crucifixion and Resurrection Jesus, who was not safe in Palestine, went abroad and sent his apostles all over the world.

Peter was sent to Persia, and dates his first Epistle from Babylon, the capital of Persia. Thomas, according to tradition, was sent to India. Paul, directly he was converted, was sent to Arabia. Christ himself was meanwhile at Damascus, founding the Syrian Church.

In most of the MSS which preserve the Shorter Conclusion, the Longer Conclusion follows it, usually introduced with the words, "This also is current." Obviously people dissatisfied with the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, which says nothing of the Ascension and assumes that Christ continued to live and direct operations, added or substituted a conclusion, which assumes and refers to the Ascension.

There is no reference to the alleged physical Ascension in the Gospels except in St. Luke XXIV. 51, which all scholars agree is a marginal gloss which found its way into the text. There is therefore no Gospel evidence for the myth of the bodily ascension of Christ into a pre-Copernican place in the sky. The myth arose in the second century and was believed by all Christendom and still is. Hence the curious unbelief in Christ's life after the crucifixion which has turned many a simple text into a crux for the orthodox. Anyone reading the Scriptures without prejudice finds the truth that Christ lived out his natural life staring him in the face.

DREAM-POETRY

By SMT. T. SITA CHARI M.A. (*Cantab*).

"THE Cloth of Gold"* is an interesting piece of work in the nature of a very difficult experiment. The problem of the Indian artist writing in English has been oversimplified, in the popular mind, into the comparatively easier one of the man who feels clearly and lucidly within his own culture, trying to translate his

* THE CLOTH OF GOLD—A Dance-Drama in verse with a Dream-epilogue; By M. Krishnamurti. Foreword by Rukmini Devi Arundale.

Price Rs. 6/-

Indian Agents: The Kalekshetra, Adyar, Madras-20.

experience into the language of an alien one—a problem of transposition. The Indian who chooses to write seriously in English has already actually chosen to represent a group of people whose difficulties are more complex, because they belong to both cultures, to both traditions; and the problem of synthesis is urgent.

Mr. Krishnamurti's work takes us to the real complexity of the problem. As Mr. Uday Shankar points out, "The Cloth of Gold" can be danced, and there may be drama in it, but that is only incidental

to the poetry, which is the chosen form. If it had been a ritual dance-drama and therefore associated with a particular stage, a particular gesture language, a particular musical tradition, it would be very different. It is because it tries to express itself completely in English words that it poses an interesting problem.

The form of the dance-drama, dealing with the theme of the Primal Will, immediately places itself, both for Mr. Krishnamurti and the Indian reader of English poetry, not only in the tradition of Indian ritual drama, but also of other traditions. For example Mr. Krishnamurti himself refers to the No Play of Japan, which had so much influence on the revived poetic drama of Yeats. Again, Mr. Krishnamurti, in his Prologue, evokes the Greek religious drama, the Aeschylean tragedy... "The action of the play throwing its dark shadow on the Casandra-like genius of the poet-narrator." This was also the genius of the Aeschylean chorus of old men, who had drained their cup of suffering, and learnt to accept the Primal Will, on which,

All else, or good or ill
As commentary still.

(Cloth of Gold, Sc. II. 39).

Inevitably, in the way he looks at his theme, in the symbols that arise, Mr. Krishnamurti is not purely Indian. Krishna Panchati is a contrast to Mary Magdalene, and in the story of her heir and the tragedy it caused, based on deeply Indian feeling, he cannot help seeing some resemblance to Madusa, and to the Furies. Towards the end of the poem, when the tempo rises, the poet-narrator sings about his rhymes—

No Graces these

But the Erimyes.

Thus clouds at sunset seen
Change with swift, fading sheen
From gold to lurid green;
And where with streaming hair
The Maenads danced, now flare
The serpent locks a-stare.

For the artifice that such poetry demands, the stylisation that is essential, Mr.

Krishnamurti again uses both the Indian and the European traditions. The bridesmaids, who are like the Seven Meters bringing the Sacred Lore from Heaven,

....kneel to crown

The Epithalamium.

He uses the language of heraldry, the griffin the "crouchant" and the "rampant beast". He is obviously steeped in English poetry—e.g. images like "Gleam of Summer, fire-laggon'd", compared with the echo of of much earlier English poetry in the description of the bride,

....A prize,

Forbidden, - dragon treasure,

whose hidden eyes gleam like "a vessel, fire-freighted". The European poet goes to the Middle Ages for the kind of lucid, symbolic technique he needs. Mr. Krishnamurti uses these, the green-girdle of the goddess of the woods, the stylised red gold of balladry, as well as the paleblues and dove-greys of the later English poets and the "lurid green" of the Indian snnet. Some-times this juxtaposition of traditions is particularly striking e.g.

In silks of fluted hem:

My verse would move like them

Like Beauty, brightbangled!

The Bride in diaphane

Glow like the fire arcane

That virgins white bosom'd,

Towards the altar bear:

They sleep like Meters fair,

The seven, sweet-rhythmed.

Particularly, for effects of contrast, it is very useful, as the poet himself describes:

In double row of threes

My verses move like these,

Tridents turned fleur-de-lis!

The Spirit's Odyssey is also an interesting series of lyrics, set in a pattern, a dream drama. As the author says, the attempt is at finality—not through the interminable process of precision, like that of the sea which shapes the cliff-surface, but the finality of that which is complete at its emergence, the magic of the butterfly.

U. S. VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON

[Mr. Richard M. Nixon, the 36th Vice-President of the U. S., accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Patricia Nixon, and representatives of the U. S. Department of State are scheduled to arrive in India on Sunday, November 29, as part of their tour of the Far East and South Asia at the behest of President Eisenhower. The primary purpose of the trip is to become acquainted with leaders of the countries visited, to gain first-hand impressions, to carry the sincere greetings of the people and the President of the United States, and to report back to President Eisenhower. One of the objectives of the trip, he has said, is to discover, anticipate, and reduce tensions in South Asia.—Ed. I. R.]

MR. RICHARD ("Dick") Milhous Nixon of California, who last year was elected Vice-President of the United States for four years, at 40, is the second youngest man in U. S. history to hold the office of Vice-President.

Vice-President Nixon holds an office that requires a thorough knowledge of Government and politics. He is, in a sense, the bridge between the legislative and executive branches of the U. S. Government.

He has the exacting duty of presiding over sessions of the 96-member U. S. Senate. Even though a parliamentarian is ready at all times to advise him, the Vice-President must have a good grasp not only of the Senate rules and traditions but also of the political implications of issues being debated.

MR. NIXON'S CAREER

Mr. Nixon is a hard-working legislator, an indafatigable campaigner and a proven vote-getter. Although in politics less than 7 years (4 years in the House of Representatives and 2 years as a Senator), he has won wide popularity throughout the country and the respect of his colleagues—Democrats and Republicans alike.

Vice-President Nixon entered politics almost by accident. He had enlisted in the Navy in 1942 as a lieutenant, and four years later was a lieutenant-commander awaiting discharge. In 1946, Republicans of his Congressional district in California were determined to find the most formidable candidate to run against a 10 year Democratic incumbent.

Mr. Nixon was invited by 150 local citizens representing party clubs and groups throughout his home district to appear with other prospective candidates. He did, and after all the candidates were interviewed, Mr. Nixon, then only 33, was chosen. He easily won the November election:

FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM

Mr. Nixon has been one of the leaders in the fight against Communism at home and against Communist aggression abroad. He received nation-wide acclaim as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives' Committee on Un-American Activities for his work in exposing Communists seeking to overthrow the U. S. Government by subversive activity. He has also been active in the U. S. Senate's investigations of Government corruption.

In 1947, as a member of the U. S. house of Representatives' Select Committee on Foreign Aid, Mr. Nixon visited Europe to study economic conditions on the Continent. This committee drew up recommendations for implementing the Marshall Plan—probably the greatest rescue mission in human history—to aid European recovery. His voting record in both the House of Representatives and Senate has been one of consistent support for aid programmes to strengthen the free world.

For his accomplishments in his first two years in public office, Mr. Nixon was chosen one of the 10 outstanding young men of the country in 1948 by the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. Running for re-election that year, Mr. Nixon received both the Republican and the Democratic Party nominations in the summer primaries, a feat made possible by California's cross-filing system, and did not need to campaign for the November election.

But in 1950, as the Republican candidate for a Senate seat vacated by a retiring Democrat, Mr. Nixon engaged in one of the most hard-fought senatorial campaigns ever witnessed in California. Mr. Nixon was elected by a plurality of 670,000 votes, the greatest vote margin registered by any victorious Senate candidate that year. He became the youngest Republican in the Senate.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

McCarthyism

IT will be recalled that in June last Prof. Einstein asked the intellectuals to reply Senator McCarthy and his Communist-hunting Committee by using the non-co-operation tactics of Mahatma Gandhi. In a letter to a New York High School teacher who faced dismissal from his job for refusing to testify before the McCarthy Committee, Einstein said:

Every intellectual who is called before one of these committees ought to refuse to testify. He must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interests of the cultural welfare of his country.

I see only the revolutionary war of non-co-operation in the manner adopted by Mahatma Gandhi. It is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to this kind of inquisition.

It is a strange commentary on the politics of the United States that even men like Ex-President Truman and the top men of the Administration are not exempt from this kind of inquisition. Mr. Truman's loyalty and the loyalty of the late Chief Justice Vinson (then Secretary of the Treasury) are impugned with impunity by the suggestion that the appointment of the late Harry Dexter White as Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund was betrayal of the country's security. The Attorney-General Mr. Herbert Bramwell asserted that White "was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him". This is a very grave charge against one who was President of the U. S. A. and the appointee who became the Chief Justice in his administration. Now Mr. Truman is as different in temper and outlook from Gandhi or Einstein as the tropics are from the Poles. Yet he chose to decline to testify. But he would not be Truman if he had left the matter there. He had never been known to ask for quarter nor to give any and he hit out in his broadcast talk the other day in a way quite characteristic of him. Leaving apart the personnel concerned in the accusation and

the denial, the larger issues of this witch-hunt cannot escape the notice of the world. What are we coming to with this kind of thing—so familiar to us in the mock trials and executions in Communist and Totalitarian countries? Verily the attack on Communism and the systematic campaign of hatred against an ideology are breeding the very evil against which Democracy is supposed to wage a relentless war. The war is there and the relentlessness. But what a pitiful state of morbidity and violence so alien to the spirit of tolerance in an enlightened democracy! We must quote Mr. Truman at some length. He accused the Attorney-General of tragic debasement of a high office, of "cheap political trickery" and of "lying" to the American people. He said he thought the powers of the Attorney-General had been prostituted for hopes of political gain, and declared that no election was worth so much.

Mr. Truman declared that this attack on him was only a symptom, a most recent example, "of the decay of the basic principles of freedom" taking place in the U. S.—a "horrible cancer eating at the vitals of America."

"There is one aspect of this affair that should be clear to everyone. That is the obvious political motivation of this attack on me. In launching this attack, the Republican Attorney-General worked hand in glove with the Republican National Committee. The manner and the timing of what has been done make it perfectly clear that the powers of the Attorney-General have been prostituted for hopes of political gain. No election is worth so much.

"The whole history of our Republic does not reveal any other such attack as this by a new Administration on an outgoing President of disloyalty.

"In Communist countries, it is the practice when a new Government comes to power to accuse outgoing officials of treason, to frame public trials for them and to degrade and prosecute the key officials of the previous Government. That is the way of the Communists, whose only goal is power. It is not the way Americans behave.

"At least it has not been so in the past.

"This tragic debasement of high office by the Attorney-General is bad enough, but the thing

I wish most to get over to you is that this incident is only the most publicised and the most recent example of the decay of the basic principles of freedom now taking place in this country.

NEW MCCARTHYISM

"It is now evident that the present Administration has fully embraced for political advantage, McCarthyism. I am not referring to the Senator from Wisconsin—he is only important in that his name has taken on a dictionary meaning in the world.

"It is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of the due process of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security.

"It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth. It is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society.

"This is not a partisan matter. This horrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom.

"If this sordid, deliberate and unprecedented attack on the loyalty of a former President of the U. S. will serve to alert the people to the terrible danger that our nation and each citizen faces, then it will have been a blessing in disguise. I hope this will arouse you to fight this evil at every level of our national life.

"I even hope that this may serve to stir the conscience of this present Administration itself."

The Passing of Mr. B. N. Rau

In the death of Mr. Benegal Narsing Rau at a Zurich clinic we have lost a great jurist and diplomat who played a distinguished part in the recent proceedings of the United Nations. Mr. B. N. Rau who was 66 had gone to Zurich for treatment some months ago but his condition steadily deteriorated over the past fortnight and he died on the 30th November. His two brothers Mr. Rama Rau and Mr. Shiva Rau were at the bedside when the end came.

In his tribute in Parliament to the departed statesman, the Prime Minister described Mr. Rau as the architect of the Constitution of India. Rau in recent years became a memorable figure in United Nations circles where his passing has caused deep regret. He was known to have brought the Asian-African Group into being in 1950 when he was leading the movement to end the Korean war.

Mr. Rau was President when the historical Security Council meetings of June 25, 1950 and June 27, 1950 took cognisance of and decided to take military sanctions against North Korea's crossing the 38th Parallel.

It would be difficult to fill the place left vacant by the passing of this suave and soft spoken scholar-diplomat whose gentle persuasive manner proved so effective in international conferences.

The Census Commissioner's Report

The Census Commissioner Mr. R. A. Gopalaswamy in his report to the Government on the results of the last census has some illuminating remarks which deserve public attention. In a comprehensive report touching many features of the census findings it is impossible to refer to more than a few items in this brief note. He discloses that every 1000 self-supporting persons in India support in addition to themselves 2,504 others. The burden of supporting dependants is far heavier in India than it is in the U. S. or the U. K. Out of a total population of 356.8 millions there are as many as 214.3 millions who are non-earning dependants. The report states that "on almost every kind of reckoning, South India seems to be the last among all the six zones in respect of the prevalence of gainful employment.

Mr. Gopalaswamy advocates effective steps to limit the growth of population in India, coupled with increased agricultural productivity on a larger scale than that envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

He emphasises the need for all or most married couples avoiding "improvident maternity" or births to mothers who have already had three or more children when at least one of them is alive.

On a study of the data made available in the present census and comparing it with the data for the last 60 years, the Census Commissioner comes to the conclusion that if the people continue to get food during the next 30 years as well as in the past 30 years, India's population would increase from about 36 crores in 1951 to about 41 crores in 1961, 46 crores in 1971 and 52 crores in 1981.

Pakistan and U.S.A.

Reports of impending U.S.-Pak Military pact followed by Pak Governor-General's visit to President Eisenhower strengthened the widespread belief that Pakistan was negotiating with the U.S. for military help in return for the possession of bases for American occupation. No doubt it is Pakistan's affair. But it is humanly impossible for a neighbour with the record and tradition of past association that we could altogether ignore a major happening of that kind. If the *New York Herald-Tribune* speaks of the area between Adana and Singapore as a "strategic vacuum" the example of Korea is there to cause consternation in the peoples of these areas at the prospect of being drawn into Big Power rivalries.

The Prime Minister of India stated at a press conference in Delhi that a military pact between Pakistan and the United States would have very far-reaching consequences in the whole structure of things in South Asia and especially in India and Pakistan. The Pak press is furious at this remark and a battery of press propaganda led by *Dawn* is in full swing. Are Pak leaders so dense as to be blind to the facts of history? At the moment Pak feelings towards India may not be quite cordial; but no one cuts his own face to spite the enemy.

Whether any defence agreement between Pakistan and the U. S. has been actually reached or not, there seems to be no doubt that discussions are going on towards this end. Pak leaders could ignore the writing on the wall only at the peril of their state. The warning given by "Perigrinus" in the *Hindustan Times* is timely. How can we forget the tragedy wrought by British, French, Dutch and Portuguese bases in our own country in the past?

Even if she has forgotten the old history of this subcontinent, which is full of instances of the foreigner being brought in to fight one's own neighbour and both becoming slaves, surely she cannot be ignorant of the lessons of contemporary history especially of small nations which, voluntarily or otherwise, became the battleground of belligerents.

The examples of Poland, Germany, Austria and Korea are there. It is easy to let the foreigner in but not so easy to get him out.

As we go to press we have the Pak Governor General's declaration that reports of such negotiation were absolutely unfounded and baseless.

Reports that my Government is negotiating with the United States Government for military assistance in return for American bases in Pakistan are absolutely unfounded and baseless.

It is good to have this assurance from the Governor-General of Pakistan. For her own sake and for the security of these areas we could wish for nothing better.

Kashmir's Accession to India

Speaking at Srinagar on November 15, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Kashmir declared that Kashmir had acceded to India and there was no going back from it. The people of Kashmir, he said, had acceded to India after mature consideration, and were pledged to work for the success of their secular ideas along with the people of India.

The progressive political ideology of Kashmir, Bakshi Mohd. said, could flourish only in association with India.

Accession to India had conferred various economic and political benefits on the State. "Every Kashmiri", he added "is pledged to strengthen this relationship between India and Kashmir."

He said the Pakistan leaders wanted Kashmir to accede to their country on the mere ground that Muslims constituted the majority of Kashmir's population, but such religious propaganda could not cut much ice with the Kashmir Muslims. In Western Pakistan there were only two and half cores of Muslims, while there were more than four cores of them living in secular India and enjoying equal opportunities for their progress with the majority community. As regards Eastern Pakistan, he added, Kashmir Muslims had nothing to do with it as it was two thousand miles away from their homeland.

The Late Mr. Sadanand

Sadanand of the Free Press group of journals has passed away at the comparatively early age of 53. Somebody said that he had packed in his five decades the trials and experiences of seven decades and that is true. Son of Swaminatha Iyer of *Vivekachintamani*, he was a pioneer in many respects, and he triumphed over difficulties which would have crushed the spirit of any other man. Starting almost from scratch he built up an institution and a tradition with it, of courage and integrity that made him a stalwart figure in contemporary journalism. With an untutored flair for journalism he early discovered the need for a free and fearless news agency and he promoted a service, which for all its failure to tide over adverse fortunes, blazed the trail for the more successful ventures of a later day. For the lineaments of his Free Press Service are to be found in the Press Trust of India. Sadanand had a nose for news and was a skilful reporter: but he soon revealed himself as a resourceful journalist and an efficient organiser. He served in many papers and ultimately built a paper of his own, shaped and moulded in his own way—and with it have sprung other papers to spread his message. For Sadanand was no mere newspaper man; he felt he had a mission to fulfil and he braved and suffered and sacrificed a lot for what he deemed his mission. He threw himself into the Freedom struggle with an ardour and devotion that meant continual strain which almost broke him but could never bend. He had his moments of agonies and exaltation. It is said that he lost in the aggregate a sum Rs. 70,000 by way of forfeiture of deposits. Still nothing could daunt his spirit nor chill his enthusiasm for national service. After Independence he was ever vigilant in the cause of the freedom of the press. He was a fighter to the last—in the cause of freedom—freedom of the country from foreign yoke first and then freedom of the Press. Thus in his death the Indian Press and the country as a whole have lost a brave and stout-hearted journalist who for thirty years gave of his best in the service of the nation.

Drown the Warships

It will be recalled that when Japan threatened to invade India during the last war Mahatma Gandhi advised his countrymen to resist the invasion non-violently. He even went so far as to suggest to Churchill the same immaculate course which according to him was the way of Jesus and of true Christians. Though the Mahatma could act according to his convictions—and he had the courage of his convictions—Churchill in his capacity as Prime Minister was responsible to his countrymen and was by no means free to act as he pleased—even if he was inclined to adopt the method of the Mahatma which he was not.

Now Acharya Vinoba, true to his role as the Mahatma's chosen disciple, gives the same advice to his countrymen. Addressing a prayer meeting at Monghir he suggested that nations arming for the fear of one another should shed their fears and drown their warships voluntarily on Christmas Day.

Such a step, he said, would please Jesus Christ and would be far more preferable to continuing the armaments race for the destruction of one another. The three essential qualities that India needed today, he said, were fearlessness, equality and social consciousness.

All the efforts in the world, were directed towards the achievement of these qualities. It was true that nations like the U.S.A. and India were afraid of Russia and Pakistan respectively and *vice versa* and in their fear of each other were arming themselves. Such preparations had reached the peak. But what would be the result of such preparations?

The Acharya believed that a day would dawn

when nations would get tired of mutual destruction and realize the futility of violence and fear and abandon all destructive weapons altogether.

Yes; till then evidently the nations should go warily, keeping the high aim in mind and walking on firm earth with eyes wide awake. No Government, if it should be democratic, could be above the level of the people it governs, and it is in realisation of both the high aims and the exigencies of practical life that world statesmen, plead for *limitation* of armaments all round and as a first step in the direction of complete disarmament.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE DIARY OF MAHADEV DESAI; TRANSLATED & EDITED BY V. G. DESAI. SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL:—A Biography Vol. I. By Sri Narahari Parikh. Navajivan Trust, Ahmadabad.

Unless it be Gandhiji's own writings we can think of no two volumes which could throw more light on Gandhian era than these two significant fragments from the Diary of Mahadev Desai and the life of Vallabhbhai Patel. These welcome additions to Navajivan publications were appropriately scheduled to appear on October—2, Gandhiji's birthday.

Mahadev who became Gandhiji's Secretary towards the end of 1917 kept a diary in which he recorded all that was significant in Gandhiji's speeches, his talks, interviews and letters, and the present volume covers an important period—Gandhiji's prison life in Yeravada, memorable for the great fast of September 1932, which was crowned with the historic Pact. Mahadev gives, as only he could give, a full account of Gandhiji's prison life with its ceaseless activities—and the record is illuminated with brilliant pen pictures of the Sardar who was also in the same cell with Gandhiji. We see the Sardar here in all his moods shrewd and sardonic, always rendering personal service to Bapu "like a mother ministering to her child." Mahadev is just the modest self-effacing Secretary, forever alert and questioning the Indian Socrates Crito-like and recording his words for our benefit.

The first volume of the Sardar's biography (which is proposed to be published in three volumes) covers the period from his birth to the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1929. The second, we are told, will cover the period between 1929 and 1945 when he was released from Ahmednagar fort where he was detained; while the final volume, which will be some years before it is

published, will deal with the last phase of his life covering his activities in connection with the negotiations for the transfer of power and the four years he was in office as the Deputy Prime Minister of India. The Sardar's meeting with Gandhi marks a dramatic change both in his own life and in the fortunes of the country. Students of recent history are well aware of his remarkable contribution to the shaping of present day India, his heroic efforts in leading the peasants of Bardoli in the freedom struggle with the alien rulers and the last phase in which he laboured to bring about a complete integration of the 600 odd States into the Union. But in the blaze of his final triumphs little is known of Sardar Patel's early life and education and the part he played in the resurgence of political consciousness in Gujarat, his home State. This obviously could be done only by those who had known him intimately in the early days and who had worked with him in the nation's cause. Mr. Parikh has had that double advantage having been an Ashramite and an old associate of the Sardar. Originally published in Gujarati the volume is now accessible to a wider public in its English garb. It has had the benefit of revision by Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the House of the People and a colleague of the late leader who himself, we are told, had gone through the manuscript while convalescing at Dehradun in 1949. Thus the biography pertaining to his boy-hood days and later at the bar—periods of which the public knows very little—authenticated by first hand knowledge may be taken as the last word on the subject. The three volumes when completed will be a tome of exceptional value, both to the historian of these times and to the general public interested in the life and career of one of the great nation builders of our time.

- i. THE GLORIOUS KORAN. By Marmaduke Pikhall.
- ii. FROM HERE to ETERNITY. By James Jones.

The New American Library, 501
Madison Avenue, New York.

The New American Library books are usually cheap editions of popular and selected books that can conveniently go into one's pocket. The Library is now making efforts to include in its Mentor and Signet Books outstanding classics that run into several hundred pages. The latest in this enterprise are a complete edition of Marmaduke Pikhall's magnificent work on the Glorious Koran and Mr. James Jones' nine hundred page Novel "From Here to Eternity" which won the National Book Award.

Pikhall's Koran in the original edition issued by the Islamic Society was reviewed at length in these pages and its inclusion in the New Library Edition must add to its popularity and give it a wider currency among American and the English reading public all the world over. Pikhall's Koran has this distinction above all other versions: it is the only authentic version of the Glorious Koran rendered into English by an Englishman who is also a true Muslim. Thus it has the double advantage of excellence in letter and spirit.

"From Here to Eternity" is of the class of those immensely long and gripping stories made familiar to us in the great creations of Dickens and Hugo. Here in a large canvas, large as life itself, the author depicts life in peace time army with a wealth of colour and profusion of details that somehow are wrought into a single mould. The narrative is sustained and powerful while the characters stand vivid and significant. Acclaimed by a wide circle of American readers it has also furnished a first class theme to the Columbia Pictures. This new edition makes this modern classic and winner of the National award available to a million readers.

EIGHT UPANISHADS. Translated BY Sri Aurobindo Aurobindo Ashram. Pondicherry. Price Rs. 3.

We have in this volume, produced with the tasteful simplicity characteristic of publications of the Aurobindo Ashram, eight out of the ten most significant of the Upanishads. The Upanishads omitted are the Chandogya and the Brihadaranyaka. We should surely have had our pleasure and instruction vastly enhanced if the volume had included these two great Upanishads as well. The translations show, notwithstanding inner divergences from traditional interpretation here and there, a consummate grasp of the central teaching of the series. The English of the translations, needless to say, is that of a master of the language, though one must quarrel with the sage for what seems so often a perverse preference of the more pompous to the more simple words. In the introduction "On translating the Upanishads" Sri Aurobindo, rebukes Max Muller for imagining as Sri Aurobindo thinks, that sitting at Oxford he could interpret the Upanishads better than Shankaracharya and lay down what they should mean. This rebuke seems to us somewhat ill-judged. But more deserved is the rebuke to European Oriental scholars for imagining that much that they imagined to be repellent, hideous and silly was really silly or hideous or repellent or coarse. Humility was seldom so conspicuous by its absence as in the attempt of some Occidental scholars to interpret Oriental thought. But as Sri Aurobindo says, men are slaves of their associates for the most part and it behoves us to recognize that even with all their puerile conceit, they played a notable part in awakening the self-respect of pseudo-educated India a few generations ago into a realization of the invaluable riches of its own heritage. No translation can convey a precise, full and categorical knowledge of the truths underlying the Upanishads. Not even the originals can. Those truths are not meant to be intellectually comprehended but to be realized in man's inner life and being. Knowledge is not wisdom but is one of the gateways to it. Hence the value of such a translation as is afforded in this volume.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE Vol. 13. Edited by G. S. Sardesai, Published by the Director of Archives, Bombay Castle, Bombay.

This Second Part of "Poona Affairs" dealing with the momentous events of 1816-1818 brings to a close the series of historic documents made available to us by the devotion and assiduity of two of our great scholars—Sri Judunath Sarkar and Sri G. S. Sardesai. It gives us the complete inside story of the inevitable course of events brought about by the defeat and deposition of Peishwa Baji Rao and the consequent annexation of his dominions to the British Raj. The steps that led to this tremendous transaction in Maratha history are now revealed in the words of the original documents which make no secret of the secret plans and policies and intrigues both of the British authorities and the Maratha Courts. In all these momentous transactions the character and genius of Elphinstone stand in luminous relief. There could be no more authentic or intimate record of the life of this illustrious British statesman and diplomat and of the crucial period in our history covered by his activities. Altogether the correspondence is a documentary record of exceptional value and interest to the student of Indian affairs.

RAMAKRISHNA UPANISHAD. By C. Rajagopalachari. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras 4, Re. 1.

The original of this book (which is a collection of 35 articles contributed to *Kalki*, the Tamil weekly) was awarded the Tamil Academy Prize for 1952-53 for the best book in Tamil. It has already been translated into Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali and Kannada. It is fitting that an English edition should be made available for a wider public. This excellent service is done by Prof. K. Swaminathan, Prof. Ramaswami and Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan, whose English rendering of the tales and parables of Rajaji's *Ramakrishna Upanishad* is at once simple and impressive. As might be expected the English version has all the charm and grace of Rajaji's original in Tamil.

SOLDIERS AND SOLDIERING. By Field Marshall Earl Wavell. Jonathan Cape—174 Pp. 8 s. 6 d.

The publication of *Other Men's Flowers* revealed Lord Wavell's little suspected partiality for poetry. And now his son has brought together this collection of his essays reviews and speeches. As the title indicates, the subject is war and the agents of war, portrayed with rare gusto and entertaining vivacity. The soldier's language is simple yet forceful, the views unashamedly personal and prejudiced..... One may not agree with his historical perspectives or estimates of warriors, but one cannot quarrel with an author so disarmingly naive.

BOOKS RECEIVED

KAMAKALA-VILASA. By Punyanandanatha with the Commentary of Natavanandanatha, Translated by Arthur Avalon. Ganesh & Co. (Madras) Ltd., Madras 1.

SYAMPRASAD MOOKERJEE. His Death in Detention, 77, Asutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta 25.

EUROPEA DARSANA. By Mahamahopadhyaya Ramavatara Sarma. Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna.

WHAT TO LISTEN FOR IN MUSIC. By Aaron Copland A Mentor Book, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 501 Madison Ave, New York 22, N. Y.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE. Report for the year 1952. Basavangudi, Bangalore.

THE GOSPEL OF THE PYRAMIDS By Duncan Greenlees. (The World Gospel Series) The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

THIS HINDI AND DEV NAGARI. By Madanagopal. Metropolitan Book Co., Ltd., Booksellers and Publishers, 1, Fair Bazar, Delhi.

AIR DEVELOPMENT PLAN.
EMPLOYEES' STATE INSURANCE.
BUILDING NEW INDIA.

NAVIN BHARAT KA NIRMAN, (Building New India—Hindi).

THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN. Questions and Answers

PAHILI PANCH VARSHIYA YOJANA. Prashna aur Uttar (The First Five Year Plan—Questions and Answer—Hindi)

PAHILI PANCH VARSHIYA YOJANA. (The First Five Year Plan—Hindi)

Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. Old Secretariat, Delhi 8.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 1 The President inaugurates the Telegraph Centenary Exhibition.
- Nov. 2 Hindus walk out of Pak Assembly in Karachi in protest against the manner of House decisions.
- Nov. 3 South Indians in Malaya are assured facilities to own land.
- Nov. 4 George V. Allen, U. S. Ambassador in India, on return from Korea, commends work of Indian Custodian Force.
- Settlement of Burma's debt to Britain effected.
- Nov. 5 Justice Mukherjee's findings on Police assault on Pressmen in Calcutta released.
- Nov. 6 Mr. Latchanna of K. L. P. sworn in as Minister in Andhra Cabinet.
- Nov. 7 President Rhee reiterates his old threat to resume War if Political Conference fails.
- Nov. 8 Evacuation of 2000 Chinese Nationalist Guerillas from Burma to Formosa begins.
- Nov. 9 King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia dead.
- Mossadeq's trial opens at Teheran.
- Nov. 10 Churchill announces Big Three meeting at Bermuda on Dec. 4
- Rajaji explains why he should stay as Premier in spite of certain members' move against him.
- Nov. 11 U. N. Assembly confirms Committee resolution on treatment of Indians in S. A.
- Nov. 12 President Quirino concedes Philippine Presidential election to Mr. Remon Magsaysay.
- Nov. 13 Ghulam Mohammad Governor General of Pakistan and President Eisenhower confer at Washington.
- Dr. Chandrasekhar awarded Royal Astronomical Society Medal.
- Nov. 14 Delhi childrens' reception to Nehru on his 65th birthday.
- Nov. 15 Nehru invites suggestions for revision of the Constitution.
- Nov. 16 Western Nations renew invitation to Russia for 4 Power talks.
- Chief Justices of States meet in conference at Delhi.
- Nov. 17 Mr. Dulles, U. S. Foreign Secretary, denies reports about U. S. military aid to Pakistan.
- S. Sadanand of *The Free Press Journal* dead at a Madras Nursing Home.
- Nov. 18 Andhra Cabinet decides to have a separate High Court for Andhra.
- Nov. 19 Pak Governor-General refutes reports of U. S. military aid to Pakistan.
- Nov. 20 Dr. Jagan, deposed Premier of British Guiana, arrives at Bombay seeking India's support.
- Nov. 21 Italy agrees to 5 Power talks on Trieste issue.
- Pak Governor-General denies Pak—U. S. Pact.
- Nov. 22 Congress and K. L. P. agree on Kurnool.
- Nov. 23 Andhra Assembly meets for first time and elects N. Venkataramiah (K. M. P.) as Speaker.
- Nov. 24 In his first policy address to Andhra Assembly Governor Trivedi indicates separate High Court from next year.
- Nov. 25 Admiral Sir R. McGrigor, first Sea Lord, United Kingdom, leaves Delhi after his 11 day-visit to India.
- Nov. 26 Britain supports S. A. Union Government's stand in U. N.
- Nov. 27 Parulekar Committee report on elementary education published.
- Nov. 28 Russia agrees to Four Power Conference.
- Nov. 29 U. S. Vice-President Mr. Richard M. Nixon arrives in Madras.
- Nov. 30 Death of Benegal Narsing Rau in a Zurich Clinic.
- Sir Winston Churchill felicitated on his 79th birthday.



READERS' DIGEST



NEHRU, THE WORLD STATESMAN

Prime Minister Nehru was 65 on Nov. 14. "When I first met Jawaharlal he was still a student" writes Mr. Fenner Brockway, M. P.

I was addressing his University Socialist Society, and he was in the audience. At the end of the meeting he smilingly expressed his surprise that I was so young. He had every right to do so. I am in fact only 14 days older than India's Prime Minister. When I celebrated my 65th birthday on Nov. 1, I drank a toast to my political twin!

I think it was in the late twenties that I next met Jawaharlal. He spent a week-end in my home, charming my wife by his gentle courtesy and delighting my children by his fun. He was then famous not as a Premier but as a prisoner.

"How long did you serve in prison, Fenner," he asked me once.

"Three years," I replied.

"That's nothing," he laughed. "I've done seven."

At the time of his visit to my home, Jawaharlal has only been a prisoner under Tory Courts. We did not anticipate then that this honourable experience would be repeated under a Labour Government. But so it was to be. With Ramsay MacDonald, author of "India's Awakening," as Prime Minister, and Wedgwood Benn, famous as a fighter for freedom, as Secretary of State for India, Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and 60,000 other Indians were imprisoned.

From this, a notorious occasion arose in the House of Commons.

I asked Ramsay MacDonald for Parliamentary time to discuss the Indian imprisonments. He refused, saying the time was required to discuss the reorganisation of the British coal-mining industry. I protested, and, despite warnings from the Speaker, went on protesting. Finally, Mr. MacDonald rose and moved that I be suspended from the House. My friends objected, and there was a division.

I suppose it is the same in the Indian Parliament, which has so closely followed the model of Westminster; when a division has taken place, the "tellers" on either side—that is, those who have counted the Members as they have marched from the Divisional Lobbies—stand in front of the table of the Mace to announce the figures.

One of the "Tellers" on my side was Mr. John Beckett. Standing there, it suddenly occurred to him. "The House is only legally in session when the Mace is on the Table. If I run away with it, they won't be able to suspend Fenner." And without another thought he picked up the mace and attempted to rush it from the Chamber; Alas, he was caught before he reached the door, and John was suspended as well as myself.

So it went on with Jawaharlal, in and out of prison, until the war and even during the war. There were few in England who championed Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and the National Congress then.

Even old friends of India thought that every principle should be surrendered to secure the defeat of Nazism. But a few shared with India's leaders the view that the acid test of the genuineness of the "war for democracy" would be whether the British Government recognised the right of India to democracy.

The war ended, and India's claim to self-government and self-determination was at last recognised. How tragic was the death of Gandhiji! Then Jawaharlal, sad and lonely, shouldered the burden of India's Premiership. How heavy that burden was!

I wrote him in those early days urging that India should take the leadership of the world for peace. His reply was personal, but I think I may be permitted to say this now. He felt so personally the shame of the loss of life in the enmity of Muslims and Hindus on the Pakistan-Indian frontier, and within the two territories that he did not feel that India had the moral right to lead for peace.

The proximity of that shame has now passed; and how magnificently India, under Jawaharlal's influence, leads for peace!

In the minds of many of us, he is the greatest of world statesmen. In our minds, in the policy of India lies the hope of peace in the world. And not only for peace.

Areas of Asia, the greater part of Africa, some parts of America (like British Guiana) remain under imperialist rule.

Jawaharlal and India (or should I write India and Jawaharlal?—they are so much identified) have become the champions of all the dependent peoples of the world.

Jawaharlal's championship of the African people has been particularly courageous; It has led to denunciation not only by Dr. Malan but by Mr. Oliver Lyttelton.

India's Premier need have no regrets—as I am sure he hasn't. He has gained the affection of two-thirds of the population of the earth, and of millions even within the White third of the earth.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Alan Paton, writing in *Life*, says that the South African elections in which Dr. Malan and his Afrikaner Nationalists have triumphed, will widen the areas of discord in the dark continent. *Apartheid* or racial segregation is being carried out with relentless obstinacy in the buses, trains and shops.

The bus stops in the streets, the buses themselves, the seats for the bus passengers, are some for Europeans, some for Non-Europeans. If you attend a church in the suburbs, you will find only white people present, though some churches arrange service at separate times for domestic servants. If you visit a school, you will find only white children, unless you visit a school for native children in one of the "locations" (quarters to which natives are restricted). Natives are not permitted to drive municipal tramcars or buses, not even those tramcars and buses used solely by nonwhite passengers. No native girl can become a shop girl or a receptionist or a telephonist in the white part of the city. A recent law has taken away from African building workers the right to work in European areas.

Nonetheless there is emerging from the black people a class that is notably different from the tribesman, the farm laborer and the factory hand.

They are doctors, teachers, businessmen, professors, politicians, priests and ministers, and trained welfare workers. They are in large measure the gift to Africa of the Christian missionaries. They talk in terms of Africa not South Africa, as indeed every black man does who lives in a whiteruled state. This is partly done to frighten, and partly because Africa is a large and satisfying symbol that is respected throughout the world. Also it is partly done because African nationalism is the inevitable reply to the African estimate of the policy of racial separation.

It is of course a great fear of white people in Africa that the educated class of Africans will eventually turn to Communism. No one can say what is the real present-danger strength of Communism in Africa.

I suspect it is not great, but only a fool would take comfort from that or conclude that "Communism does not suit the African." The truth is that Communism may well suit any person who has grievances against society and who feels hindered and frustrated. The time may well come when Communism and African nationalism will be only too ready to use one another.

Meanwhile the stage is being set for a conflict between the growing strength of black African nationalism and the giant power of white Afrikaner nationalism.

Dr. Malan has done, and is doing everything to widen the gulf and deepen racial animosity, and there is every likelihood unless better sense prevails—of his policy being pursued to the bitter end by his successors.

Dr. Malan's successor—says Mr. Paton, will most certainly be J. G. Strydom, an Afrikaner out and out. He is a powerful and determined man pledged to uphold white supremacy with whatever justice may be expedient.

To him the entrenchment of Afrikanerdom on the dark continent is a high and holy duty. The performance of this duty was interrupted by the century of wrong: therefore it must be resumed swiftly and proceeded with implacably. To have power and not to use it, this is to Mr. Strydom the offense that deserves the wrath of God.

If there is to be a conflict, the outside world does not doubt that it will be disastrous for all concerned. It is only the upholders of white supremacy who do not see. Dr. Malan is clever, the cleverest of them all: yet even he, Mr. Paton says, cannot see.

Nevertheless our only hope for an aversion of the tragedy that threatens us all is that sufficient numbers of Afrikaner Nationalists should come to their senses and the ideal of white supremacy for the madness that it is.

Is there such a hope? I do not know—but at the moment it does not look as if there is or can be.

HEALING WOUNDS BY
ADDING BLOOD

Soviet scientists are healing wounds by adding blood to them, according to a broadcast on Moscow Radio by Prof. Olga Lepeshinskaya, a doctor of biological science.

She said that when a bandage moistened with blood was placed on a wound it healed more quickly.

The basis of the new technique was the discovery of Soviet scientists that there were substances outside the cell which developed and produced new cells. These were present in all albuminous substances. By adding blood to a wound the supply of albumen was increased and conditions produced in which new cells were created.

This was in addition to division of existing cells, the previously accepted theory of growth.

DEMOCRACY

Here is another number of this well known *Political Science Quarterly* organ of American political thought—packed with stimulating contributions on a variety of topical and urgent political issues. Notable among these is an article on the changing meaning of the word 'democracy' by Prof. Nakasia. It seems to have meant many things which would today, in the context of the clamant demand for economic equality, seem undemocratic. Once the word and the thing it signified was hateful evil, especially in the eyes of conservatives. It achieved respectability by signifying at various stages, things which history had taught men to realize as essential to the good life. Today, when the term peoples 'democracy' and Laski's term 'Capitalist democracy', mean so many different things, this article pointing to the great democratic result, of international scope at the close of the 18th century, provides food for thought. Today the two great blocs of powers which seem so grimly determined to try conclusions with each other, progress to be equally concerned to indicate 'democracy' of their own conception. But the older notion, stressing equality of opportunity, in a contest of individual liberty, seems likely to regain primacy, with the increasing realisation that man doesn't live by bread alone.

U. S. PACT WITH PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Government formally released to the Press an editorial in *New York Times* (dated 5th Nov.) which speaks of the possibilities of "a military alliance between Pakistan and the United States."

Diplomatic observers in Karachi, when contacted by PTI, said that much significance should be attached to this release by the Pakistan Government since the Government normally releases only those foreign Press editorials which are in keeping with the Pakistan Government's point of view. They also pointed out that the *New York Times* editorials carry great weight with the Government of Pakistan.

The editorial, headed "Pact with Pakistan" said, among other things, "Next week, Pakistan's Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed, will be in Washington for a visit to President Eisenhower, and talks with the Government officials. (The visit has since taken place). It is believed that a major part of these talks will centre about exploring possibilities of a military alliance between Pakistan and the United States. Thus far, efforts to make some headway on a regional defence arrangement for Middle East defence have not prospered. It is possible, however, that more can be done at this stage with a bilateral arrangement with a single potentially strong country such as Pakistan than with a group of weaker States. Eventually a regional defence pattern may be evolved, but a start can be made in the case of Pakistan such as has already been made in the case of Turkey."

SWATANTRA ANNUAL

This year's Annual is as bright and beautiful as ever; the contents are marked by variety and distinction—articles no less than the illustrations and plates. The printers have done a fine job of it.

Apart from the usual features that give distinction to this weekly *viz.*, Vignettes, swara's wise and sardonic comments on contemporary affairs and Khasa's pungent criticism of men and things in the public eye and Manjeri Isveran's, free verse and rhapsodies in prose, there are other articles of striking interest: Sir C. P.'s candid opinion of *Swatantra* itself; the Commerce Member T. T. Krishnamachari's outspoken essay on the pitfalls of planning; Mr. C. R. Srinivasan's very personal and intimate sketch of his old friend T. T. and so on. Special mention must be made of Principal Roy Chowdhury's Bas Relief which adorns the cover and the paintings and line drawings of other well known artists in the South: S. Rajam, Ram Gopal, V. N. Murthi and R. Krishnan. They add colour and distinction to the Annual, which has many other attractive features in the shape of articles and stories.

PAKISTAN TO-DAY

"When I look at Pakistan, I see in her a characteristic sample of the contemporary world. Pakistan is the child of encounter and strife," says Prof. A. J. Toynbee, the wellknown historian.

One thing that Pakistan obviously does stand for already is the transcending of physical and linguistic differences by a common religion. If, in Pakistan, political allegiance were to be decided on lines of race or language, Pakistan would immediately fall to pieces. Fortunately, a common adherence to Islam has proved itself a stronger spiritual force among Pakistani Muslims than differences which otherwise might have been disruptive.

A common adherence to Islam is manifestly a force that binds a majority of the people of Pakistan together. But

I should say that it would be a calamity if Pakistan were ever to become a Muslim state in an exclusive and intolerant way, for then Islam might become a far more disruptive force than the racial and linguistic differences which Islam at present overrides. For one thing, Pakistani Islam is not unitary: the Sai'ah and the Ahmadiyah, as well as the Sunnah, are represented in it, and for this reason, so it seems to me, Pakistan could never be identified, as some Islamic countries can be, with some particular Islamic sect.

And then Pakistan contains numerous and valuable minorities—particularly a Hindu minority and a Sikh one.

The majority community and the several minority communities in Pakistan have the task of living together as fellow citizens and, more than that, as friends. In so far as they succeed in achieving this, they will be doing a piece of pioneer spiritual work, not only for themselves, but for the world as a whole.

Moreover, Pakistan cannot live without good relations, not only between her own citizens, but between herself and her neighbours. While there is a Hindu and a Sikh minority in Pakistan, there is also a Muslim minority in the Indian Union.

If all goes well, these minorities across the frontier should be, not hostages, but ambassadors and interpreters, helping Pakistan and the Indian Union to live as good neighbours. Pakistan and the Indian Union are tied to one another by unalterable facts of geography: for nothing can alter the fact that the Indian Union has portions of Pakistan on both sides of her, while, conversely, Eastern Pakistan is separated from the Indian Valley by the whole breadth of the Indian Union.

LENDING LIBRARIES

The librarian looks at the date inside the cover of the book. "This is overdue. You will have to pay twopence, I'm afraid." And the borrower meekly pays the twopence, and gets a ticket.

The whole procedure is illegal. Public libraries have no right to levy fines, according to the "*Justice of the Peace Review*", the magazine for British magistrates, published in London.

The *Review* Says:

The local authorities are helpless, if the borrower returns a book late, and refuses to pay the fine. There is no statutory authority for its imposition.

Nor can a member of the public be excluded or removed from a public library for failing to bring a book back.

Things which are illegal in a public library are bad language, betting and gambling, and remaining on the premises after closing time. For these a penalty of 40 shillings can be imposed—but by the courts only.

A London borough librarian commented: People who use a public library enter into a voluntary agreement to pay a small charge for books which are overdue.

Officially, we call it a detention charge and not a fine, which implies a punishment. But we have no means of enforcing such a charge or fine.

DIAGNOSIS BY TELEPHONE

Accurate, long-range diagnosis of cerebral haemorrhages and brain tumours by telephone has been made possible by scientists at the University of Nebraska, U. S. By transmitting brain waves over telephone lines, it is now possible for a medical expert to make an immediate analysis of such waves from a patient miles away.

The brain waves were picked up by electrodes fastened to the subject's head, turned into a frequency modulated signal, and sent out over telephone wires to distances up to 450 miles away.

In the laboratory, they were converted into the form required by the electroencephelogram, the machine which records the waves.

In their final form, they could be heard, and also seen on a cathode ray screen. As a result, patients in remote areas can obtain the diagnoses of top medical men without leaving their home areas.

Last year heart signals were transmitted by the same method.

LIVE ON WHAT YOU MAKE

A noted financial authority Sylvia Porter offers in the course of an article reproduced in *Magazine Digest*, six rules for personal solvency. Author of several books including "How to live within your income," she has, from her own experience and the studies of experts on money management, selected half a dozen basic guides. They can help any one whether he is earning a bare subsistence wage or a bank manager's salary. Some of them may seem trite, particularly, the last asking you to limit your expenses to the means or increasing your earning to the needs, but all the same they are valuable. Stripped of explanations which are hardly necessary, they are listed as under:

1. Make your programme a family project. Call the family together on a quiet evening and discuss what you're trying to do. Let the children become part of the team.

2. Whatever records you keep, keep them simple. Never try to keep detailed records of where every penny goes—these only consume time and produce pain.

3. Deduct the money for your savings as an "unavoidable expense" before you start spending for the pleasant but unessential things of life. That's the secret of saving.

4. Provide personal allowances for each member of the family, including the children. Then let each one decide what he wants to do with the amount allotted.

5. Don't be too arbitrary about your figures or set limits that are impossible to meet.

6. Finally, if after all your efforts you still cannot make your income match your outgo, cut your spending or raise your income.

PAK CONSTITUTION

The *Manchester Guardian* declared that the present Pakistan Assembly was no true Parliament.

It was a pity, said the paper, that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly would apparently be adjourned until elections had been held in February, and added:

The longer the interval before Pakistan adopts its Constitution the greater the danger that it will lapse into the unconstitutional ways of Middle East countries.

At least some decisions have been reached by the Constituent Assembly in the sessions in the past month, not that these are all as wise as might have been hoped. The most serious act of the Assembly has been to decree that no future legislation should run counter to the Koran or the Sunnah (the Muslim law.) Very wisely it hastened to add that

this provision should not apply for 25 years to fiscal and monetary laws and those concerned with banking and insurance. Muslim law forbids the taking of interest. After 25 years a commission is to decide how the national economy can be brought into harmony with this principle.

Fortunately the Assembly has dropped the proposal to set up boards of mullahs with power to veto new laws if they thought that they went against Muslim orthodoxy. The non-Muslim minorities were to be allowed to enjoy their own communal law in matters of marriage and inheritance.

Certainly it is for Pakistanis themselves to draw up their constitution as they please, the newspaper said. "But so far as they really seek to base it on Islamic law this must accentuate the differences between the Muslim majority and the minorities. Such a constitution, says their critic Mr. Nehru, creates at least two classes of citizens or two grades of citizenship, one having more opportunities and the other less. Mr. Nehru's remarks may seem to Pakistan's impertinent but are they not true?"

INDIA'S LINK WITH CHINA

There has been a link of over two thousand years between India and China, in learning and culture, writes Mr. T. M. Jayaram (who was lately in China). Indian culture has had a great influence on the Chinese culture.

The blending of the Buddhist principles, namely the truth upon which salvation rests, with the Confucian respect for learning, made a rich contribution to Chinese civilisation, and gave it a particular accent.

The effect of the influence of Indian sculpture on Chinese architecture, the important element of which is to seek harmony with the beauty of nature, resulted in the creation of the unique style of architecture that Chinese artists bequeathed to the world.

The very idea of building a pagoda came to China from India during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A. D.), when the influence of Buddhism was at its peak in that country. Pagodas were built to keep the ashes of Buddha which the Indian priests took to China.

Ever since, many of the successive rulers of China not only showed great interest in the spreading of Buddhism, but also built beautiful temples and pagodas. These give the pilgrims who visit these holy places the inspiration they are seeking.

SEX BEHAVIOUR IN WOMEN

The new Dr. Kinsey report on sexual behaviour of American women contains some observations on the sex lives of men and women.

Human sex lives, it finds, are as different as fingerprints. And the only basic sex difference between men and women is mental or psychological. Most women—with some surprising exceptions—are not aroused as often as men by what they see, talk or anticipate of sex.

Most women need steady physical contact to achieve sex satisfaction.

Ten per cent of wives remain frigid, never experiencing a sexual climax, he finds. So do 28 per cent of older, single women.

One in four wives—26 per cent or more—at sometime commits adultery, whereas about half of all husbands ultimately have extra-marital affairs. Some husbands encourage wives to do so.

About half of all women have sex relations before marriage, about half of them just with their fiancés. Only about two-thirds ever reach a climax in these premarital relations.

Most women reach a peak of sexual activity about the age of 27 or 28. Once they reach it—it can be earlier or later than that—they usually maintain a steady level of activity until their 50-s or 60-s, with little decline due to aging.

But most men reach a peak in their late teens, then steadily decline with age. The male peak is most often far higher than women's so that male activity remains higher throughout life than most females.

But the fact is that most men are growing old in sexual capacity when their wives are becoming more interested and less inhibited sexually. This difference often leads to marital problems. It is still a mystery why women don't show this aging effect.

Of 33 kinds of psychological arousal toward sex only three stimulated higher percentages of women than men. These three were: seeing romantic movies, reading sexy literature and being bitten. Men usually are more aroused by nude pictures, thoughts of sex or other reminders.

A third of women are not aroused at all by any kind of psycho-sexual stimuli.

SWISS BEAT WORLD ROCKET RECORD

Swiss military scientists claim to have beaten the world record with three-foot rockets of unequalled accuracy and explosive power. Fired from aircraft they can penetrate a 15-inch thick steel armour from 3,000 feet, the Swiss Air Force States.

THE DELECTABLE MANGO

The finest variety of mango from the West Coast region of India is the Alphonso. A close second is the Pairi. Their delicious flavour and golden colour with rosy-red tops are truly a grand combination. In the Andhra and Tamil Nad areas, the applesized round, juicy fruits, with tiny stones, are the Rumani and the huge (almost as big as a coconut) Banganapalli mangoes with their sweet, soft and fibreless pulp.

There are in North India a large number of aristocratic varieties, the best-known ones of which are Malda, Kishen Bhog, Langra and Bombai of Bengal and Bihar. The green-skinned Fazli, Duseri, Sufaida and Chaurasa reign supreme in the Lucknow region. In the Punjab, where the season is later than elsewhere, the mangoes are small and are chiefly of the sucking variety, having more juice than pulp, but possessing a fine flavour. Mandi, in Himachal Pradesh, is noted for its mangoes.

Burma has lovely varieties, the most famed being the Net-Tet of Mandalays the fine flavoured Ma-Nwe and the Thon-Lone Tadaung or "three-make-a-foot" longish, green-skinned fruits with orange red pulp and thin flat stone. (*Indian Farming*).

BALANCED DIET

The composition of a balanced diet is indicated below. The quantities are daily totals required by an adult. Vegetarians can replace fish, meat and egg, by stepping up their consumption of milk and milk products.

Type of food	Quantity
Cereals	... 14 Oz.
Pulses	... 3 "
Green, leafy vegetables	... 4 "
Root vegetables	... 3 "
Other vegetables	... 3 "
Fruits	... 3 "
Sugar and jaggery	... 2 "
Vegetables, oil, ghee, etc.	... 2 "
Fish and meat	... 2 "
Eggs	... 1 egg
Milk	... 10 Oz.

—Health Education Features.

EFFICACY OF YOGA

Dr. B. Nash, Chairman of Physical Education, Health and Recreation, at the New York University, U. S. A., said at Ambala that the art of relaxation had to be learnt from the East and practised in the West. The child as well as the adult must be protected against mental tensions and its only remedy was relaxation so prominently emphasised in the art of "Yoga" he added.

Dr. Nash, who is a Fulbright scholar, said Americans suffered too much from mental tension, worries and anxieties and the causes of abdominal ulcers and even cancer could be traced back to mental tension. He thought that "Yoga" was an answer to mental and physical tensions. Dr. Nash, pointed out physical education should never aim at the development of mere muscular power at the cost of the development of mind and spirit.

BURMESE ART

The art of Burma is much akin to Indian art, both in subject and technique, says S. Babs. The mythological subjects from Ramayana or Mahabharata have some influence on the Burmese art pieces.

Buddha forms a subject around which thousands of paintings and sculptures have been done in various forms, ideas and media. Oil colour is also used by a large number of Burmese artists; out of the 20 exhibits sent by Burma for the 2nd International Contemporary Art Exhibition, New Delhi, eight have been executed in oil colours. Some of the paintings have deep palette, while several like 'Osi Dance' have been done in a soft and balanced colour.

The influence of modern trends has not made a deep mark on most of the artists of Burma. They depict their subjects through the idiom of indigenous mannerism.



Richard M. Nixon, Vice-President of the United States, who is scheduled to visit New Delhi November 30 to December 4.



George C. Marshall, former United States Secretary of State (1947-49), U. S. Secretary of Defense (1950-51) and General of the Army, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1953.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

U. N. COMMISSION REAPPOINTED

By 42 votes to one (South Africa), with 17 abstentions, the United Nations General Assembly confirmed the resolution adopted by the Special Political Committee on the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa.

This resolution reappointed the Good Offices Commission consisting of Cuba, Syria, and Yugoslavia, established last year to assist the Governments of India, Pakistan, and South Africa to resume negotiation to settle the problem of Indians in the Union.

It further called upon the Union Government to cooperate with the Commission, requested the Commission to report to the next session on the extent of progress achieved, together with its own views on the problem, and any proposals which, in its opinion, might lead to a settlement of it, and called upon the South African Government to refrain from implementing the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

There was no debate.

Malaya

SOUTH INDIANS IN MALAYA

The Federation of Malaya Government announced big efforts would be made to assist South Indians who wished to remain in Malaya to settle on their own land. An official communique said:

The facts are that previously some South Indians had come to Malaya and remained for irregular periods before returning home. The situation is now very different—the days of immigration of unskilled labour from India are over; and many of those who came here long ago have now abandoned their desire to go back to India. Their children were born here—and these children feel themselves to be very much more the citizens of this country than the children of their father's and grandfathers' village in India. Many long resident or locally born South Indians would far rather settle down in Malaya permanently if they had a reasonable chance to own their own land and become self-supporting farmers.

Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON TALKS

Ceylon's premier Sir John Kotelawala indicated his hopes to be able to undertake a preliminary trip to Delhi about the middle of January next.

In an interview to P. T. I. on November 10 Sir John said his visit to Delhi would enable him to pay his respects to Prime Minister Nehru and, apart from preliminary Indo-Ceylon talks, would also give him an opportunity to renew his personal contacts with several eminent Indians who had been his close friends since school days.

Referring to Indo-Ceylon talks, he said he had not at any stage rejected Mr. Nehru's invitation, but had only said he would not be able to go to Delhi immediately due to pressing domestic problems. He felt Indo-Ceylon problems could not be solved in one visit but was confident that, with mutual understanding and a generous attitude on the part of India, all outstanding issues could eventually be settled.

The Prime Minister expressed the view that absorption of estate labourers of Indian origin was not merely a political problem of franchise rights. Culturally they should have complete identification with the people of Ceylon. He felt they should not stay in isolation, but learn to speak the language of the area in which they had settled. This would ensure a healthy future generation of Ceylon living as one people in harmony and peace.

East Africa

COLOUR BAR IN KENYA

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Secretary-General of the Kenya African Union, speaking in Bombay said that hotels in Kenya, owned mostly by Indians could not serve coloured men.

The owner himself, he added, could not stay in his hotel or be served in the attached restaurant, because of his coloured skin.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INDIAN CUSTODIAN FORCE IN KOREA

General Thimayya and the Indian Custodian Force are doing an outstanding job in the demilitarised zone of Korea," said Mr. George V. Allen, U. S. Ambassador in India, at a Press conference in Delhi on November 4. Mr. Allen returned to India only the previous night after a visit to Korea on his own initiative with the consent of the State Department, U.S.A.

Mr. Allen said the American military authorities in Korea held the unanimous opinion that Gen. Thimayya and his men had distinguished themselves in an extremely difficult assignment.

There is high appreciation for the quality of the men of Gen. Thimayya's Command, their training, discipline and their general conduct. There is particularly high tribute for the conduct and judgment of Gen. Thimayya.

The second major impression which Mr. Allen had brought from his study in Korea was,

that the present time table calling for 90 days of explanation and release of all non-repatriated prisoners thirty days after the conclusion of the explaining period was fixed and unchangeable in so far as U. N. Command is concerned.

The terms of reference contained in the Armistice Agreement, he said, permitted of no extension of this time period.

Paragraph 11 of the terms of reference provides that

the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission shall declare the relief from the prisoner of war status to civilian status of any prisoners of war who have not exercised their rights to be repatriated and for whom no other disposition has been agreed by the political Conference within 120 days after the Neutral Nations Commission has assumed their custody.

The release of these prisoners was not, therefore, a reference, dependent upon the holding of a Political Conference, the Ambassador pointed out.

"When the prison gates are unlocked 120 days after the NNRC assumed custody," he said, "the prisoners who have refused to be repatriated will be free to go wherever they like," and they return to civilian status.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The international Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has expressed the view that "the time has come for the U. N. not only to give the South African Government a firm reminder that it is betraying the pledges to which it subscribed in ratifying the U. N. Charter but also to take all necessary steps to ensure the protection of human rights in South Africa."

In a message which it has submitted to all delegates to the U. N. General Assembly the I. C. F. T. U. urges this viewpoint. It adds that any measures which the U. N. may take to persuade the South African Government to abandon its racial policy will be enthusiastically endorsed by the millions of workers grouped within the I. C. F. T. U.

The I. C. F. T. U. mentions as the two principal measures by which the South African Government is "seeking to give effect to its racial and Anti-trade unions policy" the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and the Suppression of Communism Act. It says that the first "will deprive all non-Europeans—that is the overwhelming majority of the South African population who as is well-known have no political rights—of the right to carry on normal trade union activities. The second allows the Government by simple administrative decision to banish from public life without the chance of appeal any person whom the Government chooses to smear as a "Communist."

NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The National Extension Service, the agency set up by the Planning Commission to develop rural areas, now covered 46,000 villages with a population of over 37 millions as against a target of 1,20,000 villages and a population of about 75 millions laid down in the Five-year Plan.

"Thus by the middle of the Plan period, nearly half the target of rural population has been reached."

AZAD ON EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Maulana Azad, Minister of Education, opening the 20th annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education at Delhi on November 9 showed the need for educational reforms. The most important consideration for the reform of university education appears to be to limit the number of students who enter their portals, said the Maulana. "I have already said that the present number of such students cannot be regarded as excessive but we have to ensure that with the expansion of elementary and secondary education there is no inordinate increase in these numbers till the necessary agricultural, industrial and commercial development has taken place to sustain a larger number of highly trained personnel. The chief aim of university education must therefore be consolidation and improvement.

One of the important measures for reform of University Education is the need to dissociate the possession of a degree from the conditions of service. At present nobody can hope to get a responsible post without a degree. The result is that every one wants to enter a university, not for the pursuit of knowledge but in order to secure a passport to a job. The result of such insistence has been that instead of an emphasis on study and self-improvement, educational institutions have tended to emphasize the securing of a degree by some means or other. Not only have educational standards been lowered and all kinds of malpractices encouraged but students have missed the very purpose of education and concentrated on the acquisition of a degree without considering the means to it. It is not surprising that in this background students have continually pressed for an increase in the percentage of passes. Universities also have consciously or unconsciously fallen in line and without adequate attention to standards striven to increase the number of passes in various examinations. There has been, in consequence, a slackness both in admission to universities and in examinations conducted by them.

After considering all aspects, it is today my considered judgment that, except for professional services, the possession of a degree should not be a pre-requisite for appointment to Government Service. I can understand that we may have to make an exception in the case of professional jobs. In the case of an engineer, a medical man, a technician or a teacher, it is not enough that the practitioner has merely the necessary theoretical knowledge. In their case the discipline of studying such subjects for a number of years under proper guidance and supervision is essential for the successful performance of their duties. Leaving aside such professional services, I do not see any justification for insisting on a degree for appointment to other posts, specially where such posts are filled

up by Public Service Commissions on the result of examinations specially conducted for the purpose.

I realize that the Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commissions, as constituted today, cannot cope adequately with the volume of work which will devolve on them if this proposal is implemented but we can meet this difficulty by establishing two or more Boards for recruitment of personnel at different levels. It appears to me almost self-evident that since such Boards do, in any case, conduct examinations for recruitment to the Services, the demand for the possession of a degree is very largely unnecessary. For example, in the case of jobs for which it is necessary today for a candidate to be a B.A., we may lay down that a candidate's general ability and knowledge should be equal to that of a graduate, so that while we ensure that we get the right people for right jobs, the present unhealthy emphasis on degrees will be replaced by that on ability.

STRESS ON ABILITY

With the increase in the number of elementary and secondary students, this will mean that a smaller proportion will be provided with facilities for education at higher stage. The corollary to this is that ability, and ability alone, must be the criterion for entering into universities and other institutions of higher learning. Today very often it is the financial position of the family which decides whether a student is to go to the university or not. With limitation of numbers, we must ensure that poverty is not a ban on entering into a university. This demands a much larger provision of stipends and scholarships for meritorious students. The additional expenditure will have to be met by the State and we must explore different alternatives to find the necessary resources.

One suggestion which occurs to me is that the less meritorious but more affluent student may be required to pay higher fees. In any case the fees in our universities are exceedingly low. There would be a case for increasing these fees provided the number of scholarships and stipends are simultaneously increased to ensure that poor but meritorious students are not shut out of universities.

It appears to me that increasing emphasis will have to be placed on providing higher education in the field of Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering, Technology and Science. This does not, however, mean that we can afford to neglect the Humanities. No nation can survive if it neglects the discipline of the spirit. We must therefore ensure that increasing emphasis on Science and Technology does not lead to any reduction in the facilities for education in the liberal arts. The Government of India are fully aware of the importance of encouraging higher education in all these fields, and a small beginning has been made by providing a number of scholarships for encouraging research in science and industry, and you will be glad to hear that from the current year it is proposed to institute similar scholarships for research and further studies in the Humanities as well.

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly on November 2 decided to make Pakistan an Islamic Republic.

Amendments calling for the addition of the words "outside the Commonwealth" to "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" were not moved.

Earlier, Hindu opposition members walked out of the House refusing to take part in the constitutional deliberations because "undue emphasis" of an Islamic constitution was, they said, creating an atmosphere, which made their presence useless.

The Assembly, adopted without debate, an amended clause to the basic principles report on the future Constitution, lying down that the State should be called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

UNTOUCHABILITY AN OFFENCE

The Central Government has prepared a draft bill seeking to make the practice of untouchability a cognisable offence. The bill is being introduced in Parliament during the Congress session.

Articles 17 of the Constitution of India prescribes that "untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law".

While the Constitution abolished "untouchability" no law had so long been enacted to penalise the practice of untouchability. The Central Government are now initiating legislation to give effect to the constitutional provision.

PAY OF CENTRAL SERVICES

Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Home Minister, said in reply to Dr. C. Gidwani in the House of the People that the Government of India had refused permission to the Madras Government to impose a 10 per cent cut in the salary of I.C.S., I.A.S., I.P.S., officers serving under the State Government. The Home Minister said that he had learnt that the State Government had restored the cut.

C. R. TO CONTINUE

Congress President, Sri Nehru has urged the continuance of Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the leader of the Madras Congress Legislature Party.

Sri Nehru in a letter to the dissident group of the Madras Congress Legislature Party indicated that the continuance of Sri Rajagopalachari as the Party leader was also the wish and desire of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

About 40 members of the Congress Legislature Party, recently made certain representations to the Congress President detailing certain complaints against Sri Rajagopalachari, Leader of the Party and urging a fresh leadership election of the Party consequent on the partition of the State.

Sri Rajagopalachari commenting on what appeared in the Press during his absence from Madras about complaints sent by the M. L. As. against him declared: "As long as life and vigour last whether I am in office or not, I must oppose the introduction of the "spoils system" in our democracy".

"Our constitution, in spirit and letter forbids this" said the Chief Minister.

The Chief Minister added:

I must express my appreciation of the action of the President of the Congress in having disposed of the matter so promptly, and my warm gratitude for his kind references to my services.

Pointing out that he must "deal not with the surface and the show of things, but the deeper currents", the Chief Minister declared:

I know what some people desire. They want me to assist distribution of spoils and favours, and if that be not possible they desire to be allowed to influence local permanent servants of Government, to that end. I cannot agree to either of these things.

Dr. P. Varadarajulu Nayudu is a well-known figure, and his lapses and faults are familiar to us, but I did not expect him to be caught in this folly, and become its central figure.

QUOTE

Snapped the magistrate: "As a respectable girl you had no business in a parked car in the dark."

"Oh, but it wasn't business," protested the cutie "it was pleasure!"

THE PARULEKAR COMMITTEE REPORT

Early steps to draw up a revised curriculum for elementary schools, and the establishment of an Educational Research Bureau, under the auspices of the University, have been recommended by the Committee of Experts, under the chairmanship of Prof. R. V. Parulekar appointed by the Madras Government, to examine the modified scheme of elementary education introduced in the State this academic year.

The Committee urges the extension of the modified scheme of education to elementary schools in Municipal areas as early as possible.

Other recommendations of the Committee include:

Two days every month should be set apart for the whole school to organise a programme of games, cultural, and recreational activities; alternation of sessions of study on a weekly basis, instead of a day-to-day basis;

Training for teachers in scouting and junior Red Cross work; and

Training for craftsmen to their work scientifically and to look after the instruction of children.

Regarding teachers' pay the Committee considers an appropriate increment in the pay of teachers without delay is essential for sustaining their enthusiasm and devotion in their work.

UNIVERSITY GRANT COMMISSION

India's Education Minister Azad announced on November 9 the setting up of an interim University Grants Commission, with Dr. Bhatnagar, Secretary to the Ministries of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research, as Chairman. The Commission started functioning from November 15.

Opening the 20th annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, Maulana Azad said that the Commission would be a statutory body.

The necessary bill would be presented in the next budget session of Parliament. But since it was necessary that the

Commission should begin work without delay, Government had decided to set it up now on the basis of a resolution passed last year. After the Bill was passed, the Commission's scope and powers would be extended in conformity with it and its composition changed.

The Commission will consist of the following five members: Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, Mr. N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, Acharya Narendra Deva, Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Joint Education Adviser to the Government of India and Mr. K. R. K. Menon, Secretary, Finance Ministry.

Universal education of the basic pattern for all children of school-going age, followed by a diversified secondary education in the first stage was envisaged by Maulana Azad, in his address.

Thereafter, Maulana Azad said, they should have for a select minority facilities for higher education in all fields of arts and science and see that this was of the highest standard.

At the outset, Education Minister said that he had directed that in future the meetings of the Central Advisory Board should be held every year in the third week of January.

PRIMARY TEACHERS IN BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay had decided to recruit 10,000 additional primary teachers during the next three years, as part of its programme of expansion of primary education, said Mr. B. S. Hiray, Minister for Revenue, Agriculture and Forests, inaugurating the annual session of the Bombay State Primary Teachers' Association, at Jalgaon.

The Minister further disclosed that out of the 25,000 and odd temporary primary teachers, serving under various school boards in the State at present, over 20,000 would soon be confirmed as a result of the orders which the Government was going to issue shortly.

THE PRESS AND THE POLICE

The Commission of Enquiry constituted by Mr. Justice P. B. Mukerjee to enquire into the allegation of the Calcutta Press against the police, has held as "entirely baseless" the charge against the Calcutta police that there was a planned beating or assault on Pressmen at the Maidan on July 22 last.

In its report to the Government, a summary of which was released the Commission stated "that the Pressmen committed breach of the law by forming an assembly of very much more than five persons expressly prohibited by Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. and committed further breach of the law by resisting the arrest of Mr. Sunil Sen Gupta reporter of a vernacular daily, who was wanted by the police.

Commenting on this judgment "Vighneswara" writes in *Swatantra*:

I have no right to pit a mere layman's opinion against the learned judgment of a High Court Judge. But it seems to me odd that Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. should be supposed to enjoin on reporters the duty of playing musical chairs under the spectre of the uplifted *lathi*. The reporter's duty is to be on the spot—at the kill, if I may use the sanguinary metaphor of the chase,—and to tell his paper, as soon as he can contrive it, what he saw with his own eyes. It follows that if there are a score of reporters on an assignment they must inevitably be found all together at the point where whatever is happening is happening.

CHIEF JUSTICE'S CONFERENCE

The two-day conference, of the Chief Justices which concluded its deliberations on Nov. 17 at New Delhi recommended that the appointment of all judicial officers in the States, their transfer and promotion, should be left to the High Courts, with a view to effecting complete separation of the judiciary from the executive.

The conference, which had been convened by the Chief Justice of India, was attended by nine Chief Justices of Part A States and seven of Part B. The Chief Justice of Saurashtra was unable to attend owing to ill-health.

On its agenda, the conference had 32 subjects of which 14 were discussed and on the first day and the rest on the next day.

The conference did not arrive at conclusions on all the subjects discussed. On a number of matters such as amendment of the Constitution with a view to raising the age of retirement and allowing judges to practise after retirement in the Supreme Court and High Courts, separation of the executive from the judiciary in States, and ways and means to cut down cost of litigation in all courts, there was a fruitful exchange of views.

The Chief Justice were of the view that if accumulation of arrears of work was to be eliminated in the High Courts, the number of judges should bear a proportion to the volume of work to be disposed of and the prescribed maximum strength for each High Court in the Constitution should be maintained.

The conference felt that delay in the appointment of judges when vacancies occurred in High Courts should be avoided. It also considered the present method of sending up names for appointment to High Courts and made certain recommendations.



EARL WARREN
The New Chief Justice of U. S. A.

THE ROLE OF THE HANDLOOM

"The question of the role of handlooms in the economy of our country has been referred to the Kanungo Committee which is expected to submit its report by March next. The future of handloom industry will be decided on receipt of the recommendations of that committee", said Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, in the course of a talk with Pressmen in Bombay on November 11.

The Minister further stated that there had been considerable improvement in the position of the handloom weavers. The co-operative societies in Madras were handling the handloom products and there had been a good increase in the consumption of handloom goods.

As regards the question of unemployment among handloom weavers, particularly in the south, the Minister said that unemployment was found in various stages in small numbers and according to a survey conducted by the Madras Corporation, the figure was a small one. The main difficulty of the handloom weavers was in relation to quota cards. Since weavers mostly misused the quota cards, its abolition had thrown a number of people out of employment. The Kanungo Committee had also conducted a preliminary sample survey and found some discrepancy with regard to handloom figures. On the basis of the present sales, the output was placed at 1,500 million yards.

Asked whether the country would be able to consume all the mill cloth produced (40 million yards a month), the Minister said that there had been a phenomenal increase in consumption in Northern India, particularly in the Gangetic plains. In U. P. consumption of sarees used to be 6,800 bales. The present consumption had reached over 14,000 bales. In Bengal, consumption of sarees in the past worked out at 4,600 bales. The present consumption was 8,000 and odd bales. But in the south, consumption was falling and it was mainly due to agricultural conditions.

Mr. Krishnamachari categorically stated that for the present Government did not contemplate any abolition of the export duty on coarse cloth.

PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION

The President has promulgated an Ordinance providing for payment of compensation for lay-off or retrenchment, and for the regulation of lay-off, on the lines of the agreement entered into between employers' and workers' representatives at the last meeting of the Standing Labour Committee.

The Ordinance, which amends the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 and takes immediate effect, provides that no workman who has been in continuous employment for not less than one year under an employer shall be retrenched until he has been given one month's notice in writing or one month's wages in lieu of such notice and also a gratuity calculated at 15 days' average pay for every completed year of service or any part thereof in excess of 6 months. The principle of "last to come, first to go" will ordinarily be observed in effecting retrenchment.

LOCOMOTIVES FOR INDIA

India will purchase from Japan 100 broad-gauge locomotives, worth about Rs. 4 crores, to be delivered in two years' time. An agreement to this effect was signed between the Indian Railway Board and the Japanese firm of Hitachi Ltd., at New Delhi.

Mr. Takeo Haraguchi, Director of the firm's Overseas office, who completed preliminary negotiations with the Indian Government told NAFEN that this was the first time India was buying Japanese locomotives. They were being offered at "competitive rates" he said, and the first of them would reach India in November 1954. Mr. Haraguchi said his firm had recently sold locomotives to China, South Korea, Philippines, Siam and Singapore.

PREMIER AUTOMOBILE PLANT

Premier Automobiles, one of India's few automobile manufacturing plants, has been closed "indefinitely" by the management since November 8.

Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, Director of the factory, said that the management had to close down the factory as the workers started "demonstrations" and "go slow" tactics demanding bonus for the last two years.

MRS. PANDIT'S APPEAL TO WOMEN

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the U. N. General Assembly, appealed to women of all nations to build for peace by being willing to hear both sides of international viewpoints.

"American women particularly have much to contribute to such a policy", Mrs. Pandit told the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

She said: "We must talk things out. If everything goes all one way and nothing is said on the other said, that is no debate. There is only silence. It takes courage to speak up, but it must be done. The alternative is war."

Women delegates from many nations and prominent leaders of U. S. women's organisations attended a luncheon which was given in Mrs. Pandit's honour.

INDIAN EVE NOT AGE-CONSCIOUS

Eve in India does not share the weakness of her sister elsewhere over the recording of age.

The Census Commissioner Mr. R. A. Gopalaswamy states in his 1951 Census Report, "We do not apparently share one weakness which is prominently observed in some other countries. Our womenfolk—speaking generally and in large numbers—are not keen on being recorded as younger than they are."

BRITISH WOMEN ATHLETE

Miss Sheila Lerwill, British holder of the women's world high jump record beat the previous best performance for an indoor leap when she cleared 5 ft. 3-3/4 inches (1.61 meters) at the Wembley Empire Pool London on November 12.

The previous best of 5 ft. 3-1/2 in. (1.59 metres) was credited to Miss Jean Shiley of the United States, who was Olympic champion 21-years ago.

Miss Lerwill was jumping against her old rival Mrs. Dorothy Tyler (Britain) whose previous best British women indoor performance was also bettered by Miss Lerwill by one and a quarter inches 3.17 centimetres.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Referring to women's activities in Japan, Mrs. Swaminathan who has returned home after a tour of the far East said that the majority of workers in the factories which they visited were women. In fact the women of Japan had taken to every kind of work open to them without considering any piece of work as degrading. "This is a very good example which may well be followed by all Asiatic women who are still diffident about taking up work outside their homes. Work does not make a woman lose what is known as feminine charm and I can certainly say that the Japanese women are very full of every kind of feminine grace", she said.

Mrs. Swaminathan said that they were particularly impressed by the way children of Japan were looked after. They were regularly taken to places of historic interest and beauty spots. These pleasant outings she said made the children look so happy and full of life.



Miss Jerry-Lynn Rainwater, 17-year-old high school senior, of Springfield, Missouri, in central United States, winner of a national essay contest on "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me," speaks over the Voice of America, U. S. Government international radio broadcasting network, in Washington D. C. This and visits to high United States Government officials in Washington were among the prizes she received.

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MOSSADEQ'S TRIAL

Dr. Mossadeq, whose trial opened at Sultanabad Army barracks on November 8 threatened to commit suicide, dismissed his counsel and warned the court that he might boycott future session.

The former Premier of Iran, who looked rattled, was repeatedly pulled up by the Court for entering into the merits of his defence rather than concentrating on why he questioned the court's competency to try him. Dr. Mossadeq said: "All my efforts are designed to convince you that I am still the legal Premier of Iran and you are incompetent to try your own Premier."

Charged with defying the Shah and trying to overthrow the Government Dr. Mossadeq, with tears streaming down his face, told the opening session of the court that he was still the legal Prime Minister and the Shah had no right to dismiss him.

He also said that under legally obtained special powers from Parliament he had abolished all special courts and tribunals and that nobody could reconstitute them.

Dr. Mossadeq took over three hours of the court's time on November 9 making many self-contradictory remarks.

First, he accused his own defence lawyer, Col. Bozorgmehr, of having secretly given the text of the defence to the court and sacked him saying: "You are no longer my lawyer."

Both the lawyer and the Tribunal President Brig. Moghbeli swore by the Koran that Mossadeq's allegation was untrue.

A little later he accused all the five Judges of the Tribunal of vindictive intentions towards him, "because in the past, while I was the premier, I have retired Moghbeli and displaced some of you from your original jobs".

President Moghbeli denied the charge and swore that

when the Shah appointed me President of this court he told me he had chosen me because of my honesty and God-fearing habits. The Shah told me,

"I am not asking you to sentence anyone who is not guilty. Go and render upright justice."

Dr. Mossadeq said:

If you like you can sentence me to death. I will not accept any forgiveness. I will stay in this prison until I die.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS

A German research chemist, who laid the foundations for the vast modern plastics industry, has won the world's most coveted award the Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

He is Professor Herman Staudinger (72, of Freiburg University, West Germany. He explored the molecule structure of such key organic substances as cellulose and India rubber and became known to his fellow chemists as the "father" of macromolecular chemistry.

The corresponding Nobel Prize for physics goes to Dr. Frits Ernike, 65-year-old Dutch pioneer of the electron-microscope.

He is Professor of Physics in Gronigen University, Holland, and is an honorary member of the British Royal Society of Microscopy.

SAUDI ARABIAN KING

King Ibn Saud, Oil King of Saudi Arabia, died on November 9 aged 73.

Later, Emir Saud was proclaimed King of Saudi Arabia, in succession to his father.

Emir Faisal, brother of the new King, has been proclaimed Crown Prince, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

The new ruler will be known as King Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia.

MANAMPOLA MANGALYAM

It was Bernard Shaw who said all playwrights and all actors tomfool sometimes if they can. The practice needs no apology if it amuses them and their audiences harmlessly. This comedy now running to packed houses in all centres in the south is neatly executed, each character living his or her part. On their topical side they are more or less out of date; but as the world continues to excite itself over the same sort of scandal they can always be adapted to the cries of the moment. It may not impress the highbrows but it is a first class entertainment picture. Messrs. Narayanan Co. the producers deserve congratulations.

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