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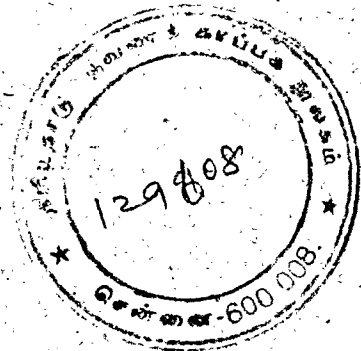
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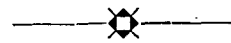
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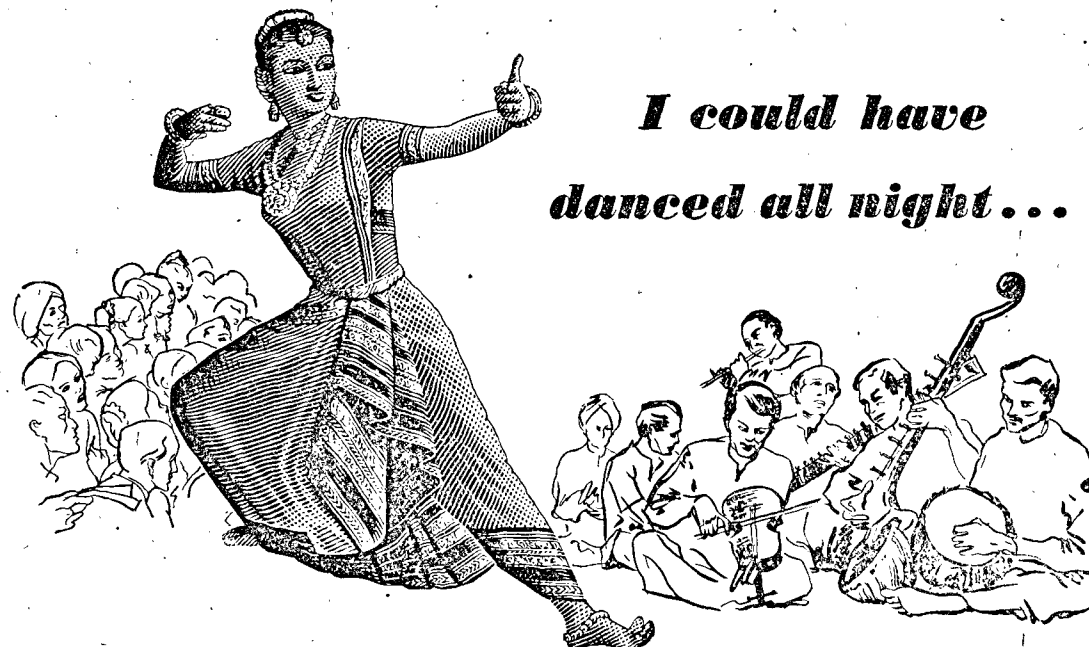
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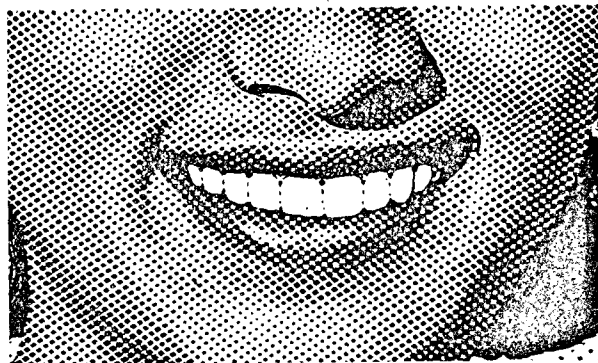
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[No. 7

Origin And Antiquity Of Taxila

BY. Prof. R. L. AHUJA, M. A.

TAXILA was, probably, the most romantic, the most cultured and the most cosmopolitan city of ancient times, where the Persians, the Greeks, and the Indians following diverse religious creeds, met as scholars, warriors, pilgrims and traders. It was here that the East and the West met together, three centuries and a quarter before the birth of Christ, recognised and appreciated each other's greatness, learned to live together amicably and built up a new culture in art and science which we cherish to this day with wonder and admiration. It was here that Alexander the great, met his rebuff at the hands of the philosophers who refused to wait upon the world conqueror. It was here that the first University of the

world, one of the greatest, perhaps, flourished for centuries together. And yet it was Taxila that remained buried under ground without an epitaph, throughout the middle ages, for about a thousand years, until General Cunningham, unearthed its remains in 1863 near Shahdheri (the mound of Kings), 12 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, and opened up to the modern age a world of wonder and romance.

The origin of "Taxila" as the foreigners called it, is shrouded in the mists of antiquity. The name of the city in Sanskrit is Taksha-sila, a compound which according to Dr H. Wilson, means "hewn-rock"; according to others 'the Rock of the Takkas'; but, more probably, as Prof. Buhler explains it, the Rock of Takshaka, the great Naga King. The Pali form of the name, as found in a copper plate inscription, is Takkasila while in Ptolemy the form is Taxiala. General Cunningham and, after him Sir John Marshall suggest that the Sanskrit name of the city, Takshasila, is a descriptive term which means 'the city of cut-stone'. It may, however, be contended that the idea and practice of hewing rocks and hollowing out chambers was introduced into India during the third century B. C., by the Persians who had learnt it three centuries earlier from Egypt. Rock-cut shrines, or caves cut out of huge rocks came, therefore, into existence with the advent of the Mauryas there being no evidence of stone architecture before that: for, all the houses were built of mud, brick or wood. General Cunningham, however, advances another view, at the same time, by saying that the term is generally connected with Takshaka the name of a King of Nagas who killed Parikshit, a king of the Kurus mentioned in 'Satapatha Brahmana' (XIII, 5, 4, 2). Parikshit is, no, doubt, celebrated as king of the Kurus in the last and latest book of the *Atharvaveda*, and the incident is further related in

(i) At the sight of the king and his army they (the Philophs of Taxila) did nothing but stamp with their feet on the ground. The interpreters, having asked what they meant by doing this, they replied: O King Alexander, every man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stamped but you though but a man like ourselves, only more arrogant and meddlesome, have traversed so much of the world, troubling both yourself and others and yet you must soon die and possess no more than the spot of earth which will suffice to bury you—Merindle Ai 69.

(ii) When messengers from Alexander invited him (Mandanis, the oldest and wisest of sages at Taxila) to go to the son of Zeus with the promise of gifts if he complied and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. "Alexander," he said, "was not the son of Zeus for he was not so much as the master of the larger part of the world. For his part, he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate, and as little did he fear, for while he lived India would supply him with food enough, and when he died he would be delivered from the flesh now wasted with age. He himself was the son of God. If Alexander, too, was such, and wanted nothing that Alexander had—I bid, 74.

(iii) The king, says Aristoboulos, sent for him (one of the Brahman sages) but he requested the king to come to him if he wanted anything at his hands—Merindle", Ai 68.

the *Mahabharata*. But Takshaka is a mythical prince of Snakes, "Nagas of Unknown habitat". It is possible, says Professor Hopkins, speaking of princes and peoples of the Epic Poems, that the Panchalas represent five Naga clans with *ala*, "a water-snake" cf. *-eel*) connected with the Kurus or *Krivis* (meaning "Serpent" or Naga), and that none of the families is of pure Aryan blood. The Epic, however, provides an independent clue to the habitat of the Nagas. They lived not only in Patala or Naga-loka but the Ganges ran through the Naga Kingdom. The term Taxaka is very intriguing. It stood for one of the names of Nagas, who, if not reptiles, were one of the Asuras or aborigines of India. (Faus boll-IM, 121, 42, etc.) It is possible that this tribe flourished at Taxila as it did in the Gangetic valley, Ceylon, Bengal and Assam.

There is, again, a Buddhist tradition which tries in its own way to interpret the name and origin of the city, known as Takasila in Pali, the chief vehicle of the Buddhist canon. When the Buddha, wrote Fahien (399-414 A.D.), was a Bodhistava in a previous birth, he gave away his head to a man and from this circumstance the kingdom got its name: for, in the language of China, adds he, Takshasila means severed head. The religious belief, no doubt, seems to blend in a remarkable manner with the linguistic evidence, but the argument is extraneous, far-fetched and merely accidental.

There is, however, an Epic tradition, which, whether well-invented or genuine, appears to be rather probable. The story of the origin of Takshasila is related in the Uttarkanda or Epilogue to the *Ramayana* and may be condensed thus; Yudhajit, who succeeded his father 'Asvapati', as the king Kaikeya of the country lying between the Jhelum and the Beas, and maternal uncle to Bharata, son of Dasharatha, sent an envoy (Gargya, son of Angira, a Mahagyani Brahmarishi) to Rama, the king of Ayodhya with a proposal that the beautiful country of Gandhara lying on either side of the Sindhu be invaded and conquered with a view to extending the Surya Vamsha Empire on this side of India. The proposal found acceptance with the brothers and accordingly Bharata set out with a large army, accompanied by his sons Taksha and Pushkala, and reached his uncle's Kingdom in a month and a half. With the help of his ally, Bharata redu-

ced and occupied Gandharva, though after much bloodshed. It, however, took him 4 years to colonise the country and consolidate his government. He founded two cities Takshilavati and Pushkalavati, naming them after his sons, between whom, on his departure for Ayodhya, he divided the command of the country with their cities as their capitals. These cities grew rich and came to possess beautiful parks and gardens, magnificent buildings and grand-looking deva temples.

Gandhara, says Cunningham, is mentioned frequently in the *Mahabharata* and other Sanskrit works as containing two royal cities of Takshasila and Pushkalavati, the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus which flows through the country (Wilson's *Vayupurana*). At the time of Alexander's invasion, Gandhara was found divided into two kingdoms, that of Pushkalavati to the West of the Indus, which resisted him to the last ditch and that of Takshasila which surrendered before expected or asked to do so. These two kingdoms however, existed in the past as in the time of the Persians as two provinces of the Kingdom of Gandhara extending to the western bank of the Jhelum, comprising the modern districts of Peshawar, in the N. W. F. Province, and Rawalpindi in the Punjab.

ANTIQUITY OF TAXILA

The antiquity of Taxila appears thus to be considerably remote but how ancient the city is, it is difficult to say with confidence; for, Uttarkanda or the seventh book of the *Ramayana* is believed to be not genuine,—that is, not Valmiki's—but second hand, a later edition, like the very first book; while, on the other hand, the very date of composition and the period too, of the great Epic, still continue to be matters of controversy. It is, therefore, desirable to pursue an independent line of enquiry, and then compare its conclusion with those already suggested with a view to arriving at a provisional statement of the problem. The evidence at our disposal is both foreign or historical, and indigenous, literary, or semi-historical.

The direct historical evidence about Taxila is provided by the Greek invasion of Alexander in 320 B. C. Accompanied by some of his

great contemporaries, Seleucus, who succeeded later to his Asiatic empire; Ptolemy, the future king of Egypt; Lysimachus, that of Thrace, and would be conqueror of Roumania; Perdicas, his future Regent, Aristoboulos, the geographer; Clitarchus, the historian; One Sicritus, a disciple of Diogenes. Alexander crossed the Indus in the spring of 326 B.C. and made a halt at Taxila, where he held a durbar receiving homage and tributes from the king of Taxila and smaller chiefs of his neighbourhood. Not only was the city full of wealth and splendour but was also a noted centre of culture. It is unfortunate that the Greeks did not visit any of the academies, religious, secular or military. Alexander, himself a pupil of Aristotle, felt however greatly interested in Indian ascetics or Philosophers fifteen of whom were traced in the suburbs of the city, ten miles away. They refused to wait upon Alexander and held philosophical discussions with Onesicritus who gave complete account of his interviews in a book that he wrote afterwards. Only one of the ascetics, whom the Greeks called, Kalanos, was ultimately persuaded by the Raja of Takshasila to accompany Alexander on his way back to his country. This is all a matter of history, and took place in the fourth century B.C., when the city of Takshasila was long eminent among the cities of India as a great seat of learning.

Earlier still, India was invaded by the Persian King, Cyrus, (558-530 B.C.) whose eastern conquest included Gandhara as well. The dominion of Persian authority under Darius was extended probably about 58 B.C. and comprised as it is evident from the Greek source, the course of the Indus from Kala Bagh to the sea including the whole of Sind, and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. This included, therefore by implication the district of Peshawar and a considerable portion of the Taxila, probably, the whole district, though the sphere of Persian influence may have reached still further. The Iranian hold on India, particularly, on Taxila continued up to 330 B. C. when it was put an end to by Alexander,—lasting, for about 2 centuries (518-330).

There is no direct evidence to show that Taxila was during this period of Persian

domination, a prominent place of learning or culture. Herodotus who makes observations on many and diverse 'nations' of India and its homeless ascetics who lived upon herbs, is silent on the point. Excavations at Taxila, however, have revealed a wealth of evidence in the form of objects of art. Beside a temple of the sun and another of fire worship, there has been discovered a shrine, in the heart of a block of buildings, an octagonal pillar of which bears an Aramaic inscription carved on white marble. This discovery made by Sir John Marshall is believed to confirm the theory which the French scholar Buhler advanced in 1895 that Kharoshthi is derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India during the Persian rule, and which was used then as a common medium of communication throughout the Persian empire. Kharoshthi, it is believed, was derived at Taxila where some learned pundits adopted the foreign script, to meet the requirement of the new government and at the same time to express additional sounds required by Brahmi, the then prevailing script of India. Taxila became, presumably, the home of Kharoshthi, which continued to be employed in the Gandhara down to the 3rd century A.D. It spread from thence to the west and to the east, and according to Sylvian Levi it came to be adopted in central Asia, in a country like Khotan. Scribes and copyists used it exactly like Brahmi to reproduce religious or literary texts. Asoka gave a lasting recognition to this script when he incised his two rock edicts in Peshawar district in Kharoshthi, the current script of those days, while all the other edicts were incised in one or other variety of Brahmi. According to Prof. Rapson, Kharoshthi spread as far as the Jullundhar district where both the scripts were current side by side with each other.

This is an argument by inference and this piece of evidence is not direct and consequently inconclusive even so far as it goes, being only secondary and supplementary. It is, therefore, necessary to look elsewhere for a sounder proof of Taxila's eminence in the 6th century B. C. and make an attempt to explore the indigenous field of inquiry. This is the age of the Buddha and the Buddhist literature abounds in local and topical allusions, relating both to kings and laymen of note. Jivaka, a great genius of these times, for instance, was

an ornament of the Buddhist Order for his medical skill and devotion to the Buddha. According to the *Mahavagya*, Jivaka studied medicine at Taxila for seven years with Prof. Atreya. He was protege of prince Abhaya, son of Bimbisara, King of Magadha (the modern districts of Patna and Gaya). Bimbisara ruled in the period 603-551 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Ajatsatru (551-519) both of whom, he served as their state-physician. This bit of evidence proves beyond doubt that Taxila was a great centre of learning in the time of the Buddha. It is on the basis of this tradition that Hoernle, author of "Studies in the ancient India" (London, 1907) places Atreya in 600 B.C., believing him at the same time to be the founder of scientific Indian medicine.

The field of enquiry opened up with Jivaka extends still further into the remote past and offers us a fresh field to explore, which pushes the age of Taxila still farther into antiquity even up to the later Vedic times. The sources of this further information are Panini, the Jatakas, the Epics and the Upanishads. Panini, to begin with, mentions Taxila as an important city, in his epoch-making work on grammar, "Ashtadhyayi". According to Professor Macdonell, Panini lived, after, probably soon after, 500 B.C. If this view is accepted, Panini's evidence is only supplementary and corroborative. But there is another school of historians, like Dr. Gold Stucker and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar which holds that Panini lived before the Buddha, earlier than 700 B.C. Mr. A. K. Mazumdar, advances some very convincing reasons in support of this contention in his interesting book, "Hindu History," Dacca, 1920.

It may, therefore, be presumed, for the present at least, that Taxila was, even before the time of the Buddha, an important city and a centre of learning where probably Panini himself (a native of Gandhara, born at Salatura, near Attock on the Western bank of the Indus) received his education and even worked as a teacher for some time.

There is yet, another, clue, which not only supports this point of view but leads the evidence still farther. There are, in the "Jatakas", Birth stories of the Buddha, numerous references to Taxila as a seat of learning resorted to by princes and sons of Brah-

mins, Kshatriyas, merchants, and others, particularly while Brahma Datta was king of Benaras. Dealing with the rise and supremacy of Kasi in the pre-Buddhist period, Dr. Mehta holds that it is not one and the same Brahma Datta who is frequently referred to in the *Jatakas*. Some are sending their princes to Taxila; some are invading or conquering Kosala (Ayodhya or Oudh), others are sending expeditions to reduce Taxila, though in vain. A whole dynasty, in short, is known as Brahma Datta and this chief dynasty, he adds, of Kasi flourished in the Mahajanapada period 800-600 B.C. This view meets further support from Prof. Rapson. The fame of Brahma Datta has been kept alive in Buddhist literature; for the *Jatakas*, or Stories of the Buddha in previous births, are conventionally set in his reign. King Brahma Datta, who conquered Kosala, he opines, lived "possibly about a century and a half before the Buddha's time"—that is, about (560-150), 710 or 700 B.C. It is interesting, therefore, to read in Jataka 336 that after the defeat of his father, Prince Chatta of Kosala escaped to Taxila and received his education there, especially in the art of discovering a buried treasure. On his way back he fell in with a company of ascetics and became their leader. After a long trek the company arrived in Benaras and made a halt in the King's garden. Chatta got thus an opportunity to meet king Brahma Datta, made his acquaintance incognito, won his goodwill and then recovered his lost kingdom by revealing his identity. Prof. Rhys Davis, too, is of the same opinion when he says that the name Brahma Datta could not have been older than the closing period of the Brahman literature; and a century and a half before the birth of the Buddha would bring us to that. We are, thus, led to believe that Taxila flourished as a great centre of learning "towards the close of the Brahman literature, or about, "a century and a half before the birth of the Buddha", that is, about 700 B.C.

Finally, there is a further literary or educational reference to Taxila suggested though crudely and vaguely in the *Jatakas* in their peculiar unhistorical and exaggerated manner but nonetheless supported by external evidence. One Swetaketu, in Swetaketu Jataka, born of a Brahmin family from the north, and a senior pupil at a Benaras school, goes to Taxila for further education in arts, after

completing which he wanders through the country learning all practical arts. Again another Brahmin scholar in "Uddalaka Jataka" of the North, receives his education at Taxila and then joins a group of ascetics whom he serves most devotedly, and at whose feet he learns all that they can teach him. In due course, he becomes their teacher and leader. These two Brahmin scholars were son and father, and according to the stories, both got their higher education at Taxila. The former scholar bears resemblance to Swetaketu, a class fellow of Yajnavalkya mentioned in the *Chhandogya* and the *Brihadaranyaka* the two oldest and most important *Upanishads*, representing the latest phase of the Vedic literature in the later Vedic age. Swetaketu and Yajnavalkya were both contemporaries of king Janaka of Videha, and both students of Swetaketu's father, Aruni Uddalaka, who was the centre of a circle of scholars contributing most to the Philosophy of the Upanishads, and a learned teacher of his times. This evidence suggests that Swetaketu was educated at Taxila, that Swetaketu was a contemporary of king Janaka of Videha, and also of king Ajatasatru of Kasi, and Asvapati of Kaikeyas; and that, therefore, Taxila was a seat of learning in the time of kings, Janaka, Ajatasatru and Asvapati. Even though there is a similarity between the Swetaketu Jataka and Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (Vi, i, 1) in regard to the education of Swetaketu, yet the argument does not go very far in as much as the Jataka is not authentic or a reliable history. It is, therefore, necessary to produce some further testimony which, though an independent one, bears equally on the point, and happily there is one at hand. King Janamejaya, the eldest son of Parikshit, the famous king of the Kurus, says the Mahabharata, succeeded his father while still a minor. He had three brothers, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena. Once with their help he performed a long sacrifice on the plain of Kurukshetra. After the sacrifice, he returned to Hastinapur, his capital. Then in order to guard himself from evil influences or curses so common in those days, he found for himself a purohita or spiritual master, Somasrava, by name, a great ascetic, accomplished in the study of the Vedas, son of a Brahmin Rishi Srutasrava. Leaving his brothers in the service of his Purohita, the king marched towards "Takshashila" and brought that

country under his authority. Sometime after his victorious return from "Takshashila", Rishi Utanka waited upon him and incited him to avenge his father's death on the wicked Takshaka. When Janamejaya heard all the circumstances of his father's death from Utanka and further got it confirmed by his ministers, he (the king) took a vow to avenge himself on his father's enemy by performing a snake sacrifice. The sacrifice was attended among others by Swetaketu and Uddalaka. This testimony of the *Mahabharata*, too, places Swetaketu and Takshashila together in the same age, though without associating them together educationally. It may, further, be pointed out that king Janamejaya of the *Mahabharata* is not the famous Janamejaya whose sacrifice is celebrated in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*. This evidence, it may be admitted, is not perfect, surrounded as it is by the mythical story of Snakes. And it is, further, pointed out that the Janamejaya of Aitareya Brahmana, is not the same whose horse sacrifice is celebrated in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* nor is the epic Parikshit the same as the first great Kuru king, Parikshit celebrated in the last and latest book of the *Atharva Veda*. The Vedic tradition, in short, is held to be different from the epic one. Making allowance for this disparity, and even eliminating epic Janamejaya whom Dr. Mookerji calls Janamejaya III, one may feel the weight of cumulative evidence bearing on one important point hinted at above that Takshashila flourished in the time of Swetaketu and his father Aruni Uddalaka. Now both father and son figure prominently in *Chhandogya Upanishad* and *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, at the same time in *Shatapatha Brahmana* (I, i) and in *Kausiki Brahmana*. The *Chhandogya Upanishad* is attached to the *Shatapatha Brahmana* which itself belongs to the white school of the Samhitas of the Yajurveda. The dates, therefore, may roughly be placed according to a modest estimate, of Rapson's and Keith's Chronology, between 700-800 B.C. probably nearly 800 B.C.

Taxila, therefore, it may be suggested with some confidence, flourished in the eighth century B.C. and possibly earlier in the 9th.

If we inquire, writes Macdonell, as to how far the legends of *Shatapatha Brahmana* contain the germs of the later epic tales, we find that there is indeed some slight connection.

Janamejaya the celebrated king of the Kurus in the *Mahabharata* is mentioned here for the first time. The Pandus, however, who proved victorious in the epic war are not to be met with in this any more than in the other Brahmanas, and Arjuna the name of the chief is still an appellation of Indra. But as the epic Arjuna is a son of Indra, Janaka, the famous king of Videha is in all probability identical with the father of Sita, the heroine of the *Ramayana*. Rapson, too, is inclined to think this when he says that it is possible that he (Janaka, the father of Sita) may be the king Janaka of videha (Bihar) who is celebrated in the *Brahmana* and *Upanishads*; and if so the story of the *Ramayana* has its origin in the later Brahmana period. It may, then, be perceived at this stage that the epic tradition of the origin of Taxila, and the evidence of its antiquity have drawn closer together

and seem to harmonise into a common source. In conclusion, this (Buddhist) tradition may indicate that from the end of the Vedic period, Taxila continued for many centuries to maintain its status for learning and that the arts and crafts inspired by the Kautilya's Artha Shashtra may represent the cumulative learning of several centuries during which the political centres shifted from the eastern Punjab down the Gangetic valley to Magadha at the end of the 4th century B.C.

The study of the curricula of education, imparted at Taxila which includes certain non-Vedic subjects inclines me to the view that Taxila was a centre of learning while the Aryans were composing their Rig Vedic hymns. It was, like the ancient cities of Harappa and Mohanjo Daro, a city of Dravidian culture!

A DARK EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF HOLKAR (INDORE) STATE 1822

By

SARDAR M. V. KIBE

(o)

NOW that the Indian (Native) States have been liquidated and the Princes have been pensioned off, it is possible to throw light on intrigues in them, illustrative of their structure.

The official history of the Holkar State published under the authority of its Government in 1947 is characteristically silent about an attempt made in 1822 to throw out its progressive administration. This episode was similar to that of the intrigue against the great Minister of the Peshwas, Nana Fadnavis in the last quarter of the 18th Century A.D.

Vithal Mahadeo Kibe, better known to people as Tatya Jog, from his early connection with the Jog banking firm of Maheshwar, the favourite place of residence of Ahalyabai Holkar, the pious queen of that dynasty, signed the Treaty of Mandsore in January, 1818 on behalf of the Holkar State, with the East India Company. The hereditary ruler being a minor, it was left to him to restore the shattered condition of the territories. How well he dealt with it is borne out by the

reports submitted by the British Political Officers now available in the National Archives and among the papers in the India Office.

But his success was not achieved without firmness and stern rule. This caused dissatisfaction and heart-burning among those who were deprived of their power. Ambitious people including the young ruler engaged in a new scramble for power, without regard to the interest of the State.

Among the India Office papers Vol. XVII page 4522 etc, is a letter from Mr. Gerald Wellesley of the famous Wellesley brothers, who was Resident at Indore at the time, dated 23rd October 1822, addressed to Mr. Swinton, Secretary to the Governor General, detailing the colourful happenings.

He begins by saying that on several occasions previous to the date he had received communications from private channels that the Maharaja, who had barely been of age at that time, was desirous of seeing him, it was indicated to him that there was an aliena-

tion in the Maharaja's mind from the Minister (Tatya Jog) and with the established order in the State which with reference to his age might ere long be productive of troublesome and serious consequences.

At last, he allowed the emissaries to see him, who related the story that the Maharaja, who had personally witnessed the liaison between his mother and Tatya Jog, was distressed by the dishonour and wanted to get rid of his Dewan. Mr. Wellesley disbelieved the story. Thereupon the emissaries referred to the possibility of adoption of violent proceedings, which led him to warn the emissaries of the serious consequences that might follow.

The emissaries moderated their demands by suggesting that the Minister may not transact the State business at the Palace but at his house. But the Resident refused to be a channel of such communication and suggested that "after full inquiry the Maharaja may adopt such a line as might appear suitable."

The Resident affirmed that the whole transaction served to be an intrigue of the enemies of the Minister. The Resident found that at the time the Minister was at his house owing to the death of a distant relative, and also discovered that the mother of the Maharaja being a widow, was according to custom allowed to see, besides himself, two other persons including his deputy Raoji Trimbak and an old adherent of the family, she being in purda.

A few days afterwards, the Resident was informed that the Paigah horse had assembled at the palace at the instance of Tatya Jog, conspiracy adherents of which were ready for all eventuality. Thereupon, he went to the palace and saw the Maharaja who disclaimed all knowledge of the allegations against Tatya Jog and of the intrigue. This had a calming effect on the situation and the Minister continued in office. There was a tradition coming down in the family that when, after the pollution due to the death of his relative Tatya Jog made his appearance at the grand entrance of the palace the conspirators somewhat awed by his personality, were terror-stricken and ran away. Among the conspirators a leading but hidden part was played by Appaji Ballal, a relation, whom he had

favoured. He is noted by the Resident as one of the leading conspirators. After the death of Tatya Jog this man was promoted to be the Diwan but he proved to be a failure as a Minister.

The Resident concludes the dispatch by adding that Tatya Jog was a good deal dispirited by the appearance of this unexpected danger. He encouraged Tatya Jog by various arguments, explaining to him that such occurrences had not been rare in princely India. The Resident's argument that weighed most with Tatya Jog was that, as the Resident had told the Maharaja, there was nobody by his side, half so well qualified as Tatya Jog for shouldering the burden of office in the state.

There is a background to this intrigue described in this note. Col. Todd in his well known History of Rajasthan, describing his tour through Holkar's territory, doubtless observes "people are happy and contented under the mild rule of Tatya Jog" but he had to be severe with criminals.

As General Sir John Malcolm in his report to the Governor-General under date 14th Oct. 1818 wrote: "Severe punishments were given by Talya, Jog, such punishments as pouring hot oil on one's arm making a dog bite the neck of a person and so on." Tatya Jog had naturally to be ruthless and cruel even. This ruthlessness and his reforms made him many enemies.

In his memorandum dated April 1819, Mr. Wellesley reports to Mr. C. T. Metcalf that reports had been carried to Sir John Malcolm and himself of extreme restraint imposed upon the Maharajah by Tatya Jog. Mr. Wellesley inquired into these complaints and was satisfied very well that they were altogether frivolous. The point which he recommended to Tatya Jog was "to grant a greater degree of liberty to the Maharaja. He adds "it is but justice towards Tatya Jog to say that his treatment of his young sovereign is judicious, paternal and deserving of the future gratitude of the Prince, whose real and substantial interests he studies more than the gratification of his capricious inclinations or unbecoming passions." Tatya Jog might have exclaimed on his death bed, "Put not thy trust in Princes."

ECONOMICS OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

By

Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

—(o)—

THE Congress Working Committee have earned the gratitude of the country by adopting a resolution on Village Panchayats at its recent meeting in Delhi. The Committee noted with appreciation "the progressive introduction of the Panchayat system in various parts of India" and expressed the view that "the system is not only in keeping with the ancient traditions of India but is suited to present-day conditions." The tendency of a modern State towards centralisation should, in the opinion of the Working Committee, be "balanced by the growth of local self-governing institutions so that the mass of the people should themselves participate in this business of administration and in other aspects of community life, social, economic and judicial." The Committee particularly welcomed the establishment of *Nyaya* or Judicial Panchayats "which should reduce the burden on the regular courts and make justice available on the spot in a considerable number of relatively petty matters and thus make it both speedy and inexpensive also." Such Panchayats should be developed throughout the country "in accordance with local conditions and traditions and represent the entire community in the area concerned irrespective of caste or creed." The working Committee also appointed a Sub-Committee "to consider this question in all its aspects" and report to the next meeting of the Committee which is going to be held prior to the Ajmer session of the A.I.C.C. in the last week of July.

We attach very great importance to this resolution of the Congress Working Committee because it underlines the urgent need for a bold policy of decentralisation of social, economic, administrative and judicial powers with a view to building up New India on sound, democratic lines. In one of the Directive principles of the Indian Constitution it has been clearly laid down that the State "shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". The resolution of the Working Committee is a big

step in the direction of establishing such Panchayats in accordance with the genius and traditions of India through the Ages. The Kalyani Session of the Congress also laid great stress on building up the Second Five Year Plan "with the co-operation of the Panchayats, village communities, local bodies and the like so that it should be a People's Plan and local leaders should assume responsibility both in the formation of the Plan and later in executing it." The Planning Commission have accepted this idea of decentralised planning and have recently addressed a circular letter to all the State Governments to the effect that "local initiative in formulating plans and local effort and resources in carrying them out should be stimulated to the maximum extent possible."

Almost all the State Governments have already enacted legislation for establishing *Gram* and *Nyaya* Panchayats in their respective regions, although there is considerable degree of diversity in such legislation in accordance with local conditions and traditions. It is now necessary to pool the experiences gained in different States in regard to the working of these panchayats with a view to making them more effective instruments of administrative and judicial decentralisation as well as of national economic planning. In some States, these Panchayats are constituted through elections; in others, they are nominated by the local authorities. In some States, they are partly elected and partly nominated. It may be possible to evolve a certain degree of uniformity in the formation of the panchayats by devising a better system of elections. The study of old inscriptions in South India has revealed the fact that the ancient panchayats were elected almost unanimously and wherever this was not possible it was customary to draw lots with the help of the youngest child in the village. It may be desirable to adapt this system with certain modifications to suit modern conditions. We may also try to evolve a system of nominations out of a panel elected by the village community. There is considerable diversity in mutual

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relations between the *Gram* and the *Nyaya* Panchayats in different States. In some States, the *Nyaya* Panchayats are in the nature of sub-committees of the village panchayats; in others, the two types of panchayats are constituted on an entirely different basis with hardly any connection with each other. The powers of administration and taxation of the village panchayats also differ in different parts of the country. All these points require serious study and cool consideration by the Sub-Committee on Panchayats appointed by the Congress Working Committee.

India has been the home of village panchayats from times immemorial. Detailed references to them are found in the Vedas, the *Jatakas*, the *Dharmasutras*, in the *Mahabharat*, *Manusmriti*, *Sukranitisara*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the records of the Muslim rulers and the East India Company. Many dynasties and empires rose and fell, but these tiny republics continued their existence almost undisturbed. It was only during the British regime that they suffered a serious set-back because of the excessive greed of the foreign rulers in the collection of land revenue through a highly centralised system. But the broken threads are again being collected and joined together by the popular governments and we have no shadow of doubt in our minds that the village panchayats will again play a very vital role in shaping the destiny of New India according to the dreams of the father of the Nation. During the last few decades, the panchayats fell on evil days and the people lost confidence in their efficacy and dignity. It will, therefore, take some time before they are able to regain the lost prestige among the rural communities. There is, however, no cause for any kind of despair or disappointment.

We would like to lay special stress on one aspect of the village panchayats. In ancient India, the Panchayats were held in very high esteem; they were shown great respect and consideration by the people because they were regarded as the manifestations of Divinity. "*Panch Parmeshwar*" was the lofty ideal of these village communities. The panchas were respected as the representatives of God himself. The main source of this deep respect and regard for the panchayats was the principle of unanimity in the election or selection of the Panchas. The elders of the village, belonging to different castes or communities,

were elected by the whole village meeting almost unanimously. There were hardly any evils of the present system of electioneering campaigns on party lines. As we have pointed out earlier, in cases of difference of opinion, the system of drawing lots was in vogue, more specially in Southern India. It is this principle of unanimity which, in our opinion was the soul of Panchayats in ancient India, and it is this very principle of unanimity and collective good-will that requires revivification in the existing circumstances. In order to promote and directly encourage unanimity and good-will among the people, it may be desirable to invest with more powers and authority those panchayats which elect their panchas unanimously; panchayats which are unable to demonstrate unanimity of this kind should be classed as second-class panchayats. Such a system would engender healthy emulation among different village panchayats and would ultimately evolve a sound structure of decentralised democracy in this ancient land of ours.

Democracy in the West today suffers from a multitude of sins. It is too centralised and too mechanised. India can show a much better way to the Western world by evolving a new model of decentralised and composite democracy in conformity with her ancient heritage. "True democracy" observed Gandhiji, "could not be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre; it had to be worked from below by the people of every village." The success of economic planning under the democratic set-up would largely depend on the establishment of village panchayats in India on firm and healthy foundations. The report and recommendations of the Panchayat Committee of the Congress will, therefore, be awaited by the country with great interest and even anxiety.

NIGHTFALL

By Eugene O'Sullivan

Night is here with gleam and glisten
Lovelier to the eye than day,
And the ear is bent to listen
While the heavenly bodies pray.
Peacefulness beyond comparing
Wraps the couch of man till dawn,
And released his soul is faring
Silent through oblivion.

—New York Times.

IN DEFENCE OF DEBUNKING

By MR. T. K. THOMAS, B.A., (Hons.)

No historian can be completely unprejudiced, but few historians are so wholesomely disinterested as the author of *English Social History*. It is because he realises that while an individual perspective is indispensable for the historian, it should never be the product of prefabricated presuppositions. As a general rule this applies to the literary critic also. But the perspective in him is necessarily of a narrower dimension, and his presuppositions have for the same reason, a more immediate relevance. There is a closer juxtaposition of things, and, consequently, a greater urgency of comparison. Therefore when one comes across the statement "Literary recommendations should be positive not negative" in an author like Trevelyan, one is not sure whether he is not identifying the functions of the historian and the literary critic.

The sentence is taken from Trevelyan's presidential address at the English Association (1951). The whole paragraph may be quoted, it contains so much sound sense, and it is so very remarkable for its humility. He says:

"When an author who was once regarded as great, or who is now so regarded by some critics does not appeal to me; I regret my own limitations and pass on. But I do not go round telling other people not to read him, for he may suit them better than he suits me. Literary recommendations should be positive, not negative: The fashion of the age in which you live is just as likely to be an indifferent guide to true opinions about literature as were the fashions of previous ages, say of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, which we now find inadequate."

The case cannot be put more simply or more convincingly. As a suggestion it is worthy of all consideration, but can it be accepted as a principle of literary criticism? Is there no place at all for negative recommendations? Is there no place, to put it crudely, for debunking?

I say crudely because it is a crude word to use. I use it in its mildest sense. The word is a fairly new one, and it has an interesting history. It comes from *Bunk*, a shortened form of *bunkum*, which, in its turn, is from the proper name Buncombe.*

* In 1820, at the 16th Congress, when the "Missouri Question" was being debated, the member for the county of Buncombe in N. Carolina, rose to make his contribution to the discussion. The reception he got was far from encouraging, but the member insisted on speaking because his county

The word is a comparatively new one, but the practice of debunking is by no means a recent development. It is as old as literary criticism. It was during the Elizabethan age that literary criticism, like many another art achieved selfconsciousness. It was during the same period that Greene denounced Shakespeare as "an upstart Crow beautified with our feathers". That it was the expression of a final disillusionment does not concern us here. But that it was debunking, and that it contained an element of genuine critical judgment are certain facts. The Romantic Revival redefined the functions of literary criticism. It was during that time that Jeffrey declared, reviewing Wordsworth's long, narrative poem *The Excursion*:

"It is longer, weaker and tamer than any of Mr. Wordsworth's other productions; with less boldness of originality; and less even of that extreme simplicity and lowliness of tone which wavered so prettily, in the *Lyrical Ballads*, between silliness and pathos. The case of Mr. Wordsworth, we perceive, is now manifestly hopeless; and we give him up as altogether incurable, and beyond the power of criticism."

It is unnecessary to take instances from more modern critics. They more often censured than criticised, and this, perhaps, led sober men of letters like Trevelyan to assert that literary recommendations should never be negative. Our point here is that such a deduction, warranted as it may seem, cannot be finally justified.

Coleridge wrote, "The ultimate end of criticism is much more to establish the principles of writing, than to furnish rules how to pass judgment on what has been written by others; if indeed it were possible that the two could be separated." The first part of the statement contains a truism, and the second part a profound truth. Putting it more concretely, the function of the critic is twofold to evaluate particular works of art and to relate the evaluation to the fundamental principles of art. In other words he tries to discover the significance of an author or a book, and, through the same process, to elucidate the

expected it. He declared repeatedly and with vehemence, that he was "bound to make a speech for Buncombe." That was the origin of the word *bunkum*. By the sixties of the century it had achieved much of its modern meaning.

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IN DEFENCE OF DEBUNKING

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nature of significance in art. The guidance that the critic provides for the reader is thus to some extent guidance for the poet also. A criticism of *Hamlet* is not only a criticism of Shakespeare's play on the Prince of Denmark, it is also a criticism of art in its relation to humanity. And these are, as Coleridge suggested, one and the same function.

From this it follows also that the critical appraisal of a particular work of art, to be effective artistically, should be in the general context of a tradition of criticism. That does not mean that the critic should be guided by rules formulated once and for all. Art is a living thing and cannot be caught within the meshes of rules and definitions, which are, by their very nature, fixed and lifeless. That applies to the criticism of art too. What is important for the poet is the achievement of a certain harmony which he experiences imaginatively, and therefore becomes his concern in poetry. What is important for the critic is the discovery of this harmony, and the interpretation of it. It is wrong to condemn the *Orlando Furioso* because the author did not obey the rules of heroic poetry, or the plays of Shakespeare because the dramatist has not kept the classical unities. And it is wrong not because the practice of condemnation is wrong but because the standard of judgment in the given instances is artistically false. It is dogmatism, and dogmatism is one of the two dangers which have always beset criticism. Dogmatism is the deification of rule, and the superficialisation of tradition.

The other danger is of course that of prejudice. It is a total disregard of tradition, a complete acquiescence to personal impressions. T. S. Eliot's suggestion that a man who has outgrown adolescence cannot appreciate Shelley is an extreme example of such impressionist dismissal. It is wrong because it is not based on an appreciation of Shelley's own conception of the art, but only on the critic's.

Broadly speaking the critic asks himself two questions. Has this real integrity? Has this real relevance? Artistic integrity, and relevance in the context of life. On the ivory tower there can be little creation and less criticism. The critic should be aware of the traditions of criticism, and his own appreciation should be a continuation of the tradition;

effected in the changed context of his day. Only a respect for the past can ensure relevance in the future.

But the constraints imposed by considerations of the traditions of the past and relevance in the future should not blind the critic to the limitations of the work in hand. He is now concentrating on one particular work, and that is the work of a man who belongs to a period. It may be poetry or propaganda, vision or view, novelty or novel. The critic has to call a spade a spade, though he realises that a creative work is never quite a spade. To restrict himself only to positive recommendations is tantamount to a betrayal of his vocation. The man who is evaluating cannot afford to emulate the ostrich.

There are negative recommendations which have become commonplaces of criticism. The earlier Shakespeare was immature, the later Wordsworth a bore. Restoration Drama was decadent, and Eighteenth Century poetry insincere. Such statements contain a definite element of debunking, but they are perfectly justified.

It may be pointed out that all this is labouring a truism. But the truism in this instance is important. Criticism which concerns itself only with positive recommendations cannot stop decadence or expose artificiality. In our day the appeal of art is so often intellectual, and during such times the enjoyment of art is never completely spontaneous. Therefore criticism at such times becomes as significant as creation itself. It becomes, in a very strict sense, the custodian of artistic integrity.

RELIGION OF THE PRISON HOUSE

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creations. But it is proof against insolent pride of race, religion or colour.

Mahatma Gandhi.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

LIFE, A CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS

Can anyone, in looking back on his life, deny that it has been a chapter of accidents, asks Dean Inge in this essay—Does pure luck rule your life? and adds:

Have we been moderately successful? Well, our parents chose a good school, and very nearly chose a bad one

Our valuable lives have several times just escaped being cut short, I myself have twice missed by a few inches having my brains knocked out, one by a cricket ball and once by a bullet which whizzed through a railway carriage in which I was sitting.

If we have had the supreme happiness of a perfect marriage was it not chance that brought us together? And how narrowly, perhaps we escaped a very different fate! We have gained appointments? Yes, we happened to be under the tree when the apple fell.

I can see very few signs of justice in the world, and I dare not assert more than St. Paul, says: "What has thou that thou did'st not receive? But if thou did'st receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou had'st not received it"? And who are we to despise those who have failed, as we might so easily have failed ourselves?

SONG OF THE NIGHTINGALE

Not far from Hampstead underground station in north London, in the quiet leafy street now known as Keats Grove, stands Wentworth Place, which was the home of the poet John Keats during the last period of his life. He went there with his friend Armitage Brown after the death of his brother Tom in December, 1818, and in the pleasant front sitting-room he worked on his great poem *Hyperion*. In the spring, Keats sat under a tree in the garden listening to the song of the nightingale. He returned to the house with some scraps of paper which he thrust behind some books on one of the shelves; on them were written the exquisite stanzas of his *Ode to the Nightingale*.

Thou was not born for death, immortal Bird!
No hungry generation tread the dawn;
The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown;
Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears among the alien corn;
The same that oft-times hath
Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn.

A SAD PICTURE

Somewhere in these pages I have quoted Milton's superb close of *Paradise Lost*, as marking the acme of tragic beauty, wherein "our lingering parents" are led out of Paradise so late their happy seat "down the cliffs as fast to the subjected plain" by "the hastening angel". And then:

They, hand in hand with wandering steps and slow

Through Eden took their solitary way.

But this is only poetry, and the poet made the most of his vision. To my mind even more tragic because it is real, is the moment in the life of Charles Lamb, of which we have more than one account, all from contemporary records. There are indeed few nobler things in the records of authorship than the story of his lifelong care of his sister, Mary. That young lady, in a fit of frenzy, killed her mother and injured her ailing father and was promptly removed to the asylum. But Charles who was barely twenty-one could not bear it: and he rescued her from the asylum taking full responsibility for her future behaviour. This meant complete devotion to her, day in and day out, and total renunciation of all personal pleasures apart from what could be shared with the unfortunate lady. And so he remained single all through life, albeit lulled by the vision of his own creation—the dream children. When the fit was on Mary he led her to the asylum. The picture of Charles and Mary, weeping brother and sister, hand in hand on their way to the asylum is one too dreadfully sad to contemplate.

No artist has yet attempted to paint this moving scene—a theme of profound pathos and significance almost as suggestive and sacred as the crucifixion itself.

IN OTHER WORDS

"What kind of sport has our distinguished guest had?" Lord Curzon asked the servant who had attended on an American guest.

"Oh," replied the servant, "the young Saheb shot divinely, but Providence was merciful to the birds."

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

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PAYING A BILL

Max Beerbohm is reputed for his brilliant and witty commentaries on his contemporaries. Alike in his essays and caricatures he expressed himself with rare sensibility and refinement. Frugal of his wit as was Gray of his verse he yet achieved perfection in the elusive art of self-revelation. And the things he tells us about himself are for the most part trifles. In his delightful essay on hosts and Guests he reveals himself as and the shy embarrassed Max weighed with the terrors of responsibility. See how delicately he writes of his distress as a host when, without much money, he had to entertain friends in London:

The memory of those occasions is not dear to me—especially not the memory of those that were in the most distinguished restaurants, somewhere in the back of my brain, while I tried to lead the conversation, was always the haunting fear that I had not brought enough money in my pocket. I never let this fear master me. I never said to anyone, "Will you have a liqueur?"—always "What liqueur will you have?" But I postponed as far as possible the evil moment of asking for the bill. When I had, in the proper casual tone (I hope and believe), at length asked for it, I wished always it were not brought to me folded on a plate, as though the amount were so hideously high that I alone must be privy to it. So soon as it was laid beside me I wanted to know the worst at once. But I pretended to be so occupied in talk that I was unaware of the bill's presence; and I was careful to be always in the middle of a sentence when I raised the upper fold and took my not (I hope) frozen glance. In point of fact, the amount was always much less than I had feared. Pessimism does win us great happy moments.

EXPERIENCE

To most men, experience is like the stern lights of a ship, which illumine only the track it has passed.

—Samuel Taylor Coleridge

GOOD TIMES AND BAD

Good times is the best period when you accumulate those debts that you're unable to pay in bad times.

THE WISE AND THE FOOL

The wisest of men makes mistakes; only the fool repeats them.

THE HAPPY MAN

How happy is he born and taught.

That serveth not another's will:

Whose armour is his honest thought

And simple truth his utmost Skill.

H. Wootton.

POETRY AND PROSE

Trevelyan, in his admirable essay on "The Muse of History," says:—

History as Literature has a function of its own, and we suffer to-day from its atrophy. Fine English prose, when devoted to the serious exposition of fact and argument, has a glory of its own, and the civilization that boasts only of creative fiction on one side and science on the other may be great but is not complete. Prose is seldom equal to poetry either in the fine manipulation of words or in emotional content, yet it can have great value in both these kinds, and when to these it adds the intellectual exactness of argument or narrative that poetry does not seek to rival, then is it sovereign in its own domain. To read sustained and magnificent historical narrative educates the mind and the character; some even, whose natures, craving the definite, seldom respond to poetry, find in such writing the highest pleasure that they know.

WHEN I AM DEAD

Some of the lyrics of Christina Rossetti are incomparably sweet and sad. The simple and graceful lines on "Death" are charged with tenderness and beauty—made more beautiful and tender because of the nobility and benevolence of the lines: And if thou wilt, remember, And if thou wilt, forget.

When I am dead, my dearest,

Sing no sad songs for me;

Plant thou no roses at my head,

Nor shady cypress tree:

Be the green grass above me

With showers and dew drops wet;

And if thou wilt, remember,

And if thou wilt, forget.

I shall not see the shadows,

I shall not feel the rain;

I shall not hear the nightingale

Sing on, as if in pain;

And dreaming through the twillight

That doth not rise nor set,

Haply I may remember,

And haply may forget.

—Christina Rossetti.

National Festival of Assam

By MR. MOHUN CHAND BORA, B. A.

WITH the advent of the spring season, Nature becomes luxuriant with tender leaves and flowers in every tree, with new greenness on all over the hills and dales, full of colours and jollity. In such a natural setting, the Assamese people celebrate their most popular festival "Rangali Bihu" i.e. the merry festival, in the first week of Baisakha. There are another two 'Bihus', one celebrated just after the harvest is over and another after finishing the cultivation of paddy in the field.

Preparations to celebrate the Bihu in a fitting manner go on in every family from one or two weeks before the festival. The women folk are busy with their handlooms weaving towels to be presented to the members of the family and other near relatives (a special gift of the occasion) and the male members are busy in making new ropes out of jute and fibres of Tara plant (a wild plant with this traditional usefulness) for the cattle.

A wanderer, through the villages of Assam in the Bihu morning will find the houses of every family well washed to the yard, the cow sheds well cleansed, boys and girls, young and old, busy in anointing the cows with pulse paste, turmeric water and mustard oil, thus making them ready for a bath in the nearby tanks or rivers. After washing their bodies with water, pieces of turmeric, brinjal and pumpkins are thrown at them singing a couplet :—

"Eat these pumpkins and the brinjals
Grow up healthy in every year;
Be stronger than your parents
And also sturdier."

Cow the sacred animal of the Hindus, the capital of the Assamese peasantry, is worshipped on the first day of the Bihu festival. New ropes are supplied to them, a special rod is used for whipping purpose if necessary (and it is hardly necessary, they know the significance of the day!) and other customary rites are performed for the welfare of the cows.

The second day is dedicated in honour of the 'Gurus' or the religious heads of Assam; prayers and 'Nam-Kirtanas' are held in every 'Namghar' either separately or by the village as a whole.

The third day is dedicated for man, for humanity at large. People offer their prayer to God for a happy new year to the world peace of mind to prevail in every society and for a good harvest as well. The remaining four days of Bihu festival have not any conventional purpose like the previous ones. But these days are observed with no less pomp and grandeur than the former ones. The harmless mirth of the people so long suppressed with the dreary intercourse of daily life throughout the year, now breaks loose, feasting, dancing and merry making go on in full swing.

The orchis on the mango tree presents the dove shaped flower (Kapou flour), a flower well illustrated in the Bihu songs of Assam, long sought by the village beauties to wear in their locks of hair all through the year. The mango tree provides a sweet repose to the new guest of spring, the Cuckoo, from which it gives vent to its joyous reptures. In the dead of night there comes floating in the air the plaintive note of the Katak from higher up the sky. It stirs the emotions, excites the nostalgic sentiments, awakens the imagination of the young hearts. The famous Bihu songs of Assam are the metrical verification of these vernal raptures by some "unsung" nature poets of the village :—

"My mind turns from the field O darling,
Of my home I grow weary;
With the buoyant fleece I strive to fly
For without thee my life is dreary"

The bracelets adorn her delicate wrists,
The 'Riha' entwines her tender waist;
How lovely my darling looks,
With the braids embracing her shoulders fair,

The thorns prick my feet
While crossing over the fence for you;
When two hearts long for each other,
Oh what can a Caste barrier do?

Groups of young men and women go to the field to dance the Bihu dance there. With the beats of drum and sound of horn they dance together singing these merry songs.

— "And all the earth is gay;
Land and sea
Give themselves upto jollity"
(Wordsworth)

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NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ASSAM

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The most popular game special to this festival only is the Cowry game. A board is drawn on the floor stamping upon a rope and the game is played among four to twenty persons with six Cowry shells. It is a harmless indoor game and every one male or female young or old takes equal interest in it.

Since the second night of the festival young men use to come out in groups equipped with musical instruments in order to sing "Huchari" at every house. These songs are recited mostly from the religious books of Sree Sankardev, Madhavdeva or other Vaishnava poets of Assam. These parties are received with high esteem by the house holders and a plateful of Betel nuts and leaves is offered from every house as a mark of respect.

"Bordoichilla" is the presiding deity of the stormy winds that blow in the Spring season. She is imagined to be the only and ever young daughter of Mother Assam. Like all other married girls she also uses to come to her mother from her husband's house in every year to enjoy the festival for a happy fortnight here. But unlike them she returns causing much harm to her mother, destroying valuable things of her mother; she is angry because she is to return so soon!

The moral aspect of the Bihu festival is genuine. No harsh or crude words should be used against any one during this period. All the ill feelings from the heart should be wiped out; anything mean, low or odd should be avoided; good fellow feeling, sympathy and other fine qualities should be cultivated in the heart.

The word 'Bihu' is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Visuvat'. But the festival is supposed originally to be a festival of non-Aryan tribes, the primitive inhabitants of Assam. Pandit Nehru writes in his book "Discovery of India":

"Ancient India like ancient China was a world in itself, a culture and civilisation which gave scope to all things. Foreign influences poured and often influenced that culture and were absorbed." This is no less true of Assam. Assamese culture is enriched by different tribes and races, who used to come in large numbers and were ultimately merged into a single cultural pattern.

The Ahom kings who ruled over the country for about six hundred years patronised the national festivals of Assam. In addition to other things this spring festival was observed with great eclat in the then capital of Assam, Rongpur.

Then, in the state play ground of Rongpur, a special programme of music and dancing, games and plays, variety performances, animal fights, was chalked out to celebrate during the seven-day period of the Bihu festival.

The Royal family accompanied by the nobles took their respective seats in the "Rong-ghar" (the House of pleasure: a two storied palatial building built to serve this purpose only) to enjoy the festival. Another interesting game was in vogue during those days. It was the setting free the hawks to catch Kanoa birds—a very favourite game of the kings. Special officers were appointed by the kings to rear the hawks and Konoas and to train them for this occasion. They were set free in the open field before the large gathering. The hawks as they were trained pursued the Kanoas hurriedly higher up to the sky and people's eyes were fixed on the flock of birds fighting in the sky. Resting on the dead bodies of the Kanoas, hawks the victors slowly came down to the eager laps of their respective masters bringing good name and promotions also to them. Sometimes the hawks betrayed and fled away also at the utter disappointment of the spectators bringing scandal and degradation to the masters.

This national festival of Assam has lost much of its original beauty and charm in the face of a materialistic world. Time has had its mighty influence upon it. Human civilization has passed the stage of adolescence and stepped into maturity. Whatever may be the case still every Assamese heart leaps up in joy at the very name of this festival.

IF JESUS CAME TO EARTH

Goethe, walking through Rome with a friend, said to him, "There is not a relic of primitive Christianity here; and if Jesus Christ was to return to see what his deputy was about, he would run a fair chance of being crucified again."

Putting The Atom To Work In Industry

—()—

WHILE atomic power plants and atomic locomotives are still in the early stages of development and will take some time to reach the stage of practical usefulness, the atom is already hard at work in industry doing a host of useful and valuable jobs.

Today the atom is employed to perform production tasks which, according to engineers, nothing else can do as quickly or as cheaply. A brief review of its present uses gives a picture of the atom as a peacetime industrial worker that is aiding manufacturers to improve quality, speed production and reduce costs on a large number of existing industrial products.

For example, in scores of metal processing industries, the atom is being used steadily, day in and day out, on the production line. It works in the form of a radioactive pellet—a product of atomic energy—and its job is that of a highly-efficient quality inspector. For it detects, locates and identifies the size and shape of the tiniest flaw on the inside of a metal object.

In this process, the pellet, which contains radioactive atoms produced in a nuclear reactor, is used in conjunction with a photographic film. The process is called "radio-

graphy," which means the production of pictures on film by means of radiations other than light rays.

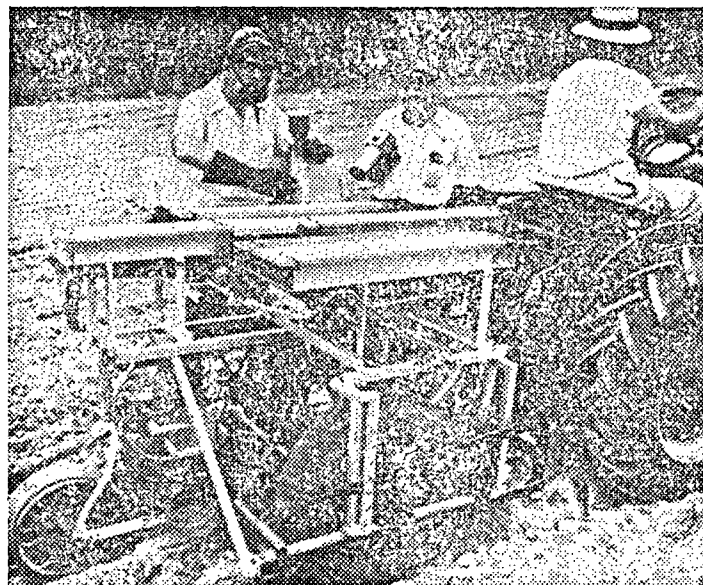
The radiations from the radioactive pellet pass through the metal and register on the photographic film, showing up any defect in the metal, just as a break in a bone shows up on X-ray film.

What this application of the atom means to the average person can best be illustrated by considering how many commonly used products

have hollow metal parts in their construction. One can begin with such an everyday item as the umbrella, and go right on to include the piston rings in the engines of automobiles, trucks, planes and ships. If you have ever had an umbrella stem snap, due to a flaw in the metal, or a connecting rod in an automobile engine crack while driving at top speed, you can realize how im-

portant atomic radiography is for the production of good quality products.

In industry, atomic radiography is not only proving itself eminently practical, but it is also the least expensive method of detecting flaws and defects in metal pieces. An industrial X-ray machine, for example, costs a manufacturer \$10,000 or more—whereas a



PUTTING THE ATOM TO PEACEFUL WORK—Radioisotopes are being used in a study of fertilizers. Radioisotopes are substances whose atoms have been made radioactive in a nuclear reactor. Above, technicians pour fertilizer containing radioisotopes into the hopper of a fertilizer distributor. The technician at right is checking the amount of radiation in the fertilizer.

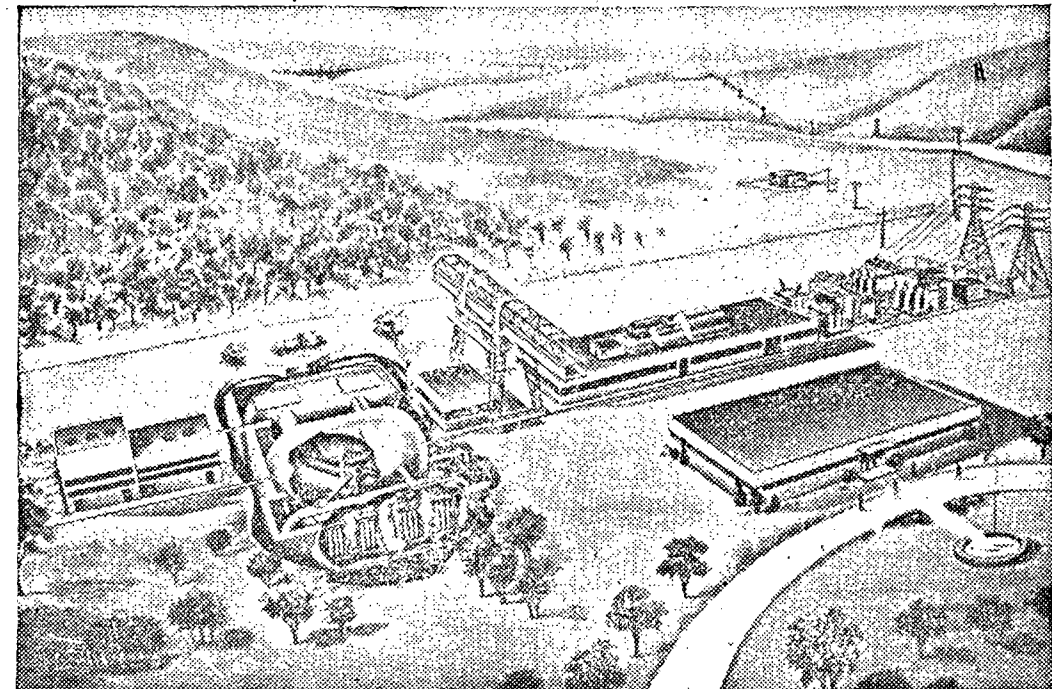
typical atomic radiography installation costs less than \$800. It thus offers cheap and reliable inspection of parts—a manufacturing economy that can be passed along to the purchaser in reduced purchase price.

Radiography, however, is only one of the valuable uses to which the atom is already being put in peacetime industry.

Next in importance at present are atomic-radiation thickness gauges. These are used for making constant measurements of the thickness of plastic films, paper, linoleum, rubber, tin and steel and a number of other products which are manufactured in continuous sheets fed out from between rollers. If the sheet is too thin, the product may be

spoiled. If too thick, the manufacturer wastes material. Previously, the only way to check thickness accurately was to stop the machine and cut out a sample.

Radioactive atoms can gauge thickness continuously without the need of stopping production. Below the moving sheet is placed a piece of radioactive material—a peaceful product of atomic energy—and above the sheet a detecting device. If the thickness of the sheet increases, the radiation that passes through it to the detector becomes less. If the thickness decreases, the detector registers a greater amount of radiation from the radioactive atoms. Any change in thickness shows up at once, and adjustments can be made immediately.



This is an artist's drawing of the first large civilian nuclear-powered electric plant which is to be built in the United States by the Duquesne Light Company of Pittsburgh and the Westinghouse Corporation. The two private companies will build the plant under the terms of a contract awarded to them by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. The construction of this electric power plant at Shippingport, Pennsylvania, marks a milestone in the short life history of atomic energy. In the right foreground is an administration building. Underground in the cutaway sketch at left, are the atomic reactor and the heat exchangers that produce steam. They will be enclosed in some form of steel and concrete structures which will give operating personnel and the area surrounding the plant protection in addition to the many protective devices incorporated in the reactor itself.

The principal value of the atomic gauges is that they eliminate shutdowns to take samples, produce a better product, and virtually end the waste of raw materials through producing materials that are too thick.

The atom is also proving of value in still another manufacturing field—that of “preventive maintenance.” Oil and chemical plants, in particular, are discovering that when the atom is on the job, maintenance damage can be found and corrected before it gets a good start.

Preventive maintenance works on the same principle as radiography. For example, a radioactive pellet is suspended on the end of a wire and dropped down pipes and into valves. Next, a photographic film is placed against the outside of the pipe or valve. The result is an X-ray photograph that shows up any structural weaknesses inside the pipe or valve and enables the manufacturer to correct any faulty or hazardous condition with a minimum of trouble and expense.

There are still many other peacetime jobs that the atom is efficiently performing for industry. Some of these are as follows: To measure engine wear under different lubricating conditions, and thus develop new and better engine oils. To study how corrosion occurs and thus develop ways of preventing it. To study the process by which gasoline may be produced synthetically from coal and oil, and thus find ways of improving it. To determine the wearing qualities of waxes and paints, so that better ones may be developed. To study tyre wear in order to make better tyres. To trace the flow of liquids through pipelines, to check the recovery of chemical catalysts, and to sterilise and preserve foods by atomic radiation.

These uses are all practical and of value to manufacturers. Their great significance, however, is that they demonstrate that the atom is actually already functioning on a wide scale in industry now, today.

TOURISM IN INDIA

By

Sri SUBHASH J. RELE, M.A.

IN almost all the countries of the West, France, Switzerland and Great Britain, the promotion of tourism is considered to be one of the major industries. Tourism is both a science and an art. It is a vital instrument of promoting international contact and understanding.

Well-organised tourism is a valuable addition to the national exchequer. Great Britain earned from foreign visitors \$50,000,000 in 1948-49. This rose to \$70,000,000 in 1949-50. In 1951-52 it almost doubled. The British Industries Fair and the Festival of Britain are two outstanding instances of how Britain takes advantage of tourist trade. In Switzerland, the income from tourism is nearly 1/6th of the total national income. In U.S.A. there are special Travellers' Aids which render free service to visitors, irrespective of their nationality, race and economic status. Linguist guides function at over a hundred

major transportation centres and help travellers. Over 450 cities have 'Travellers' Aid Society'. The Travellers' Aid Society has 1500 professional and volunteer social workers with over a thousand co-operating representatives all over U.S.A.

Throughout the ages, India has drawn to her visitors from the remotest parts of the world. Few lands have lure travellers more than India. Tourism as an organization built up on modern lines is of comparatively recent growth in India. The influx of tourists during the last three or four years has been most encouraging.

India is the land of hoary civilisation, the cradle of ancient religion. Few lands rival India in the variety of flora and fauna, scenery and sights, faces and places. Her cities, art and architecture, hill stations and health resorts, lakes and gardens, temples and mosques, monuments and memorials, festivals

and folk life, people are of culture and more than ordinary interest to the tourist. India definitely offers something new, something different from anything elsewhere.

Among the outstanding items of national scenery are the Ghats of Western India, the palm-studded backwaters of Travancore, the marble rocks of Jubulpore, the valleys of Kashmir, the hills of Nilgiris, the confluence of waters at Cape Comorin and the Himalayas. Rivers and lakes are the life of India. Lake Mansarover in the Himalayas, the Pushkar lake in Rajputana, the reed-fringed Dal lake at Srinagar, the Anasagar Lake at Ajmer, the palace-studded Pichola Lake at Udaipur, the exquisite Nakhi Talao on the plateau near Mount Abu. The magnificent Shalimar Gardens and Nishat Bagh in Kashmir, the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, the Horticultural gardens at Coimbatore, the terraced Brindavan Gardens in Mysore, the Alfred Park at Allahabad are other attractions.

The hill-stations of India are second to none in the World: Simla, Darjeeling, Nainital, Mussoorie, Mount Abu, Matheran, Khandala, Ootacamund. There are several beauty spots in India which are surely well worth a visit—the historic Red Fort, Palace of Shah Jehan, Kutab Minar, etc. No tourist to India, however can afford to miss Taj Mahal—masterpiece of Indian architecture, exquisite beyond words.

Thus, India has almost everything that would interest a tourist. It is one of the most colourful countries in the whole world, the Mecca of travellers. It also offers many an opportunity for individual tastes, such as big game, fishing, boating, hiking etc.

It was only in 1948 that the Ministry of Transport constituted an *ad hoc* tourist Traffic Committee consisting of representatives of the Ministries concerned. In 1949 a Tourist Traffic Board was set up in the Ministry of Transport. Regional Tourist Offices have been opened at Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta with the intention of helping the tourists to get through the customs, registration and other technicalities with the least difficulty. No restrictions are placed on visitors receiving funds through banks for expenses in India.

Our country, however, possesses the *sine qua non* for successful tourism. Well furnished

tourist cars and saloons are now available at reasonable rates. It is gratifying to note that special directives have already been issued by the Ministry of Railways to railway administrations regarding the proper maintenance of Station premises and rolling stock.

There can be no two opinions on the contention that India has great possibilities of developing tourist trade. The methods pursued by the U.K., France, Italy and Switzerland, who are pioneers in the tourist trade should be emulated. The Governments in these countries have created special organizations in co-operation with transport agencies, leading hotels, health resorts, etc. to facilitate tourist traffic. At this stage we need something on the model of 'Travellers' Aid Societies' of America, which give expert information on housing, location, transport, recreation facilities, financial assistance and emergency help.

Colourful posters, booklets and guide books giving the necessary information should be published and distributed in foreign countries. It must however, be remembered that adequate publicity will induce the foreigners to spend their holidays in this country. Roads connecting some of the important tourist centres need improvement. There should be route maps and road charts for the use of tourists who travel by road. The Government should take the utmost care to see that in no way the freedom of the tourist is hampered. Hotel accommodation is of course, a problem strictly connected with the tourist traffic. Direct assistance to hoteliers to improve the standard of food and service is long overdue.

As a means of adding to the financial resources of the country, particularly at a time when foreign exchange is precious short, tourist trade claims immediate attention. It would be relevant to mention that India today is the meeting ground of the East and West. The need for greater contact and understanding between nations is greater today than ever before. It needs no elucidation that a tourist plays the role of an emissary of good will. Viewed in this context, tourism achieves a significance of its own in a country like India.

GUATEMALAN WAR

By
Sri K. BALARAMAN

Reuter's correspondent in Guatemala City reported on June 19 that the revolutionary forces were marching to Guatemala City, the capital, against little resistance and were more than 20 miles inside the country from the Honduras border. A leader of the "Liberation Army" was quoted as saying "The people of Guatemala are arising to our cause". Washington reported that the policy of the U.S. Government had been to try to deal with the Guatemalan situation by international action through the organisation of American States and not by backing a revolutionary movement. According to a Guatemalan High Command communique issued on June 22 the first clash between Guatemalan Government troops and the invading "Liberation army" ended in the retreat of the rebels. But by June 27 the rebel army had marched towards the Capital, and President Jacobo Arbenz had resigned in favour of the Commander-in-Chief Col. Diaz. This is interpreted by Washington diplomats as a manoeuvre to give the army a chance to negotiate with the rebel leader Col. Armas. In the following communication to the *Hindu* Mr. Balaraman discusses the causes that led to the revolt and examines the charge levelled against the U. S. Govt. [Ed. I. R.]

THE war now going on in Guatemala is not just another of those South American revolutions, but has international overtones. It is ironical that ever since Guatemala overthrew her despotic dictatorship in 1944 and set up a democratic Government, she has been in trouble both from within and from without. She is one of the only five South American countries which have democratic regimes; the other 15 are either full or semidictatorships.

The first thing the democratic Guatemalan Government did was try to improve the living standards of its three million odd utterly poor people and in doing so came into a head-on clash with vested interests, principally the all-powerful American-owned United Fruit Company which virtually controlled the economic life of the country.

In 1952, when Guatemala introduced sweeping agrarian reforms under which large tracts of uncultivated land owned by the Company and absentee landlords were taken over for distribution among the land-hungry peasants President Arbenz found himself in the same position as Mossadeq did when he nationalised the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The United Fruit Company, with its tremendous financial resources started a big campaign against the Guatemalan Government and very soon succeeded in getting the U. S. Government to take up its cause.

The charge that the U.S. is levelling against Guatemala is that its Government is Communist-dominated and that its actions are the result of Communist influence. It seems to be true that the Communists in Guatemala are a well-organised group, but they are a handful according to impartial students of the situation. It is not true that the Government is Communist-dominated; neither the President nor any member of his Cabinet is a Communist. When the young democratic Government, in implementing its economic and social reform programmes, got nothing but resistance from vested interests, the Communists joined with the peasants and workers in supporting it. This gave them an opportunity to gain importance; Americans say the Communists control all peasant and labour unions to-day.

American opposition to the goings-on in Guatemala stems mainly from economic and secondarily from political grounds. The U.S. fears that if Guatemala is allowed to get away with that it has done to the United Fruit Company, other Latin-American countries may follow suit and squeeze American business out. American capital at present controls the principal industries in almost everyone of the South American countries—coffee and bananas in most of them, copper in Chile, lead and zinc in Peru and copper and Oil in Venezuela and Colombia.

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On the political side, to strengthen its case against Guatemala, Washington alleges that the Government is Communist-dominated and if this influence is not nipped in the bud, the Communists may take over Guatemala and use it as a springboard for infiltrating the whole of South America. Nobody in this hemisphere except Americans take this "Communist menace" so seriously and many observers feel that the U. S. is merely using it as an excuse for intervening against a Government which she does not like.

To add to Guatemala's troubles, the rulers of some of her sister-Latin American countries do not look with favour on her Government because they fear that the reforms it is introducing may lead to their peoples also demanding similar reforms.

The Catholic Church too has taken a hand in this affair, because under the present Guatemalan Constitution Catholic and other religious groups have been deprived of certain special privileges they previously enjoyed.

For two years now, the U.S. Government have been openly working for the replacement of the Government of Guatemala by a regime which would be more amenable. In the recent Pan-American Conference, the U.S. tried hard to organise joint action against Guatemala, but only partially succeeded; the resolution that was adopted merely pledged

joint action against Communist infiltration without mentioning Guatemala by name.

Guatemala has now been invaded by a force, led by a former Guatemalan officer, Colonel Armas. This force was collected and equipped in Honduras. Guatemala has charged that Honduras and Nicaragua have committed aggression, with the backing of the U.S. All three have denied the charge vigorously.

Last month, the U.S. supplied arms to Honduras and Nicaragua and the State Department said it "assumed" these arms were not being used to arm the rebels. The U. S. characterises the uprising as a civil war, but there are certain critics of American policy who see in it a parallel to the Panama incident of 1903. When Colombia refused to ratify the Panama Canal Treaty (Panama then was part of Colombia), the U.S. engineered a revolt in Panama, landed her troops "to restore order" and took over the canal zone. Many observers, while granting that the U.S. is not directly responsible for invasion, hold her indirectly responsible, because recent statements by Mr. Dulles and others have made clear that any action aimed at the overthrow of the Guatemalan Government would have American blessings. That should place on American shoulders at least as much responsibility Henry II had to shoulder when Thomas a'Beckett was "liquidated".

THE ROAD TO KASHMIR

AS the plains begin to seethe with heat and dust in the sizzling summer of India, it has been a peculiarly Indian habit from immemorial times to dream of the snow-clad mountains and long for the sight of mountain streams gushing through forests and lush meadows. Sanskrit literature provides testimony of this strange fascination and it was perhaps the agony of the plains in summer which invested, in the Indian mind, mountains with sanctity and placed the abodes of the Gods on peaks and hills.

Not the Gods alone, but Kings and commoners have also felt the same urge in the Indian summer and throughout history Kashmir, with its eternally snow-clad peaks, its green valleys and innumerable lakes,

springs and streams has beckoned plainmen. But the great problem has always been the hazards of travel and because of the difficulties of the road and the high cost few could in olden times afford to visit Kashmir. The journeys undertaken by Kings and Emperors are enshrined in history and perhaps there travelled also a few merchants and mendicants in caravans to Kashmir. But for the ordinary citizen, Kashmir was a beautiful fantasy unattainable except in the books of poets.

The Moghul Emperors used to take two or three months to complete the journey from Delhi to Srinagar. The Emperor Jehangir, whose heart was always in the Valley of Kashmir, once left Delhi in the cold of Janu-

ary and took three months to reach the Valley. At least a hundred elephants carried the Emperor, his Queen and his luggage. Thousands of horsemen escorted the Imperial caravan while an innumerable horde of camp-followers accomplished the journey by foot trudging in advance and preparing the camping site for each night's halt.

Even up to recent years, a trip to Kashmir was a costly proposition which only a Prince or a rich man could afford. Today the Moghul Emperor's three months' journey can be accomplished in 3½ hours by plane from Delhi but the charges are still beyond the means of many whose fancy turns of Kashmir. However, good organisation and coordination between the railway and road services now for the first time enables a visitor to Kashmir to accomplish the journey in comfort and safety in about 40 hours—inclusive of the night journey by train and a night's halt on the road to Kashmir. And the cost is about one-third of the cost of air travel.

Today's traveller by road starts from Delhi by the Kashmir Mail 1½ fare for the return journey. The first 300 miles, to Pathankot, is covered in under twelve hours at night. Within an hour of arrival at Pathankot, the bus or the station wagon of the Jammu and Kashmir Government's transport service is on the road—267 miles long—which leads to Srinagar. The road winds or crosses some of the most beautiful rivers of the Punjab. The Beas river meets the traveller just outside Pathankot—on its journey from the Kulu Valley, still a clear mountain stream to its confluence with the Sutlej. Jammu is sixty miles from Pathankot and one recognises the famous town by its many temples and the river Tavi. The first halt is made for lunch here at the Government dak bungalow which provides rest-rooms.

From Jammu the road still runs in the plains but the Tavi river keeps company for a while. Forty miles out from the town is Udhampur and the road starts its climb into the mountains, a climb which will bring it to 9,000 feet above sea-level—the highest point of a national highway in India.

The road is excellent throughout—a marvel of engineering. Crossing ranges of low hills, one ascends in the next 30 miles to the hill-station of Kud—famous for its springs—6500

feet above sea-level. Here, if one wishes, the night may be spent at the dak bungalow where the traveller pays only Rs. 2/- for accommodation. Food and refreshing drink are available and the night's rest removes the dust and the heat of the plains from one's system. There are well-provisioned dak bungalows dotted at every halting place on the road and travellers on the road to Kashmir can pick and choose.

From Kud the road descends to Batote and soon the traveller sees the majestic gorges of the river Chenab, frothing between steep mountain walls on its journey to the West. Forests crowd in on mountain slopes and from time to time, one gets glimpses of terraced fields of paddy.

Soon the road starts to climb again and Bannihal village, at the foot of the Bannihal Pass is reached. It is here that a peculiar sense of excitement grips the traveller by road. Perhaps Jehangir felt the same excitement for he refers to this Pass in his memories. The road twists and turns hugging the mountain side but being broad enough for two-way traffic, one feels the excitement in comfort and safety. Soon the Bannihal tunnel is reached and with it the highest point of any national highway in India.

Crossing the tunnel, the traveller sees one of the most glorious sights India can offer. Up to the tunnel, the mountain sides were forbidding and bare but once across the tunnel, the panorama of the Valley of Kashmir, green with its fields and forests, glistening with its lakes and streams provides an astonishing contrast. Up to June, blocks of snow lie by the roadside on the Pass and the traveller from the plains invariably halts the bus to experience the rare treat of walking on snow.

The road now begins to descend to the Valley. At Lower Munda the Valley is reached and two miles from the road is the Spring of Vernag from which the Jhelum takes birth. In the Valley the road runs smooth and level banked by paddy fields characteristic of the Kashmir countryside and between avenues of upstanding poplars. Soon the journey is over and the Dal Lake beckons. Reached is the Valley once the playground of Emperors and blessed above all places in India by a bountiful nature.

FREEDOM AND THE FILMS

THERE is no Government censorship of films in Britain, but all films for public exhibition (except newsreels) are submitted for censorship to a body which arose and does its work in the following ways.

The Cinematograph Act of 1909 gave powers to local authorities—that is, to County Councils and County Borough Councils—to license cinemas so as to secure the physical safety of the public. In 1913 the British Board of Film Censors was set up (on the initiative of the film industry and with the approval of the Home Office) to ensure that a proper standard of entertainment was maintained. When it was decided by the High Court of Justice that local authorities could insert in their licences conditions as to the character of films exhibited, the local authorities did not set up an official censorship of their own, but relied on the examination of films by this Board of Censors.

Films are not censored on political grounds; thus Russian films, are sometimes seen, and even a film with a German general of the late war as hero was recently shown, although it not unnaturally had a mixed reception from the public. Any refusal to licence a film is usually because it would offend moral or religious feeling in the country. Sometimes the cutting-out of a scene or scenes satisfies the Board, and their objection is withdrawn; but even if the Board has objected to something in a film and has not licensed it, the owners of the film are at liberty to show it to local authorities, in case they take a different view.

The legal position is, however, that the certificate issued by the British Board of Film Censors is recognised by local authorities throughout the country, and is usually enforced by conditions inserted in the licences issued by them.

The Board consists of a President, a Secretary, five Examiners, and an administration and technical staff. The President is appointed by a committee representative of all branches of the film industry; the choice is made from persons with wide experience of public life or administration. The Secretary, examiners and staff are appointed by the President; there is an understanding that neither he nor they shall have any connection with the

cinema industry. Otherwise the choice of examiners is unrestricted. Importance is of course attached to their having sympathetic appreciation of the interests of children. At least one of the examiners is usually a woman.

The Board, then, views every film, British or foreign, intended for exhibition, except newsreels, which are given the same exemption as the Press. The expenses of the Board are met by the charge of a fee for each film examined.

Films are seen by at least two of the five examiners in the Board's own theatre. If a film presents special problems, or the examiners do not agree on their decision, the opinion of the President is sought and the film may be seen again, sometimes by the full Board and more than once.

THREE CATEGORIES

Films certificated by the Board are placed in one of these three categories:

“U”, suitable for general exhibition;

“A”, more suitable for exhibition to adult audiences, and only to be seen by children under sixteen if they are accompanied by a parent or guardian;

“X”, suitable for adults only, which means that no child under sixteen may be admitted to see it.

When the Board has objected to anything in a film a certificate is not granted until all necessary amendments have been made. When a film has been refused a certificate the producers may, if they wish to, apply to each local authority for permission to exhibit the film in their area. Local authorities may prohibit exhibition of a film even if it has been passed by the Board (this right is rarely exercised).

Film producers may submit scripts of films to the Board in advance, so that any objections can be raised before the camera work is done, but the completed film must also be shown to the Board; who are not bound to approve it because they have passed the script.

The British cinema houses record some thirty million attendances a week, the majority by persons in the younger age groups, who may be considerably impressed by what

they see and are likely to accept standards of screen behaviour as applicable to daily life. Large numbers of them attend twice a week; the censor's problem and justification may be said to lie chiefly in the existence of this vast part of the film public.

DEBT TO CENSORSHIP

No censorship can be expected to please at the same time all sections of the public and the Press, the film owners and producers, the educational and social welfare associations, and the professional critics. The best way for the censor to defend the majority of interests is for him not to bind himself by hard and

fast rules; a crude handling and a delicate handling of the same theme may deserve different treatment at his hands. The public cannot very well judge how much it owes to censorship, except by what it sees of the placing of films into Categories U, A and X.

The censor cannot persuade the public to accept the more intelligent and artistic films; he can only protect it to a certain extent from what its own more thoughtful elements would not desire to see.

The film censorship in Britain today is a striking example of self-discipline in a great industry. —B.I.S.

Sir Ronald Ross, Conqueror of Malaria



MAJOR Ronald Ross, a surgeon in the Indian Medical Service was appalled by the suffering malaria caused and decided to find the cure.

While on holiday in London in 1894 he was shown under a microscope the blood parasites which cause malaria, India's worst disease. In a small laboratory he began the search for the carriers of malaria. It lasted four years. He suspected the mosquito. He caught mosquitoes and tried unsuccessfully to make them bite him. His captives refused to co-operate. Perhaps they were frightened. He bred mosquitoes and examined them. None had a trace of malaria parasite.

In the Indian hot weather he made long journeys to new victims of malaria to examine their blood and study the parasite. Three years after his search started Ross spent a holiday in malaria infested Ootacamund looking for mosquito grubs. He found none. He caught a mosquito gorged with blood near a fever patient. It was small, with spotted wings. He named it dapple wing. In spite of malaria, mosquitoes were scarce. A man brought five tiny ones. He went with the man who found the mosquitoes and discovered their breeding place; a pool. But they did not carry malaria.

After hundreds of experiments he still could not find the malaria patient's secret. Then a new type of larvae was brought to him. Next morning the strange larvae hatched into

dapple wing mosquitoes which were made to bite a malaria patient at an *anna á bite*. With its screws rusted by his sweat, Ross worked at his microscope examining every one of the new mosquitoes until the last remained.

In the stomach of the last mosquito he finally discovered the malaria parasite after hours of exhausting work. The secret was found.

Having found that only one of many types of mosquito carried malaria he had to find how it was transferred. By experiments with malaria carrying mosquitoes and birds, he found that the mosquitoes bite the birds and infected them with malaria. More experiments confirmed Ross's theory, that a certain type of mosquito could carry malaria from a diseased person to a healthy person. He also showed how the disease could be controlled by spraying oil on the mosquito's breeding places and so reducing their numbers.

There was spectacular proof of his work in the Panama Canal operations. Only by his methods was the area made safe and the canal built. In 1902 Ronald Ross received the scientist's greatest honour, the Nobel Prize for Medicine. Britain also honoured her famous son, who died in 1952 having taught the world how to conquer its worst scourge, malaria.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Washington and New Delhi Talks

THE failure of the Geneva Conference followed by the breakdown of the Disarmament talks in London were unhappy symptoms of a grave situation that had arisen. Something was needed to keep up the spirit of the nations and Sir Winston Churchill was truly inspired when even as the Geneva Conference was in session, he started the idea of an Anglo-American meeting at the highest level to ensure better understanding and concerted action in the face of growing differences that threatened to mar the chances of co-operative effort in the direction of peace. And Churchill would not rest until the big idea was carried out to its logical conclusion. So the British Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary Mr. Anthony Eden were in Washington in the last week of June making what must evidently be the last gallant effort for peace by the great war veteran of our time.

At the end of their four day discussions—which Churchill with his instinct for the right words on great occasions, called "family talks"—they drafted a statement on "basic principles underlying the policy of our two countries" in which they reaffirmed their intention to set up a South-East Asian Treaty Organisation—but without saying when.

They also stressed their determination that West Germany should become "an equal partner" with other Western nations and said the European Army Treaty—still not ratified by France or Italy—was the best way of achieving this.

The joint statement summed up their conclusions in South-East Asia, Western Europe and Anglo-American co-operation on atomic energy. It said they would "press forward with plans for collective defence" in South-East Asia to meet either success or failure at Geneva and warned the Communists that the world situation would be "seriously aggravated" if France faced unacceptable demands in Indo-China.

About the same time that the British Prime Minister and President Eisenhower were meeting in Washington, Delhi was welcoming the

Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai, for talks with Mr. Nehru on almost identical issues. All over the East the visit was welcomed as an opportunity for India and China to discuss Asian issues, particularly Korea, Indo-China and the question of security in East-Asia. Relations between the two countries are happily governed by the treaty of peace recently signed which is based on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Chinese Prime Minister showed true appreciation of the historic significance of the meeting when he said that the 960 million people of India and China constituted an important factor for world peace and expressed his wish for their closer friendship.

The Delhi Conference then is no less momentous than the Washington meeting and perhaps more so as Asian problems have ultimately to be solved by Asian leaders.

The Nehru-Chou En-lai talks—meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two great Republics of Asia for the first time in Indian soil—may be said to have laid the foundations well and truly for closer and fruitful co-operation, particularly between India and China and generally among South Asian countries.

They did well to underline their views in an impressive list:

"Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence."

Significantly enough they spoke of it as supplementing the efforts both at Geneva and Washington. Their joint statement stated that the situation in Indo-China was of vital importance to the peace of Asia and the world and the Prime Ministers were anxious that the efforts being made at Geneva should succeed.

The Prime Ministers of India and China have suggested that the political settlement in Indo-China should aim at the creation of "free, democratic, unified and independent States which should not be used for aggressive purposes or be subjected to foreign intervention."

The Geneva Conference

The seven weeks drama that was enacted in Geneva ended in failure, as was feared by many and expected by a few. When one thinks of all the hubbub and the trumpeting preceding the session coupled with extravagant hopes and the final collapse of such hopes one almost wishes that the powers had pursued the old diplomacy of secret talks rather than come to grief in the open in such a dismal manner. After the primary session on the 15th June which lasted six hours a senior western delegate bluntly said that the Korean Conference was "all over." That was, of course, what Mr. Eden, British Foreign Minister who presided over the Conference meant, when he merely said diplomatically at the close of the day's session, "I declare these meetings over." Mr. Eden did not formally say that this was the end of the Conference, but it must have been obvious to all delegations that it would never be reconvened.

Mr. Eden expressed the hope that the Korean question could continue to be studied again some time in a more hopeful atmosphere.

The 16 non-Communist States at the conference declared that the Korean problem should be returned to the U. N. Now the decision to return the issue to the United Nations meant that the Political Conference had failed, and the Allied side was now back to where it was in June 1950, when the Korea War began.

Thus, Korea had now been added to Austria and Germany on the list of deadlocked political problems between the West and the Soviet bloc.

Regret and concern over the failure was widely shared by the rest of the world which had looked for better results from such a meeting. But Dr. Syngman Rhee is as intransigent as ever; and South Korea makes no secret of her avowed intentions. For Mr. Pyun Yung Tai, South Korean Foreign Minister, declared that his country no longer felt obliged to abide by the Korean armistice. He told a Press Conference in Geneva that the collapse of the 19-nation Korean talks meant that South Korea was "free to take any action it wants."

It is now for the United Nations to take appropriate actions to see that the situation does not worsen. The responsibility of the

U. N. is now all the greater and it is felt that the knowledge gained during the session at Geneva will be fully utilised in the final endeavour to shape the peace that is still eluding our grasp. Sooner or later the powers will have to recognise that peace in the far East is essentially a matter for the Asians and it is through their agency and their unity it could be fully realised and cannot in the nature of things be imposed by others, however powerful they might be in their own sphere.

If Geneva has done nothing else it should at least have impressed the participating powers of the strength and importance of New China in any settlement of Far Eastern problems. Britain is already favourably impressed. Sino-Indian unity must open the eyes of U. S. to the urgency of yielding to China her rightful place in the comity of nations. It would be surprising if U. S. should continue to be intransigent and shut its eyes to realities. Before long the example of India and Britain can hardly fail to move America to concede to New China her right to a place in the United Nations.

Speakers' Conference

Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha presided over the third conference of presiding officers of 28 State legislatures of India held at Srinagar last month.

The conference recognised the wholesome principle that a degree of independence from the executive is essential for the legislature. The late Vithalbai Patel fought for such freedom and set the standard for his successors. The Speakers even asked for separate secretariats for all legislatures including those of Part C States though they did not press for such secretariats in deference to the Prime Minister's plea for caution on the score of cost.

Fiftysix Speakers and Deputy Speakers of the Assemblies and Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the Councils accompanied by 40 secretaries attended the conference.

In his address, Speaker Mavlankar dealt with some general problems, like the changed nature and volume of legislative work following the change from a police to a welfare State as well as certain specific issues like the question of an Independent Parliamentary Secretariat, unopposed election of Speakers and preparation of a glossary of administrative, legal and constitutional terminologies.

The conference wisely refrained from spending too much time on the problem of how to deal with walk-outs and "scenes" staged by Members. These are exceptional incidents and by no means normal. Instead of framing rules of procedure to meet such exigencies, it would certainly be more sensible to leave it to the good sense of Members to develop healthy conventions and to uphold the Constitution. Similarly, it was a sensible conclusion that the "privilege" of Members conferred no immunity from arrest under the Preventive Detention Act, except that the arrest could not be effected within the precincts of the Legislature. It was also recognised that the convention that the Speaker or Chairman should not be opposed at elections could be justified, only on condition that the Speaker or Chairman should himself abstain from active participation in controversial politics. As has been rightly said "The source of both Legislative and Executive power is effective public opinion; so long as the atmosphere in the country encourages "self-rule" in the sense that each man can be trusted to control himself, there is no danger of serious conflict between the sovereign arms of a single State."

French Settlements in India

The break down of the Paris talks on French Indian settlements has naturally caused deep regret and concern in India. The people of these settlements in particular are worried over the turn of events. Could it be possible that even as the negotiations were going on in Paris the French authorities were busy arranging for a fresh contingent of armed forces for Pondicherry? Whatever it may be there is deep regret that an excellent opportunity by which Indo-French relations could have been put on some strong and friendly foundation as the Indo-British relations have been lost by the French.

It looks as if India may be compelled to take over the "liberated" communes of the French India settlements to prevent any spread of lawlessness in these areas. Only the other day the Prime Minister received a telegram from Mr. Maddime Setty, Mayor of Yanam and member of the French India Representative Assembly, telling him of the liberation of Yanam from French rule and asking the India Government to take over "our territory without any referendum."

The transfer thus effected will only be *de facto* and it is learnt, the *de jure* question will be left to be settled later when the French authorities come to realise the impossibility of holding on to their possessions in India.

It was India's view that the police and judicial departments, which were the essentials of effective authority should be under Indian control.

The French on the other hand, were thinking of handing over to India only a few minor departments as the British Government did in India under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Basically, India wanted the administration in her control, while the French representatives could serve as advisers. But the French were also bargaining for exactly the same position and the break down was, therefore, inevitable.

The French suggestion would have meant India's acquiescence in French colonial rule in India.

In the initial stages, the French agreed to abandon the idea of a referendum and accept instead some form of consultation with the representatives of the people. India was prepared to discuss the question further, provided effective *de facto* authority was transferred to Indian hands.

According to a press correspondent the impression is growing in New Delhi that the French were merely playing for time and that like the other imperialistic Powers, she would try and cling on to her possessions until forced out.

Report on Finance for private Sector

When in October 1953 the Reserve Bank of India took the rather unusual and unprecedented step of authorizing an investigation of the very important problem covered by this Report, it began what we may well hope will be a steady policy of providing bold constructive leadership in promoting large scale national economic development. The committee appointed by the R. B. I. re-composed of representative bankers, with the exception of the chairman Mr. Shroff, who is a director of the Tatas must be regarded as representing the Private sector rather than the banks. The Report is in many ways a remarkable document, singularly free from political bias and extraordinarily frank and objective in its assessment of the numerous problems involved in organizing finance for industry.

The committee stresses the need for a radical reversal of attitudes on the part of all the interests involved. Government must realise the need and cast off its rather unsettling

attitude of distrust of private enterprise and its dangerous vacillation in its fundamental concept of the future organization of the economic structure of society. Banking interests must cast off their rigid conservatism, rationalize their cost structure and co-operate in organising long term finance for industry by the device of a consortium or a syndicate. The public must realise that it is planning, not being planned for and do its bit in all ways to show that it is not a distant, belated beneficiary of the plan but its architect and principal. And private enterprise must exhibit more courage, initiative and vision and not merely think of profits. Greater co-ordination between Governments and the private sector in tapping investible funds, reorganization of the bill-market and more intensive and far-sighted preparation of industrial schemes are among the many important suggestions which this Report makes. The Report is well worth serious study.

Personality Test

The Madras Government, have announced changes in rules in connexion with admissions to Government colleges. The main change pertains to the increase from 50 to 150 of the maximum number of marks to be awarded for the so-called viva voce test, namely extra-curricular activities like sports, N.C.C. activities, social service, and also for general physical condition and endurance, general ability and aptitude.

The other changes are: Admission to be based on a district quota system, and the abolition of preference based on the university education qualification of the parents.

This is a departure from the rules adopted during the regime of C. R. Allotment of seats on communal basis is bad enough. But district-wise distribution of seats is the limit. Commending on this change the *Guardian* which cannot be accused of partiality in such matters, rightly says that it is open to question whether this method of control of admissions is fair.

While candidates for appointments to particular posts might need to have a type of personality an educational institution is meant for the training and development of any and every type of youth in search of knowledge and admission to a course of study is conditioned primarily by the qualifications a student already possesses and secondarily by his physical fitness to undergo the course and take up the profession for which he is studying.

Why then this further hurdle?

The Scheme that was dropped

Within a few weeks of C. R.'s resignation from the office of Chief Minister of Madras, the State Congress Legislature party took the decision to scrape the controversial Educational scheme on which Rajaji had set his heart. It is true indeed that there was not sufficient backing for the reform; but was it ever given a fair trial? Rajaji deplores that his scheme which deserved a better fate has been rejected without sufficient grounds.

My plan was based on the conviction which—was confirmed by educational officers of highest rank and experience—that three hours attendance was quite adequate for the purpose and would leave nothing out of the present elementary school instruction. But the crude arithmetical notion that whole-day schooling would give double the advantage that could be got from a half-day school prevailed, and my scheme has been scrapped.

There is a pleasure in scrapping anything. It is an evolutionary relic. The event was expected, he says caustically.

Yet, I had hoped against hope that time may be taken for passions to cool and misunderstanding to clear up.

But it was not to be. We have a reversion to "elementary education" as it was. I had hoped that within the next five years all our children of school going age in the rural families, whatever be their occupation, would have received real fundamental education and that our expressed aim in this respect would have been achieved even before the time prescribed in the Constitution. It is essential for the future of our country that calmer consideration be given to this, the most important of our problems, the primary education of our masses. Our children must be saved from a system that completely isolates the boys and girls from the life around them and develops lasting aversion to bodily labour.

There will be difficulties to be faced in every new system, but we may not discard all proposals for that reason and stick to a bad system, he says.

Groundless fears of retrenchment, the equally groundless communal apprehensions, the grievous ignorance of professional politicians in the matter of child-psychology, all combined to create an atmosphere wherein no fair trial could be had for a scheme which I prized very high and which had received the approval of many competent friends throughout India who welcomed it and hoped to benefit by the results of the experiment in Madras.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THOMAS HARDY by Douglas Brown, Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras-1. 10sh. 6d.

Hardy's eminence both as a novelist and as a poet has passed the stage of discussion and he is now secure in his place among the immortals of English literature. It is therefore fitting that he should now appear in the company of Chaucer and Donne and Milton in the new series of Longmans, "Men and Books." We have, of course, F. E. Hardy's documented biography in *Early Life and Later Years* and the shorter but no less valuable study of Hardy by Edmond Blunden in the "English Men of Letters" series. These and other competent estimates deal with Hardy mainly as poet or pessimist or philosopher and there are very good reasons for studying Hardy from those standpoints. The author of this volume however holds that there is a clear need to establish another background to Hardy's work, agricultural rather than intellectual and scientific movements of his age. But "Hardy" says Mr. Brown, "is not a philosophical novelist; He disclaimed the pretension." He therefore goes on to suggest that his art takes both its material and vitality from the agricultural, rather than from the philosophical context. This is amply illustrated with copious extracts from Hardy's stories and novels in the chapter on "Novels of Character and Environment" while the chapter on "The Agricultural Theme" shows the climate of opinion which determined the direction of Hardy's aptitudes in early manhood and later years.

Hardy wished to be known mainly as a poet who had also written some novels. His poetry therefore, particularly the group of elegies which crowns his poetic achievement, is treated here as the harvest of his earlier years, discernment and appreciation. There is however no appreciation of Hardy's epic drama "The Dynasts" which though admirable in design and in places magnificent does not impress the writer as a work, meriting special treatment.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SACRED HYMNS by Sri M. Periaswami Pillai—published by Seikizhar Tamilakam, Trichinopoly. Rs. 1-4-0.

This is a collection of devotional songs of the great saints of Tamilnad. Some of the pieces selected are soul stirring. Such are the songs of Thayumanavar and Manickavasagar. The prayers to Lord Sri Muruga perhaps occupy the foremost place and every devout person knowing Tamil should read them and enjoy them. One more note-worthy feature in this little book is the reproduction of songs from Thirupavai and Thiruvembavai which have been so warmly commended by Sankaracharya of Kamakotipeetam.

The author has given the meaning of all difficult words and has given a summary of each verse in easy Tamil for all to follow. This is an excellent anthology for laymen.

INDIA 1954: A reference annual. The Publications Division, Government of India. New Delhi. Rs. 7-8-0.

The need for factual and reliable information compiled from official and other sources and presented objectively can hardly be emphasised. The success of the 1953 edition has naturally encouraged the Publications Division to bring out a similar volume every year; and the 1954 edition marks a definite advance in respect of the vast mass of information gathered under one cover and presented with a view to easy reference. For a Government publication, it is singularly free from the taint of propaganda, for or against. University students and commercial establishments will therefore welcome this well documented and objective presentation of facts on different aspects of contemporary India.

But one cannot see on what basis the publishers approved advertisements unconnected with Government publications in a reference book of this kind. To make such a book a commercial venture will detract from its value, as an authentic and dispassionate work of reference and it will be a wise policy to refrain from publishing such outside advertisements in future editions.

THE QUEST AND THE GOAL by Nolini Kanta Gupta. Publishers: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, and printed at Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, Pondicherry. Price: Paper Rs. 3-8-0; Cloth Rs. 4-8-0.

All these are reprints from various journals. Starting in "Man and the Gods" it ends with a plea for "Light, more light." As Lessy said "The joy and the beauty is in the quest and not reaching the goal. If God held all truth in the right hand and the passionate quest for truth in the left hand, we should turn like Sri Gupta to the left hand and say "Father, Give, Pure truth is for Thee alone."

INSPIRING SPEECHES: Edited and annotated by Dr. C. N. Zutshi and J. J. Sebastian. S. Garg and Co., Delhi.

This is a collection of extracts from select speeches of such well known leaders as Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad, of Sastri and Sarojini, of Bose and Roy, of Gokhale and Gandhi. Specially designed for the use of college students they stress the value of freedom and discipline and inculcate the ideals of citizenship in the rising generation. The speeches selected are varied and interesting and are meant particularly to minister to the mental and spiritual needs of youth. The Editors have done well to provide an introduction and glossary of words with some testing questions on each chapter. Altogether a useful text book for upper class students.

THE AWAKENING by Shanker Ram-Publishers: A. N. Purnah & Co., 6, First Street, Abhiramapuram, Madras-18. June 1954. Printed by Jaya & Co. (Paramount Press), Triplicane, Madras-5. Price Re. 1/-.

Mrs. Partington with her mop decided she would sweep the Atlantic Ocean away when it invaded her front steps. Mr. Shanker Ram gallantly attempts a similar task to wean the warring notions battling in the central blue from dropping the ghastly dew of atomic warfare on the worker and the peasant. One can only say, All admiration for his courage and all success to his efforts while feeling like the old lady about the mountain and the faith as much as of a mustard seed. "I knew the mountain would never have gone".

THE DEVIL AND FAMILY HAPPINESS: By Leo Tolstoy. Translated by April Fitz Lyon. Casement Publications Ltd. 11, Oak Lane, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 6-8-0.

April Fitz Lyon's English versions of Tolstoy's Russian stories have already been noticed in these pages. They are remarkable for their fidelity to the original and their easy, smooth flowing diction.

"The Devil and Family Happiness" which are now printed for the first time in English were the first and last novels of the great Russian writer. Both of them, like many of Tolstoy's novels, are autobiographical, far more intricate and revealing than anything we know of Dickens or Hardy.

"Family Happiness" is the story of a disillusioned approach to marriage told from a woman's point of view—a gift given to few male novelists that of understanding women's feelings better than do women themselves. In this novel Tolstoy shows with delicate irony how marriage can transform the dreams of youth into the grey everyday relationship of habit.

"The Devil" is a shorter novel but more taut and dramatic. It ends with the suicide of the hero, but apparently Tolstoy was not satisfied and there is an alternative version in which Evgeny shoots Liza to death. Both seem appropriate.

This edition is enriched with the translator's notes, very valuable for the student of Tolstoy's life and works—notes which show how close was Tolstoy in his writings to the facts of his own life. An avowed autobiography would hardly be more revealing.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: (A Signet Key Book) By Franklin Escher. The New American Library, New York.

Here is the dramatic story of a great nation in clear and concise terms for the benefit of the lay reader by a writer with an amazing grasp of the complex texture of nation-building. The discovery of the new continent, the settlers' struggle for existence and their subsequent fight for freedom, indeed the whole pageant of the American adventure from its turbulent birth down to the era of Eisenhower is surveyed with a sweeping comprehension that ignores no vital link in that long and exciting history. It is an achievement to have been able to put so much in so few pages.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN KASHMIR by Premnath Bajaj. Kashmir publishing company, 122, Kolla Mubarakpur, New Delhi.

The polemical tone of the book and the total absence of documentation make this book wholly unworthy of the description of a history. Mr. Bajaj is a violent partisan, bitterly critical not merely of the Dogra regime but of practically all principally concerned in Kashmir's recent and unhappy story the National Congress and the Govt. of India. The charges he levels against the Govt. of India rest on no documentary basis. His accounts of the motives, policies and actions of Abdullah, Bakshi and others are no better documented. Mr. Bajaj admires Mr. Jinnah and seems unable to suppress a measure of sympathy with the pro-Pakistani elements in Kashmir. He takes no account of Sir Md. Zafrullah's rejected declaration that Kashmir is required for Pakistan's development, not so much for Kashmir's own. And for a wonder, Mr. Bajaj seems unaware of the growing bitterness with which Indian opinion views the measureless sacrifice of Indian money and lives in return for worthless assurances of friendship and the loosest kind of constitutional integration with India. Mr. Bajaj may be speaking from the bitterness of frustration at the unresolved character of the Kashmir's struggle but one hopes she will realise that India has no interests in Kashmir which conflict with those of Kashmiris themselves and that India will rather quit than stay as an unwelcome associate of any regime not based on free-popular consent.

THE SCIENCE OF EMOTIONS (Fourth Edition, Revised) by Bhagavan Das, M.A. (Calcutta), D. Litt., The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20. Price Rs. 10.

The venerable Bhagvan, in spite of his 85 years in this world, is by no means in the article of death though he has occasionally a dislike to use the article "The". Before the Theosophical Society was started, in his dying words on the 19th of April 1875, Lord Hobart told the students of the Presidency College:

"Education brings with it a sense—a delighting and ennobling sense—of power and freedom. There is another and yet greater advantage. This invitation of the West to the East—this call to intellectual association will prove (as I firmly believe) to have been the knell of every painful feeling that ever marred or impeded their intercourse. Misunderstanding, which is another name for ignorance, lies at the root of every kind and degree of national antipathy. Reli-

gious animosity, which is another name for unreasoning folly, cannot breathe in the pure atmosphere of mental advancement. The prejudice which could resist both time and civilisation melts away before the sympathy of thought. Men learn, that the mere accident of race or faith can never affect either the motive or the obligation of mutual friendliness and respect, and that whether born in England or in India, and whatever may be the creeds and dogmas which have kept them so long and so lamentably asunder, their duty and interest for the present, and their hope for the future, is in reality the same."

Bhagavan Das, who first wrote this book in 1900, in his latest preface concludes

"With a final request to readers, not to cast aside, too hurriedly, this book's effort to bring East and West, ancient and modern, nearer to each other, in 'good understanding' and co-operation, instead of 'mis understanding' and conflict, and thereby to promote Peace on Earth through Goodwill among men."

His truest words are at page 301, as he says "Malice is created by Oppression and Insolence, and by reaction creates greater Contempt and Oppression, till the whole situation ends in disaster." If the world is to be saved from the great disaster of another world war, the Oppression and Insolence which are latent in both the American Atom bomb Psychology and the Communist World Revolutionary Psychology have to be transformed by studies like this "Science of Emotions" from saintly men of goodwill.

FAMOUS TALES OF IND by A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyer M.A., I.C.S., V. Ramasami Sastrulu and Sons, G. T. Madras.

Mr. A. S. P. Ayyer happily continues the fine old tradition of Servicemen interested in literary and historical pursuits. Here in this fine collection we have some of the great stories of Sanskrit and Tamil classics rendered into easy-reading English. Stories from our epics and puranas are familiar enough to Indian readers but to foreigners interested in our lore Mr. Ayyer's version of such classic tales and dramas like Sakunthala and Kovalan must be vastly entertaining. For them if must prove a veritable treasure-trove to have in one compact volume such celebrated stories as those of Nala and Damayanti, of Savitri, and Satyavan, of Harischandra, the apostle of truth and Mahaveera the apostle of non-violence and the beautiful story of Manimekalai who ultimately becomes a Buddhist ascetic.

Mr. Ayyer's knack of story telling finds fitting expression in these twice told tales to which he brings his gifts of scholarship and natural aptitude.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- June 1 Andhra Assembly passes Sri Venkateswara University Bill.
- June 2 Delhi lodges protest against acts of violence and goondaism in French India.
- June 3 Thailand's request for U.N. observer team to watch its borders with Indo-China voted in Security Council.
- June 4 Shroff Committee Report published. —Break down of Paris talks on Indo-French settlement.
- June 5 Nehru's directive to P. C. Cs. Staff talks in Washington respecting defence of S. E. Asia.
- June 6 United Front Party meeting banned; members prevented from contacting Huq.
- June 7 Karachi-Dacca non-stop air link started.
- June 8 Rajasthan Assembly passes bill for abolition of jagirs. —Guatemala suspends constitution as sequel to communist threat.
- June 9 Prohibition Enquiry body set up in Delhi. —Andhra High Court to function from July five.
- June 10 Agreement signed by India—U. S. Technical Mission for operating three training centres. —Australian Foreign Minister R. G. Casey meets Mr. Nehru for discussion on S. E. Asia.
- June 11 Governor of Madhyapradesh Dr. Pattabhi's term extended. —Motion to censor Ceylon Government fails.
- June 12 Joseph Laniel tenders resignation after he had lost vote of confidence in French Assembly. —Eden meets Molotov to discuss dead-lock in Geneva talks.
- June 13 Yanam throws off French yoke. —Eden calls for suspension of Far East talks owing to French debacle.
- June 14 Dr. Malan, South African Prime Minister loses on coloured voters bill. —Churchill invested with the insignia of knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.
- June 15 Speaker's conference meets at Sri-nagar. —Handcrafts Board meets at Ranchi. —Lord Comrose of the *Daily Telegraph* dead.
- June 16 Failure of the 19 Nation Geneva Conference reported. —Small contingent of French troops (reported to be police force) lands at Pondicherry.
- June 17 Mendes—France elected new French Premier. —Draft proposals of Constitution of China published.
- June 18 French Aircraft carrying arms held up at Dum Dum check up.
- June 19 Anti—Reds invade and occupy a third of Guatemala in the central American.
- June 20 U. N. Mission visiting Delhi praises Community Project in India.
- June 21 Agreement reached on truce lines in Viet-Nam. —Chou—En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister as intermediary, meets opposing sides in Indo-China.
- June 22 Guatemala appeals to U. N. for immediate cease fire.
- June 28 Chief Minister Kamaraj files nomination for Gudiyatham by-election. —Six killed in plane crash near Calcutta.
- June 24 Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit President, U. N. Assembly, welcomed in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, capital. —India Government sends note to Colombo re Stateless persons.
- June 25 Chou En-lai, Chinese Premier in New Delhi for talks with Nehru. —Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden in Washington for talks with Eisenhower and Dulles.
- June 26 Rebels bomb capital of Guatemala. —Pakistan rejects World Bank decision on Indus-water dispute.
- June 27 Local Self-Govt. Ministers Conference concludes at Simla. —Chinese Premier before leaving Delhi, addresses Press conference.
- June 28 Joint Communiqué issued by Prime Ministers of India and China. —End of Washington talks.
- June 29 President Arbenz of Guatemala resigns and hands over charge to C. in C. Diaz.
- June 30 Army Chief Diaz arrested by new military Junta.

READERS' DIGEST

THE TRUTH ABOUT INDIAN POLICY

Is there any truth in the American charge that India is "playing the Communists' game?" Werner Levi, well known author and Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, in an article in *World* analyses Nehru's foreign policy and shows how it is dictated solely by the purpose of maintaining peace in South East Asia. Below we give a few excerpts from the article:

India's millions make her the second largest country in the world and by far the most important of the new Asian states freed from colonial rule after World War II. Here is one of the world's oldest and most creative cultures. As a great power, albeit still in the making, India already claims the right to make her own judgments and decisions in world affairs. Indians guard this right all the more jealously since, as a newly independent state, India has not had her position in the world confirmed by history; it must be established in the years to come amid intense competition.

Indians, therefore, have their own ideas about their country's deeds, its special role in South Asia, its relations with other states.

These ideas do not necessarily dovetail with those of the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other country to which India is after all of only secondary importance. India's attachment to one of the two camps in the cold war would pre-determine her course of action regardless of her special interests in any given situation. Consequently, Indians feel that only an independent policy can satisfy their requirements as a great power. Besides, as Nehru once pointed out, neither America's nor Russia's foreign policy has been so spectacularly successful that everybody should wish to follow it.

In charting their own independent course, Indians have a number of motives. Above all, they hope to keep their country out of war.

In their opinion, the delicate but stable balancing of forces in South Asia has created an "area of peace" from which all disturbing outside influences must be banned—after the fashion of the Monroe Doctrine. The effect of such an area, they hope, will be to maintain peace not only in South Asia, but in the world.

Another imponderable but none the less real motive behind the independent policy is the desire among many Indians to make their country a leading nation in Asia.

This ambition, rooted in a desire for power and prestige is often disclaimed for the diplomatic record. But it has been conspicuous in the statements of prominent Indians for the past seventy years.

This hankering for leadership is strengthened by an awareness of necessity for it if an independent policy is to be realized.

Were India surrounded by states involved in the cold war, her independence would quickly become not so splendid isolation. To avoid this, India must show her neighbours that an independent policy is both possible and desirable. More-over, unless India can keep them on the same path, there can be no "area of peace." Hence Nehru's appeal, occasionally backed by pressure, to all neighbouring countries, all countries of Asia, to share India's attitude.

The reasoning behind India's independent policy shows Nehru to be neither "dreamer" nor "idealist," but a calculating statesman.

His calculations may turn out to be right or wrong, but they are based on India's interests in the world of power politics as seen from New Delhi. From what perspective careful manoeuvring between the great powers still seems to be the most desirable course both for India's security and for pointing an alternative road to peace. What looks like veering from one side to the other merely shows the determined independence of the helmsman. Guided by Indian interests, India is not siding with one or the other power as issues arise, but simply taking her own stand, which may happen to coincide with the stand of another power.

In opposing the American arms plan for Pakistan, Nehru said that military aid from the West to a country of the East reminded him of "the history of the last three or four hundred years, the history of colonial domination gradually creeping in here and establishing itself."

To him and to other Asians, the importation of Western arms into Asia is a "reversal of the process of liberation." The trauma suffered during the colonial period predisposes Indians to discover imperialism in all Western actions. It is always up to the Western powers to prove their innocence.

£500 PAY RISE FOR M.Ps.

Members of the British House of Commons have voted to give themselves a 50 per cent pay increase, making their salaries £1,500 (Rs. 20,000) a year. The vote was 280 to 166. The House rejected by 276 votes to 205 a proposal for an alternative £500 (Rs. 1,670) a year expense allowance favoured by many Conservatives, and the Government.

Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, allowed his Party a "free vote," so that Conservatives could vote as they pleased on such a personal issue. The motion for the increase by £500 stood in the names of seven Conservatives and six Socialists.

INDIA: A PATTERN FOR DEMOCRACY

The U. S. State Department has published a pamphlet entitled "India: a pattern for democracy in Asia". The publication, which is for circulation in the United States, is primarily intended to educate the American people about "the greatest democracy of the world".

The pamphlet, briefly covers various aspects of Indian life, political, social and economic, India's foreign policy, the Five-Year Plan and U. S. assistance to India.

It begins with a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and to the greatness of his spiritual leadership and says:

The universality of Gandhi is only one link in the ties between India and the United States. We have a longstanding interest in the Indian people which today is being given practical form by various programmes our Government is carrying out in that country.

It refers to the holding of the last general elections in India, in which over a hundred million people participated, as passing a "political mile-stone" and says:

The people of India are intent on making democracy work. We can give them important help. If we assist the Indian people to make a success of their efforts, they will add much to the strength of that freedom on which we all depend for survival. If democracy succeeds in India, all of South Asia is buttressed; if it fails, the outlook in Asia will be very bleak indeed.

On Nehru's leadership, the publication records:

Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi's political heir, has been India's Prime Minister since India achieved its independence. Nehru has been a guiding force in the nationalist movement for over 30 years, a number of which he spent in prison for his activities in the drive for independence. Although there are many religious and many political parties in India, most Indians agree that, of all their leaders, Nehru most nearly expresses the aspirations of the majority of the Indian people.

On the Five-Year-Plan, it says that the Plan is in no sense considered a cure-all.

It is scaled to moderate goals that can reasonably be attained with some outside assistance.

The pamphlet notes that next to Japan, India is the most industrialised Asian country and ranks eighth in the world.

Dealing with India's foreign policy, it says:

The basic foreign policy objectives of India are similar to those of other free nations. India believes in opportunity, freedom, and justice for all people. On most of the fundamental issues in the United Nations, India has clearly indicated its preference for the methods of the free world. At the same time, India believes in a policy of "nonalignment," as a means through which it can best serve the interests of world peace. This means that India does not wish to join either of what it calls "two competing power blocs."

India seeks to maintain friendly relations with all countries and to judge each issue that arises with an independent mind.

"One reason for the differences which occasionally arise between India and the free Western nations" the pamphlet says,

is the Indians' deep-seated suspicion of anything they interpret as colonial imperialism. The memory of colonial exploitation understandably dies hard in Asia. Many Indians feel it is up to the West to prove that it sincerely desires to meet Asia on a basis of understanding friendship and equality. The fact that no strings were attached to the U. S. grain loan or the Technical Co-operation Programmes, which began in 1950-51, helped to lessen Indian fears in this direction.

It pays a tribute to the many efforts made by India in the United Nations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict.

The pamphlet makes a passing reference to Kashmir and says:

Although Kashmir's Maharaja acceded to India, Prime Minister Nehru announced that the fate of this state would ultimately be determined by a vote of the people by themselves. The question of the arrangement for a plebiscite is still before the U. N. Security Council.

TEACHING ENGLISH

The natural reaction against the dominance of English under the British rule in India has now driven us to the other extreme of discounting its value in the life of Free India. Every one knows in his heart what we owe to the tongue that Shakespeare spoke. Milton and Burke have not been studied in vain in this country. We therefore welcome this new quarterly devoted to the study of the problems of teaching English to Indian students. Sponsored by the British Council and published by Orient Longmans, Madras and Bombay, this new magazine offers valuable information on the recent developments in other countries in the field of foreign language teaching. It also affords a forum for the free exchange of views.

U. S. ECONOMIC AID TO INDIA

Mr. George Allen, U. S. Ambassador, has quoted Mr. Nehru as telling him that India would welcome foreign economic assistance "within reason".

In his last conversation with Mr. Nehru before he went to Washington to testify in support of the U. S. Administration's proposal for \$104 million as aid to India in 1954-55, Mr. Allen bluntly asked the Prime Minister whether he desired continuance of American aid.

"I am going back to Washington," the U. S. envoy told Mr. Nehru, "on the assumption that the Government of India will continue to welcome American economic assistance. If there is likely to be any change in that point of view, I would be very happy to know of it before I go back to Washington."

According to Mr. Allen, the Prime Minister said he welcomed foreign economic assistance within reason.

Asked what he meant by "within reason" Mr. Nehru said he did not want to be so dependent on aid from any foreign country that India ran any risk of getting into the habit of living on foreign aid.

He said India wanted to be self-reliant, to stand on its own feet, and while he recognised that all underdeveloped countries have developed from capital accumulated outside their own borders, India would like to be self-sustaining and self-supporting just as soon as possible.

Mr. Nehru said he did not want so much foreign aid that Indians might get drugged by it.

These remarks by Mr. Nehru were quoted by the U. S. Ambassador in an interview published in the *U. S. News and World Report* dated June 11. The interview is featured on the front page under the title "The Puzzle of India," and occupies full seven pages.

Mr. Allen's interview is interesting for the disclosure, for the first time, of his "top-secret" talks with Mr. Nehru for permission to fly American globemasters over India.

Answering the question why Mr. Nehru was frequently critical of the U. S. but not of Moscow, though Russia exploded a hydrogen bomb "probably nearer to India than we did" Mr. Allen says:

I am not going to be put in the position here of defending Nehru. He will have to do that himself. But his statement on atomic explosions was addressed to everybody. He called for a moratorium on all explosions of atomic bombs.

Nehru has been critical of the Viet Minh recently. When I went to him to ask for permission to let our planes fly over India to Indo-China. I reminded him that on Feb. 22 of this year he had made an important speech in the Indian Parliament in which he called for a cease-fire in Indo-China before the Geneva Conference to create a favourable atmosphere for the conference.

Two weeks after he made that appeal, the Viet Minh launched their terrific attack at Dien Bien Phu throwing in manpower regardless of casualties, obviously for a political victory. It was the Communists who had stepped up the fighting, directly in the face of his appeal for relaxation. We were merely trying to help stabilize the situation.

He answered that he saw my point and appreciated my reasoning. But that for six years the Government of India had consistently refused to allow any combat troops or material of war to be sent across India and he could not make any exceptions, regardless of who requested it. India first established the policy when the Dutch requested permission to send some troops to Indonesia. The Policy had been enforced consistently, against the British who were fighting in Malaya and against the French in Indo-China. He had made public pronouncements that he would not change his policy without the concurrence of Parliament.

DEPART AND CONQUER

The best chance for France to preserve its influence in Indo-China would be to depart and return later as a friend, observes Henry Branden in the *Reporter* commenting on the truce talks in Indo-China. "In India, even six years after Britain's exit, there is still a residue of anti-British emotionalism. Just as it was painful, for instance, for the British Labour Party to forget some of its most cherished slogans after it came to power in 1945, so it is still difficult for some Indian politicians to forget the anti-British slogans that were their staple diet for many years. But most Americans I met in India were surprised at how far Britain's stock had risen in such a short time.

It is, of course, impossible for the French to leave Indo-China now. The political impact of newly acquired independence, especially in Vietnam, where it is most important, will therefore remain muffled by the inevitable and continued presence of French troops while the war drags on. When strongly anti-Vietminh Catholic students from Hanoi University asked me, with an undertone of doubt, whether I really believed that the French were sincere in their offer of independence, I realized how much depended on whether the Vietnamese who had joined Ho Chi Minh's forces to fight for independence knew that they had already won that battle."

"LIVE WITH THE CHANGE"

On the question of segregation in Southern public schools, Editor Ralph McGill of the influential *Atlanta Constitution* (circ. 173,591) has long steered an enlightened but discreet course says *Time*, the American News Magazine. But in his daily column, McGill spoke bluntly. "What the various Southern state legislatures are doing," said he, "as they busy themselves with plans to carry on school segregation without legal compulsion, is admitting [that] segregation by law is finished . . . It, therefore, seems important that we discuss the problem as rationally as possible."

There are those who insist that segregation protects the 'Integrity' of both races. There are others who believe, with deep sincerity, [that] Negroes are 'better off' under it. Conceivably this might be argued with some logic. It does not matter. The world, in the throes of a social revolution which began with the coming of the industrial revolution, and which was tremendously accelerated by two great world wars, has moved on. Segregation by law no longer fits today's world.

As a matter of fact, segregation has been on its way out for a good long time.

... Two great forces have been at work on . . . the problem of race. One is secular, the other religious. The Christian of today cannot help but wince at the full implications, and the jarring clash of his creed, with discrimination against any person because of colour. To send missionaries to colored peoples and then to argue that because of the color of skin the two may not . . . worship the same God together is an impossible contradiction.

"It is this very fact which causes our Communist enemies to be able to present us in a bad light before the Oriental and Asiatic peoples. They can say . . . that our claims to Christian brotherhood and democracy are hypocritically untrue. Christianity cannot well afford to be on the wrong side of a moral force."

"The other influence is secular. Segregation implies inferiority. . . .

Across two great wars now we, along with other free peoples, have preached the rights of men everywhere to be free and equal—we have encouraged long-oppressed peoples to rise. They have done so, and to date the Communists, with great shrewdness, have exploited successfully many of these nationalistic revolutions.

"An end to segregation—when it comes—will not, of course, force people to associate socially . . . But it will bring on change . . . Segregation is on its way out, and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change."

INDIA'S FIVE YEAR PLAN

India is an object lesson in what technical co-operation, given in adequate amount and matched by adequate national sacrifice, can do, says the New Delhi correspondent of "*The New York Times*," in a special dispatch to his paper. This influential American daily has given pride of place to this country's development efforts in a two-page country-by-country survey of U. S. governmental and U.N. international programmes of technical co-operation and assistance in 79 lands.

Writing just at the time when the continuance of American aid to this country has become the subject of political second thoughts in U.S. Congressional circles, *The New York Times* records that it is the consensus of foreign experts here in the Indian capital that this country furnishes

"an outstanding example of the use that can be made of indigenous talent in employing foreign technical aid to the utmost."

Touching briefly on the increases in productive capacities and output levels achieved in agriculture, industry and transport in the first three years of the National Plan, the survey makes this significant observation:

"It is considered a compliment to the planners—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is the active Chairman of the National Planning Commission—that no project has yet had to be marked down as a failure."

This country has been allotted \$ 189 million (Rs. 94 crores) of U.S. technical co-operation funds in the last three years, including \$23 million (Rs 11.5 crores) for salaries of American staff and expenditures by the American administration. The United Nations agencies have contributed another \$6.5 million (Rs. 3 crores) in the last two years. These amounts bring Indian receipts to the biggest individual share of foreign technical assistance from all sources.

"Yes," the survey points out, the total of foreign aid is minuscule compared with the outlay of the Indians themselves. This is programmed at \$4,488 million (Rs 2,244 crores) for the five-year period."

Concluding this appreciative account of this country's willingness "to make extraordinary sacrifices for economic and social development," *The New York Times* notes that,

"the impression grows from Indian experience that the basic factor determining the permanent effect of technical co-operation efforts is the sense of direction and degree of drive contributed by the recipient country."

PAKISTAN RIOTS IN EAST

There has been a chain of disturbances in East Pakistan. The rioting in Karanful Paper Mills, the trouble between the jail warders and the public at Dacca and recently the rioting at Narayanganji resulting in the death of over three hundred people—all point to the existence of certain factors which are causing these troubles. What are those factors? What is the root cause of these disturbances? "Peregrinus" writing in *Hindustan Times* says:

The United Front victory in the last elections, the complete rout of the Muslim League, the disturbances of Karanful, then at Decca and now at Narayanganji are all events of the same pattern: There is a lot of talk of such riots retarding the industrial development of the province. But industrial advance in East Bengal has been taking place on lines not entirely welcome to the people of the province. The capital and, consequently, the management of such enterprises are in the hands of West Pakistanis while most of the supervising staff consists of non-Bengalis who have come from India. The relations between this immigrant labour and the local workers have never been satisfactory and, coming on the top of other grievances they have flared up in the riots between the Bengali and non-Bengali element in the working class population—a fact to which Mr. Fazlul Huq has referred in his broadcast speech.

From the time of Partition, East Bengal has had the feeling of being the neglected, not to say exploited, province of Pakistan.

The administrators were all West Pakistanis who could scarcely hide their contempt for the Bengali Muslim. The whole weight of the non-devaluation decision fell on East Bengal which lost its biggest market for jute. The visa system dealt a mortal blow to all border trade. Essentials of life became so costly that at one time salt was selling at Rs per seer. The language controversy added a new bitterness to the already full cup of East Bengal's misery. And lastly, came the refusal to give her due share in the Constitution as the province having a majority of the population of Pakistan. No wonder the accumulated feeling has burst all bounds and erupted into attacks on the non-Bengali immigrant population.

900 MILES IN 11 HOURS

A carrier pigeon owned by a Tokyo resident has established a new post-war record flying about 900 miles between Tokyo and Nanae in Hokkaido, in 11 hours.

The pigeon was participating in a race organised by the Japan Pigeon Race Association.

Carrier pigeons are still occasionally used in Japan to fly messages from one place to another. Almost all the big newspapers in Tokyo own carrier pigeons and use them in an emergency.

"HANDS OFF ASIA"

A suggestion that Ceylon should consult other South Asian countries on the desirability of issuing immediately a preliminary "hands off Asia" warning to United States was made by the influential evening newspaper *Times of Ceylon*.

Editorially commenting on the Dulles-Eden proposal for a South-East Asian Defence Organisation vis-a-vis the forthcoming Asian Prime Ministers meet, the paper wrote:

With Dulles apparently determined to set in motion an Indian Ocean NATO without even bothering to consult free Asia and with the threat of active United States intervention in Indo-China, we suggest that Sir John Kotelawala should forthwith consult his conference colleagues about the desirability of issuing immediately a preliminary 'Hands off Asia' warning to the State Department.

America whose global strategy depends on the maintenance of outposts against Russia as far away as possible from the American soil has for a long time now been pumping into Indo-China billions of dollars to drop up decadent French colonialism. And now with the Bao Dai threatening to go the same way as Chiang Kai shek for similar reasons, American strategy is determined, it seems, to liberate Indo-China from Communism.

Free Asia, the paper added, refused to be exploited from the strategy of fear that motivated both Washington, and Moscow and to some extent now London.

Free Asia was sentimental about having peace in which to defeat her worst enemies, hunger and disease and illiteracy. She was also sentimental about the design of living which did not involve her in either the cold or the hot war.

"RICE DIET" AS TREATMENT

A report on 2,000 cases of high blood pressure, heart disease and kidney trouble studied over a 10-year period indicates that the so-called "rice diet" is the soundest treatment for high blood pressure that has yet been introduced. This has just been reported by Dr. Walter Kempner of Duke University's School of Medicine, who originated the rice diet in 1944.

The course of high blood pressure and related diseases "can be changed by substituting for the various foods commonly eaten a diet of rice, fruit and sugar," Dr. Kampner reports. "Intensive dietary treatment should be started when the disease is still at an early stage."

BODY AND MIND

The interrelation between body and mind is not a new discovery says, a writer in *Times Literary Supplement*. The great Sir William Osler in the last century pointed out that the fate of tuberculous patients depends more on what goes on in their heads than what goes on in their chests; and nearly 3,000 years ago Hippocrates cured a royal patient's disorder by analysing a dream for him. Ordinary people have always been aware of this interrelation, and express their awareness in various ways. "Dying of a broken heart" is only the most extreme example, and, as those who have lived among primitive people know, no mere figure of speech; indeed, "sick with fear", "unable to eat for suspense", "pale with fury", and all other such expressions, though they may often be used metaphorically, are far from being merely metaphors.

What it comes to is that popular lore and the obscure faith underlying it, is quite likely to have a truer appreciation of some of the mysteries of health and sickness than the perfunctory rationality of many an average doctor or nurse, trained to think in textbook categories.

CULTIVATION OF RICE

The All-India Final Estimate of rice for 1953-54 puts the current year's acreage and production at 76.6 million acres and 27.1 million tons, as against 74.2 million acres and 22.5 million tons in the partially revised estimate for 1952-53, according to the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food and agriculture. The estimate thus shows an increase of 2.4 million acres or 3.3 per cent in area and 4.6 million tons or 20.4 per cent in production over 1952-1953.

WORLD LANGUAGES

UNESCO'S monthly publication, *The Courier*, reports that some 3,000 languages are spoken throughout the world. Of the 13 major languages, Chinese (including all its dialects) tops the list, followed by English, Hindi-Urdu, Russian, Spanish, German, Japanese and French. English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese are the official U.N. languages.

NEW OPTICAL EFFECT

A "so far unnoticed" optical effect which is mainly responsible for the silvery white lustre of natural and cultured pearls has been discovered by Dr. C. V. Raman, Nobel prize-winner and his co-worker, Mr. D. Krishnamurthi.

Investigations made at the Raman Research Institute, Bangalore, by the two scientists indicate that it is this phenomenon which plays the leading role in making pearls lovely objects.

Explaining the new phenomenon, the scientists say that it is a chromatic diffusion halo which appears round the well-defined optical image of a distant light source formed by reflection at the surface of the pearl. The colour of the halo in its brightest parts is complementary to the colour of the reflected image. In the most perfect specimen the halo consists of two diffused circular arcs encasing the reflected image on either side.

With an extended light source, such as an open window, the reflected image and the diffusion (halo) overlap, thereby resulting in the illusion that the pearl is itself a lustrous and silvery white object. Had the diffusion halo been not present, pearls would be no more beautiful than polished steel spheres, the scientists say.

The diffusion halo and its colours arise from the fact that each of the thousands of overlapping spherical layers constituting the pearl is itself composed of millions of crystallites of aragonite imbedded in a network of conchyo-lin. These individual crystallites diffract the incident light waves, thereby giving rise to the observed optical phenomenon.

SYNTHETIC RICE IN JAPAN

A synthetic rice, composed of various combinations of wheat flour, potato starch, and natural rice in powdered form, is being produced in Japan on a small commercial scale, according to the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The synthetic rice is an "extender", to be mixed with real rice in cooking and not to be eaten alone, the department reports. If the price can be reduced and if consumers accept the new product, the department notes some shifts may take place in Japan's food imports. Imports of wheat may increase and imports of barley and rice may decrease.

CONSTITUTION OF CHINA

China is our neighbour, but so important an item as the publication of the draft constitution of the new Republic has to be cabled to India from London. According to a Chinese News Agency the document running to more than 20,000 words contains 106 articles and defines the future path to Socialism.

A preamble to the Constitution defines the tasks of the transition period. It says:

"From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of Socialist society is a period of transition

"The central task of the State during the transition period is to bring about step by step the socialist industrialisation of the country and to accomplish step by step the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and capitalist system."

The preamble underlines China's "indestuctible friendship" with the U. S. S. R. and the people's democracies and says:

"The friendship between our people and peace loving people throughout the world is growing day by day."

The preamble adds:

"China's policy of establishing and developing diplomatic relations with all countries based on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for the sovereignty of territories has achieved results and will continue to be carried out.

"In international affairs our firm and consistent policy is to work for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity."

The draft of the Constitution defines the present political system in China as "a people's democratic dictatorship". It aims peacefully to

"wipe out exploitation and poverty and to build a prosperous and happy Socialist society."

Elsewhere, the Constitution is referred to as "a people's democratic State led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

Article three of the draft Constitution defines the Chinese People's Republic as "a unified multi-national State" and adds:

"All the nationalities are equal. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality and actions which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited.

"All nationalities are free to develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs, habits and religious beliefs.

"Regional autonomy applies in areas where people of the national minorities live in numbers. All the areas of national autonomy are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China."

The document sets out the conditions under which Capitalism would be allowed to operate in the transition period before the establishment of a full Socialist society which owns all the means of production

It says that present ownership of the means of production falls into the following categories: "State ownership, that is ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownership, ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership."

Article 10 of the draft Constitution declares that the State protects the ownership of means of production and other property by capitalists.

"The policy of the State towards capitalist industry and commerce is to use, restrict and transform.

"Through control by State administrative organs, leadership by the State-owned economy and supervision by the workers' the State uses the positive qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood, restricts the negative qualities of capitalist industries and commerce which are not beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood"

This paragraph adds that the State

"encourages and guides the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of State capitalist economy thus replacing step by step capitalist ownership by ownership of the whole people."

Finally the State

"forbids capitalist to endanger the public interest, disturb the social economy or undermine the national economic plan by any kind of illegal activity."

Article 16 says that work is "a matter of honour for every citizen of the People's Republic of China who is able to work"

The draft declares that citizens have "the right to work" and the "right to rest".

It says they have freedom of religion and belief and adds that they also have

"freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration."

Article 19 of the draft Constitution says that the People's Republic of China

"safeguards the people's democratic system, protects the security and rights of its citizens, suppresses all kinds of treasonable and counter-revolutionary activity and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries."

This article adds:

"The State in accordance with the law deprives feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists of political rights for a specified period. At the same time it provides them with a way to live in order to enable them to reform themselves by work into citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour".

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

COLOURED VOTERS BILL

South African Prime Minister Malan failed by nine votes on June 14 to get the necessary two-thirds majority of both Houses to amend the Constitution and provide separate representation of coloured voters in Parliament.

The United Party, the Labour Party and native representatives opposed the measure. The only support for Dr. Malan came from the break-away section of the United Party consisting of six members.

At the joint sitting of the Senate and Assembly Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, Leader of the Opposition, described Malan's proposals as "blatant and unashamed."

Mr. Strauss declared that the United Party, of which he was the leader, was totally opposed to the Bill.

It was not in the interests of the whites or coloureds that the coloured People should be given separate representation in the Union Parliament, he said.

Ceylon

CEYLONISATION OF EMPLOYMENT

The Ceylon Government are now finalising plans for Ceylonisation of employment in Colombo's mercantile firms.

The Commerce Minister, Mr. R. G. Senanayake, member of the Cabinet sub-committee considering measures to implement the Indo-Ceylon Pact, said that the sub-committee was now working out basic principles on which the Ceylonisation drive should be inaugurated. "A beginning has to be made somewhere," he said.

According to the principles governing Ceylonisation of employment, the policy will be to give first preference to Ceylonese nationals for employment in all mercantile establishments and second preference to Indian passport-holders. The employment of Stateless persons will be discouraged.

The acting Labour Minister, Mr. T. F. Jayawardane, said Ceylonisation of employment in Colombo would begin immediately, as there could be no set-back to the economy of the island by the change over from Indian to Ceylonese labour.

STATELESS PERSONS

Mr. C. C. Desai, Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon returning to Colombo from Delhi, said that the only solution of the Indo-Ceylon problem "is for the Ceylon Government to face facts and accept 'stateless' persons as Ceylon citizens."

Mr. Desai said he had explained the proposed legislation to implement the Indo-Ceylon pact to Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India. The Indian attitude, he added, remained unchanged. Only voluntary applications for registration as Indian Nationals will be recognised by the Government of India. "Any person who applies for Indian citizenship under coercion of non-employment or withdrawal of registration books will not be registered as Indian nationals," he said.

VISAS FOR TRAVEL TO CEYLON

The Government of Ceylon have withdrawn the Authority granted by them to certain State Governments in India to issue visas on their behalf for travel from India to Ceylon.

In future visas for travel to Ceylon will be issued only by Ceylon's consular representatives at Delhi and Madras. Hitherto persons travelling to Ceylon from any State other than Delhi or Madras were able to obtain visas from the Home Departments of their respective State Governments who were authorised to issue such visas by Ceylon.

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

Indians in Malaya, about 610,000 in number, constituting about nine per cent of the total population, and 90 per cent of whom were agricultural and plantation labourers, were a sadly disunited community to day. At a time when Malaya was on the threshold of democracy and the utmost unity was of paramount necessity, "it is a sorry spectacle that the Malayan Indians have not found it possible and necessary to stand united," observed Mr. R. Ramani, a prominent Indian leader of Malaya, addressing a public meeting in Madras. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Chief Minister, Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, presided.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

—X—

THE JOINT STATEMENT ON DELHI TALKS

A joint statement on the talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai was issued on July 28. The statement said:

His Excellency Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, came to Delhi at the invitation of his Excellency Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of India. He stayed here for three days. During this period, the two Prime Ministers discussed many matters of common concern to India and China. In particular, they discussed the prospects of peace in South-East Asia and the developments that had taken place in the Geneva Conference in regard to Indo-China.

The situation in Indo-China was of vital importance to the peace of Asia and the world and the Prime Ministers were anxious that the efforts that were being made at Geneva should succeed.

They noted with satisfaction that some progress had been made in the talks at Geneva in regard to an armistice. They earnestly hoped that these efforts will meet with success in the near future and that they would result in a political settlement of the problems of that area.

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

The talks between the Prime Ministers aimed at helping in such ways as were possible, the efforts at peaceful settlement that were being made in Geneva and elsewhere. Their main purpose was to arrive at a clearer understanding of each other's point of view in order to help in the maintenance of peace, both in co-operation with each other and with other countries.

Recently, India and China have come to an agreement. They have laid down certain principles which should guide the relations between the two countries. These principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relation with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

If these principles are applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist to-day would give place to a feeling of confidence.

The Prime Ministers recognised that different social and political systems exist in various parts of Asia and the world. If, however, the above mentioned principles are accepted and acted upon and there is no interference by any one country with another these differences should not come in the way of peace or create conflicts.

ENSURING FRIENDLY RELATIONS

With the assurance of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country and of non-aggression, there would be peaceful co-existence and friendly relations between the countries concerned. This would lessen the tensions that exist in the world to-day and help in creating a climate of peace.

In particular, the Prime ministers hoped that these principles would be applied to the solution of the problems in Indo-China where the political settlement should aim at the creation of free, democratic, unified and independent States, which should not be used for aggressive purposes or be subjected to foreign intervention. This will lead to a growth of self-confidence in these countries as well as to friendly relations between them and their neighbours.

The adoption of the principles referred to above will also help in creating an area of peace which, as circumstances permit, can be enlarged, thus lessening the chances of war and strengthening the cause of peace all over the world.

The Prime Ministers expressed their confidence in the friendship between India and China which would help the cause of world peace and the peaceful development of their respective countries as well as other countries of Asia.

These conversations were held with a view to help in bringing about a greater understanding of the problems of Asia and to further a peaceful and co-operative effort, in common with other countries of the world, in solving these and like problems.

The Prime Ministers agreed that their respective countries should maintain close contacts so that there should continue to be full understanding between them. They appreciated greatly the present opportunity of meeting together and having a full exchange of ideas leading to a clearer understanding and co-operation in the cause of peace.

NEHRU AND CHOU ON SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

At the State Banquet in New Delhi held in honour of the Chinese Prime Minister on June 26, Mr. Jawaharlal Neru spoke in Hindi and Mr. Chou En-lai in Chinese. The Prime Minister Mr. Nehru said :

"Both China and India have their particular and individual backgrounds. Each has her own special cultural inheritance. In many ways they are different, they have grown according to their own genius. Yet we have been good neighbours and friends and have never come into conflict with each other during this millennia of history."

"This is the witness of the past and as we stand on the fine edge of the present in this turbulent world of ours, we can learn a lesson from that past, which will help us in the present and in the future. Both our countries have recently succeeded in achieving freedom and the opportunity to work out our destiny according to our will. We achieved our freedom under different circumstances and by different methods. Our great leader and master Mahatma Gandhi led us by peaceful methods through travail and many bitter experiences to freedom. China's court was differently fashioned. Both our countries have placed the good of the common man before them and are aiming in their different ways to raise millions who have suffered so much in the past and now live in the hope of a better future. That future for us or for any country in the world depends primarily on the avoidance of war and the assurance of peace and security."

The major question before the world to-day, therefore, is how to get rid of the spectre of war and fear and hatred which oppress so many countries and peoples to-day. You have been recently engaged, Sir with other eminent statesmen, in wrestling with these great problems of war and peace. We have been happy to learn that some success has attended your efforts and the efforts of the other statesmen at Geneva. We congratulate you and the others who participated in the Geneva Conference on this happy turn of events. We earnestly hope that this will lead to an early termination of hostilities in Indo-China and that this will be followed by a settlement, which will ensure peace and freedom to all the countries there."

Mr. Chou En-lai, in his reply, said :

"Between China and India, there has existed for two thousand years a traditional friendship, and this friendship between the peoples of our two countries has made a new development in recent years as the result of diplomatic relations between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. "The Chinese Government and people attach great importance to their friendship with the Indian Government and people. The relations between our two countries are being further strengthened with each passing day, and cultural and economic ties are on the increase. In particular, the agreement concluded in April of this year between China and India on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India not only has resulted in further improvement in Sino-Indian friendship but has also given expression to the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits, peaceful co-existence between our two countries, thus furnishing a good example of solving problems between nations by means of negotiation."

"China and India are both peace loving nations. The Chinese people feel very happy to have such a neighbour as India, which is devoted to the cause of peace. India has made valuable contributions to the efforts of bringing about an armistice in Korea. India has constantly been interested in striving for the termination of the Indo-China war, and has untiringly supported efforts made at the Geneva Conference to restore peace in Indo-China. It is very obvious that this position of India is of great significance of safeguarding peace in Asia."

"All the peoples of Asia want peace. The menace to peace of Asia comes now from outside, but Asia to-day is no longer the Asia of yesterday. The age when outside forces could decide at will the fate of Asia has gone for ever. We are confident that the hope of peace-loving nations and peoples of Asia will frustrate the scheme of war-instigators. I hope that China and India will co-operate even more closely, for the noble aim of safeguarding peace in Asia."

INDO-FRENCH TALKS

Announcing that the Indo-French talks on the future of French India were broken off, "since the Indian delegation has maintained its position", a French Foreign Ministry communique issued on June 4 gave its side of the talks. It said that during the talks, which have just ended in Paris, France gave India the choice of two solutions :

(1) Immediate referendum under the eventual control of the United Nations.

(2) Immediate establishment of a provisional regime, largely associating the Indian administration with the management of the establishments; the preparation of a treaty, looking forward to the merging of the establishments with India, with respect for French cultural and material interests; ratification of this Treaty after consultation with the population.

The communique continued that rejecting the first solution the Indian delegation turned down the idea of co-management, and insisted on having immediately all authority over the essential administrations, notably those of Justice, Police and the Treasury.

It was not possible for the French delegation to consent to the cession of services touching so closely on the exercise of sovereignty, it said.

THE INDIAN VERSION

Commenting on the breakdown of the talks, Sri R. K. Nehru said :

"We cannot accept continued foreign rule on any part of the Indian soil. But we want to negotiate the departure of the French peacefully."

"We asked them repeatedly to take a realistic view of the situation in the French establishments. They have indicated their willingness in principle, to see India resume her sovereignty over these territories."

"Why should they quibble over details as they have done for the past three weeks?"

Sri Nehru said there was a strong popular movement in the French establishments demanding the immediate transfer of sovereignty to India. Ninety per cent of the people as indicated by the actions of their elected representatives, had called for a merger with India without a referendum. One-fifth of the total area of the French Colonies had already broken away from French administration.

He said his delegation had presented a programme under which the effective administration—particularly the Police, Judiciary, and

Treasury—would be handed over to India immediately. A three or four-month transition period would follow, in which there would be talks on how the transfer of sovereignty should be accomplished.

The French had rejected this plan, insisting that under the French Constitution, the people must be consulted about their future.

The French had finally dropped their demand for a referendum, but maintained their insistence on popular consultation.

India, he said, was willing to consider this only after effective control of the administration had passed into her hands.

PAKISTAN'S DEBT TO INDIA

The Finance Minister Sri C. D. Deshmukh, told the House of the People that he proposed to resume as early as circumstances permitted the negotiations which he had been having with the Finance Minister of Pakistan on the question of payment of debt to India by Pakistan and other financial issues outstanding between the two countries.

The exact amount of Pakistan's partition debt to India had not yet been determined. This debt was repayable in 50 annual equated instalments of principal and interest commencing on Aug. 15, 1952. No payment had been made by the Pakistan Government so far.

Asked if the Pakistan Government had given any reason for its non-payment of the debt, Sri Deshmukh said this was one of the many financial issues outstanding between the two countries. It was possible that Pakistan might think that unless the other issues were settled no payment should be made of the instalment due on this debt.

KASHMIR I.T. DEPT

The Income Tax Administration of Jammu and Kashmir was taken over by the Government of India from June 19,

Major S. C. Chaudhuri, Commissioner of Income-Tax, Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh, has been placed in charge of Jammu and Kashmir as well.

Among the benefits which would accrue from the change-over would be one for the staff of the Jammu and Kashmir Income Tax Department, whose emoluments, would be increased to bring them on par with the staff of Income Tax Departments in other States.

NEW SCHOOLS TO RELIEVE UNEMPLOYMENT

In order to relieve educated unemployment, the Government of India have offered to assist the State Governments in the opening of new schools or the expansion of existing schools.

Accordingly the Madras Government have forwarded proposals to the Government of India for the opening of single-teacher schools in this State in each of the 1,270 villages with a population of over 1,000 each which have no schools at present.

In the proposals forwarded by the Madras Government for opening single-teacher schools in each of the 1,270 villages in the State with a population of over 1,000 each and which have no schools at present, it has been made clear, that the following principles will be observed in regard to recruitment of teachers;

Secondary Grade trained teachers will be recruited for the new schools to the extent they are available, and for the rest, untrained Matriculates or undergraduates will be recruited.

4,000 NEW SCHOOLS FOR BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay has drawn up a scheme of education under which every village with a population of 500 and over will have a primary school. This will call for about 4,000 new schools.

Disclosing this to the P. T. I. Mr. D. C. Pawate, State Director of Public Instruction said about 6,000 teachers would also be recruited this year to meet the demand of these proposed schools.

100 PER CENT PASS FROM GIRL'S SCHOOL

All the 34 students sent up for the S.S.L.C. Public Examination from the E.L.M. Girls' Christian High School, Tanjore, passed the examination, thus getting 100 per cent success to the school.

The school is running its 93th year, and it is said, that on many occasions previously it had achieved such excellent result.

PROF. TARAKNATH DAS HONOURED

Prof. Taraknath Das, an Indian scholar now living in New York, received an Honorary Doctorate in Philosophy from Munich University for his efforts to acquaint Europe, particularly Germany, with Indian thought and culture.

NEW BRITISH UNIVERSITY

Britain has a new university at Hull, Yorkshire.

The city's University College has now been granted full university status. This brings the country's number of degree-granting universities to 19.

The college, founded in 1928 with the endowment of a private gift of £250,000. (about Rs. 33,25,000) has about 800 students.

NEHRU TO BE 'ACHARYA' OF VISWABHARATI

Prime Minister Nehru has accepted the Chancellorship (office of 'Acharya') of Viswabharati University for the second term of three years.

The University court at its recent meeting, re-elected Mr. Nehru as its Acharya in view of his "intimate and longstanding relationship with Santiniketan."

INSTITUTE OF INDO-TIBETAN STUDIES

The University Grants Commission have agreed to sponsor the establishment of an institute of Indo-Tibetan studies at Viswabharati and to meet its recurring expenditure.

Indo-Tibetan studies have long been a feature of the Buddhistic studies programme at Viswa-Bharati. One of the earliest research publications of Viswa-Bharati was the Sanskrit text of Mahayanaimysaka of Nagarjuna reconstructed from Chinese and Tibetan versions. Viswabharati has also built up a good Tibetan section in its library with a complete collection of Tibetan classical literature.

FUND FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

An Indian writer, Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali (81), who died in London six months ago, apparently penniless, left estate worth £20,578.

Mr. Yusuf Ali spent the last days of his life in a London County Council Home. He was taken there by the police who found him apparently destitute sitting on the steps of a house. He died soon afterwards.

He left most of his money to London University to form a fund in his name for Indian students. His diaries go by his direction to Aligarh University. They are not to be opened until 30 years after his death.

LIMIT ON LAND HOLDINGS

"A suggestion that the upper limit on land holdings might be fixed between 30 and 50 acres has been made by the Congress High Command for the consideration of State Governments" Mr. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary of the Congress told the "Indian Express" when he was last in Madra.

Mr. Agarwal said that conditions varied from State to State and therefore no uniform upper limit could be recommended. It was left to the State Governments to take into account the conditions to their respective States and work out a ceiling to suit those conditions. "But our general suggestion for the consideration of States is to fix the ceiling between 30 and 50 acres"

Mr. Agarwal emphasised that the Congress placed equal emphasis on land reforms and development of village industries. They were anxious that the two should go hand in hand, because agriculture would engage a peasant only for part of his time. He should be helped with subsidiary occupations and Government should help him in this by affording protection to village industries, just as they protected major industries from foreign competition.

TAXATION ON INCOME ACT

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court, unanimously held Section 5 (4) of the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act 1947 to be void, as being a piece of discriminatory legislation which offended against the provisions of Article 14 of the Constitution (equality before the law and equal protection of the laws).

Section 5 (1) of the Act authorises the Central Government to refer cases of tax evasion to the Commission for investigation or withdraw them before September 1, 1948. Section 5 (4) provides that, if, in the course of investigation of a case referred to it under Section 5 (1), the Commission has reason to believe that some person other than the person whose case is being investigated has evaded payment of tax, it may make a report to the Central Government with reasons, on which the Government must refer that case for investigation.

The decision of the Court was given on an application filed under Article 32 of the constitution by Suraj Mall Mohta and Co., Limited, whose case had been referred to the Commission by the Government on September 9, 1953, under Section 5 (4) of the Act. The applicant had challenged the validity of the Tax on Income (Investigation Commission) Act on the ground that it was discriminatory and therefore *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

The case of Messrs. Jute and Gunny Brokers Limited had been referred for investigation under Section 5 (1) of the Act before September 1, 1948 and, during the course of the investigation, it was said to have been discovered that Suraj Mall Mohta and Company had made secret profits. On this the Commission made a report and the Government referred the case of Suraj Mall Mohta and Company for investigation on September 9, 1953.

The Chief Justice, who delivered the judgment of the Court, held that Section 5 (4) of the Act and the procedure prescribed by the Act, in so far as it affected the person proceeded against under that Section, was a piece of discriminatory legislation and offended against the provisions of Article 14 of the Constitution.

In view of this decision, the Court issued a writ prohibiting the Government from taking any proceedings under Section 5 (4).

INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION

Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, Chief Justice of India, has been elected President of the Indian Branch of the International Law Association. The International Law Association is a world-wide society of jurists of which Prime Minister Nehru is one of the Vice-Presidents.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE FROM JUDICIARY

Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon inaugurated at Kumbakonam on July 1 the scheme of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive which came into force in Tanjore District from the 1st. A large gathering was present. Mr. S. A. Ayyasami Chetti will be the first Judicial District Magistrate.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Dr. Radha Binode Pal, Indian jurist, has been elected Vice-President of the sixth session of the International Law Commission.

—X—

EXPORT OF HANDICRAFT GOODS

The All-India Handicrafts Board, which began its two-day session at Ranchi on June 14, decided to set up an "export promotion association" to stimulate the export of Indian handicraft products to foreign countries.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Board, presided.

The Board also decided to hold an exhibition of Indian handicraft goods in Moscow and Helsinki in September with a view to giving a fillip to the export drive.

An All India Handicrafts Exhibition and marketing clinic was subsequently held at Srinagar, Kashmir.

The Export Promotion Association will be a registered body with membership open to all the States, besides corporations, cooperative organizations and institutions engaged in the production and distribution of exportable handicraft goods. The board of directors will consist of 15 members—five drawn from the All-India Handicrafts Board, five selected by non-official organisations, two nominated by the Government of India and three representing the State Governments.

For organising the handicrafts exhibition to be held in India next year, a sub-committee was formed comprising Mrs. Indra Gandhi, Mrs. B. K. Nehru, Mr. Panikkar of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, an officer of the Handicrafts Board and representatives of the Government of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir.

GRANTS FOR KHADI

The Government of India have given grants and loans totalling Rs. 1,39,90,900 for the development of Khadi and village industries.

Government have earmarked Rs. 5.31 crores during 1954-55 for the development of Khadi and village industries. In addition a sum of Rs. five crores has been provided for the development of the handloom industry.

For the development of Khadi alone Government have sanctioned this year grants totalling Rs. 1,10,94,300. Rs. 79 lakhs have been given for trading operations including the purchase of kapas, cotton and other raw materials, sale of yarn to institutions, purchase of yarn from such institutions and centres, purchase of implements, purchase of khadi from the institutions, sale of Khadi to the public and the Government and other expenditure.

BANKING IN INDIA

The year 1953 was, on the whole, a quiet one for Indian banking, according to the Reserve Bank's latest annual report on the trend and progress of banking in India. Whereas 1951 witnessed a high level of bank activity as a result of the post-Korean boom and 1952 was marked by the adjustment of the banking system to the new monetary policy initiated in November, 1951, the year under review was notable for the return of the banking system to comparatively normal conditions. This development in itself reflects the successful completion of the readjustment of the banking system to the disinflationary monetary policy.

The report adds that a more normal relationship between the level of economic activity and that of bank credit appeared to have been reached during the year. Despite the higher levels of production and prices, as also of business activity, credit demands during the year were generally restrained and were adequately met by the banking system.

15-YEAR ANNUITY CERTIFICATES

The Government of India on May 31 announced the issue of a new type of investment called the 15-Year Annuity Certificates, as a part of the Small Savings Scheme.

The certificates have been available for sale from July 1, 1954.

The annuity scheme is intended to cater to the needs of those who wish to provide for themselves or their dependants a regular monthly payment from a lump-sum investment. An investment of Rs. 3,500, Rs. 7,000, Rs. 14,000 and Rs. 28,000 in these certificates, will secure to the holder a monthly payment of Rs. 25, Rs. 50, Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 respectively, for a period of 15 years, the first monthly payment commencing after the expiry of one calendar month from the date of investment.

The monthly payment is exempt from Indian Income-tax and Super-tax and will not be taken into account calculating the total income of the holder for the purpose of Income-tax.

Wife, leaving cinema, to husband: "I wish just once they'd have as good a picture this week as they are going to have next week!"

**BRONZE STATUETTE OF
SMT SARADA DEVI**

A bronze statuette of Smt. Sarada Devi, known to followers of Sri Ramakrishna Parmahansa as the Holy Mother, by Miss Malvina Hoffman, noted American sculptor, was unveiled at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre, New York.

The ceremony was part of the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Smt. Sarada Devi, and being held this year throughout India, and in Vedanta centres in Europe, South America, and the United States.

Miss Hoffman has also executed two other sculptures now in the New York centre, a head of Sri Ramakrishna in white marble, and a bronze figure of Swami Vivekananda, disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and founder of the Vedanta Movement in America.

Replicas of the Smt. Sarada Devi's statuette and of the head of Sri Ramakrishna have been sent to Belur Mutt, headquarter of the Ramakrishna Mission in India, as gifts of the New York Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre.

ALL ABOUT WOMEN

An exhibition of arts and crafts, organised by the National Congress of Women was opened at Calcutta last month by Lady Nilima Ghosh.

With the exception of a series of poster drawings depicting the problems and occupations of Indian women, all the exhibits were done by women and a few of them by children.

The poster section included the display of statistics on women in mines, plantations, factories, schools, hospitals, offices and the countryside. Social evils and handicaps of women were also illustrated in cartoon form.

Other sections were made up of collections of paintings, terracottas and artistic handicrafts, all of which were by Indian women.

The foreign section included a collection of drawings of women of different countries in their respective national dresses, photographs on the life of women and children in China and the Soviet Union and photographs of handicrafts by women in the U. S.

FEDERATION OF INDIAN WOMEN

A new organisation of Indian women emerged out of the four-day National Congress of Women which concluded at Calcutta on June 7. The new body has been named the "National Federation of Indian Women."

The final session of the National Congress adopted the constitution of the new organisation and elected unanimously a 29-member executive committee.

Miss Pushpamoyee Bose (West Bengal) was elected President and Mrs. Anasuya Gyanchand and Begum Hajran (both of Delhi) were elected Joint Secretaries of the Federation.

KAMALA DEVI'S TOUR IMPRESSIONS

Giving her impressions of the four-week cultural tour of the Soviet Union, Smt. Kamaladevi said in Bombay on June 1 that there was apparently shortage of man power in Russia because many essential services were manned by women.

Women played a surprisingly prominent part in the daily life of the Russian city, she said. They drove buses, trams, taxis and were employed in heavy construction works and managed jobs usually tackled by men in other countries.

Smt. Kamaladevi paid tribute to the morals of the Russian youth and expressed appreciation of the opportunities offered for education in the Soviet Union.

She said the Russians believed in the 'bona fides' of India's foreign policy.

"They have a feeling that we are interested in maintaining peace in the world", she added.

Smt. Kamaladevi said the people of Soviet Russia appeared to them to be "very friendly towards Indians." Wherever we met them—in the streets or in the museum—they greeted us and wanted to know more and more about our country," she said.

NURSE GENEVIEVE

Genevieve de Galard, French nurse trapped at Dien Bien Phu, on May 24 returned to Hanoi. The 29-year-old "angle of Dien Bien Phu" was captured by the Viet-Minh when the fortress fell and released a fortnight after.

The French nurse had been looking after the wounded since her capture.

WOMAN FLYING SOLO IN GLIDER

Mrs. Vijaya Apte, a member of the Delhi Gliding Club, is the first Indian woman to make a solo flight in a glider.

Mrs. Apte's single seater glider was towed up by an aeroplane and released at a height of 1,500 feet. She made a perfect circuit and landing.

THE WASHINGTON TALKS

Following is the text of the statement which President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill issued at the end of their review of international problems on June 28:

In these few days of friendly and fruitful conversations we have considered various subjects of mutual and world interest.

Western Europe: We are agreed that the German Federal Republic should take its place as an equal partner in the Community of Western nations, where it can make its proper contribution to the defence of the free world. We are determined to achieve this goal convinced that the Bonn and Paris treaties provide the best way. We welcome the recent statement of the French Prime Minister that an end must be put to the present uncertainties.

E. D. C. TREATY

"The European Defence Community Treaty has been ratified by four of the six signatory nations after exhaustive debate over a period of more than two years. Naturally these nations are unwilling to disregard their previous legislative approval or to reopen these complex questions".

In connection with these treaties, the United States and the United Kingdom have given important assurances including the disposition of their armed forces in Europe in order to demonstrate their confidence in the North Atlantic Community and in the EDC and the Bonn treaties.

It is our conviction that further delay in putting into force the EDC and Bonn treaties would damage the solidarity of the Atlantic nations.

We wish to reaffirm that the programme for European unity inspired by France, of which the EDC is only one element, so promising to peace and prosperity in Europe, continuous to have our firm support.

South-East Asia: We discussed South-East Asia and in particular, examined the situation which would arise from the conclusion of an agreement on Indo-China. We also considered the situation which would follow from failure to reach such an agreement.

We will press forward with plans for collective defence to meet either eventualities.

We are both convinced that if at Geneva the French Government is confronted with demands which prevent an acceptable agreement regarding Indo-China, the international situation will be seriously aggravated.

Atomic matters—We also discussed technical co-operation on atomic energy. We agreed that both our countries would benefit from such co-operation to the fullest extent allowed by United States legislation.

HANDICRAFT TRAINING CENTRES

The Executive Committee of the all India Handicrafts Board has approved and recommended to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry a scheme for the establishment of three mobile handicraft training centres. The committee has also approved schemes for supply of conchshells to artisans in West Bengal, the establishment of a training-cum-production centre for Jamdani saris and for the setting up of classes for toy-making and cloth-printing.

The mobile handicraft centre provides for training in lacquer and wood carving, button-making, manufacture of shell products and for production of utility and artistic goods from bamboo, cane, grass, straw and various other locally available fibres.

NIZAM'S FIVE-CRORE TRUST

The Nizam of Hyderabad has formed a five-crore rupees trust to help the poor people of Hyderabad and outside.

The Financial Adviser to the Nizam, Khan Bahadur Taraporevala, told P.T.I. that the trust was for spreading education among the people and for giving medical aid and relief to the people of the State without any distinction of caste, creed or religion.

The annual income of the trust in the initial stages would be about Rs. 25 Lakhs.

The Nizam has appointed Mr. V.P. Menon former Secretary of States Ministry, Government of India and Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, former P.W.D. Minister of the State, as additional trustees.

Mr. Menon said, no charitable trust of this magnitude had been created so far.

AMENITIES FOR RAILWAY PASSENGERS

The six zonal railways in India have made a total provision of Rs. 3,00,00,000 to be spent on amenities for passengers during the new year beginning April 1, 1954.

This sum will be spent on providing amenities both at stations and on the trains.

The shares of individual railways out of this allocation will be as follows:—

Eastern Railways Rs. 56.38 lakhs; Southern Rs. 55.83 lakhs; North-Eastern Rs. 54.33 lakhs; Western Rs. 45.46 lakhs; Central Rs. 45.00 lakhs and Northern Rs. 43.00 lakhs.

JULY 1954]

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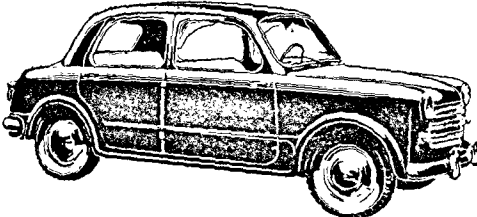
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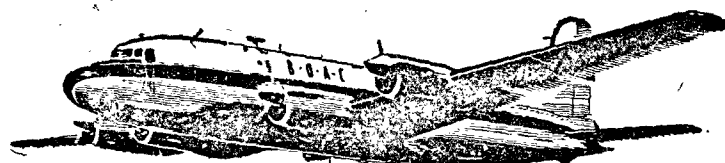


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Unresolved Issues

ON the eve of the seventh anniversary of our independence it behoves us to take stock of the situation, of our achievements and failures. We have got over the first Flush of enthusiasm. The reality of freedom and the bitter-sweets of the aftermath have brought us face to face with problems which will not brook evasion: and we have tackled some of them with courage and intrepidity which, in the circumstances, are praiseworthy. There is much on the credit side. Our five year plans and their execution are a great step forward in raising the standard of living and comfort for the common man. They have even added to our stature as a people with a will and vision.

Opening the Blakra canals recently, Prime Minister Nehru declared that he rejoiced to see India visibly growing and growing stronger, and the people of India marching ahead in various spheres. Echoing the thought of the wise of all ages that work is the truest worship, he said that these mighty monuments of engineering skill and other great projects were so many triumphs of the spirit of man and that he felt in consequence truly religious-minded in their presence. He bade his listeners look upon these centres of India's mighty heart and hands in action as places of pilgrimage.

It is difficult indeed to contemplate without emotion these monuments emerging in the early phase of free India's great effort in self-development. It was therefore right that the Prime Minister should have struck a note of robust confidence. It was perhaps urgent that he should thus have reassured those whose deep and unshaken faith in him is the surest safeguard against the spread of those forces of anarchy that communists and their dupes are busy fo-

menting all over India, that he, as the head of the Government of India no less than as head of the mighty National Congress was resolved on speeding up the transformation of India in spheres vital to the well-being of the masses and resolved too to give no quarter to subversion from within or aggression from without.

It would be well to take due account, nevertheless of the numerous unresolved issues threatening the march ahead to happier times. Even the Prime Minister's speech was not, defiantly confident as its tone was, untinged with anxiety. His reference to the running sore of disputes with Pakistan was unexceptionable in tone and temper but revealed a subdued concern. Quite rightly he declared that nothing was further from India's thoughts than to do anything that might harm the masses in Pakistan. But India, he pointed out; owed a duty to herself as well, to her own common people, now slowly emerging from nearly two-centuries of inevitable neglect and stagnation under foreign rule.

The note of subdued concern in the Prime Minister's speech doesn't detract from the tonic effect of the speech as a whole. But it is well that we take stock soberly and realistically of the issues that caused this note of concern. First among these is the question of Kashmir. India-held Kashmir is in a peculiarly loose kind of integration with the Indian Union. The cease-fire line is under constant danger of violation, a danger that is bound to intensify with the rapid progress of U.S. arms aid to Pakistan. Any local incident may be engineered and made the pretext at any moment for resumption of aggression. The Kashmir Government has still to be heavily

subsidized even for meeting the cost of purely local administration. The events leading to the dismissal and detention of Sheikh Abdullah, till then regarded as the pillar of India's hopes in Kashmir, show how remarkably fluid and uncertain the situation continues to be and how grave the original miscalculations of Indian statesmen in charge of the problem were. It may seem unfair to blame the statesmen in charge. Statesmen are ultimately but men and their personal limitations inevitably afflict their handling of issues of wide scope. Bungling Foreign Ministers, as history shows, have led their countries to ruin plunging them in needless and disastrous wars. Wicked intrigues have contrived the disruption of the strongest countries by clever manipulation of popular ignorance and superstition and the vanity of cross-grained and frustrated leadership, as the creation of Pakistan shows. Hitler sought to make Germany master of the world and left it dismembered and at the mercy of its enemies. Tojo sought to make Japan mistress of the Pacific and left her at the mercy of her hated rival the U.S.A. for bare protection even from the very country she sought to subdue not so very long ago, China. Jinnah hoped to make Pakistan the leader of a strong Islamic Block of states and has left her a satellite of the U. S. We mention these things not to suggest that the miscalculations and blunders of Indian statesmen in the Kashmir affair were inspired by a lust for hegemony or by infinite land-hunger but to draw attention to the crucial personal factors involved. Nehru's deep personal attachment to the home of his ancestors is a very definite factor in the problem. The total lack of anything like the special flair and skill essential to diplomatic negotiation in the power-politics ridden U.N. of today on the part of the Indian delegation was unquestionably responsible for the terrible distortion India's just cause suffered at the hands of the Security Council. It is a thousand pities that the one supreme realist in the Congress high command, the Indian Bismarck who wrought out the Indian union without even the "blood and iron", the great Patel, was so quickly struck down by fate and that there is no one like him in the present Cabinet, no one of a stature comparable to

that of the Prime Minister and able therefore to guide firmly and if need be to differ from him decisively, in the national interest and demand a realistic approach. True, cold war strategy has further complicated the question of Kashmir but statesmen are judged by the wisdom and foresight they show by their anticipation of events and trends. Statesmen must grapple with circumstance and mould it, and not be subdued by it. The country little realises that today it is paying the penalty, in continued drain of men and money and more, in the bitterness of anxiety engendered by frustration, failure and uncertainty, clearly traceable to the initial blunder of letting the wrong man handle the job. The peculiarly odious technique of political blackmail to which India has been so frequently a victim, particularly at the hands of Abdullah and his ilk shows that at some crucial point in the Indian set-up there is deadly weakness and vacillation. The country can't afford this at all; this must stop. After all, if Kashmir is legally part of India the consequences of this vital fact must be resolutely brought home to the leaders of Kashmir and no shuffling compromises tolerated in its constitutional relationship to India.

Next in importance, in the magnitude of the consequences that may flow from it, is the question of the linguistic redistribution of the States of the Indian Union. Nothing in our recent history is so significant of the strength of fissiparous forces still unchecked in India as the insidious agitation that goes on in the country, though since the appointment of the commission on the subject in somewhat subdued fashion. Language can be a far greater force of disintegration than religious sentiment, as the recent troubles in East Pakistan show. Why, even in India the separation of Andhra has accentuated, rather than assuaged the other personal rivalries of the educated middle class and the professional politician class which used language as the motif of their campaign for the disruption of Madras. The position in Hyderabad and in Bombay is no less disheartening from the point of view of internal peace. When the commission reports, we shall have an occasion for the outbreak of mass jealousies and mischief which might equal in intensity the

bloody sub-human convulsions which attended the creation of Pakistan. The progress of every project even today is no little hampered by the tendency to look at matters from a crudely communal or linguistic angle. A remarkably skilfully devised elementary education scheme in Madras was only recently at first gravely damaged and finally wrecked as a result of personal, group and communal rivalries. The Ministerial reshuffling that followed C.R.'s retirement has been not without reason welcomed by the D.M.K. as affording new strength and a more congenial atmosphere for its disruptionist agitation in Madras. And many men, high in the counsels of the State Government in various spheres, and at various levels, are secretly in sympathy with the D.M.K. and give it timely treasonable aid and comfort. The D.M.K. recently openly celebrated its 'dértaq', the Govt. taking hardly any notice of it.

The land reform question is another of those issues that the country has sought to tackle without anything like a clear, coherent and just conception of objectives and methods. Why the tiller of the soil should replace the landlord who has invested his capital in the land while the worker in the factory is not being pushed into 'any similar position of proprietorship in industry

in replacement of shareholders and directors who have other business of their own is not clear to some at any rate, in India. The Congress in this affair, is the slave of slogans—and is drifting towards an agrarian revolution that would pave the way for communism in the country.

The tillers of the soil who would be erected into a new 'landlord class' by the agrarian reforms now contemplated—would it help the economic progress of the country any further than they are doing now? That is the question. It is likely that the new serfdom of the dispossessed classes may invite a rightist reaction which in turn would provoke that bloody chaos that communists pray for as a preliminary to their seizing power in the land.

These are but a few of the issues that lie dangerously unresolved in India today. It is up to our leaders to do some hard, sober thinking on these? They will realise that these are at least as important as getting China into the U. N. and finally France out of her difficulties in Indo-China and more important than saving Japan from Hydrogen bomb experiment mishaps. Neglected, these will endanger more than the unity of India, they will threaten her freedom.

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CRISIS IN EAST BENGAL

BY PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

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RECENT events in East Bengal are indicative of a deep rooted and serious malady in the Pakistan body-politic. It was the Muslim League which brought Pakistan yesterday and it is the Muslim League which sustains it and keeps the two wings together today. The complete rout of that party in the general election in March, 1954, in East Bengal was not accidental nor were the riots between the Bengalee and the non-Bengalee Muslims stray events. Autonomy for East Bengal was one of the election pledges of Mr. Fazlul Huq's party and the voters have overwhelmingly voted for him. Mr. Nurul Amin, the ex-Chief Minister who told his voters that "Pakistan was achieved through the votes and

can be lost through the votes" and fought the election on the issue whether "East Bengal would remain within Pakistan or would form part of India" was ignominiously defeated by an obscure student of eighteen. The rout of the Muslim League which was the ruling party is without any parallel in the world. Speculation is rife as to whether the League will be able to regain its position. If it cannot, will East Bengal secede?

The League was never popular in Bengal. Since the general election in 1937 the Bengalee Muslims are divided between Mr. Huq's Krishak-Praja Party and the League. The hold of the League was strong only in those

provinces of undivided India where the Muslims were a minority, not in those provinces where the Muslims were a majority. It had no large following in the N.W.F. Province, the Punjab, and Sind. Only the Muslims of the seven Hindu majority provinces supported the League fanatically and it was on their initiative and insistence that India was divided. In Bengal the main support of the League came from the Muslims of Calcutta and the Nawab family of Dacca. The Leaguers including Mr. Nazimuddin and Mr. Suhrawardy were mostly non-Bengalee and Urdu-speaking. They belonged to the rich, aristocratic and mercantile classes without any touch with the Muslim masses in the rural areas. Their main contribution was to support the British administration and safeguard their sectional interest which virtually meant organising the Muslims against the Hindus. Just before the Partition, the Leaguers surrendered titles, contacted masses, inspired new hopes and aspirations in them, and were becoming an active fighting force but all their fighting qualities were spent in riots and looting Hindu properties. Where the Congress was very strong and acted like a dictator, the League opposed it and exposed its pretensions and follies. Except this negative contribution as an opposition party, on its positive and constructive side the League had practically nothing to its credit. For generations Congress workers had worked and suffered, and if today it is monopolising all power that is due to the long suffering and selfless sacrifice of its past workers. The Muslim League in this sense, had not to undergo any sacrifice. It had always supported the British Government and captured without any sacrifice seats, jobs, titles, scholarships etc. In the Bengal legislature in the past, the Nawab family of Dacca had as many as 11 members. They, along with some rich Muslims of Calcutta monopolised all power and profit. The real strength of the Muslim League lay in its power to offer protection to the Muslims against Hindu domination. To the Muslims of the Muslim-majority provinces this was unimportant but to the Muslims of the Hindu-majority provinces this service was highly appreciated. The Bengalee Muslims also appreciated this service for some time but after the Partition the Hindus in large numbers left the province. Those who remained have lost all influence and are leading a deplorable life now so that today the fear of

Hindu domination in East Bengal has completely disappeared. With its disappearance the League has nothing to stand upon.

Of late the League became a nuisance to the Bengalee Muslims in another way. After the Partition the refugee Muslims from India, fanatically Anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim League in sympathy, have gone there and are occupying posts, from the Chief Secretary to the lowest menial, under the government. They are also well-placed in every important position in trade, industry and the professions left vacant by the Hindus. These Non-Bengalee Muslims are a few shades brighter in complexion, a few inches taller in height, they speak Urdu which is the official language and always move with a superior air. Except the Nawab family of Dacca nobody speaks Urdu in East Bengal. To the disappointment and consternation of the native Muslims, the Urdu-speaking white-skinned and taller Muslims are not less arrogant nor less exploiting than the Hindus whom they replaced. Today the Muslim masses, particularly the student community, are more politically conscious and more proud of their Bengalee culture which they value and appreciate. Their sense of self-respect has become keener. They refuse to submit docilely to this Urdu arrogance. The League had identified itself with this Non-Bengalee Urdu arrogance. East Bengal's repulsion against the League is really due to this. The riots were between the Bengalee and the Non-Bengalee Muslims. The Hindus or the communists had nothing to do.

Since the fall of the League is not accidental nor temporary, in its absence what will hold both the wings of Pakistan together? Karachi and Dacca are separated by a distance of 1400 miles. If East Pakistan is ever threatened, help from Karachi may come in ships involving a journey of 5,000 miles. In climate, in language and in culture, both are wide apart. Economic interests have linked East Bengal more with West Bengal than with West Pakistan. On these grounds Mr. Fazlul Huq has demanded autonomy for East Bengal.

East Bengal does not want union with West Bengal. Mr. Huq did not mean it nor is it in the interest of India. Economic interests have linked the two Bengals together but the Pakistan government out of sheer malice had put restrictions on trade and travel. West Pakistan is not affected by these restrictions but

East Bengal had to suffer a lot. When India devalued her currency Pakistan did not do it. To ruin the jute Mill Industry of Calcutta Pakistan changed her jute policy. She introduced the passport system; trade and travel came to stand still. These were pursued not for any national gain but out of malice, with the result that the condition of East Bengal was deplorable. The price of jute on which the prosperity of East Bengal depends fell heavily, and the stoppage of ordinary consumption goods through Calcutta inflicted on the poor East Bengalees a hardship which was intolerable. The price of salt rose to Rs. 1-8-0 per seer and a match box cost 6 annas. Officers in the administration are almost all Muslim Leaguers in sympathy and they laid all blames on the Hindus but these tactics have become out-of-date. How long can the politically conscious masses, particularly the students be fooled by slogans which have no relation with facts?

East Bengal's demands are reasonable. West Pakistan must not use East Bengal as her dependency for exploitation. West Pakistan is not justified in dominating over East Pakistan any more than East Pakistan is justified in dominating over West Pakistan. The relation between the two-wings should be one of voluntary co-operation. Economic interests and her past long associations link East Bengal with West Bengal and that relation should not be strained by Pakistan's unwise foreign policy. East Bengal does not want independence but if it insists on autonomy that is due to West Pakistan's failure to appreciate her difficulties. If today sentiments in East Bengal are a little favourable to India it is due to West Pakistan's obstinacy towards her.

The contention that East Bengal's independence, if it ever comes, will be as shortlived as that of Hyderabad, is beside the point. Can West Pakistan maintain hers? Has not Pakistan already sold her independence to America?

Although East Bengal has given her clear verdict democratically Karachi is not going to accept it with grace. Following the democratic principle that verdict can be reversed by dissolving the East Bengal legislature and appealing to the voters. Seeing little prospect in that, Karachi has set up the Governor's rule and East Bengal is ruled by a military general. Unfortunately there is no democratic

tradition in Pakistan. Before the Partition the League had always acted like a Dictator. The assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali, the dismissal of Mr. Nazimuddin, the appointment of Mr. Mohammed Ali, the replacing of Mr. Chaudhury Khaliqzaman by General Iskandar Mirza as the Governor of East Bengal—all these appear like the palace intrigues of undemocratic and medieval India under Muslim rule. General Iskandar Mirza is a wrong choice. He is known to be the descendent of General Mirzafar who proved a traitor to the last Nawab and sold Bengal to the English. Mirzafar is a de'estable name amongst the Bengalees, both Hindu and Muslim.

Things are moving fast with dramatic suddenness in Pakistan and we shall not be surprised if some military overlord with foreign help some day usurps power and establishes his dynasty. Such an eventuality cannot altogether be ruled out. For the time being the semi-military rule in East Bengal can be successful in the same sense in which the British rule was successful. If the semi-military rule is prolonged and is successful it means the end of democracy. Karachi, however, is not likely to prolong it. Even if funds may be available from foreign sources such a costly and risky enterprise Karachi may not undertake. Karachi may try some other methods. Mr. Fazlul Huq is pretty old. The torture and humiliation to which he is subjected may adversely affect his health and his influence in this way can be neutralised. Members of his party are very young and inexperienced. The semi-military rule will demoralise many, and confusion in the party will follow. Divisions can be created in the United Front Party and taking advantage of that Karachi can continue her hold over East Bengal. This is being tried and everybody will eagerly watch the result.

Do you know?

1. Out of 176 million voters in India women number about:
7½ crores
 2. The Hirakud Dam aims at harnessing:
The Mahanadi
 3. The million K. W. target of five Year Plan has already been achieved by:
One-half
 4. The Machine Tool Factory is located in:
Bangalore
- During the first two years of the Plan, the Small Savings amounted to:
Rs. 103 crores

The Fall of Dien Bien Phu

By PROF. K. C. PETER

INDO-CHINA is tottering, despite oversize American aid to the French squandered away in costly air-drops. While the Geneva Conference was in progress, notwithstanding feverish efforts to save the French-Vietnamese fortress of Dien Bien Phu, it fell, proving thereby the superiority of Red General Giap's lightly equipped, efficient armies and isolated guerilla bands hiding in mysterious dark-green jungles over the heavily-armed motorized French-Vietnamese units supported by superior air-cover. Deserted by UK, America dropped the idea of intervention to save Dien Bien Phu—an action that may have produced another 'Korea' or plunged the world in another wanton war. The Conference made clear a few points—the Reds are really strong in Viet-Nam; they have popular support behind them; they want the integrity of the country unbroken; they can even run the risk of free elections. In the Asian conference, 'the Colombo Five' (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia), declared themselves against foreign intervention in Indo-China. The military high-ups in Indo-China fear that all resistance may freeze before the Red advance. The alibi built up by the Laniel government didn't save it from falling. Though Dulles gets high praise in President Eisenhower's off-the-cuff speeches, in United States, the sentiment for intervention is far from robust. The Americans do not wish to rock the Eisenhower boat when the storm is raging. At the same time, the Administration can't win Congressional support "to get it alone", even if it wanted to. And American diplomacy today is up a blind alley. "The Western statesmen . . . failed. They lost a big diplomatic game. And moreover, United States' aims at world leadership has been frustrated" says Andre Fontaine, the Foreign editor of *Le Monde* in a BBC broadcast. The monsoon has set in. Yet, the Indo-China war shows no signs of cooling off. The rice-rich Red river delta (with Hanoi, the Capital, and Haiphong, the harbour) is seriously threatened at present.*

Conflicting thoughts surge up in the mind of the common-man everywhere—thoughts of

Red expansionism, of sympathy for the Indo-China people in their fight against French colonialism, of the necessity of peace in Indo-China as a prelude to world peace.

IN SAIGON

Saigon, the 'Paris of the East', the teeming metropolis, a torrent of traffic flooding its streets, boasting of its boulevards, spacious parks, imposing public buildings, palaces and urban villas and fashionable shops in Boulevard Charner and Rue Catinat and sidewalks shaded by tall tamarind-trees, has a ready inviting smile for every foreigner. Saigon throbs with metropolitan glitter and glamour, city vehicles, especially cars, cycles and pedicabs, clang and purr between crowded streets. Cafes are full with gay men and women and with laughter. But uneasiness lurks beneath their gaiety. Inside a modern cafe, I met a number of foreign correspondents with whom I talked freely. All around, amidst noise and gossip, I noticed sudden holes of silence hastily covered with embarrassed smiles and pointless talk.

I wanted to know about the goings-on inside the Viet-Minh territory, having cool avenues and winding lanes, where innocent peasants with their multifarious problems live out their lives torn and shattered by civil war.

"A weird half-war, it is, of hit-and-run guerilla tactics, ambush and sudden death in forlorn places, interspersed with regular warfare" said an American correspondent. "I heard everywhere in Viet-Minh one question: 'Why the Americans destroy our villages by sending out their planes? Why not they stay in their big and rich country?'" said a Viet-Nameese correspondent. He continued: "Indo-China has numerous jungles and valleys, deep and dark, where whole battalions shelter from enemy planes hovering above the tree-tops. By nightfall, the jungles burst into life with Viet-Minh guerilla activity and transportation of supplies by numberless men wheeling heavily laden cycles, carrying artillery shells in baskets strapped to their backs, pushing heavy carts or driving iron-wheeled buffalo-carts. The people are armed with axes and hammers and what not; now, they possess some modern weapons seized from the

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French . . . Are these all mentioned in American text-books of logistics and modern warfare? No". A French correspondent knitted his brows, lit a cigarette, took a few deep droughts and said slowly: "We did much to uplift the country. Inside 65 years, we dug canals, threw bridges across turbulent rivers, built good rails and roads, drained marshes, developed rubber plantations and coal mines and irrigated more acres. We checked floods and famines, rooted out malaria and smallpox. But by no means, we could compromise with communism". The Viet-Nam correspondent listened in rapt attention. "Quite true" he admitted and went on: "The Viet-Minh do many good things. In my village, they distributed land, destroyed landlordism and started social services. The people like the regime, for no one goes without bread. The social and political awareness of the people favour Viet-Minh policies. The British did good to India; they quitted India too and gave India freedom. The British had more reason to stay on in India than the French in Indo-China". This time, it was the British correspondent who spoke. "Yes. India is mature. So we gave them freedom and they made good use of it for the good of themselves and the world" he said. Now it was my turn to speak and I placed before them India's post-freedom achievements. The discussion was making headway when I left them.

THE PROBLEM

Indo-China war is, in abstract, the conflict of ideologies fought in the swamps and rice-fields, a guerilla war as in Kenya (even the Frenchman's secretary may be a Viet-Minh), a civil war in which the Viet-Nameese fight the Viet-Nameese. Both sides fight for national freedom.

The people want freedom, the right of self-determination. The Bao-Dai government, corrupt, inefficient and opportunist, is unpopular, it relies on the French and Americans to save its skin. "Except for a few Viet-Nameese, no one seems to have a good word for Bao-Dai, Viet-Nam's French-backed Chief of state not the Americans, not the French" reports Thomas Griffith from Hanoi to the 'Time'.

What keeps the French in Indo-China? Have not they exploited Indo-China to the full? The British gave India freedom. Why

not the French give freedom to Indo-China? These questions are frequently asked within Indo-China and without. Perhaps, the French do not like to lose this rich land, developed by them. Perhaps they refuse to leave off this strategic foothold in Asia. Perhaps, they want to remain only as long as the Viet-Nameese are strong enough to look after themselves. Perhaps, they are pressed hard by Western powers to cling on to Indo-China for warding off the probable Red splash southwards and westwards. Or it may be one of their chosen strategic strongholds in Anglo-American global strategy in their so-called oncoming 'final struggle with communism'. However, for the Viet-Minh, it is a war to end French colonialism; for the French, (and Western powers) it is a war against communism.

For the last eight years, the war was on—a war without victory. Both sides are fatigued, frustrated, with no end in sight. More than half the regular army of France serve in Indo-China; every year France loses more officers than graduated from the French Cadet school at St. Cyr. The war is unpopular everywhere—because the Indo-Chinese seem to be not very vitally concerned, because the French dislike to see their sons die in vain, because the British refuse to enlarge the war into a global one, because the American nation is unwilling to get involved in another 'Korea' in Indo-China. Yet the fact remains: communism must be fought against and held in check—a 'Must' with Western powers.

VAIN THREATS

"We won't tolerate any settlement which will give the communists rights on any part of Viet-Nam", announced Dulles. Except for her verbal violence, America was vacillating in her policy, wasn't consistent at all. February 6, 1954: Though US announced that 200 technicians would be sent to Indo-China, vociferous protests inside the country made the Administration promise their withdrawal in June. Four days after, President Eisenhower told his press conference that he was opposed to American involvement in Indo-China war. March 25: Eisenhower said that the defence of Indo-China was of "transcendent importance". March 29: Dulles announced that 'United Action' alone can save the region from communism—a decision taken without consulting Senator Alexander Wiley, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Com-

* A truce agreement has since been signed (21st July). Ed. J. R.

mittee. The announcement was the 'mailed fist' threat to high-pressure the Reds into a peaceful solution at Geneva. Dulles did fly to London and Paris in vain to canvass support for 'massive retaliation'. Result: America didn't help the Dien Bien Phu defenders to hold on. The French Command in Indo-China asked for a temporary help from aircrafts of 7th U.S. Fleet patrolling Tonkin gulf. The French government, U.S. Vice-President Nixon and Admiral Radford, Chairman of American joint chiefs of staff, were in favour. The American Cabinet hesitated. Finally, the decision was left to the British, and the British downright refused to co-operate.

THE FALL OF DIEN BIEN PHU

'Capture Dien Bien Phu, I must'—decided Viet-Minh C-in-C General Giap, who has been called many things—poseur, genius, and more often enigma. Diplomatically, it would give the Reds bargaining strength at Geneva. Militarily, it would be a great victory, for Dien Bien Phu controlled the main roads of invasion. But he gave an erroneous view of the situation to the top French and American officers. He didn't launch his full offensive against Tonkin delta, though the French thought the blow would fall there. So they thought that General Giap was in difficulties—created by the French commandos, French-VietNam crack divisions equipped with the latest American weapons and French air-superiority. Soon Giap ordered a minor offensive against Northern Laos, militarily unwise and fruitless. This confirmed the fact that Giap was in real trouble. Now the French staff decided to build up Dien Bien Phu as an important, impregnable stronghold.

Suddenly the blow fell—the major Red offensive against Dien Bien Phu began, ruthless, concentrated, all-out. The battle flared up and continued with unabated ferocity.

During the final 72 hours, a terrible blinding rainstorm lashed the doomed fortress and its 10,000-man garrison. The sewers flooded and ran out; drinking water turned foul. The French Commanding General Christian De Castries found his three remaining strategic points sound and quiet, except for occasional gun-bursts far away.

That night, the situation grew worse. De Castries summoned his staff, gave final instructions, and decorated the only woman-nurse in

the fortress, Genevieve Terraube, with the Legion of Honour and Croix de Guerre 500 yards away, the Reds crawled in through the mire. De Castries radiotelephoned GHQ that the Reds have surrounded the fortress and within grenade range. By then, Giap had his heavy artillery turned against the main perimeter; the gunfire couldn't miss. The Russian rocket launchers struck at Dien Bien Phu, 8 rockets per burst. De Castries told HQ that resistance was futile. The heavy batteries of enemy artillery, the existence of which De Castries never heard of before, gave him a rude shock. The Viet-Minh had managed to bring them unnoticed. The French field guns were all damaged; their tanks were embedded in sticky mud or put out of action; their ammunition supplies were fast exhausting. In despair, De Castries—the young hope to a battered France—ordered three counter-attacks; they failed. Giap's offensive got intense. De Castries spoke to his wife Jacqueline a few words and 'Au revoir' "Situation grave. Viets everywhere" he told Gen. Rene Cogny in Hanoi who asked him in return "to fight till the end". The Reds smashed all barriers and swarmed in. De Castries told Cogny: "We will fight to the end. Au revoir, mon General, Vive la France". Hand to hand fight flared up; bayonet, knife and grenade came into action. Helpless, De Castries ordered 'scorched earth' on Dien Bien Phu. The Viet-Minh captured the central bastion.

The battle neared its end. The 13th (French) Demi-Brigade which won 22 citations made the last charge. In a few hours the charge died down. The fighting ceased. Silence... silence—the silence that speaks.

Battle of Dien Bien Phu: March 13 to May 8.

Casualties: French Union, about 4000 killed, 8000 missing.

Peking Radio announced: "Dien Bien Phu captured. The French garrison and its commander captured. Victory is complete. 17 enemy batallions wiped out. 57 enemy planes shot down or damaged".

France wore the veil of mourning—for her valiant dead in Dien Bien Phu. Paris especially so. Speaker after speaker in the National Assembly demanded 'Ceasefire and Armistice'.

ECONOMICS OF SMALL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By
Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Report of the International Planning Team on Small Industry in India has once again focussed the attention of the Government and the industrialists on the urgent need for developing Small-scale and Cottage Industries in this country for solving the problem of unemployment. And, what is more, under-employment. The Report rightly points out that "The Indian Market is one of the largest potential domestic market in the world". The foreign experts have frankly stated that "the rate of development of small industries is slow, far slower than is possible". The Study Team's major impression is that the basic causes of present deficiencies in Small Industry are "methods of management and production which fall far short of meeting modern demands for efficiency plus reluctance or failure to adopt improved rationalised methods". The International Planning Team has recommended the establishment of multi-purpose Institutes of Technology for small industries, and the Government has already decided to implement this recommendation and have announced that four Regional Institutes for the training of Small-scale Industries will be established in different parts of India. These institutes would act as Service Agencies and would assist small industries in improving their technique and production and management, in obtaining credit and finance, in securing raw materials, in marketing their goods to the best possible advantage and in promoting patterns of development calculated to make Small-scale Industries ancillary to large-scale industries by bringing about co-ordination of production programmes. The Government have also accepted the recommendation of the Ford Foundation Team for the establishment of a Marketing Service Corporation which would integrate its activities with those of the Regional Institutes. It has also been decided to establish a Small Industries Corporation to organise production for meeting Government orders. Other recommendations made by the team regarding a National School of Designs, Export Development Offices and the establishment of Industrial Cooperatives are under the consideration of the Government of India. In the meantime, the Government have decided to consti-

tute a Small-scale Industries' Board which would consist of representatives of the Ministries concerned in the Government of India and of State Governments. The functions of the Board would be to control and coordinate the activities of the organisations mentioned above and also to frame and implement programmes generally for the development of Small-scale Industries in India.

We would, however, like to examine closely the recommendations of the foreign experts on the problem of "rationalisation" in the sphere of Small-scale Industries in this country. The Report points out that "without" rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology". Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. You cannot divide what you do not produce. The Experts further expressed the view that "to prevent rationalisation, to stop the processes of modernisation, is not only illogical but it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small industry". They also hold the view that modernisation instead of creating technological unemployment, would create more employment. "Improvements mean more and better products at lower and lower cost price and result in greatly expanded demands and markets and thus expanded job opportunities." These observations of the Ford Foundation Team require careful consideration and examination. We do not know whether these Experts ever cared to go to the Centre of the All-India Village Industries Association in Wardha and whether they tried to understand the point of view advocated by Gandhiji. So far as we know, no such attempt was made by the International Planning Team. This is, surely, unfortunate. We are prepared to learn from foreign experts in improving our techniques of production. But if these experts come to India with the impression that Gandhiji, his co-workers and the Indian National leaders devoted no attention to this problem all these decades, they are sadly mistaken.

Gandhiji himself was not against machinery as such. He was very desirous of improving the Spinning Wheel and announced attractive prizes to those who would prepare improved Charkhas. In Wardha, he conducted continuous experiments for improvements in the techniques of Village Industries in India. Gandhiji was, therefore, not against modernisation and technological progress; he was against the "craze" for mechanisation and labour-saving devices, specially in a country like India where labour is abundant and capital is scarce. "Mechanisation is good", observed Gandhiji "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished". "It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India". He, therefore, welcomed those machines "that lightened the burden of crores of men living in cottages". Gandhiji was not against the use of electricity either. "If we could have electricity in every village home", remarked Gandhiji, "I would not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity". The over-riding consideration in all these matters must be the human factor which essentially means the provision for full employment to the people. It is true that the techniques of production must improve if the total amount of wealth in the country has to be increased. But a mere increase in the total wealth without increasing the purchasing power of the people by providing them adequate means of livelihood, will not solve our basic problems. Our objective, therefore, should be "*full employment plus maximum production*". It should also be borne in mind that we cannot afford to depend very much on foreign markets for absorbing the products of our industries. Our attempt should be to create an increasing market within the country. This can be possible only if we employ labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive techniques of production.

We are, therefore, not against modernisation or rationalisation. But in our anxiety for improving the techniques of production in small-scale and cottage industries, we should not exceed the proper limits and create fresh problems. The content and form of rationalisation will naturally differ from country to country and from region to region even within a country in accordance with local circumstances. A Particular type of technological

improvement in America or Russia where labour is comparatively scarce, may be completely out of place in India where the main problem is to provide employment to the people. Even within India, a particular technique which may be good in Rajasthan, may not be suitable in Travancore-Cochin where the density of population is much higher. The application of modern techniques, therefore, requires constant vigilance, study and research in order to balance the advantages of scientific improvements and the employment potential.

We do earnestly hope that the Regional Institutes, which the Government of India would be setting up in different parts of the country, would keep all these considerations in view so that the fundamental problems of our national economy may be solved satisfactorily. We understand that the All-India Khadi and village Industries Board has also decided to establish a Research Centre in Calcutta. Recently, a training school for Khadi workers has been opened at Nasik on behalf of the board. The Government should try to coordinate the activities and experiments of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board with those of the new Small-scale Industries Board in order to avoid duplication of work and conflict of ideas. We should approach this task with an open mind without reducing a particular notion to a "fetish" or a dogma. Our approach must be scientific and rational and must not lose touch with the realities of the situation. Any kind of orthodoxy, either for modernisation or for old techniques, would be suicidal.

TRANSFORMATION

There's just one thing
That never fails
To cause a boy
To fix his nails
And shine his shoes
And comb his hair
And tie his tie
With special care.
There's just one thing
That turns a lad
From careless oaf
To Galahad
And makes a knight
Out of a churl:
Just this one little
Thing—A Girl.

Richard Armour.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY

By

Mr. HORACE WYNDHAM

—(o)—

The annual Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts will be on view at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, until the middle of August. During the winter months, important exhibitions of works by the established masters of Britain and other countries are staged in the Royal Academy's galleries.

It was in December, 1768, that a document, officially known as the "Instrument of Foundation", brought into being the Royal Academy of Arts. King George III, who signed this document as "patron, protector, and supporter" of the Academy, is known to have been subject to fits of insanity—which seems to provide some explanation of the fact that Benjamin West, whom he appointed as Court Painter, extracted from him £30,000 for pictures that would not now fetch as many shillings.

George III nominated the original members of the Royal Academy. Two of them were women: Mary Moser, a water colourist, and Angelica Kauffman, who helped to decorate St. Paul's Cathedral and Somerset House. It was not until 1922 that a similar distinction was conferred on another woman, Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton; and in 1936 Dame Laura Knight was elected a full Academician.

The first President of the Royal Academy (P.R.A.) was Sir Joshua Reynolds. The success of this distinguished and fashionable portrait-painter aroused the jealousy of some of his colleagues, but he was the right man for the post, and while he was at the helm the Academy established itself firmly in the artistic life of the capital. The annual number of works to be exhibited soon rose from 136 to 780, and the receipts from a beggarly £700 to £3,000, with a balance of £12,000 tucked away in the funds.

Thomas Gainsborough was another of the original members of the Academy, and quarrelled with most of his fellow R.A.s. In one year he sent a batch of Twenty-six portraits, with instructions as to how they should be hung. "If," he informed the Council, "they are hung above the line, never more, whilst he breathes, will he send another picture to the Exhibition. This he swears by God!" A tactful Council saw that his wishes were met,

The Royal Academy has not always occupied its present home. Its first one was in some auction-rooms in Pall Mall. In 1780 the annual exhibition was transferred to Somerset House on the banks of the Thames, and in 1836 accommodation was provided in a portion of the National Gallery. In 1867 the Academy acquired the Burlington House premises it has occupied ever since. As the rent was a "peppercorn" one and the lease was for 999 years, it is likely to remain in Piccadilly for some time to come.

The two biggest events of the year at Burlington House are the Summer Exhibition of the work of modern artists, and the Winter Exhibition which is usually devoted to a particular artist or school.

For the Summer Exhibition, about 11,000 offerings pass before the Selection Committee every year. There is room in the galleries for only about 1,500 works, so that the average aspirant may regard the exhibition of his picture in the Academy as a considerable achievement. The decision of the Council is notified by the colour of the card that is forwarded to the artists—yellow for acceptance and the all-too-common buff for rejection.

In theory, if a rejected picture is not removed from the Academy premises within twelve months, the Council have a right to sell it. But, as such works would have small chance of fetching very much, the auctioneer's hammer is not often employed. One would-be exhibitor, on being officially informed that unless he took it away, his offering would be sold, wrote back: "Glad to hear it. I hope it will fetch a good price!"

The day before the Academy doors open to the public there is held a "Private View". This is regarded as a social function of the first importance; and, as such, is attended by leading representatives of the worlds of society,

fashion, art, literature, science, sport, and finance. Cameras click in the courtyard, and gossip-writers scribble down names for their columns. In essence, the occasion does not seem to have changed very much since it was depicted by W.P. Frith in his "Private Views" which was hung in the Academy of 1881 and is now in the Tate Gallery.

The Private View is preceded by the annual Academy Banquet which is held in the newly-hung galleries. One of the speakers this year was Sir Winston Churchill, an honorary Royal Academician.

The "Summer Exhibition" at Burlington House is the artist's shop window; it is in fact, the only Exhibition where an artist can offer his works for sale without paying any fees or commission. It is worth noting in this connection that the Royal Academy has always been financed entirely by the entrance fees and other proceeds of exhibitions (such as the sale of catalogues), and has never received any Government subsidy or grant.

At almost every Summer Exhibition, the newspaper critics designate one of the works on view as the "Picture of the Year". The one that attracted the biggest crowd is said to have been Frith's "Derby Day"; and a rail had to be erected in front of it to keep off the pressure of sightseers. "I found them smelling the canvas like bloodhounds," wrote the artist. This picture is now in the National Gallery. When Oscar Wilde saw it there, he struck an attitude and remarked, "wonderful! is it all done by hand?"

James Whistler did not have a lofty opinion of the judgment of the Selection Committee. "Some of the pictures on the walls of Burlington House," he declared, "should be hung in the Burlington Arcade." But the Academy has always thrived on controversy. The opening of the Summer Exhibition is as eagerly awaited as ever, and for the next few months one of the most reliable of London's conversational gambits will be "What do you think of this year's Academy?"

Treaties, a Source of International Law

By PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

TREATIES of amity have been known to the ancient Communities. The Roman Civilians classified all international contracts into three classes :—

- (a) *Pactiones*
- (b) *Sponsiones*
- (c) *Foedera*

Custom is the original source of International Law; treaties are another increasingly important source. As Oppenheim has reminded us "that treaties can stipulate rules of international conduct at all is based on the customary rule of the Law of Nations that treaties are binding upon the contracting parties."

As contrasted with municipal or national law, there are as yet no law-enacting and law-determining branches in the great society of nations—Treaties between nations serve this organic need in international relations.

CLASSIFICATION OF TREATIES

Treaties are solemn agreements between States. James Madison made a four-fold classification of treaties in 1806. Phillimore added to it a fifth class.

Dr. McNair's classification may conveniently be followed by us in India :—

- (a) Treaties having the character of conveyances *eg.* Treaty of 1785 between G.B. & U.S.A.
- (b) Treaties having the essential juridical character of a contract. *Eg.* Ex-territoriality treaties.
- (c) *Law-making Treaties.* *Eg.* The covenant of the League of Nations (1920). The Charter of the United Nations (1945).
- (d) Treaties akin to Charters of Incorporation. *Eg.* The Universal Postal Union 1874.

EXISTING TREATY STRUCTURE

With the foundation of the Modern Law of Nations started the first law making treaties, the treaty of West Phalia, (1648) (The collective name for the separate treaties of Osnabruck and Munster).

The Congress of Vienna of 1815 took upon itself the remaking of the map of Europe after the downfall of Napoleon. The protocol of March, 19, 1815 supplemented by a subsequent protocol of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle Nov. 21, 1818 regulated the classes of diplomatic agents and settled their claims to precedence.

With the flight of the Kaiser in 1918, the treaty of Versailles was brought into being, the Covenant of the League of Nations being a part of it.

The Charter of the United Nations came into effect on 24 October 1945 when the requisite ratifications were received. A departure was made not to make it an integral part of the treaties of Peace.

TREATIES OF COMMERCE & NAVIGATION

Lewis Hertslet, librarian of the British Foreign Office, published in 1827 the first volume of the treaties of Peace and Navigation concluded by Great Britain with Foreign Powers. Till 1925, it contained 31 volumes after which the series was incorporated with the *British and Foreign State Papers*.

It would be an insuperable pastime to examine all treaties and enunciate a statement of principles of international law which they evidence in the practice of States.

EXAMINATION OF A FEW TREATIES OF INDIA

When India became a Dominion she earned internationally the Sovereign right of a free country. An examination of a few treaties signed by India from 1948–1953 will reinforce how India has been conforming to her status as a peace-loving member of the United Nations.

The treaty with the Swiss Confederation of August 14, 1948 has in the preamble the phrase "perpetual peace and unalterable friendship".

Generally in every treaty properly drawn up there will be

- (a) Preamble
- (b) Primary Stipulations
- (c) Miscellaneous clauses as duration, ratification, and accession of third powers if contemplated; and
- (d) Signatures of representatives.

Treaties with Bhutan of August 8, 1949, and with Sikkim of Dec. 5, 1950, are examples of new treaties which were necessitated by the termination of British Government's authority in India.

Treaties of friendship with Afghanistan dated January 4, 1950, with Iran dated March 15, 1950, and with Turkey dated Dec. 14, 1951 are instances of starting of diplomatic relations between the contracting parties.

In the treaty with Nepal dated July 31, 1950, there is a *special article* in Art. 2, whereunder "The two Governments undertake to inform each other of any serious fiction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments".

The treaty with Indonesia of March, 3, 1951 and with Burma of July 7, 1951 are almost identical. The treaty of friendship with Philippines dated July 11, 1952 is similar.

The Government of India has done wisely to note at the end of the treaties with Burma, Turkey, Syria (1952) Iraq, and Muscat and Oman (1953) that "in case of doubt the *English text shall prevail*."

It is singularly appropriate that India should enunciate in the Preamble to the Treaty with Turkey of Dec. 14, 1951 "the interests of international peace and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations."

RATHER TRYING

The famous Judge, Ben Lindsay, who believed in trial marriage was sweltering in his chambers in Denver one hot July day when a friend entered. He was astonished to find Lindsay sipping steaming-hot coffee.

"Say, Ben," he said, "why don't you try something cooling? Ever tried chilled gin and ginger ale?"

"No," retorted Lindsay, like lightning, "but I've tried a lot of fellows who have."

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

FORTUNE TELLING

Shakespeare has a shrewd thrust on the astrologers and palmists who beguile the superstitious with soft spoken promises of fortune. When the witches announced the increase of honours Macbeth is to receive, Banquo reminds him that they may not be the decisions of a beneficent deity but the temptations of a malignant one:

And oftentimes to win us to our harm
The instruments of darkness tell us truths
Win us with honest trifles to betray's
In deepest consequence.

HEROES AND BRIGANDS

Perhaps it is true that the world knows nothing of its greatest men. In any case, it is time that we left off making heroes of successful brigands who did not scruple "to wade through slaughter to a throne and shut the gates of mercy on mankind". Better to be a mute inglorious Milton, born at the wrong time and place and so condemned to obscurity.
—Dean Inge.

ODE TO SOLITUDE

Thus let me live, unseen, unknown;
Thus unlamented let me die,
Steal from the world and not a stone
Tell where I lie.
—Alexander Pope. 1688—1744.

UPON JULIA'S CLOTHES

When as in silks my Julia goes,
Then, then, methinks how sweetly flows
That liquefaction of her clothes.
Next, when I cast mine eyes and see
That brave vibration each way free;
O how that glittering taketh me!
—Robert Herrick. 1591—1674.

INVECTUS

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever Gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.
In the full clutch of circumstance
I have not winced or cried aloud;
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.
Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds and shall find me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.
—William Ernest Henley. 1849—1903.

REQUIESCAT

Strew on her roses, roses,
And never a spray of yew.
In quiet she reposes:
Ah! would that I did too.
—Matthew Arnold. 1822—88.

THE SORROWS OF WERTHER

Werther had a love for Charlotte
Such as words could never utter:
Would you know how first he met her?
She was cutting bread and butter.

Charlotte was a married lady,
And a moral man was Werther,
And for all the wealth of Indies
Would do nothing for to hurt her.

So he sigh'd and pined and ogled,
And his passion boil'd and bubbled,
Till he blew his silly brains out,
And no more by it was troubled.

Charlotte, having seen his body
Borne before her on a shutter,
Like a well-conducted person,
Went on cutting bread and butter.
—W. M. Thackeray (1811—63)

TRUE NOBILITY

There is nothing noble in being superior to
some other man. The true nobility is being
superior to your previous self.
Hindu Proverb.

LITERATURE AND LIFE

Literature always anticipates life. It does
not copy it, but moulds it to its purpose.
—Oscar Wilde.

LASTING PEACE

I hope the peace will be lasting,
And that mankind will at length,
As they call themselves reasonable creatures,
Have reason and sense enough
To settle their differences without cutting
throats;

For in my opinion,
There never was a good war or a bad peace.
Benjamin Franklin.

AUGUST 1954]

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

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THE TRAGEDY OF THE BURNT MSS

The tragedy of the burnt MSS. of Carlyle's "French Revolution" is now pretty well known. One hundred and twenty years ago Thomas Carlyle, who had come to London with less than £300, a wife and no prospects, finished writing the first volume of his "History of the French Revolution." It was the result of a year's toil in the library of the British Museum; and more than half his capital was exhausted. However, he had great hopes for this work, which was to be completed in three volumes. His greatest friend in London was John Stuart Mill; and to him Carlyle lent the manuscript of this first volume. Mill at this time, was a close friend of a certain Mrs. Taylor, and early in March, 1835, he left Carlyle's manuscript with her for a few days. While it was in her care it was accidentally burnt.

On an evening in March 1835 Mill, "pale as Hector's ghost", appeared to the Carlyles at Cheyne Row and conveyed the hideous news, with trembling hesitation. The effect of the accident upon the people concerned was characteristic: Mrs. Taylor seems not to have felt herself at all responsible; Mill took all the blame and was completely overcome; Carlyle was more sorry for Mill than for himself, and with remarkable courage, after a few weeks of bitter despair, began the work again, finishing this second writing of the first volume by the end of the year.

There at once passed between Carlyle and Mill letters* that do infinite honour to both. First, Carlyle sat down, early next morning, to say:

Chalsea,
Saturday, 7th March, 1835.

MY DEAR MILL,

How are you? You left me last night with a look which I shall not soon forget. Is there anything that I could do or suffer or say to alleviate you? For I feel that your sorrow must be sharper far than mine; yours bound to be a passive one. How true is this of Richter: "All Evil is like a nightmare; the instant you begin to stir under it, it is gone."

I have ordered a *Biographie Universelle*, this morning; and a better sort of paper. Thus, far from giving up the game, you see, I am risking another £10 on it. Courage, my Friend!

That I can never write that volume again is indubitable; singularly enough, the whole earth could not get it back; but only a better or a worse one. There is the strangest dimness over it. A figure thrown into the melting pot; but the metal (all that was golden, or gold-like of that,—and copper, can be gather-

ed) is there: the model also is, in my head. O my Friend, how easily might the bursting of some puny ligament or filament have abolished all light there too!

That I can write a book on the French Revolution is (God be thanked for it) as clear to me as ever; also that if life be given me so long, I will. To it again, therefore! *Andar can Dios!*

* * * * *
Ever your affectionate Friend,

T. CARLYLE.

While Carlyle was writing thus, Mill, at India House, was at his desk saying:

India House, March 7th.

MY DEAR CARLYLE,

I will endeavour, as you advise, to think as little as I can of this misfortune, though I shall not be able to cease thinking of it until it is ascertained how far the loss is capable of being repaired, or rather reduced to a loss of time and labour only. There are hardly any means I would not joyfully take, if any existed, by which I could myself be instrumental to remedying the mischief my carelessness has caused. That, however, depends not upon me. But here is one part of the evil—though, I fear, the least part—which I could repair: the loss to yourself of time and labour, that is, of income. And I beg of you, with an earnestness with which perhaps I may never again have to ask anything so long as I live, that you will permit me to do this, little as it is, towards remedying the consequences of my fault and lightening my self-reproach. It is what you would permit as a matter of course if I were a stranger to you; it is what is even legally due to you; and to have brought an evil upon a friend instead of a stranger is already a sufficient aggravation of one's regret, without the addition to it of not being allowed to make even the poor amends one would make to a stranger.

If I could convince you what a relief this would be to me, and what an act of friendship, to say nothing of justice, it would be on your part, I am sure you would not hesitate.

Yours affectionately,

J. S. MILL.

Carlyle accepted, though he insisted that the 'amends' should be one and not, as Mill urged, two hundred pounds; and no part of this tragic transaction left any shadow on their mutual regard or affection.

How A Modern Civil Service is Run

BY Mr. BOSWORTH MONCK

One of the most celebrated authorities on Britain's institutions—Professor K.C. Wheare—recently called the United Kingdom form of Government a “Parliamentary bureaucracy.” This was a new way of saying that Ministers decide what shall be done and Civil Servants put these decisions into effect. Only Ministers have the power to recommend to Parliament what should be done; if Parliament approves, then the Civil Servants can do their part. Ministers are members of Parliament, themselves elected (except for the few in the House of Lords) by universal adult franchise exercised in secret ballot. Most Civil Servants, however, are selected in open competition by a Commission quite independent of the Government and guided in its procedures very much by the results of written examinations.

“THINKERS” AND “DOERS”

Ministers generally lose office as soon as their party no longer has a majority in Parliament. Most Civil Servants, however, are recruited in their early twenties and stay in the service until they retire in their sixties. So the Parliamentary member of our “Parliamentary bureaucracy” faces an uncertain life, while the Civil Servant has the more humdrum lure of security.

Since the early days of the reforms begun one hundred years ago, the Civil Service has been divided into “thinkers” and “doers”. As the responsibilities of the State have grown so have the electors and citizens come to see more and more of the “doers”. Sixty years ago our ancestors might only have seen the postman: now we meet Civil Service clerks in labour exchanges and national insurance offices, and many other places. In commerce and industry, managements have to deal with factory inspectors, export and import licensing authorities and those who ration the materials that industry uses. They have to consult with Government Departments about where their factories should be and what they should look like.

All these new Civil Service jobs really arise from one of two causes: first, the responsibility of the State towards the individual—to see that he and his children are healthy, and work or learn in healthy surroundings; second, the responsibility of the State to see that the

resources of the nation are used to the best advantage. These principles are, in fact, agreed by all our major political parties although, naturally, there is plenty of argument between the parties about how to put these principles into practice.

FROM UNIVERSITIES

The other branch of the Civil Service consists of the “thinkers”. They can and often do suggest to Ministers what had best be done or at least summarise for the Ministers what are the various courses of action from which one must be chosen. Naturally, as Government activities have extended into new fields the “thinkers”—mainly recruited from the Universities—have been joined by older men and women with professional qualifications, such as accountants, scientists, lawyers, doctors, architects and so forth. Altogether there are some 20,000 of this type of persons with some 600,000 of the rest.

Between the ranks of the “doers” and the “thinkers” are a variety of “executive” grades. The work of these grades mainly consists of applying a Government policy to particular cases where something more than a routine operation is needed—where some measure of judgment and initiative is necessary—such as, for example, in supply and accounting departments, or the manager of a labour exchange. In addition, there is that army of typists and clerks without which no business, whether of a Government or a factory, can get on.

Finally, what sort of people are these Civil Servants? Among the “thinkers”, most are the same kind of people as the managers of commerce and industry—essentially professional people. And among the “doers” also, are people who might quite well be found at the same job outside the Civil Service. Generally, those inside the Civil Service are paid slightly less than those doing the same or similar work outside it.

The reason is the greater security of a Civil Service position. Since World War II there has been a healthy tendency for promotion to be possible—as it is in industry and the armed services—from the “doers” to the “thinkers”, from the “ranks” to the “officers” and from the “officers” to the “staff officers”.

Draft Constitution of China

By SRI M. M. PURI

—(o)—

THE TWENTIETH century has been a period of economic upheavals, national commotion and social experimentation. It has been an age of revolutions. China has emerged as the biggest nation which has cast away its yoke of feudalism and inaugurated people's Democracy. After two decades of incessant civil and national war China has started on its new course. The turning point has passed and on the 14th of June, 1954 began a new period in the history of China when the Draft Constitution was made public.

China, like Russia, is wedded to Marxian theory and the fathers of the Draft have spent a life time in the organization and following of the Communist Party. Naturally, what will interest us is, the features of this Socialist State, its similarities and departures from the model of the constitution of the Russian Big Brother. We will consider not the similarities—they were natural—but the novel features in the Chinese Draft which do not find a parallel in Russia. The innovations may be partly attributed to the personality of Mao-tse-tung who was Chairman of the Drafting Committee. He has played for China what Lenin and Stalin put together played for Russia. His resolute self-esteem coupled with native and novel problems of China (which demanded an original solution and could not be squared with ready-made and imported solutions prepared in the Moscow laboratory) led him to avoid the degrading imitations of Russia.

The first departure is the Preamble to the Draft. It is not the usual objective statement of principles and ideals we are used to, but is rather longish and paradoxical. The preamble betrays a confused amalgam of the abbreviated history of the Chinese struggle for freedom, their contempt for the “reactionary enemies” and their unbounded admiration for that glorious cradle of socialism, that good Northern Neighbour, the Land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A sentence about what may be called the Directive principle of the State policy has been hemmed in between a contemptuous

slap for the United States and a passionate hug for Russia. It is specifically declared in the Preamble, that the indestructible friendship which China has built up “with the great U.S.S.R.” must be continuously developed and consolidated. The peculiarity that strikes an observer is that the Preamble reflects too much of the subjective feelings of the Fathers. It betrays an inhibition of past which flings its ominous shadow on the future. A constitution, no doubt, springs from past history and present needs but a statement of these is always implied in the statement of ideals and aspirations that are cherished by the People. A constitution is essentially a document for future guidance; the past could have been more graciously mentioned in a separate official version of the Chinese history.

Incidentally, there is no preamble to the Russian Constitution!

A significant and almost apostatic departure from the Russian model is found in their “categories of the ownership of the means of production”. Their permittance of Capitalist ownership (heresy in Russia) seems to be a compromise with the inevitable *status quo*. Article 10 guarantees Capitalists the protection of law. However, the ultimate intention with regard to Capitalism is not made a secret of. Second para of Art. 10 openly declares that their (Capitalists') days are numbered. The declared policy about the Capitalists is: “use, restrict and transform”.

The remnant feudal element has been given a short shrift in which “to reform themselves by work into citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour”. So one notices that the Russian policy of ruthless extermination is kept only as an alternative. And the choice is generously left in the hands of the victim.

It is a tribute to Chinese boldness to have ushered in a single-chambered legislature in this age of bicameralism. Here there is no tribute to Russia, no lip sympathy to traditional constitutionalism. The People's Republic has undertaken no less than the supreme task of the reconciliation of Unicameralism with

Federalism. Its working will have a great influence on the theory of government. One cannot conjecture what effect it may have ultimately, but on the face of it, it seems to have deprived the people of direct representation. The National People's Congress seems to be like the Council of State in India, based on the principle of indirect election.

The supreme legislative authority is the National People's Congress (N.P.C.). The deputies of the N. P. C. bear more the character of delegates than of representatives. Poor Burke! His classic assertion for the independence of the representatives has been ignored. The deputies are, says the Draft, "subject to the units which elect them". The Right to Recall, a most democratic feature, has been enshrined in the Draft as the palladium of the liberties of the people.

The independence of the judiciary is a *sine qua non* in modern democratic constitutionalism. At the face of it China gives a first class Supreme Court for safeguarding the rights of the people. But one wonders that after having been so drastically hedged around, any substance remains in this provision. For example Art. 30 section 5 provides for the supervision of the Supreme Court by the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. Secondly the Supreme Court is responsible to the legislature and has to report to it (Art. 80). Further the Standing Committee of the N. P. C. is given the power to interpret the laws (Art. 30 se. 3.) Besides the Supreme Court, the courts of the units also are responsible to the respective legislatures. Where is the citizen's freedom promised to him in his fundamental rights, when Art. 76 inserts with tragic complacency the provision for his secret trial? That is what will make a 'Darkness at Noon' an imminent possibility in China also. There is material here for a new Arthur Koestler. One pins great faith in People's Democracy in China but the lurking fear that provisions such as these stifle the very atmosphere about democracy is hard to dispel.

The abhorrence for the idea of Separation of Power is a legacy from the First Socialist State. The Standing Committee of the N.P.C. has been given a jumble of functions which defy classification into 3 accepted organs of Government—Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. It is an amalgum of Parlia-

ment, a Supreme Court and executive. Although there is a separate Cabinet, called the State Council, a separate supreme legislature and a separate Supreme Court, still this Standing Committee overlaps the functions of all of them. It is a sort of centric circle with the rest of organs and cuts segments from each of them. One hardly needs to be reminded of Montesquieu's warning that the 3 powers in one body is the very definition of tyranny! Since it is a dangerous bold new experiment we have a right to hope that Montesquieu was not an omniscient prophet. Anyhow we will have to wait and see.

Russia gave us the concept of democratic dictatorship; China has introduced another paradox of democratic centralism (Art. 2). It is an attempt at mutual accommodation of the ideas of central control and power proceeding from the people. This is again a bold experiment and while the consequences are in abeyance we acknowledge our indebtedness for this concept.

Twentieth century again has been a period of queer results. The normal law of cause and effect has lost its omnipotence. Empirism is feeling shaky in its away. Human reason has been on occasions completely baffled, human expectations falsified and hopes negated. In this age of flux it is vain to prophesy. The word of judgment upon the constitution of China is a right for posterity when the working of the constitution has been seen. Meanwhile the Draft inspires fear that always attends originality of approach. But everything can happen and everything includes the exact reverse of what most of us may fear!

WARNING

A junior member of the staff was asking his boss to give him a raise.

"I don't know what's the matter with you young fellows," complained his employer. "I started here at two pounds a week, and after three years I was making only three pounds. But I worked hard and saved hard, and when my boss went bankrupt I bought him out."

"That proves what I always thought!" exclaimed the young man. "You can't pay assistants low wages and expect to stay in business."

Should Managing Agencies Go?

By SRI. B. C. TANDON,

Lecturer in Commerce, University of Allahabad

Managing agency system has been very much in the news recently and has roused considerable interest in the country. The Parliament at its last session discussed the Company Law Bill and the members were sharply divided into two groups. One of them wanted the system of managing agency to go book, bell and candle, and the other favoured its retention with necessary improvements, because they thought that at the moment there was no agency to replace it adequately. The Commerce Minister, perhaps, rightly felt that the system should be mended rather than ended in view of the fact that capital was shy in the country. The same view was held by the Finance Minister also and he realised that if the managing agency system was ended it would be a serious blow to the industrial development of the country in the present circumstances.

However, several members did not agree with the views expressed by the Minister for finance and the Minister for commerce and industry. One of them said that if other forms of feudalism, could be done away with by the Government, there was no reason why feudalism perpetrated in the form of managing agency in industry and business, and which has been hampering economic development, should be allowed to continue and grow.

If we trace the history of the managing agency system we will realise that managing agents have been responsible to a very great extent for promoting modern large scale industries in India. Since their very inception in this country, they have been performing three important functions, viz. promotion, finance and management. Most of the industrial enterprises in India are being promoted by managing agents. They have hardly left any sphere of industrial activity untouched. Tata Sons Ltd., Bird & Co., Martin & Co., James Finlay & Co. Ltd., J. P. Srivastava & Sons and Karamchand Thapar & Brothers Ltd., have been a number of managing agents who have pioneered and founded a large number of hydro-electric plants, oil mills, soap works, textile mills, airways, sugar mills, paper mills, insurance companies, shipping concerns, cement works and numerous other undertakings. They have been also responsible for the sound and efficient manage-

ment of the concerns under their control. They have been a perennial source of trained and efficient managers. It goes to their credit that they have supplied the necessary talent and managerial skill to the industrial requirements of the country.

Managing agents are the pivot of industrial finance. They make provision not only for the initial capital, but they have been supplying finance for subsequent extensions, and improvements out of their enormous private capital. They induce their friends and relatives to subscribe to the share capital of the company. The following data compiled by the National Planning Committee, clearly reveal the extent to which they have been supplying loans to the industry.

	64 Bom- bay Mills		56 Ahmeda- bad Mills	
	Rs	%	Rs.	%
	(Lakhs)		(Lakhs)	
1. Amount loaned by Managing Agents	532	21%	264	22%
2. Amount loaned by Banks	226	9%	42	4%
3. Amount of Public deposits	273	11%	426	39%
4. Amount of Share capital	1214	49%	340	32%
5. Amount of debentures	238	10%	8	1%

Managing agents have performed many important functions, but in recent years they have developed some serious defects. They have been guilty of gross irregularities and malpractices. The sub-Committee on Industrial Finance of the National Planning Committee observed, "The system is rotten, root and branch, leaf and bark and blossom."

Managing agents often obtain complete control over the undertakings they manage. The Memorandum of the Bombay Shareholders Association on Managing Agents (1949) rightly observed, "Unwarranted restrictions have been put on the Directors' powers of management and Board of Directors have been converted into packed-bodies." In fact, the Directors owe their appointment directly or indirectly to the managing agents, who wield a commanding influence over the concern they manage. They get their remuneration

ration as a percentage of profits, a certain minimum for office allowance and an additional salary in the form of various commissions. Before 1936 most of the managing agents remunerated on the basis of sales, but it was provided in Sec. 87 (c) that the remuneration shall be a sum based on a fixed percentage of the net annual profits of the company with provision for a minimum in case of inadequate profits. But this section does not apply to companies incorporated prior to 15, Jan. 1937. Memorandum of Bombay Shareholders Association on Managing Agents (1940) clearly showed that managing agents of Hukum Chand Mills Limited, the Alembic Works Ltd., and the Alembic Glass Industries get remuneration both on profits and sales. To check this evil, the Company Law Committee (1952) suggested that managing agents' remuneration should not exceed 12½% of the annual net profits of the company. Where there are inadequate profits, a minimum should be fixed considering the size and nature of the company. This sum is not to exceed Rs. 50,000 per annum. The Committee further recommended that the provision of office allowance a subject of constant criticism should be deleted. The Bombay Shareholders Association analysed the published accounts of 39 companies in Bombay and 22 cotton textiles in Ahmedabad and it showed that the percentage of managing agents' remuneration to net profits is fairly high.

1940—49

Bombay Ahmedabad
(Lakhs of Rupees)

Gross profits	13,394	4,426
M Agents' Commission & Office Allowance	1,224	606
Depreciation	1,162	373
Taxation	7,853	2,587
Net profits	3,148	859
Total dividends	1,456	166
% of M.A.'s remuneration to Gross profits	9.1%	13.7%
% of M.A.'s remuneration to net profits	38.8%	70.5%

More or less similar results are derived from a study of 30 jute companies of Calcutta.

Cos' paying on profits basis (16 Cos.)	Cos' paying on sales basis (14 Cos.)
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1. Gross profits	2,067	2,627
2. M. As' commission and office allowance	256	395
3. Depreciation	140	219
4. Taxation	1,187	1,289
5. Net profits	687	727
6. Total dividends	543	532
7. % of M.As' remuneration to gross profits	12.3%	15%
8. % of Managing Agents' remuneration to Net profits.	36.9%	54.2%

Some other undesirable practices of the system are interinvestment of funds, stock exchange speculation, and transfer of office to dishonest and incompetent persons.

The Company Law (Amendment) Act of 1936 too imposed restrictions on the powers and rights of managing agents. Reforms were also made regarding their appointment and remuneration. But they did not produce the desired effect. After the second world war the Government of India started discussing seriously the improvements in the managing agency system. In March 1946, the Government appointed Mr. Tricumdas Dwarkadas (as an Officer on Special Duty) to consider and report the amendments needed in the Indian Companies' Act. Thereafter, the Government appointed Mr. V. K. Thiruvengkatachari to carry out further studies as Mr. Tricumdas Dwarkadas could not complete the assigned task. After his report, the Commerce Ministry issued the 'Memorandum on the Amendment of the Indian Companies Act'. Thereafter the Company Law Committee was constituted in October 1950, under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. H. Bhabha, ex-Commerce Minister, Government of India. But before the report of this Committee could see light of the day the Government took immediate steps to check the evils arising out of the managing agency system and with this end in view they passed the Indian Companies Amendment Act, 1951. The Act imposed restrictions on the appointment, reappointment, remuneration, rights and duties of managing agents. The Government consulted the Company Law Committee also on various points. The Companies Bill seeks to consolidate and amend the law relating to companies. It is based almost entirely on the re-

commendations of the Company Law Committee which submitted its report early in 1952.

The Bill which was presented to the Parliament to amend the present Company Law is one of the most important measures in recent legislative history. It has been referred to a Select Committee. The provisions of the Bill relating to managing agency system cover a wide range of topics, such as, the terms and conditions of appointment of managing agents, their remuneration, their powers and duties with regard to borrowings, loans, contracts, sales and purchases.

In the House of the People, a member criticised the Bill on the ground that it fundamentally and basically, did not take them very far. He rightly demanded that a full list of managing agents, be made and their methods of working tabulated and recorded. Government then should find out whether managing agents have worked satisfactorily. The same member asked the Parliament to study the history of any company in the country and see how the value of their shares fluctuated. The companies start working with a fanfare of publicity and are often patronized by Ministers. Public confidence is created. The public buys shares confidently believing

that it is a sound investment, but in 90% of cases, shares of these companies start falling after ten days of their sale. These managing agents float companies, but in "effect it is only a ruse to collect money from the poor shareholders and gamble with it."

Now to what conclusions do we arrive at? Should the system be mended or ended? The merit of the system lies in the fact that it brings together various factors and provided an instrument of production. It brings finance and managerial skill in the industry. It is true that its development in the country has been "horizontal" rather than "vertical". It is also a fact that this type of horizontal development has acted to some extent against the interests of shareholders and against certain social objectives which are to be preserved. But at the moment the Government have no alternative. The Commerce and Industry Minister rightly points out that "even to rebuild a society one must use existing tools". There might be certain types of managing agents who have to be guarded against, and adequate provisions made to meet the mean. However, it does not seem to be very desirable to end the managing agency system at this stage and necessary improvements regarding a ceiling on their earnings and disposal of funds etc., can set matters right.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESS COMMISSION

The Government of India published on July 26 a preliminary summary of the important recommendations made by the Press Commission, but, has made it clear that it is intended merely for public information and is not to be used for forming judgments upon the recommendations until the full text of the report becomes available.

Some of the principal recommendations of the Press Commission are the creation of an All-India Press Council by statute which is to be charged with the task of safeguarding the freedom of the Press to maintain its independence, the formulation of a code of ethics for journalists, the appointment of a Press Registrar and the establishment of a State Trading Corporation to deal with newsprint supply. Minimum wages and long-term benefits for journalists have also been suggested.

The Commission has recommended, among other things, a price-page schedule for newspapers and suggests that advertisements should not exceed 40 per cent of the total space. It recommends that the publication of newspapers and periodicals should be made a central responsibility, and suggests among other things the banning of the publication of entry forms for prize competitions in newspapers and periodicals.

Wherever possible says the Commission, every paper should be constituted as a separate unit, and, in the case of multiple editions, each unit should be separated from the others in the matter of accounts. Where a chain consists of a number of groups, each group should be separated from the other.

On the question of ownership and control of newspapers, the Commission pleads for the diffusion of ownership and suggests the formation of trusts for the devolution of control and, in the alternative, machinery for devolution of ownership. It also recommends limitation of profit motive and suggests that the first return on capital might be limited in the case of every newspaper to a figure of half per cent above the bank rate or four per cent, whichever is higher.

The Press Council should pay special attention to the existence of any deviation from standards arising from financial interests of the owners of the paper. The Commission has found that there already exists in the Indian newspaper industry a considerable degree of concentration and feel that there is a danger that this tendency might further develop in the future.

The Commission has found that there has been a general decline in the status and independence of the Editor and suggests that with a view to stabilise and define the Editor's ultimate responsibility in the conduct of a newspaper, the appointment of an Editor should be attended with the execution of a contract of employment laying down the general policy of the paper in as precise terms as possible. The Editor, in discharging his responsibility, should be bound by the generally accepted code of journalistic ethics and practice.

As regards presentation of news, there should be no question of favouring a particular policy or trimming the news to suit that policy. The editor should decide finally what items of news should go in a paper and the owner should not be in a position to order a blacking out of any items of news.

MINIMUM BASIC WAGE FOR WORKING JOURNALIST

Dealing at length with the conditions of working journalists, the Commission has suggested a minimum basic wage of Rs. 125 with Rs. 25 as dearness allowance in Class III centres consisting of towns with a population less than one lakh, Rs. 50 dearness allowance in class II centres and Rs. 50 city allowance in Class I-B centres having a population of over seven lakhs and Rs. 50 dearness allowance and Rs. 50 city allowance in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi.

The Commission recommends an employees' provident fund to which the employees and employers should contribute each one month's emoluments of the concerned employee, and gratuity on the basis of 15 days' pay for every year of service. It has also suggested a scheme of bonus.

As regards holidays and leave, the Commission has suggested casual leave of 15 days in a year besides earned leave of one month for every 11 months of service and sick leave at the rate of 20 days per year on half-salary or 10 days with full salary. The Commission suggests that the provisions regarding notice period, bonus, minimum wages, leave provident fund and gratuity should be embodied in the legislation.

NO VALID REASON TO OPPOSE UNIONISM

Referring to trade unionism, the Commission sees no valid ground in opposing Trade Unionism among journalists. In order to bring about a betterment in the existing conditions, working journalists may find it necessary to organise themselves as Trade Unions under the Indian Trade Union Act and the Commission sees no reason why such organisations should interfere with journalistic efficiency. The Commission recommends that the definition of the word "employee" in the proposed legislation should be wide enough to include within its purview the working journalists as well as employees on the managerial side.

Of the Press Council, the Commission says that the best way of maintaining professional standards in journalism would be to bring into existence a body of people principally connected with the industry. Detailing the duties that should be charged to the Council, the Commission says that the Press Council should consist of men who will command the general confidence and respect of the profession and should have 25 members excluding the chairman who should be a person who is or has been a Judge of a High Court and should be nominated by the Chief Justice of India. Out of these, 13 or more should be working journalists of ten years' standing in the profession including working editors and the others should be drawn from newspaper proprietors, Universities, literary bodies, etc.

The Commission has also commented on various constitutional and legislative enactments affecting the Press, and also on the question of the law of defamation.

History of Indo-China War

Cease-fire agreements on Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia were signed at Geneva, on July 21, and the nine-nation Peace Conference set its seal on them at a final session the same night, thus restoring peace throughout Indo-China after more than seven years of war. The agreements for Viet-Nam and Laos were signed by French and Viet-Minh soldiers at dawn, and the agreement on Cambodia was signed by Cambodian and Viet Minh officers soon after mid-day after a last-minute hitch over the text and minor technical difficulties.

THE seven-year-Indo-China war, which cost tens of thousands of lives and made millions home-less began as a small, unimpressive skirmish between the French and Viet Minh in the strategic port of Haiphong in December 1946.

Its origin however goes back much further than that to the Japanese occupation in World War II.

In 1940, France, defeated in Europe, was forced to conclude an agreement with Japan, allowing the Japanese to use northern Indo-China (Tonking) as a base in their war against the Chinese.

Gradually the Japanese extended control over all Indo-China and on Mar. 9, 1945, they overthrew the French administration and named Emperor Bao Dai as the head of the puppet State. During the war, a resistance movement against Japan came into being. It was largely composed of the Viet Minh-League for the independence of Viet-Nam with some free French leaders and a handful of British and American liaison officers.

This motley force was supplied with American equipment by Gen. Claire Chennault's China-based U.S. Air Force planes.

On Aug. 8, 1945, shortly before the end of the world war, the Viet Minh called for an insurrection and soon captured Hanoi.

HO TO THE FORE

Later they seized complete control in Tonking and set up their own Government with Moscow-trained Ho Chi-Minh, a professional revolutionary, as President of Viet Nam.

Emperor Bao Dai was ousted and Ho took over a republic which included the Tonking and Annam areas in the north and Cochinchina in the south.

The independence of the "Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam" was declared on Sept. 2.

Ho had plenty of training for his new job, most of it under Russian or Chinese Communist supervision.

Born in north Annam in 1892 he left the country at the age of 18 as a kitchen hand in a French liner.

Within a few years he was in charge of the colonial section of the French Communist youth organisation and in 1923 was selected for "training" in Moscow by the Communist Youth International.

After two years, he was sent to Canton to recruit the first communist cadres among the Viet-Nameese exiles there.

By 1930 he had founded an Indo-China Communist Party and was sentenced to death in his absence for organising a march by starving peasants on the town Kinh in North Annam.

Later, he was arrested in Hongkong and jailed for 18 months for violating British laws there.

Shortly after his return to Viet-Nam he changed his name to Ho Chi-Minh—"he who enlightens."

The French Government, with only 3000 troops in the territory in 1945 could not afford a clash with Ho's forces and was forced to compromise.

VIET-NAM RECOGNISED

In a convention signed with Ho in March 1946, France recognised the "Viet-Nameese Republic" as an autonomous State within the French Union and the Indo-China Federation.

In return Ho agreed that French troops should remain in Indo-China and replace Gniang Kai-shek's units in the north. He allowed the French into his capital, Hanoi.

Three months later Ho arrived in France to negotiate details of the convention and was received in Paris with military honours usually reserved for a visiting head of State.

But Ho's demands for total independence were rejected and he returned to Indo-China in August after signing an uneasy compromise based on the maintenance of the "status quo."

Meanwhile, a Viet Minh army was recruited and trained under Ho's close friend, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, a bitterly anti-French former history teacher and an anti-Japanese guerilla leader.

Then, in December 1946, two factors made war inevitable.

FIRST SHOTS FIRED

Admiral Thierry Dargenlied, France's Resident General in Indo-China, set up a separate non-Communist Government in Cochinchina, a move promptly attacked by Ho as a violation of the March agreement. Fighting began and Ho took to the hills with his army. The war was on, and Ho declared that "it will be long and difficult."

By February, 1947, the French had pushed Ho's forces from the Hanoi area. The Viet-Minh ill-equipped, were driven 50 miles back to the Chinese frontier by October. But the French failed to bring Ho's main force.

For three years mainly guerilla fighting went on, with sporadic attacks by Viet Minh and French counter-attacks.

In March 1948, the French asked Bao Dai to become Chief of State and offered his Government "independence within the framework of the French Union" in a bid to win popular support.

But still they could not bring Ho to battle.

MAO'S AID

In December 1949, the complexion of the war changed. Mao Tse-Tung, triumphant Chinese Communist leader, overthrew the Chinese Nationalists and reached the Indo-China border. Three thousand tons of supplies a month were ferried over the border to Ho's men, who grew bolder in their sallies against French posts.

In October 1950, the Viet Minh wiped out a line of French forts along the Chinese border, despite American aid which was beginning to pour in, and the remnants of the French forces were in retreat towards Hanoi.

France replied by sending ace Commander General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny to Indo-China.

Gen. de Tassigny halted the Viet Minh offensive 25 miles from Hanoi in January 1951.

He was unable to win back the lost outposts but ringed the vital Tonking "rice bowl" with a chain of concrete pillboxes.

He also laid the foundations of a Viet-Name National Army to help French troops. His death from cancer in January 1952 was a great blow to the French.

NAVARRE PLAN

The new French leader, Gen Henri Navarre conceived the "Navarre Plan."

This aimed to break the military strength of the Viet-Minh once and for all by forcing Gen. Giap into a major battle instead of his customary "hit and run" tactics.

But soon after the beginning of the campaigning season last October, Gen. Giap forestalled him by infiltrating into Laos and Cambodia, the two smaller Indo-China States which had been largely free of Viet Minh activity.

In February, the Viet Minh "iron division" of 12,000 men suddenly appeared outside Luang Prabang, the royal capital of Laos.

They probed the defences, fought sporadic actions, then suddenly swung north and on March 13, hurled their first "Puman Sea" assault on the northern Indo-China fortress of Dien Bien Phu.

FALL OF THE FORTRESS

Reinforced and supplied from air, 12,000 men at the fortress held out until May. Then the Viet Minh overran their positions and the Viet Minh flag was hoisted over the fortress.

French losses were estimated at 4000 dead and 8000 wounded. The Viet Minh were believed to have suffered 18000 casualties, including 8000 dead.

The day after the fall of Dien Bien Phu the Indo-China peace conference opened in Geneva.

As the negotiations dragged on M. Joseph Laniel's Government was defeated in Paris on a vote of confidence over its Indo-China policy.

M. Pierre Mendes-France succeeded him and pledged "peace in a month or I resign"—with a deadline of July 20.

TBE MAGICIAN

When George III had been only a few weeks on the throne he held an investiture and among those he knighted was a man named Day who had rendered faithful service to the State.

Said the King: "Now I know that I really am a king, for I have with this sword performed the feat of turning Day into knight."

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Truce in Indo-China

AT last after seven years of protracted war we have peace in Indo-China. Credit for this should in a large measure go to M. Mendes France, the Prime Minister of France who vowed that failing peace by the 20th July he would resign. Agreement was reached at midnight and the parties signed the pact the very next day. It is doubtless a great personal triumph for the Prime Minister of France who sensed the precarious position of France in the Far East and approached the problem with a true sense of realism. The part that Mr. Eden the British Foreign Minister played in the negotiations has earned for him the tribute of the Colonies no less than of the Communists themselves. Though India was not officially concerned with the Geneva talks it is common knowledge that Nehru's part in the transaction through his roving ambassador Mr. V. K. Menon was at once vital and significant.

Nehru has always insisted that war can be averted by negotiations. Who can forget the bold initiative taken by Mr. Nehru about five months ago when he made a call to the world statesmen for cease-fire in Indo-China? It was India's influence exerted by Mr. Nehru from here and followed by discreet and competent mediation work at close quarters in Geneva that is largely responsible for the success of Britain's moves in the peace-talks.

The truce is certainly one of the outstanding achievements of the post-war era. Sensing the historic importance of this achievement Mr. Nehru said truly in his message of congratulations:

"Asian countries, have reason particularly to be gratified at this return of peace to Asia. The meeting of Southeast Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence on the deliberations at Geneva and although Asia was not well represented at the Geneva Conference, it was recognised that Asian opinion counted. A new responsibility is thus cast on Asian countries".

No wonder that India has been entrusted with the responsible office of Chairman of the three-nation Supervisory Commission in Indo-China. It is a role that will greatly add to

her prestige in world affairs—but it is a difficult role and will greatly differ from the duties she so well accomplished in Korea. For apart from supervising the truce, the three-nation Commission in Indo-China will have to settle some political questions—including elections which both the sides appear to agree should be arranged and held under its auspices within two years of signing an armistice.

It would however be incorrect to say that all parties are equally pleased with the cease-fire agreement. The French General who was one of the signatories of the pact forgot himself so far as to refuse even the customary courtesy of shaking hands with his *vis a vis*, thereby expressing his extreme resentment at the turn of events to which he was forced to submit. Though President Eisenhower would not obstruct the course of events he is decidedly cool, and his words as well as those of his Secretary of State Mr. Dulles are sufficient indications of the way they feel about the pact. The truce agreement, it must be remembered, is only a compromise, and like all compromises cannot, in the nature of things, give complete satisfaction to any party. Everyone however realises that it is the best under the circumstances and none could show a better way. Above all the agreement for the first time brings peace to a war-weary world which for decades has seen no peace. That is no small achievement for Geneva. And finally, is it nothing that resurgent Asia should now feel free from European domination? A new Asia is born.

What it means to France & Indo China

While there is doubtless jubilation all over the East that peace at last has come to the distracted region we cannot forget that not all France is happy over the terms of settlement. France certainly stands to lose a good deal; but the loss is inevitable any way and it is wise to take things gracefully. Here is an account of the losses in men and money in the Indo-China war—an account that is fairly appalling.

Nearly one hundred thousand French Union troops lost their lives in the seven-year Indo-China war—and Vietnam losses are believed to be much heavier.

Official French figures show that 92,000 of their men have been killed since the war broke out in December 1946 but only 19,000 of these came from metropolitan France.

The heaviest casualty toll was among Indo-Chinese troops who lost 43 thousand dead fighting on the French Union's side against their Communist fellow countrymen. French colonial troops and the Foreign Legion had 30,000 dead.

Most French casualties were among officers and non-commissioned officers. It has been frequently stated the French were losing in Indo-China each year as many officers as were passing out annually from Saint Cyr, the country's foremost military academy.

The financial cost has also been heavy—2853 million 300 thousand sterling in seven years. Of this the French taxpayers contribute 1669 million 800 thousand sterling and the United States 1049 thousand million francs. The rest came from the three Associated States—Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Is it nothing to be rid of this costly game for France?

Kashmir's Accession

In another page we expressed regret at our bungling in Kashmir. A simple issue, distorted by interested parties, has been allowed to deteriorate into a running sore. It was India's mishandling we have said that brought us to this pass.

We therefore welcome the unequivocal and authoritative statement of Mr. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed in the A.I.C.C. meeting at Ajmer that Kashmir's accession to India is final and irrevocable. He made it clear that there is no more a "Kashmir problem." Accession to India is for Kashmir no more an issue to be settled but a fact accomplished. Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed said:

"The question of accession is no longer a problem for the people of Kashmir, although it may be a problem for some people in India. For us, it long ago became a closed chapter."

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly in February last approved and ratified the Delhi agreement; while the President's Order of May 1954 approving the new relationship has set the seal on the status of Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian Union. India is always willing to abide by the verdict of a plebiscite, as the people of Kashmir are, according to repeated declarations of Indian leaders, the ultimate arbiters of their own destiny. Now the people of Kashmir themselves have decided through their own duly elected Constituent Assembly

to ratify and complete the accession of the State to the Indian Union. The Premier clearly speaks for his people when he says that "the issue of accession may worry India but it does not worry Kashmir."

The Suez Talks

The resumption of Anglo-Egyptian talks on the future of the Suez Canal Zone promises to be the final stage in the settlement of this long standing dispute which, if allowed to continue, would mar the whole pattern of peace in the middle East. Strangely enough the trouble for Britain now is not so much from the Egyptian Government as from the die-hard Tories in Parliament. Differences in the Tory Party have now burst into open with the resignation of Major Legge Bourke, 40 year old ex-army officer and one of the 40 strong Suez rebels who have informed Government that they intend to vote against any treaty with Egypt involving withdrawal from the Canal Zone. Churchill himself, like the elder statesman he is, has mellowed with the years and with his practical experience is no longer the brusque Prime Minister, who in the years before Indian independence, boasted that he had not become the King's Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. Better sense had dawned on him as he faced realities in India. Now it is Egypt's turn and the Prime Minister, wise with years and experience sees the inevitable and directs the course accordingly. But the rebels are still blind and await the event. Churchill met the altered situation with splendid courage when he explained to the House in May last:

"We are ready to talk over the whole position with General Nguib or his representatives, in a friendly manner. Naturally, we do not wish to keep indefinitely, 80,000 men at a cost, it may be, of over £50,000,000 a year discharging the duty which has largely fallen upon us, and on us alone of safeguarding the interests of the free nations of the Middle East, and also of preserving the international waterway of the Suez Canal. If agreeable arrangements can be made to enable this latter service and also the solid maintenance of the strategic base to be discharged by agreement with Egypt it would mean a great saving of our men and money. This is not an Imperialist or Colonial enterprise by the British, but it is for purposes with which every member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, from the North Cape to the Caucasus, and also countries of the Middle East are directly concerned."

Agreement seems to have been reached on the proposed withdrawal of British troops with regional arrangements for collective defence and a programme of military and economic aid to Egypt. The main questions of withdrawal and defence having been squarely faced the details can be filled in without difficulty. Thus according to the influential newspaper *Al Ahram* the British Government had agreed to a number of amendments requested by the Egyptian.

It thought the outcome of the talks could be regarded with "sober optimism." With the Anglo Egyptian settlement in prospect the conflict is now transferred from Suez to Westminster. The Prime Minister and his colleagues know how to deal with malcontents who do not face facts.

As we go to press we learn with relief that Britain and Egypt have reached an agreement on the evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone. Chief points of the agreement are: Evacuation of British troops within 20 months; reactivation of the base in the event of an attack on the Arab States or Turkey; the duration of the new agreement to be seven years and the base to be maintained by a British Civilian contracting firm. This must pave the way for a new and more wholesome kind of relation between Egypt and Britain, not unlike the changed attitude of India to England.

Canal Water Dispute

After Kashmir the Canal dispute! The warfare of words over the Kashmir issue has hardly subsided when Pakistan has taken up another slogan, that by tampering with the Sutlej waters India is trying to strangle her. Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mohamed Ali is whipping himself into a fury and has not hesitated to threaten this country with dire consequences. The propaganda is having effect in his own State; and the Pak press is in full fury. The opening of the Bakhra Nangal canal has provided the occasion for a renewal of the violent attack on this country. "It is a very serious threat to peace" says Mr. Mahomed Ali. "It is a potential threat to peace. It is a question of life and death to millions of people." This wild talk will not deceive those who know the real position.

Informed circles in New Delhi have denied the allegation made in Pakistan that there was a fall of 12,200 cusecs of water in Pakistan canals as a result of the opening of the Bhakra Canal network on July 8. These circles described Pakistan's allegation as baseless and false propaganda.

The present scale of withdrawal in the Bhakra Canal, it is pointed out, does not even represent a fraction of what can be replaced by Pakistan through the Baloki-Sulemanki Link. This clearly shows that under the circumstances, no harm can accrue to Pakistan's irrigation interests.

The World Bank authorities discount any such fear that the Sutlej canal scheme will endanger Pak economy. Our Prime Minister himself categorically declared the other day:

"It is wrong to imagine that we want to deprive Pakistan of anything. We are prepared to help them to the best of our ability to make good their own canal system so that they may not only have the usual supply of water but much more."

But then Pakistan would not lift a little finger to improve her existing canal system. She has enough money to spend on armaments and reinforcements but would do nothing to implement the understanding about the Punjab waters at the time of the Partition.

Removal of Controls

The removal of controls on rice, marking the end of rationing, is a measure of India's present self sufficiency in food. Step by step C. R. in Madras and Kidway in Delhi have freed the country from the vexations of artificial restraints, borne by the people with fortitude and resignation as the inevitable alternative to complete collapse. Eleven years ago rationing was introduced to India and, miraculously, it worked. As the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out Indians queued just like the British and thus managed to avoid famine. The ration began at sixteen ounces of cereals per adult per day, and sank as low as nine in 1951. But then the country was afflicted with a drought caused by continual failure of the monsoon for six successive years. Now India has enough food for the first time since 1942. Thanks to the mercy of the sky, there have been abundant rains since last year which have turned the tide and brought in plentiful harvests.

Foreign Pockets in India

France, under her new Prime Minister, has shown a realistic sense of her position in Indo-China and has accordingly signed an agreement which has brought peace to a territory which for over seven years has been the scene of war and bloodshed. It is time that a similar act of grace and good-sense should guide the French authorities in their attitude to the question of French pockets in India. Done in time it will save a lot of trouble and vexation on either side. France, like England, can yet retain the goodwill of India, by quitting with grace. In this connection we commend the forth-right statement issued in Madras the other day by protagonists of the merger-cause who met journalists of Madras at the Ambassador Hotel. Mr. Muthu Pillai, former Mayor of Pondichery claimed in the statement that a stable Government had been established in the "liberated areas of French India".

Sri Pillai said it looked as if the final phase of their struggle had arrived. Even now there were two alternatives, negotiation and the peaceful transfer of sovereignty, or victory through hard struggle as at Yanam and at Mahe. He said they all saw some advantage in a negotiated settlement as it would be abiding. He appealed to the India Government to enter into negotiations with "France solely to determine the method of the transfer of power, and not to argue still whether the transfer of power would be possible immediately".

That, in the present circumstances of the case, is the correct approach to the problem of the Foreign pockets.

The position of the Portuguese pockets in India is just the same, notwithstanding Lisbon's pretensions that Goa, Diu and Daman are integral parts of Portugal and that any tampering with them will be aggression against her. This kind of legal legerdemain will not pass—and the invocation of antiquated treaties and threat of European defence procedures will not stand before the hard facts of historical evolution. If she is wise she must learn from the rebuff that the sensible men of NATO has given her by ignoring her protest against the so called "Indian threat".

Iran's Oil

Iran's major problem is almost settled. The three-year-old dispute between Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company on compensation to be paid to the Company for its holdings in the nationalised Abadan oil refinery has been settled with the fixing of the compensation at "less than million sterling". Under the agreement, Iran will handle all administrative matters of the oil industry and the consortium will handle all technical matters regarding exploitation and marketing.

The Iranian oil produced will be sold in bulk to the consortium, except for a small quantity reserved by the Government to meet commitments already entered into independently as with Japan, for sale on the world markets.

To meet the domestic needs of Iran, the consortium has agreed to sell its produce at cost-price plus a one per cent profit margin.

On foreign sales by the consortium, Iran's net income from every ton of crude oil sold will be two pounds sterling. She will also get two shillings six pence for every ton of oil refined in the Abadan refineries as refining charges.

Under the agreement, which runs for 30 years, the consortium has agreed

to produce 13 million tons of oil in the first year. In the second year, the production will be increased to a minimum of 23 million tons and in the third year, the minimum will be close to 30 million tons.

The consortium will pay for the oil at the current Persian Gulf prices—17 6 dollars per barrel.

Iran has declined to give any discount on the minimum stipulated productions of 13 23 and 30 million tons in the first, second and third years of working.

Following the reopening of the industry it is estimated that Iran is assured of a minimum revenue of 250 million dollars by the third year.

U. S. Independence Day July 4

On July 4, 178 years ago, the American Congress declared the United States to be a free and independent nation. The new nation—in the words of one of its greatest presidents—was "Conceived in Liberty and Dedicated to the Proposition that all men are created equal." Americans rededicated themselves to the ideals upon which their nation was founded on that day.

We look forward to the celebration of our own Independence Day—August 15, if not with the same pomp and circumstance, yet certainly with the joy and enthusiasm befitting the historic occasion.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

ART EXPERIENCE by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore.

It is almost a fashion to think of Indian philosophers as people who neglect what the world offers and strive for the happiness beyond death. Naturally there arises the misconception that Indian philosophy has nothing to do with aesthetics.

Professor Hiriyanna's "Art Experience" explodes these wrong conceptions and discusses the evolution of Indian philosophy and aesthetics. The passing phase of asceticism is only a small period in the development of Indian philosophy. He clearly writes, "Indian philosophy was more than a way of thought; it was a way of life; and whoever entered upon its study was expected to aim at more than intellectual assimilation of its truths and try to bring his everyday life in conformity with them." Essentially this is quite different from the aims of the western thinkers, whose endeavour has been the search for truth and nothing more.

The professor's essays on the relationship between philosophy, ethics and aesthetics are really convincing. There is pleasure in reading his work wherein he identifies goodness and beauty to be co-existent in Indian philosophy. Even the most practical philosopher of our times, Mahatma Gandhi, has emphasized that what is not truthful or just cannot be beautiful. Beauty is to be seen with an eye for the truth and the good; it is not visible to any other perception. He has traced the evolution of the theory of poetic appreciation, the various schools, the theories of rasa and gunas. He narrates the story of how art came to be uttered as a means of emotional culture and how poetry offers the means to survey the world in a detached state.

The Professor's style is another attraction—a style simple, austere and adequate.

The book has been born of the author's deep learning of Indian philosophy with special reference to the growth of the various schools of thought. He feels through the book; *Art Experience* is a delightful work.

VALMIKI RAMAYANA By N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupati, Bombay.

The Vidya Bhavan has already published an English version of Ramayana in two volumes by Shudha Mazumdar mainly based on the Bengali script of Kirttivas. Mr. Chandrasekhara Aiyer follows the more common and popular version of Valmiki. In this he has done for the Ramayana what C. R. has done for the other great Epic of India,—The Mahabharata, though in a different way. C. R. selects and interprets distinctive episodes and personalities described by Vyasa. Mr. Chandrasekhara Aiyer has given a compressed and continuous narrative of Valmiki's story in a single volume—not forgetting the famous descriptions of nature, the lofty ethics and the profound philosophy so abundant in Poet Valmiki's version. To have attempted—and executed with evident success—the abridgement of 24,000 stanzas into 300 pages of simple and moving prose without missing significant episodes in the great Epic, is no mean achievement. In a brief introduction he does not fail to point out even some shortcomings and improbabilities in Valmiki's story. But in an Epic of such vast range and volume inconsistencies are not strange. Such defects do not in the least detract from the superlative merit of this magnificent work. Told in simple and elegant English, this story, so familiar to the people of India, learned and unlearned alike, must prove of immense value to foreigners attempting to grasp something of the beauty and grandeur of the great Epic—the source and fountain of most Indian literature—an Epic too more current among the people than Homer's Odyssey or Iliad.

THE MOTHER The Four Austerities and The Four Liberations, published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, Price: Re. 1/-

This leaflet is a reprint of one of the Bulletins of Physical Education and deals with the Tapasyas of Love, Knowledge, Power and Beauty. It is good as it goes though naturally in the short compass of a magazine article, it does not go very far.

HILAIRE BELLOC By-Renee Haynes. Published for the British Council, Orient Longmans, Madras.

Belloc who died last year in his 84th year was, like his contemporaries Shaw and Chesterton and Wells, remarkable for his prodigious output of literature of every kind: verse, novels, satire, travel, history and sociology books that compelled attention by the vigour and vitality of his craftsmanship. In the brochure under review which is 35th in the series of "Writers and their Work" Renee Haynes, author and critic, surveys his literary career with just appreciation of his varied gifts and assesses his place among the writers of his time. Judging the vastness and variety of his output and the quality of his writings, she holds that some of his prose will survive "to give enlarging joy" to lovers of literature, "but in his poems will rest his immortality", and the fulfilment of his own wish, expressed with apparent flippancy:

When I am dead of me may it be said.

His sins were scarlet but his books were read.

HOW THE GREAT RELIGIONS BEGAN A signet key book by Joseph Gaer, The new American Library, New York. 22.

Here is a book that should be popular with all readers, young or old. It treats of the great religions of the world, and their essential doctrines told with reverence and knowledge. There is no need to be very profound or critical in such popular studies. The story of the origin and history of these religions is coupled with fascinating accounts of the lives and teachings of the founders—Jesus, Moses, Mohamad, Buddha, Confucius and Lao-Tze—teachers who have led mankind to the heights of religious experience. They are living religions today, practised by large sections of people who are brought together more and more by modern agencies—political and mechanical. It is all the more incumbent on such people to get to know one another increasingly—and what could bring about such union of men and minds than the reverent study and appreciation of different cultures and civilizations embodied in the faiths they follow? The book under review attempts to do this great work—and to do it with fairness and competency.

HIGHLIGHTS OF MODERN LITERATURE The New York Times book review edited by Francis Brown, The New American Library (A mentor book) 301, Madison Ave. New York 22.

The New York Times book review like the London Times Literary Supplement is a periodical assessment of books and authors by contemporary writers; and Mr. Francis Brown, in his capacity as editor of this section has collected under one cover, the more memorable essays published in his time, since 1949. Here are some of the outstanding articles of the book review section presented as an anthology of some of the best in contemporary reading, poetry, fiction, history and biography. Like Robert Lynd's "Books and Authors" it is a delightful miscellany of things literary that will warm the heart of any book lover. Classified under six sections there are delightful essays by and about the leading figures in contemporary letters—Auden and Connolly and Orwell; Somerset Maugham, Ernest Hemmingway, Virginia Woolf and Christopher Morley; besides appraisals of Dreiser and Emerson and Yeats, Faulkner and Andrew Gide and a score of others. Altogether, it is a stimulating excursion into the world of letters and life, which the lover of books can hardly fail to appreciate.

FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA (A Symposium) by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India New Delhi.

A galaxy of stars from Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad to Acharya J. B. Kripalani who are both amateurs and experts in education gave broadcast talks and these have been conveniently brought together in this well printed book. The emphasis throughout has been on "There is something wrong with our educational system" (Azad), "The future of education in this country should be a matter of grave import for all concerned" (A. L. Mudaliar) and "We should be clear about the social revolution we are contemplating when changing the present system, which lacks a scientific method and a clear social goal." (Acharya J. B. Kripalani).

Always for give your enemies; nothing annoys them so much.

—OSCAR WILDE

A HINDU'S PORTRAIT OF JESUS CHRIST (A Gospel of God's free gift of His sonship) by Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, Harmony House-Rajkot (India)-Price: Cloth Rs. 10/- Board Rs. 8/-.

This is an interesting book but a bit of a hotchpotch. The reviewer was specially interested to read page 170 in which the author calmly dismisses as a pure forgery Notovitch's "Unknown Life of Jesus". The reviewer has read the book and investigated it and wishes to affirm that it is not a pure forgery but a genuine book based on genuine ancient documents. The statement that there is no proof of Buddhist teaching or Bhagavata Dharma in the life of Jesus is equally sweeping. Sir Edwin Arnold in his Light of Asia and his Song Celestial admits from his angle of view that echoes of Jesus are found in the teachings of Buddha and Lord Sri Krishna. Who learnt from whom is always a delicate point. We know of a Hindu teacher who was dismissed from a Christian school about 50 years ago because he said that Jesus took from Krishna and a Christian teacher was dismissed from a Hindu school because he said Krishna took from Jesus. The book is readable and interesting and we are sure will promote that study of a comparative religion which is so necessary in a land of many religions like India.

BRAHMA VIDYA VILAS, PLAY WITH A PHILOSOPHY, by Sri Swami Sivananda, published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kuri, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, U.P., (Himalayas), 1954. Price Rs. 4-8-0.

Sages say that the Leela and Vilasas of the Lord are interesting, amazing and instructive. This play with a Philosophy by a Jeevan Muktha, who found religion after having been a Burmah indentured doctor till the age of 49, is amazing, interesting and instructive. Old friends like the story of Meninus Agrippa about the Belly and the Members to persuade the Plebians to agree to superior treatment of the Patricians have come out in a translated form in this book. The Purva Ashrama Vasanas of a doctor are reflected in sections of Doctor's Parade and Yogotherapy. Food fads naturally find a section all to themselves. Altogether the book is a nice conglomeration of religion, mythology, mysticism and morals and well-worth Rs. 4-8-0 in these days of high cost of production.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE 1953 Published by Dr. L. S. Dorasami, Secretary, The Indian Institute of Culture, 6 North Public Square Road, Bangalore 4.

This Institute says "It is our hope to enable at least a few men and women to walk the Way of the Cultured Mind. Our achievements are not great but our faith is strong; we know that we have not only numerous comrades who are working with us, but also that we have friends, who are Lovers of Humanity and who with greater Power than we can command Labour to change the Mind and the Heart of the Race." It is entirely based on the old ideas of the Theosophical Society and Wendell Wilkie's theory of "One World." Special meetings have been held, public lectures have been given and films have been shown. Altogether there has been a general attempt to institute what is called 'A Universal University'. This idea of educating for leadership and associating for mutual improvement is one of the oldest ideas in the world and we can only wish it all success. Subjects range from Folk-Songs and Ajanta Frescoes to Book Review Meetings, Fine Arts, Activities and Adventures in World Understanding. We commend their Report for the year 1953 not merely as a record of activities but as a condensed symposium which will educate and enlighten persons who in this age of hurry can't afford time to walk and read but must rush and run.

THE PATHWAY TO PERFECTION by Geoffrey Hodson: The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20.

This is essentially a Theosophical book written in special terminology. One has to be saturated to understand sentences like the following:—

"Will-crowned, will-robed, will-enthroned, the Initiate of the Fourth Degree arises from that Crucifixion which is but of his human self with its sense of separateness" (page 76).

"Microcosmic spiritual suns, each a reproduction of the Microcosmic Source of Life, constitute the atoms of the world of Universal Life into which the Initiate is new born in consciousness."

This is not spoken discouragingly but to remind both the writer and the reader that as the Hindus used to say "All things are not for all men and spiritual truths have to be garbed in different languages with reference to the stage of moral, mental and material development of the aspirant."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

(a)

- July 1 Office of the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa closed from to day.
- July 2 Peace restored in Guatemala by five-man Junta.
—100 prominent Goans, appeal to people of Goa to get rid of Portuguese rule.
- July 3 Atomic clock set up in new Delhi.
—The French quit town near Hanoi.
- July 4 French and Viet Minh army officers meet in Viet Nam for ceasefire talks.
—Mahavir Tyagi, Minister of Defence, announces plans for Gurkha reserves.
- July 5 Andhra High Court inaugurated by Home Member Dr. Katju at Guntur.
—Communist Party in East Bengal banned.
- July 6 Churchill returns to London after Washington talks.
—Queen Elizabeth receives Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at Buckingham Palace.
- July 7 Madras sets up Committee to enquire into working of District Administration.
- July 8 Prime Minister opens the completed Bhakra-Nangal irrigation works.
—Dulles threatens to use veto to block People's China to the U.N.
- July 9 Travancore Tamil Nad Congress starts Satyagraha at Cape Comorin for merger with Madras Tamil Nad.
—Constitutional Amendment Bill passed in Ceylon House of Representatives.
- July 10 All controls on rice removed.
—Talks on Suez Canal dispute resumed.
- July 11 Sir John Kotelawala replies to Senanayake's (resigned) charges and says, "no pact with U.S.A."
- July 12 Union Commerce Member Sri T. T. Krishnamachari opens Handicrafts Emporium in Madras.
- July 13 American Secretary of State Dulles in Paris for talks with French Premier Mendes-France and British Secretary Eden on collective defence of S. E. Asia.
- July 14 Press Commission Report signed in Bombay.
- July 15 South African Indians appeal to Delhi Govt. against racial discrimination.
—Pak Premier's outburst on Canal water dispute refuted by India.
- July 16 French rule ends in Mahe: *De facto* power transferred to people and Indian flag hoisted.
- July 17 The last of the British Governor General of Ceylon leaves the Island & Sir Oliver Gunatillake sworn in.
- July 18 Village Panchayats Committee report signed.
American Fulbright grantees in Bombay.
- July 19 India, Canada and Poland to form armistice commission for Indo-China.
- July 20 Full agreement reached on truce in Indo-China.
- July 21 Cease fire agreements on Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia signed.
U. S. Military mission for Pakistan announced.
- July 22 Goans 'liberate' Dedre village in Portuguese pocket of Daman.
—India rejects Lisbon charge of aggression.
- July 23 Congress Working Committee in Ajmer frames resolution in socialised economy for A.I.C.C.
- July 24 India accepts invitation to serve on Truce Commission for Indo-China.
- July 25 Press Commission report published.
A.I.C.C. meets at Ajmer.
- July 26 Kashmir Premier Ghulam Baksh, addressing A.I.C.C. meeting at Ajmer, says accession to India is final and irrevocable.
- July 27 North Viet—Nam cease-fire takes effect.
—U. K. Egyptian agreement over Suez Reached.
- July 28 Delhi rejects Lisbon notes on Goa Diu and Daman.
—Oliver Littleton, Britain's Colonial Secretary resigns.
- July 29 Bihar rivers in spate submerging hundreds of villages.
—U. S. Senate votes 91 to 0 to oppose entry of China to the United Nations.
- July 30 Nehru urges withdrawal of Satyagraha by T.T.N.C.
—On Portugal's demand, Indian Consul General and the Indian Consul are withdrawn from Goa & Marmagao.
- July 31 As a counter measure Portuguese Consul General and Consul, asked to leave the Union, quit Bombay.

READERS' DIGEST

AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS

Sometime ago *The Times* published a challenging letter from an eminent group of writers, representing the Society of Authors. They protested against an attempt by the Publishers' Association to induce all its members to demand, in all contracts with new authors, "a substantial share" of their earnings from film, dramatic, broadcasting, T. V. and other subsidiary rights. They declare that this attempt threatens "to end the independence, not only of British authors, but of British publishers," and to set up a "single authoritarian control" of literature. This letter, says *The New Statesman and Nation* editorially, "makes—and over-states—an important point. The Authors are right in holding that every author should make an individual, not a stereotyped, contract with his publisher; that publishers, in demanding a share in all these subsidiary rights, are going beyond their proper claim to share the proceeds of all the written words they publish; and that new authors, anxious to get their books published, may be induced by such concerted agreements among publishers to sign unfavourable contracts. Happily, however, the situation is not as menacing as this letter from the Society of Authors suggests. First, it is not true that the Publishers' Association is a "monopoly". There are, in fact, large and small publishing firms outside it. Secondly, they are scarcely fair to the Publishers in suggesting that they are fleecing a new author if they ask for ten per cent of, perhaps, quite unexpected film rights from a book which they ran considerable risk in publishing. Thirdly, they greatly exaggerate the cohesion and discipline of the publishers, who are merely looking for ways of increasing profits in a financially difficult period. Of course, the individual publisher is supposed to obey the resolutions of the Publishers' Association, but in point of fact no author who is either established or, if new, well advised, is, in this country, likely to fail to find a publisher because he insists on going to an agent for his "subsidiary rights."

McCARTHYISM

Whatever the outcome of McCarthy's tiff with the Army, whether or not his personal prestige is diminished or enhanced as the result of the hearings, McCarthyism shows no sign of waning, observes Marie Sypkin in the *Jewish Frontier*. "The role of McCarthy in regard to sizable blocs of the Republican and Democratic parties seems to be that of a drum majorette whose flourishes may be more theatrical than those of the staid marchers in the rear, but it's the same parade and the same direction. Those who are rejoicing in the spectacle of a McCarthy supposedly on the defensive are unduly optimistic. In the first place, the senator from Wisconsin continues to display his genius for besmearing every issue to his advantage. On the contrary, the political theory and practice which go by the name give every indication of growing strength and respectability.

We are monotonously assured by Washington correspondents and circles close to the White House that the President is not in sympathy with the celebrated "methods," and that in the privacy of the Congressional corridors many a senator deplores the "big lie" technique. Yet only one senator had the courage to vote against full appropriations for the further functioning of McCarthy's committee. The report of the Senate sub-committee investigating McCarthy as still pigeon-holed. The charges and findings have never been aired though the vulnerability of McCarthy's record may be judged from the withdrawal of his libel suit against former Senator Benton. Over and over again the Executive and the Senate have had legitimate opportunities to curb or repudiate the most dangerous demagogue who has yet run riot in the United States. That the failure to do so may stem from a fear of being defeated at the polls like Tydings and Benton, both of whom challenged McCarthy, is an explanation which raises as many questions as it answers. Truman attacked McCarthyism boldly and directly, but Truman is no longer in the government."

CHOU EN-LAI

Chou En-lai is a slim, youngish-looking man, attractive in manner, spare in habit, formidable in mind and renowned for the ability to adjust to varying situations, wrote the *New York Times* on his visit to India soon after the Geneva Conference in June. In Peiping he is known as the "elastic Communist." A French diplomat once called him a "Chinese Talleyrand." An Indian described him as a "Second Nehru."

"The talent of creating himself in other men's images has played a key role in Chou's career. He was born in 1899 and in 1919, after education in Western-type schools in China and Japan, went to study in France. For two years he was "down and out" (a coal miner in Lille, a machine shop hand in the Renault auto-factory in Paris). When the Chinese Communist party was organised in 1921, Chou set up branches among Chinese in Paris, London and Berlin. In 1924 he returned to China, famous as an intellectual turned revolutionary.

For the next thirteen years he went through the successive flip-flops of the Communist line, landing on his feet, a top aid to Mao Tse-tung and Number One diplomat for the Communists' Yenan regime.

During World War II, Chou was Yenan's emissary to Chiang. Chou and his wife lived simply in the poor quarter of the Nationalist capital, Chungking. Many Western visitors came away with the impression the Chinese Communists were only "agrarian reformers." But in 1947 Chou played a key role in the Communist decision to fight Chiang for all of China. When the fight was won, two years later, Chou became Premier and Foreign Minister of Communist China. Ever since his policy has been directed at securing for China recognition as the predominant Asian power.

Geneva presented Chou with a golden opportunity to stride on to the world stage as the representative of a country embracing one-fourth the world's population. He played the role to the hilt. He arrived at the conference with the largest delegation—some 200 persons—smilingly expressing hopes for peace. In public meetings he spoke authoritatively. Even Mr. Molotov took notes. In private he held himself aloof in a guarded villa some five miles outside Geneva. Repeatedly other delegates sought him out for private confer-

ences. It was apparent that Chou had achieved a large measure of success at Geneva. The dimensions of his success were traced out in the meetings at Berne and New Delhi."

CHOU EN-LAI IN DELHI

In the Delhi meeting Chou, by his very presence, staked anew China's claim to lead Asia. How the meeting came about has not been disclosed, says the *New York Times*. "Indian sources say that long before Geneva Prime Minister Nehru invited Chou to Delhi." But whatever the origin, there was no mystery about Chou's motive in flying to India.

"India has followed a policy of neutrality in the cold war, arguing that the threat of Western colonialism is as dangerous to Asia as the menace of Communist aggression. Pandit Nehru has tremendous moral stature in the world at large. As the leader of the most powerful country in Southeast Asia he exerts strong influence in Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. As an important figure in the commonwealth, his voice carries authority in Downing Street.

Indian acquiescence, at the very least, is essential to any plan for organizing Southeast Asia. But all along India has looked coolly on U. S. intervention in the area. Her proposal for a non-aggression pact between Communist China and the Southeast Asian countries was in direct conflict with Washington's proposals for "united action." Thus by going to India Chou gives Chinese blessing to the non-aggression pact idea, and at the same time draws for communist China the prestige of Nehru's standing as a Southeast Asian leader."

CLEMENCY TO JAP WAR CRIMINALS

According to the *Manchester Guardian* Prime Minister Nehru "has a good case in protesting against the ruling by Britain and the United States upon the issue of clemency to Japanese war criminals.

"India before partition had been a party to the trial of these men. It was provided that appeals for clemency should be referred to all the Governments which had been concerned with the trials. But apparently the United States and Britain have decided that India forfeited its right to be consulted because it had not signed the San Francisco Treaty. This was in any case an arbitrary decision. But the Western Governments made it worse by the way they acted upon it. No word was said to the Indian Government which first learned of the decision from the Japanese. Still worse, Pakistan was consulted in the place of India. This was waving the reddest flag possible in front of the Indian bull. Of course, it did not mean that Pakistan was being recognised as the successor State to undivided India. But with a twist it could be represented as if it did so. No wonder Mr. Nehru was tart."

DEATH PENALTY

Mr. G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, declared himself in favour of abolishing the death penalty. He feels so strongly about it that he has called for a public campaign for its abolition. There is no doubt of the strong public sentiment in the country against capital punishment which is really medieval in its origin, says *The Hindustan Times*. "Opinion all over the world has been growing against it as morally and socially unjustified and even criminologically unsound. In the beginning of the 19th century, there were as many as 200 capital crimes under the English law, but today the death penalty is imposed only for murder. Just before the last war, a select committee of the British Parliament proposed the abolition of the death penalty for an experimental period but, unfortunately, the war intervened. In many foreign countries, however, like Sweden and Switzerland, the death penalty has already been abolished. Conferences on criminology, like the Latin American Conference in 1941, have also recommended its abolition. In India, where the spirit of ahimsa is ingrained in the people, sentiment has been generally against it. Mr. Mavalankar has described it as the last vestige of barbarism and called for a more humane approach. Those who seek to justify capital punishment put it on the ground that it is society's duty to "cut off that man who has shown a disregard for the life of another." It is also pleaded that only a death sentence can act as a sufficient deterrent against such a heinous crime as murder. Neither the experience of those countries which have given up the death penalty nor those which still retain it justify this conclusion. A more enlightened approach is necessary in dealing with this question. The time has certainly come for Parliament to consider whether there is really any need for retaining the death penalty in our penal code."

DEFENCE AGAINST ATOM BOMB

International control of atomic energy and dispersal of cities are the only permanent defences against atomic attacks according to U.S. atomic scientists.

A bulletin published in this regard said that the far-flung raider screens and the evacuation of cities could offer protection "only for one, two or three years." They would then be out-pated by development of high-speed guided

missiles or evaded by the planting of atomic bombs assembled by the enemy within the territory to be attacked.

The bulletin said the failure to disperse industries and populations would leave the U.S.A. with two possible situations.

(1) Any enemy could strain America's morale and economy by repeated feint air attacks on American cities. This would make millions flee from their homes and work and then march back again after the false alarm.

(2) An enemy with an arsenal of hydrogen bomb might try black-mail by threatening publicity to wipe out certain American cities, if the U.S.A. did not agree to keep out of some conflict in another continent.

"In the age of atomic weapons a nation which keeps its wealth, productive capacity, its population and its administration huddled together in a few metropolitan areas, invites black-mail and courts disaster."

THE HOPE OF A WORLD ORDER

Discussing the prospects of a new World Order, Mr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri observes in the course of an article in a recent issue of *Unity* that "Mankind today is threatened, not only with superweight of authority over liberty but also by a plethora of evil forces that have been unleashed in consequence of World War II". The idea of a doomed civilization is gaining ground. What is the remedy? It is not in the mere craze for internationalism in affairs or in culture but in a new education inspiring moral fervor in private as well as public life.

The unity of mankind, or a World Order, cannot therefore be accomplished within an artificial hegemony of internationalism alone—be it sponsored by a League of Nations, United Nations, or Cominform—unless and until mankind imbibes the habit of helping, sympathizing, and understanding as well as that of living understandingly, on the religio-social principle taught long ago by Saint Francis of Assisi: "It is by giving that one receiveth; it is by self-forgetting that one findeth." In that way may grow the seed of concord and love in every nerve cell of mankind, and as it sprouts and blossoms new social organisms manifest, add new artistic motifs and intellectual outlook, and finally augment life's delights. Until that becomes persistently feasible in the thought, word, and deed of every nation and consistently enforced under the aegis of the United Nations, the universal hope for a World Order, visualized by Franklin D. Roosevelt and others, remains as unrealized, too, in this century as that of Victor Hugo in the previous one."

BRITAIN AND U.S.

Writing under the caption "Alone", *Time*, the American weekly news magazine says:

"The U.S. has no firmer ally than Britain and no firmer friends in Britain than Sir Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden. But the alliance and the friendship now appear in an entirely different light. Throughout the Geneva Conference Eden had been busily courting the Communists. Last week, 48 hours before he and Churchill took off for the Washington Conference, Eden in the House of Commons struck at the heart of U.S. policy in Asia by proposing a "Locarno Pact". A key provision: defence against further Communist advance in Asia would rest upon a Communist promise not to advance. This speech flung in the teeth of President Eisenhower's statement that what he wanted from the Reds was "deeds not words," advertised—deliberately or otherwise—a basic split between Britain and the U.S.

As one man, Britain's leaders from left to right voiced approval of Eden's speech. There is no doubt whatever that the British public and press agreed with Anthony Eden's specific points, or that they welcomed the opportunity to tell the world—especially the Russians—that Britain was disassociating itself from the U.S. on so fundamental a question as whether the Communists could be trusted.

This British attitude is not new. It was concealed by the traditional British stiff upper lip and by such bold flashes as Churchill's Fulton speech of 1946 and Ernest Bevin's stand against the Russians at the 1947 London Conference. But underneath, the British know that in a military sense their position is indefensible. Since 1945 the atomic bomb has hung over their heads. Thermonuclear bombs intensify a fear that never leaves any British subject for long. Airmen agree that eight or ten H-bombs, dropped on a well planned pattern, would bring utter destruction.

Accordingly, the British are determined not to get into a thermonuclear war. The peril to Britain is no illusion. They would indeed be superhuman if they were not afraid. But however understandable the British attitude may be, the fact revealed by the Eden speech is: the U.S. has no strong, reliable ally.

Looking back, it is easy to see that the U.S. having failed to overcome its allies' reservations to a strong coalition policy, has become more and more isolated in the last few years. Before France began to capitulate to Red pressure this year, there were plenty of signs that France would do just that. In Britain the signs were almost as plain.

In the light of these real possibilities, little nubbins of agreement at conferences in Bermuda and Berlin and Washington must no longer obscure the central fact that for practical purposes the U.S. stands alone among the great powers in the cold war. After what has recently happened, the bluff of Anglo-American solidarity can hardly fool Moscow. It would be tragic if it continued to delude Washington."

ONE-WAY PASSAGE TO RUSSIA

The House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, authorised paying a one-way passage to the Soviet Union for any resident of the United States desiring to stay there.

Mr. R. Chipperfield, Chairman of the Committee, who sponsored authorisation in an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill, said the offer could be taken by anyone who thought the Soviet Union was "better than this country."

"I hope the rulers of the Soviet Union will counter this provision with a similar offer to enable residents of their country to come to the United States," he added.

NEW TREATMENT OF ASTHMA

A successful method of relieving severe asthma without putting the patient in a hospital has been developed at John Hopkins University in Baltimore, U.S.A. Successful results have been obtained in 95 out of 100 cases treated during the last year with injections of the hormone ACTH in a gelatine solution.

The treatments consisted of one injection a day for four, six or eight days—the number depending on the severity of the attacks. After the treatments some patients who had been incapacitated for years by asthma have been able to function "in complete comfort." Some of them had had asthma for as long as 50 years. The patients ranged in age from 3 to 80.

RICE SUBSTITUTE

The U.S. Agriculture Department announced that it was "considering" an experimental programme which would be designed to sell to the Far East a special American wheat product—a rice substitute.

The product—known as bowlgour—can be cooked in the same time and the same way as rice. It is light in colour and looks like well-cooked oriental rice.

Bowlgour, the department said, was widely used in the Middle-East, but not in the Far-East. In the Middle East the product was made by boiling wheat, drying it in the sun, removing part of the bran by rubbing and then cracking the wheat into a coarse or fine meal. The coarse types were cooked in much the same way as rice, and the finer processed meal was cooked with heat or eaten as a porridge.

Bowlgour, the Department added, was made by some small millers in California and New England, as a speciality product for use by Middle Eastern people living in the U.S. It was often used by Americans as a substitute for wild rice, an expensive delicacy in the U.S.

The programme presented to the Agriculture Department would involve setting up a pilot factory to manufacture bowlgour for sale through commercial channels in the Far East. The Department would present 500,000 bushels of north-west Pacific white wheat to the experimental factory.

According to Congressional sponsors of the experimental programme, bowlgour had been tested on a small scale during the past two years at the Women's Christian College at Madras.

Results were favourable, they said.

These Congressmen said the programme for the sale of the product in the Far East was viewed as an attempt to provide a future and new market for American wheat.

WORLD POPULATION GROWTH

A U. N. study of world population growth stresses the need for continuous expansion of production. It points out that regions with the greatest economic handicaps have the highest birth rate. Estimating present world population at 2,503 million, the report says it may reach 4,000 million about in 30 years at the present rate of increase.

IMPROVEMENT IN TRAIN SERVICE

The report of the Ministry of Railways on the working of Indian Railways during 1952-53 discloses that marked improvement was effected during the year on both broad and metre gauges. On the broad gauge, the punctuality of mail and important through trains recorded a higher percentage than any touched since 1938-9 and on the metre gauge, the improvement during the year, as compared with the performance of recent years, was equally striking.

These results would have been still more satisfactory if the punctuality of trains had not suffered in certain parts of the country, specially in Andhra, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh as a result of alarm chain pulling and interference with running trains caused by political agitation.

It is regrettable that large numbers of railway users have to suffer on account of the misdeeds of a small number of law breakers, which is rightly condemned by the majority of the law-abiding sections of the public. Recently the Executive Committee of the Passengers' Association, West Bengal, passed a resolution condemning the stoppage of trains by persons to express their grievances, political or otherwise.

DECLINE IN INFANT MORTALITY

There has been an uninterrupted decline in infant mortality over the last 50 years, reports the World Health Organisation. The decline has been greatest in the countries having the lowest rates at the turn of the century, says WHO, on the basis of a 30-country study.

Among the 30 countries, India is one of four still having infant mortality rates over 100 per 1,000 infants under one year. Egypt had the highest reported rate—163, while Chile had 134. Yugoslavia 125 and India 116. The Indian rate has dropped from 206 in 1921-25. There are still areas unspecified—says WHO, in which one out of every two babies die before reaching age one, Sweden had the lowest rate—20.

Because of the cuts in the mortality rates of the nations with the low ones to begin with, WHO concludes,

there is no barrier to still further improvement in this field. The day may come when social progress and medical advances will reach a point where nearly all children survive their first and most dangerous period of life.

60,000 REDS IN INDIA

There is not a single country in the world without a Communist movement today—legal or illegal—says a Moscow survey.

According to the survey a booklet called "The Agitators' Handbook" issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party—there are 60,000 Communists in India.

The survey gives the following approximate membership figures of Communist parties: in Korea one million and in Vietnam 700,000.

Dealing with "capitalist" countries, the survey says the communist Parties are "the most numerous, closely knit and powerful parties" in France and Italy. Membership figures given are: France 800,000 Italy 2,120,000.

Membership figures for other "capitalist" countries are listed thus: Britain 35,000; Belgium 100,000; Holland 50,000; Denmark 50,000; Sweden 60,000; Finland 50,000; Japan 100,000; India 60,000.

The survey says the above figures are for the 1948-50 period with the exception of India where the 1953 figure is quoted.

In the Far East, no membership figures are quoted for Burma, Malaya (where Britain has been battling Communist forces for several years) Pakistan, Siam, Ceylon, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

The "Agitators' Handbook" says that the Communist parties of the U. S. Japan, Pakistan, Australia and Western Germany work "in conditions of terror and persecution. It adds: "In the U. S. Japan and Greece, orders have been issued for the arrest and trial of the Communist Parties".

In a number of capitalist countries, thousands of Communists have been thrown into prison and attempts on the lives of leaders of the Communist parties and their murder are organised.

AIMS OF THE P.E.N.

The All-India P.E.N. has played a pioneering role in drawing together Indian writers and spreading interest in the various Indian literatures since its inception in 1933, says Sophia Wadia in *Freedom First*. Its membership strength, she says, is not very great, but each of its over 300 members is an established writer, a definite force, therefore, who believes in the ideals and aims for which the P.E.N. association has been established. The P.E.N. stands primarily for unity and for peace.

Rising above all differential and divisive barriers it believes in unification through culture and works for the dissemination of culture.

India is fortunate to have a varied culture, a treasure-house of many literatures. The All-India P.E.N. is not blind to this fact. On the contrary, it recognized this in 1933, long before the afterfreedom linguistic interest. The Preamble of its Constitution states that the P.E.N. All India Centre

"aspires to serve the cause of literature in India by spreading familiarity with and appreciation of the Indian literatures in the outside world and to serve the cultural unity of India by disseminating throughout the country information on the literary activities of the different linguistic cultures."

FARMING IN KENYA

Writing on the recent conference in Nairobi of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, the *Manchester Guardian* (June 8) observes that it was enterprising to hold it in Kenya. "For", says the newspaper,

"if one is taking a broad view of the world's farm problems, it is a good idea to look at a country in which the world's two main systems of farming are to be seen side by side—the small-scale subsistence farming of the peasant, and the relatively large-scale farming, for sale, of the European settlers".

The *Manchester Guardian* goes on:

"Nor could the conference have met at a more interesting time. Just as it assembled, the Kenya Government announced the particulars of a plan, worked out by Mr. R.J.M. Swynnerton, the Assistant Director of Agriculture, for applying to the assistance and improvement of African farming the loan of £5,000,000 which is to come from this country, together with a smaller sum raised locally.

"The striking thing about this plan is the stress laid on cash crops: not on growing more maize or millet for family consumption, but on coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal and pineapples. This confirms the recent trend. Ten years ago, African production for sale was negligible; in some crops, it was even discouraging. It has been growing rapidly. Two years ago, it was estimated to be worth about £300,000 a year (the produce of European farms was worth about £900,000). By now it is probably a good deal more. Mr. Swynnerton reckons that if all goes well, it may, in a decade or so, be worth £60,000,000. He looks, for instance, for an increase in the acreage under coffee from 4,000 acres now to 43,000 by 1963; of pyrethrum from 1,300 to 43,000 acres; of tea from a token production of 12,000 acres.

"There are obviously a good many 'ifs' about the plan. It depends not merely on changes in land use but also on schemes of irrigation—which may turn out to cost more than the estimate—or on the working of processing plant still to be built (sisal factories, for instance) and above all on the response of the markets. But, in general, the plan seems practicable and promising".

WORLD'S BIGGEST TELESCOPE

Radio echoes from Mars and Venus leading to closer knowledge of these planets—particularly the speed of rotation of the latter—and data likely to result in improved long-distance radio communication on the earth are among the results expected from Manchester University's giant new radio telescope, now under construction.

With this amazing and unique instrument it will also be possible to study more closely the signals travelling to the earth from the mysterious "radio stars", hundreds of light-years away in space, and to learn more about the bodies that emit them.

The instrument, which is being erected at Jodrell Bank, Cheshire, is, in fact, not really a telescope at all, in the accepted sense, but an enormous saucer-shaped parabolic reflector 250 feet across—more than twice the diameter of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. It will be completed at the end of next year. The telescope will be the biggest in the world, and will enable regions of the universe to be explored for the first time by the new techniques of radio astronomy.

It should be possible to find out a good deal more about the Milky Way and, it is hoped, about the sun and meteors as well as the moon and the planets. Detailed study of the ionosphere and the changes occurring in it, which will form part of the research programme, is not only of great scientific interest but of considerable practical importance, since long-distance radio communication depends on the reflection of radio waves from ionized regions.

Conditions are so unreliable that £40,000,000 is now being spent by Britain and the U.S.A. to provide a transatlantic submarine cable. In this field, the new techniques of radio astronomy offer great scope.

FRESH WATER OUT OF SEA WATER

A new method of converting sea water into fresh water by freezing and melting was reported to be undergoing tests at the University of Washington (State).

Dr. Thompson of the University's Oceanography Department said freezing sea water removed 75 to 80 per cent of the salt and other minerals because these impurities did not freeze easily and settled to the bottom where they could be drained off.

What salt and minerals remained were mostly washed away when the frozen sludge first started to melt. The remainder which constitute about 30 per cent of the original sea water was pure enough to be drinkable.

Dr. Thompson said the progress was still in the experimental stage, but results thus far had been promising.

DR. TARAKNATH DAS

On May 24th, 1954, an Honorary Doctorate was conferred on Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor at the Columbia University and the New York University, New York, by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich. Dr. Das, an old friend of Germany, is the Vice-President of the India Institute, Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where he had lived for several years between the two world wars. He has been Honorary member of the German Academy, Munich, where his well-known book "India in World Politics" was published in a German translation. German honours in Dr. Das one of the oldest champions of Indian freedom.

For receiving the degree Professor Dr. Das travelled all the way from New York to Munich.

The President of the India Institute, Dr. Franz Thierfelder, expressed his admiration for Professor Dr. Das as a politician, scholar and champion of the Indian independence.

SOVIET UNION JOINS I.L.O.

The U.S.S.R. has just become the 6th nation to join the International Labor Organization (ILO) a specialized agency working with the United Nations. The agency deals with labour problems throughout the world.

The Soviet Union applied for membership last November but attached reservations to its acceptance at that time. It would not then accept reference to the International Court of Justice of disputes relating to the interpretation of the ILO constitution, without the agreement of all parties concerned. It has now accepted the obligations of membership unconditionally.

Since 1919, when it was associated with the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization has played a prominent role in raising living standards throughout the world.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

REPATRIATION

Ceylon

The storm over Mr. C. C. Desai's criticism of the action of the Ceylon Government in passing the Constitution Bill in the teeth of Indian opposition having subsided, the Ceylon Prime Minister and the Indian High Commissioner met to confer on matters relating to repatriation of Indian Nationals with the expired temporary residence permits. The result is embodied in the joint *communiqué* issued soon after their meeting on July 16. According to this *communiqué*, the Ceylon Government will repatriate in batches of 5,000 all the 25,000 Indian nationals who have applied for renewal of their temporary residence permits which entitle them to continued stay in the island.

A reasonable period not exceeding three months from the date of refusal to renew the permit would be given to permit holders to wind up their business in Ceylon and arrange for their departure. The first batch of 5,000 will leave the Island by the end of October.

South Africa

S. A. INDIAN CONGRESS

Special tributes to the role of India and her Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in the uplift and liberation of the people of Africa were paid at a meeting of the South African Indian Congress, which concluded its annual session at Durban on Sunday 11, July.

Chief Albert Luthli, President-General of the African National Congress, who opened the Congress said: "Let me voice the feeling of appreciation among progressive Africans for the bold stand taken by leaders of some countries in championing the cause of the upliftment and liberation of the people of Africa; I mention, in particular, leaders of Asian countries, noting for special mention the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru.

Earlier Mr. V. Lawrence, Chairman of the Indian Congress Reception Committee in his address of welcome regretted the "growing antagonism of the Government and the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan towards the Prime Minister and the people of India. "This antagonism arises out of the fact that India is espousing the cause of the oppressed people everywhere, wherever racial discrimination is displayed".

East Africa

CIVIL SERVICE IN KENYA

The abolition of all racial barriers in public services, both in grading and salary structure in Kenya is one of the major recommendations announced by a British Civil Service Commission in its recent report.

The Commission consisting of Sir David Liddbury as Chairman, and Mr. W. D. Godsall and Mr. L.H. Gorsuch as members was appointed by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, to review the whole range of salaries and conditions of the civil services" in February 1953.

The Commission are agreed on certain conclusions which, they say, are "equitable, practicable and likely to command the greatest measure of general agreement". They are:

(1) So far as the public service is multi-racial, each race must make its full contribution, and the avenues of entry and advancement must be so arranged as to give full scope for the qualities and aptitudes of each race.

(2) The essential principle is that for the future, there shall be no barrier in any part of the service, which is, in fact even though not in name, one of race. Grading by race rather than by responsibility, where it exists at present, should disappear. The limit of advance of any serving member of a service must be set solely by his qualifications and proved ability and ability must be held to include the qualities of integrity, character and leadership. Selection for appointment shall be based on qualifications, experience and character as so far revealed. In no case shall race be a differentiating factor between candidates except where an appointment is necessarily in a non-racial category, and that shall be determined solely by the duties of the post.

(3) The machinery of the public service cannot be stopped. The day-to-day business of Government must go on. We do not recommend any sudden and spectacular changes, and no one should expect them. Given the intention that racial differentiation, where it exists is to be removed, its complete achievement is only possible over an interval of time.

(4) Any temptation to lower standard in the services must be firmly rejected. The growing complexity of Government business in developing territories will not permit of it. The men must come up to the standards, and not the standards down to the men.

The Commission said:

"We have endeavoured to fulfil the task of revising the salary structure in such a way that racial distinctions shall disappear. We have worked on the assumption that we are to provide in its broad foundations for a public service which will ultimately be recruited wholly within the East African territories".

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE GENEVA DECLARATION

The final declaration of the nine-nation Indo-China conference reads as follows (unofficial translation from the French):

The conference acknowledges the agreements which end the hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam and which organises international control and the supervision of the provisions of these agreements.

The conference welcomes the end of hostilities for Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam; it expresses the conviction that the implementation of the provisions foreseen in this declaration and in the agreements on the ending of hostilities will permit Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam to assume henceforth in full independence and sovereignty their role in the peaceful community of nations.

The conference acknowledges the declarations made by the Governments of Cambodia and Laos on their readiness to adopt measures permitting all citizens to take their place in the national community, notably in taking part in the coming general elections which in conformity to the constitution of each of these countries, will take place during 1955 by secret ballot and with respect for fundamental liberties.

It also takes note of the declarations of the Governments of Cambodia and Laos according to the terms of which the two Governments will not join in any agreement with other States if such an agreement includes the obligation to take part in a military alliance which does not conform to the principles of the United Nations Charter, or in the case of Laos, to the principles of the agreement on the ending of hostilities in Laos, or, as long as their security is not menaced, to establish bases for foreign military forces in the territory of Cambodia or Laos.

The conference acknowledges the clauses of the agreement on the ending of hostilities in

Viet Nam according to the terms of which no foreign military base shall be established in the regroupment zones of the two parties who shall ensure that the zones allotted to them shall not form part of any military alliance and shall not be used for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of an aggressive policy.

The conference notes that the related agreement for Viet Nam has the essential aim of settling military questions with a view to ending the hostilities and that the military demarcation line is a provisional line which cannot in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary. It expresses the conviction that the implementation of the measures provided for in this declaration, and in the agreement on the ending of hostilities creates the necessary premises for the early realisation of a political settlement for Viet Nam.

PROVISION FOR ELECTIONS

The conference declares that with regard to Viet Nam the settlement of political problems based on respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity must permit the Viet Nameese people to enjoy fundamental liberties guaranteed by democratic institutions established through free and secret elections. In order that the re-establishment of peace can make sufficient progress and that all the necessary conditions exist to permit the free expression of the national will the general elections will take place in July 1956 under the control of an International Commission composed of representatives of the member States of the International Commission for supervision and control provided for in the agreement on the ending of hostilities (Canada, India and Poland). Consultations will take place on this matter between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from July 20, 1954.

NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO A. I. C. C.

India's acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Truce Supervisory Commissions in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia was announced by Prime Minister Nehru at the A.I.C.C. meeting at Ajmer on July 25, Mr. Nehru said that this invitation to India showed the confidence other countries reposed in her impartiality.

He described the responsibility of chairmanship as "terrific" and said that Government could only shoulder it with the help and goodwill of the nation. This was not a matter of this party or that or Government or opposition.

Mr. Nehru in his opening address in Hindi hailed the signing of the Indo-China cease-fire agreement at Geneva. There was now no war anywhere in the world, he said, for the first time since the end of the Second World War. The Geneva Agreement was a triumph of the will for peace of the people all over the world. Hence it was a victory for the world, and especially victory for those, who strove for it in general. But it should not be forgotten that this meant greater responsibilities for the world. This was especially so for India which had been asked to become the Chairman of the Supervisory Commissions.

India being asked to supervise the Indo-China settlement did not mean that Canada and Poland were smaller than her. It only showed that other countries of the world had great confidence in India's impartiality. This also meant recognition of the fact that India was not subject to anybody's pressure. The responsibility that was now cast on India was with respect to three different Commissions for the three Indo-Chinese States of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. He thought that work in this connection would last about two years.

Mr. Nehru said that India was anxious to help in the establishment of peace and had accepted the invitation to become Chairman of the Commissions. The Government had asked for certain clarification of issues arising out of assumption of this office.

Mr. Nehru said that such a great responsibility could only be successfully carried out if the country was strong internally. This necessitated proper utilisation of all resources at the country's command. Moreover, the work of going ahead with efforts to solve all difficulties facing the nation had to be done peacefully.

Mr. DULLES ON DEFENCE OF S.E. ASIA

Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, speaking at the weekly Press Conference on July 25 said the U.S. was giving thought to some interim arrangement for South-East Asian security pending the negotiation of a formal defence alliance with her allies.

"The important thing from now on is not to mourn the past but to seize the future opportunity to prevent the loss in Northern Viet Nam from leading to the extension of Communism throughout South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific.

"In this effort, all of the free nations concerned should profit by the lessons of the past. One lesson is that resistance to Communism needs popular support and this in turn means that the people should feel that they are defending their own national institutions.

"One of the good aspects of the Geneva Conference is that it advances the truly independent status of Cambodia, Laos and Southern Viet Nam.

"The evolution from Colonialism to national independence is thus about to be completed in Indo-China and the Free Governments of this area should from now on be able to enlist the loyalty of their people to maintain their independence as against Communist Colonialism.

"A second lesson which should be learned is that arrangements for collective defence need to be made in advance of aggression, not after it is under way.

"The United States for over a year advocated united action in the area, but this proved not to be practical under the conditions which existed. We believe, however, that it will be practical to bring about collective arrangements to promote the security of the free peoples of South-East Asia.

"Prompt steps will be taken in this direction. In this connection, we should bear in mind that the problem is not merely one of deterring open armed aggression, but of preventing Communist subversion which, taking advantage of economic dislocations and social injustice, might weaken and finally overthrow the non-Communist Governments.

"If the free nations, which have a stake in this area, will now work together to avail of present opportunities in the light of past experience, then the loss of the present may lead to a gain for the future."

FRENCH RULE ENDS IN MAHE

French rule over Mahe came to an end on July 16 with the 'de facto' transfer of power to the people of this erstwhile French pocket on the Malabar Coast.

The transfer of power took place at a farewell function got up by the Mahajana Sabha leaders in honour of the French Administrator, M. Deschamps.

According to the arrangements agreed to the day before the President of the Mahajana Sabha and leader of the Liberation Committee, Mr. I. K. Kumaran took over the administration and hoisted the Indian Union Flag at the Government House maidan.

M. Deschamps left Mahe the same afternoon by the French steamer "Grandville".

He took with him the police force and arms and ammunition.

In Madras, the Chief Secretary to the State Government received telephonic intimation from the Collector of Malabar about the transfer of power.

According to a Government spokesman, the entire area of Mahe and its environs is being cordoned off by the Madras Government with a view to preventing any disruptive elements entering the region (Mahe).

PORTUGUESE POCKET ON GUJERAT COAST

The United Front of Goans, which has been organising a movement for the merger of the Portuguese pockets in India with the Indian Union, announced on July 22 the liberation of the first bit of Portuguese possessions, the village of Dedra, in the isolated enclave of Selvasa, near Surat.

The Portuguese pocket of Daman, Dedra, and Nagar Aveli are on the Gujerat coast.

About 35 volunteers under the leadership of Mr. Francis Mascarenhas, President of the United Front, rallied local support, and marched into the enclave of Selvasa at midnight.

The volunteers met with no resistance, and the local residents—numbering about 500—gave them an enthusiastic reception.

Mr. Mascarenhas next morning hoisted the Indian Tricolour over the village, and the people saluted the flag to the strains of the Indian National Anthem.

A. I. C. C. AND FOREIGN POCKETS

It is in the fitness of things that congress as the governing party in the country should give the right lead to the Government on the settlement of these foreign enclaves in the heart of India. The Ajmer session of A.I.C.C. in its resolution on the subject trusted that an agreement would be arrived at an early date between the Government of India and the French Government to cover all French establishments in India, and to bring them within the Indian Union.

It noted with satisfaction that a large number of these establishments had already "freed" themselves from foreign control. It said the integration of foreign establishments into the Indian Union was an essential part of the liberation movement in India.

TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY IN ADMINISTRATION

The Government of Madras announced on July 7 the personnel of the Committee constituted to enquire into the working of revenue administration in the districts, and the terms of reference of the enquiry.

Mr. M. V. Subrahmaniam, I.C.S. Member of the Board of Revenue, will be the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. C. A. Ramakrishnan, I.C.S., Collector of Madurai, will be a member and Mr. G. Ramachandran, I.A.S., Secretary.

Mr. S. Venkateswaran, I.C.S., Secretary to Government in the Health, Education and Local Administration Department, has been appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Revenue temporarily; and he will act as Commissioner of Civil Supplies and Settlement of Estates *vice* Mr. M. V. Subrahmaniam, I.C.S.

The Committee is expected to complete its work in three months.

LOCAL BODIES TO FLOAT LOANS

Union Home Minister Dr. Katju, replying to a civic address presented to him by the Guntur Municipality on July 6th told the members of the Municipal Council that personally he would suggest to the local bodies the desirability of floating loans in their own areas for pushing through water supply, drainage and other schemes and thus help themselves, instead of approaching the Central and State Governments for financial aid.

ADMISSION IN VARSITIES

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, the new Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, inaugurating the academic session of the University, stressed the need for restricting the number of students in universities, so that a close contact could be maintained between the teachers and the taught.

Dr. Aiyar said, "There should be no competition or rivalry between various universities to raise the number of students. If there are unmanageable classes of 200 to 300 students then the place ceases to be a university and is reduced to cramming in an institution".

Dr. Aiyar said that he was strongly of the opinion that a teacher should not only teach but he should live with students morally, culturally and ideologically.

Dr. Aiyar referred to the recent letter of Mr. Nehru, addressed to the Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees, in which the Prime Minister had emphasised the possibility of friendly co-existence of different ideologies, countries and civilisations. It was in that spirit that universities should be conducted, he added.

Dr. Aiyar criticised the present system of examinations. He said there was no harm if the students carried text-books and notes with them to the examination hall. The idea of cramming things and then longing to see the paper within the jurisdiction of their memory planted a feeling of obsession in the minds of students. Real education, he said, should enable the students to criticise and evaluate books, to analyse things and then to use them according to their real worth.

Dr. Aiyar pleaded for the opening of new avenues of employment not necessarily dependent on university education. "The idea that entry into various departments of life is through the corridor of university alone must be removed. For this, it is absolutely essential that other modes of training are introduced", he said.

FELLOWSHIP FOR MADRAS MEDICO

The Union Ministry of Health has selected Dr. K. V. Vaidyalingam, Medical Officer, Corporation Tuberculosis Hospital for the award of a "fellowship" during 1954 for undergoing training abroad in the treatment of Tuberculosis.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at Mirzapur on July 10 strongly deprecated the craze among young men for degrees, which he said, would cease to be the sole criterion of ability in future.

He said he wanted to warn young men that the time was coming when mere academic qualifications would be of no avail to them.

Referring to the demand for a degree College at Mirzapur made in one of the addresses presented to him, he said degree colleges had earned a bad, rather than a good, name. Experts on education had recommended to the Government that degrees alone should not be the qualification for recruitment to Government services, and the whole question was under consideration of the Government.

Sri Nehru said:

"I am today worried about the education of children. What sort of education our new generations should have is of great importance. The basic education scheme of Mahatma Gandhi is commendable, and we have tried to implement it to some extent."

He stressed the need for new modes of training, and said that it would have been better if the people had demanded a technical college, instead of a mere degree college. The nation required technically skilled persons to man the various development projects, and it was time that the people began taking interest in technical education, he said.

AUDIO-VISUAL EDUCATION

Thirty trainees, of whom five were women nominated by 16 State Government received their diplomas at the concluding ceremony of the two-month Audio-Visual Educational Seminar, organised by the Ministry of Education in Delhi on July 6.

Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education, who gave away the diplomas, urged the trainees to continue their study, and research in the field, now that they had been initiated into this technique of education. He appealed to the State Governments to follow up this training programme with expansion in the uses of audio-visual techniques, and aids in education.

The Seminar gave instruction in the theory of audio-visual education the types of audio-visual aids and their uses, sources of materials and equipment, simple methods for the production of the aids, and the organisation and administration of audio-visual aids services.

HIGH COURT FOR ANDHRA

Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, the Andhra High Court was inaugurated at Guntur on July 5 by Union Home Minister, Dr. Kailasnath Katju, marking the emergence of Andhra as a complete and full-fledged State.

This was preceded by the swearing-in of the Andhra Chief Justice, Mr. Justice K. Subba Rao and the other two Judges—Mr. P. Chandra Reddi and Mr. K. Umamaheswaram—by the Governor Mr. C. M. Trivedi.

Dr. Katju, in his speech, expressed his conviction that the new High Court—"the culmination of an intense desire on the part of the people of Andhra to lead a community life"—would "administer justice in accordance with the highest standards established by tradition in India."

He said: "Indian judges of great eminence, and great learning have adorned the bench in Madras, and their names have become household words in the legal world". He hoped that "with the division of the old Madras Presidency into two units, the great traditions built up by the Madras High Court during the past hundred years will be fully maintained, and strengthened in Andhra State".

It was also his hope, he added, that the ties between Andhra and Madras High Courts would be strong and affectionate in the years to come.

At the outset, Dr. Katju praised the British tradition of justice and said the High Courts established in India by the British were looked up to as the guardians of the liberty of the citizen.

The Home Minister also referred to law's delays, and technical delays and the need to reduce the cost of litigation.

DIVISION BENCH FOR KASHMIR

A division bench of the Supreme Court has been constituted by the Chief Justice of India to sit at Srinagar from the third week of July to dispose of cases pending before the State Advisory Board and which were transferred to the Supreme Court when the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order was promulgated by the President on May 14, 1954.

Approval of the President, which is necessary under Article 130 of the Constitution if the Supreme Court is to hold its sittings outside Delhi, has been obtained by the Chief Justice of India.

JUDICIAL REFORMS

Speaking at a meeting of the young men's club in Madras, Mr. Justice A.S.P. Aiyar expressed his views on some of the aspects of the proposed judicial reforms.

Mr. A. S. P. Aiyar said that ancient Hindu law-givers like Manu had laid down that there could be no law without morality and observed that looking at the trend of law reforms it looked as if after 3,000 years, they were coming back to ancient Hindu Law. For introducing any law reform, it would be desirable to take the recommendations of an expert Committee of Jurists appointed for the purpose. There were some welcome features in the judicial reforms proposed by Dr. Katju.

One reform related to procedure regarding trial and enquiry into grave offences, the speaker said. The English system was not only expensive but there was also inordinate delay in the disposal of a case like murder. The French system enabled an expeditious disposal of such cases. The English system of administration of justice was based on the principle that it was better to allow ten guilty men to escape rather than punish an innocent man. The ancient Hindu Law was particular that no guilty man should escape and it was laid down that the King should fast for a day if a guilty man escaped and for three days if an innocent man was punished. The proposal that there must be a committal in every serious offence and that statements and confessions before the commencement of trial (statements under Section 164 Cr. P. C.) should be recorded by the magistrate in court appeared to be a salutary reform, though not as good as the French system.

The proposal to have trial by jury was also a healthy reform, as the system of trial by assessors had not served any useful purpose. His suggestion was that there must be no juror who had not passed the school final examination. Every juror must also know English. The third proposal to provide for appeal against acquittal was also a very good reform.

Mr. A. S. P. Aiyar thought that the proposal to provide for divorce by agreement was most ridiculous. It was contrary to the tenets of any religion and a solemn ceremony like marriage should not be treated so lightly. The other reform that every girl should have the same share in her father's property as the son, was also not a sound one, he said.

HANDICRAFT EMPORIUM

The importance of attractive display in effecting greater sales was stressed by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, while declaring open the Handicrafts Emporium in Madras on July 12. He said emporia like this could teach ordinary shop-keepers how to display their goods.

The Minister said he would much like the emporium to be a centre of activities for women belonging to the lower middle-class so that it could help them to earn something during their leisure hours.

Citing foreign experts, the Union Minister said there was enormous opportunity in India itself for making and selling goods and it was not necessary for them to go abroad to sell their wares.

ENOUGH WATER FOR BOTH

If the Punjab canal problem were treated at the technical level there would be no need for dispute, according to Mr. Ian Stephen in a B.B.C. talk. There has been Indo-Pakistani quarrelling about water distribution, and about the construction of new irrigation works, almost since Partition, six-and-a-half years ago.

"Much of this activity, however, on both sides, need never have happened, if only the two successor-states had become reasonably friendly. Pakistani water-engineers assured me that, if the development of the Indus basin could be treated simply as a technical problem, and got away from politics, a mutually beneficial arrangement should be perfectly feasible.

More than ample water, they emphasise, comes down the Indus basin to satisfy the needs of every cultivator."

RESERVE BANK REPORT ON FINANCE FOR 1953-54

The gap between the estimated total expenditure on the Five-Year Plan of Rs. 2,244 crores and the available external and internal resources of Rs. 1,354 crores, is now estimated at Rs. 890 crores, as against the previous estimate of Rs. 655 crores, according to the Reserve Bank's report on Currency and Finance for 1953-54.

India's estimated overall Budget deficit including the Union Government and Part A and B States, but excluding Part C States in 1953-54, was Rs. 154 crores, as against Rs. 85 crores in 1952-53.

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

The overall industrial production in India during 1953 was the highest in any year since independence. Since 1951 the general index of industrial production (Base: 1946-100) has been steadily rising from 117.2 in 1951 to 128.9 in 1952 and to 135.1 in 1953.

An index of this character can only indicate the general trend; actual production in individual industries cannot be expected to follow exactly the same pattern. In fact, in this otherwise very good year, some industries had to face special difficulties and as a result, their production was actually less than the previous year. Labour trouble seriously affected one of major producers of steel while others were affected by a fall in demand, shortage of raw materials or power or decline in exports.

A detailed analysis of production trends in engineering and chemical industries in India shows that a large number of important industries among these recorded a rise in production in 1953.

CAR MADE IN INDIA

Mr. B. M. Birla, Chairman of the Hindustan Motors Limited, presented (on July 16) to Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, a car manufactured in India with an engine made in India by Indians. He said the car compared favourably with that of any other make.

Handing over the key of the new car to Bombay's Chief Minister, Mr. Birla said that for years to come, notwithstanding that everything was being done and proposed to be done under the first and second Five-Year Plans, transport would continue to be India's problem Number 1. To the transport men more than anyone else, accordingly, it was of paramount importance that people should be able to travel quite freely and speedily. "As one genuinely interested in the promotion of transport, he would like on behalf of the Hindustan Motors Limited to present to the Chief Minister of Bombay, for his use as the Chief Minister of Bombay State this car, manufactured by Indians".

Mr. Morarji Desai accepted the offer. He said it was the policy of his Government to encourage "Swadeshi". He drove the car for a short distance and asked the Chief Secretary to Government to take charge of it.

WOMEN'S PAGE

WOMEN IN CONGRESS BODIES

Mr. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary of the Congress, has urged Pradesh and District Congress Committees to draw a large number of women workers into the Congress with a view to enlisting their whole-hearted co-operation in the "struggle for achieving social and economic freedom".

In a circular he said that during his recent tour he had found that, despite a definite provision in the Congress Constitution about the nomination of women and minorities up to five per cent of the total strength of the various Congress Committees, very few committees, had so far cared to invite women workers for strengthening the organisation. "Congressmen have naturally to make a beginning," he added, with their own homes and families. During the fight for Swaraj, Gandhiji wanted Congressmen to plunge themselves with their families into the struggle. The same ideal must be followed even now, in our noble and great venture of building a new India."

WOMAN IN SUPREME COURT

Although in Denmark women have long held equal status with men, it still creates a stir when a woman attains to one of the highest posts in the nation. The now world-famous appointment of a mother of nine as Minister of Trade is only one of several note-worthy examples recently. For the first time, a woman judge now sits in the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court, which in earlier days was presided over by the King. Judge Bodil Dybdal now wears the dignified black cloak and traditional whiteedged red gown of her office.

HOUSEWIVES' PETITION

The Prime Minister of India received a petition signed by about 13,000 housewives and mothers of Delhi demanding action to "control the evil of the cinema."

If the Government, they urged, did not have "sufficient constitutional power" in this behalf, they should take steps to seek the necessary power.

Full names and addresses of the signatories were entered in the petition. The signatures of "those who wanted to sign but who did not know how to read and write" had been ex-

cluded from the petition. The latter, it is claimed by the signatories, would easily total another 13,000.

"The cinema films today" said the petition, "are becoming a major menace to the moral health of our children, not only are they inciting them into precocious sexual habits, but are also serving as a major factor in incitement to crime and general unsettlement of society. Large numbers of children do not attend schools. They steal money somehow to go to the cinema. The juveniles are the most important element of cinemas in big cities. Educationists have acknowledged that they do not know how to deal with this factor."

"It is the duty of the Government to stop these things." The Prime Minister is understood to have promised full consideration to the representation.

MRS. PANDIT'S PLEA

Speaking in a woman's programme of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, said that should another woman be elected President of the U. N. she hoped she would be someone from Asia. Women were theoretically accepted in equality at the U. N. but, in fact, there were few in the delegations. Most women were either advisers or alternate delegates and generally functioned only on Committees considered suitable.

Apart from herself, there had been only one other woman who had sat on the Political Committee—a Czech delegate some years ago. The Indian delegation had been the only one with a woman leader.

Asian women took a leading part in political affairs in their own countries because their present positions were a continuation of their struggle for freedom. When equality was granted to them constitutionally they demanded equality in political life.

ANITA BOSE

ANITA BOSE, a "grown-up" 12 with her sunglasses and brief-case, has been given Rs. 2 lakhs by the Indian National Congress Party. Her father, Subhas Chandra Bose, killed in a 1945 air crash, started the Indian National Army during war. The gift is in recognition of his service to Indian nationalism.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN TO TOUR AMERICA

The Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, will leave India on September 15 on a nine-week goodwill tour of North and South American countries.

Several South American countries had requested the Government of India that the Vice-President should visit their countries. The Government of India have now accepted their invitations.

During his tour the Vice-President will visit Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Brazil and Uruguay. He will also visit the United States in transit. He will spend about a week from October 1 in Ottawa and Montreal in Canada; two days in Mexico, two days in Argentina; a day each in Chile, Bolivia and Peru, two days in Colombia, two days in Brazil and about a week in Uruguay. In all these places, he is expected to meet Heads of States, Foreign Ministers and University leaders.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, who is the President of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation, will also attend the Conference scheduled to be held on November 12 at Montevideo in Uruguay.

According to the tentative programme, he is scheduled to return to India by about November.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

The Executive of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom met in Bombay last month with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan in the Chair. Among those attending the meeting were Messrs. E. P. W. do Costa, P. V. Deshpande, M. R. Masani, Asoka Mehta, Ram Singh, Phillip Spratt, J.B.H. Wadia, V. B. Karnik, H. R. Pardivala and Mr. Prabhakar Padhye, Secretary of the Committee.

The progress made by the Committee and its work since the last Annual Conference in Madras in September 1953 was reviewed and ways and means of advancing the work of the organisation and its journal *Freedom* first were discussed. The Committee took note of the stringent financial position of the organisation and considered ways of balancing its budget.

It was decided that the next Annual Conference should be held in Delhi some time next winter.

INDIA'S FIRST MOUNTAINEERING SCHOOL

India's first mountaineering school, the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, will start functioning from September this year at Darjeeling.

The Chief Instructor of the Institute will be Everest conquerer Tensing Norkay and Major Jayal of the Indian Air Force who flew over the Everest and took pictures, the Principal.

The Institute will be opened by the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru who will also be President of the Board of the Institute.

RUSSELL FORETOLD THE H-BOMB

In November 1945, in a speech in the House of Lords on the Atomic Bomb, Bertrand Russell had said: "It is possible that some mechanism analogous to the present atomic bomb could be used to set off a much more violent explosion which would be obtained if one could synthesize heavier elements out of hydrogen. All that must take place if our scientific civilisation goes on, if it does not bring itself to destruction; all that is bound to happen."

TOTAL BHOODAN COLLECTION

34,02,571 acres of land have been donated to Bhoodan Yagna in India upto July 10, 1954, according to the latest collection figures released by the central office of the All-India Sarva Sewa Sangh.

Five hundred and eighty seven persons have dedicated their lives in India for the propagation of Sarvodaya ideals, of these 451 are from Bihar.

SOMERSET MAUGHAM

H. M. Queen Elizabeth II in her Birthday Honours bestowed one of Britain's rarest awards on Somerset Maugham, 80-year-old master of the short story.

She admitted the veteran author—once lambasted for his cynicism—to the select band of Companions of Honour (C.H.). The order carries no title, but ranks high as a mark of Royal favour. The members, limited to 65, include Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Clement Attlee.

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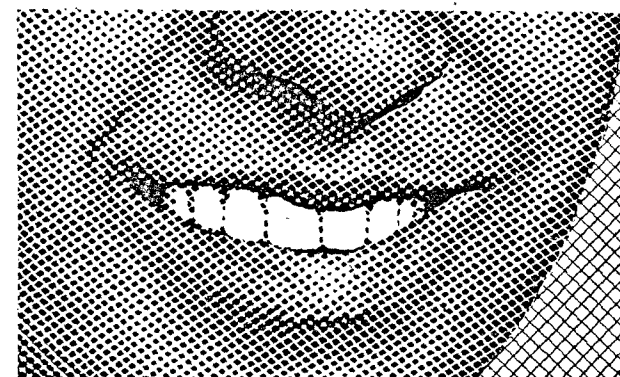
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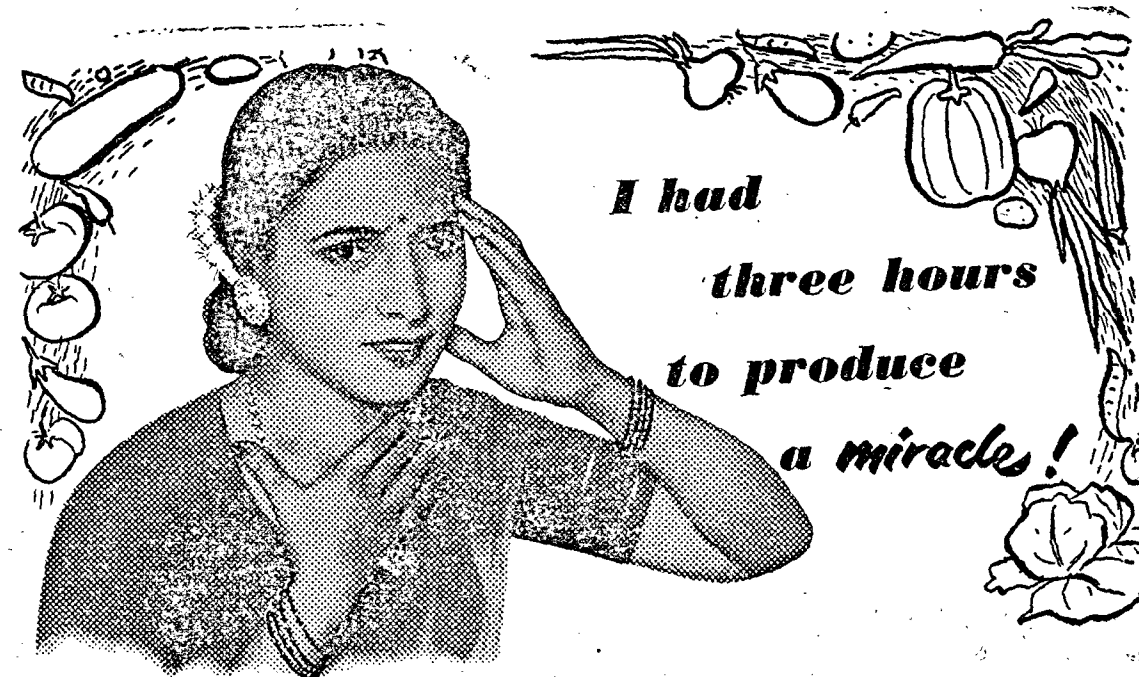
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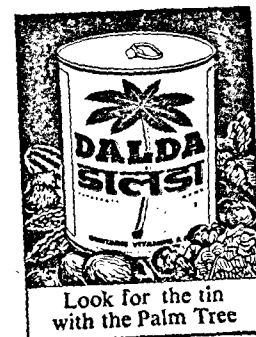


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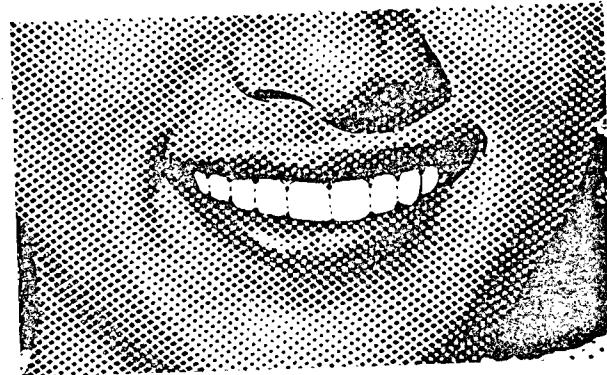
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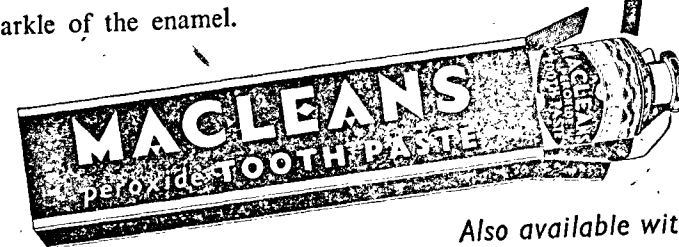
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Vol. 55.]

SEPTEMBER 1954

[No. 9

The Press Commission Report

By

Sri C. R. SRINIVASAN, Editor, "Swadesahmitran"

—★—

A short summary of the main recommendations of the Press Commission was released to the press on July 25. The main report is expected to be published before the end of this month. This report consisting of over a thousand pages is designed to provide a comprehensive survey of the origin and development of the Press in the country, and the multi-faced problems they are confronted with today.



In releasing an advance summary of the conclusions of the Commission, Government have struck a note of caution that comment or criticism may be deferred until the full report is available to avoid misapprehensions. The summary that is now made available obviously is not enough to come to any reasoned judgment on the value and importance of these recommendations. It however provides a corrective to the spate of speculations that have followed the signing of the report and its submission to Government.

It is announced that Mr. Gopalan, Secretary to the Commission has been appointed as Special Officer to frame proposals for Government action. A similar note of caution may well be urged by the interests concerned that Government should not be in too great a

hurry to rush through legislation on a matter of vital import to the development of democracy in the country, and that ample time should be allowed for concerned interests to study and submit their representations on the proposals outlined in the report. It may be recalled that the proposal to appoint a Press Commission arose when an amendment of the constitution was debated on in Parliament restricting the freedom of the Press. When the Commission came to be actually appointed its terms of reference covered much wider ground and the occasion was seized on to survey the growth of the Press in the country, its current trends, and the safeguards needed to maintain the purity of its service to the country in the future.

The selection of the personnel of the Commission evoked a certain amount of criticism in the Press that men with greater knowledge and experience of the press and its purpose had not been invited to serve on the Commission. It is however due to the Commission as it has functioned to say that the onerous task cast upon it has been discharged with commendable promptitude and comprehensive coverage. It may be invidious to single out names; but few will deny that the services rendered by Mr. Rajadhyaksha, the Chairman and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar are beyond all praise. In the assessment of competing claims put forward before the Commission the experience of men who have devoted a lifetime to a study of these problems would have been of immeasurable value. Having failed to secure it in the composition of the Commission, it becomes more than ever

necessary that sufficient time should be allowed for responsible bodies to make their representations after the publication of the report before Government proceed to frame proposals for legislation.

The main recommendation of the Commission is the constitution of the Press Council to safeguard the freedom of the press and serve in true measure the needs of the public. The constitution of this Council is presumably broadbased, with the majority of the Council representing qualified journalists and the Chairman presiding over the body being nominated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from qualified men of judicial training. What exactly are the powers vested in them and what sanctions they carry can only be inferred from the summary now available. Apparently what is contemplated is of the character of a Censor Board charged with duties and responsibilities of keeping the Press on the rails. The Chief Executive of this body will be the Press Registrar who is clothed with powers to call for various returns, like the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, from newspapers, publish an annual report on working of the Press for the year, bring to the notice of the Council undesirable trends in such working and generally do all things to keep the Press "pure and undefiled". How far this can be served by the process of legislation and administration is a matter of opinion; but what strikes one in this context is that it may easily lend itself to straight jacketing which will serve neither the Press nor the public.

Next in importance among the recommendations is what relates to working journalists. The condition of working journalists has bulked largely in the enquiry. There is no denying the fact that they have a good case and small blame therefore attaches to them if they saw in the Commission the opportunities of an industrial tribunal. There has been a sharp difference of opinion among the rank and file whether the methods of trade-unionism or the vestures of a professional body will serve their needs better. It was easy to sense differing approaches to this issue in the body of the Commission itself; but from the summary now available it looks as though the Commission has side-stepped this crucial issue and contented itself with taking a middle line, not ruling out trade-

union methods up to a point but at the same time playing up the professional aspects which may not be ignored. The standards they have laid down in concrete terms in respect of service conditions and emoluments should go far to satisfy the many exacting demands made in this behalf; but the crux of the matter is how far they are realistic and practical.

It cannot be denied that the prospects open to a working journalist are definitely geared to the prosperity of the newspaper he serves; but the vast majority of newspapers now published are passing through lean and difficult times and any addition to cost of production would put many of them out of commission. A price-page schedule to redress economic balance is suggested. We have had experience of the price-page schedule system for ten years in this country. It was introduced during the war times to ensure equitable distribution of limited supply of newsprint available at the time. To use it today to subsidise newspapers at the cost of the buying public may lead to unforeseen and unfortunate consequences not calculated to serve the interests of democracy.

A suggestion to promote a State corporation for newsprint which will take over the output of the Neepe Mills, be invested with a monopoly for import of newsprint and supply the needs of newspapers at an average price has little to recommend it and a great deal to condemn it. In respect of the laws relating to the Press which as earlier pointed out was the real provocation for the appointment of the Commission, the fact that the journalistic members of the Commission have found themselves unable to fall in line with the majority of the members of the Commission, suggests that there is more to it than what can be inferred from the recommendations now available and it would be wise to suspend judgment until the full facts are available. The recommendation relating to the reconstitution of the news agencies particularly the Press Trust of India gives no clear picture of what is contemplated and only suggests that it requires radical alteration if it is to serve its purpose with economy and efficiency. There are many other points lightly touched in the recommendations which must await the fuller report before they can be usefully commented on.

—August 12

PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

By

Prof. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

ASIA is restless. Over there, a rebellion is in full swing against oppression, foreign or internal, and against poverty. A giant wave of nationalist revolt sweeps over the continent this moment. Asian unrest, briefly put, is anti-imperialist, pro-nationalist.

India follows a policy of 'dynamic neutrality'—non-alignment with power-blocs. She stands for freedom and all that freedom stands for. She desires to live in peace and friendship with her neighbours. As a basis for international co-operation and goodwill, for ending armament-race and achieving collective security, imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end. The four pillars of India's foreign policy, in the words of Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, are: (1) Opposition to imperialism, (2) support to all peoples fighting for freedom and against colonial rule, (3) avoidance of foreign entanglements and (4) desire for peace.

The 'Colombo Five' (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia) declaration justifies not only India's stand, but shows that India is not alone. The Nehru-Chou En-lai statement embodying the five guiding principles—(a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty (b) Non-aggression (c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs (d) Equality and mutual benefit and (e) Peaceful co-existence—shall be considered in this context.

Weeks back, *TIME* quoted a U.S. policy-maker. He says: "The ties that hold India to the Commonwealth are slender, and Nehru stands there with the shears poised ready to snip them off whenever London does not do as he likes...Nehru thus is in a position to exert very strong pressure on London. In fact, the Indians hold a veto over the United Kingdom, just as Chinese communists in a sense hold a veto (by fear, if nothing else) over India. The final question is: Does the United Kingdom hold a veto over the U. S.?" "To do so would permit the strategy of Communist China, through a chain of diplomatic vetos, so hamstringing the strategy of the U. S." comments *TIME* acidly. Nothing is farther from the truth.

Nehru-Chou talks mean neither a grand India-China *entente* around the corner, nor India's surrender to international communism. No doubt, the talks did emphasise the necessity of peaceful co-existence.

ASIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

At Geneva, Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai has suggested a collective security pact among Asian States against foreign interference. China mostly forced by circumstances, has clung to the apron-strings of militant Kremlin. Russia has army outposts and bases in Manchuria, for instance Port Arthur. Therefore, China is not a free nation; she pursues a foreign policy linked to soviet Union's. Though India is a member of the British Commonwealth, India is free. She has no military alliance with any power. Free India's foreign policy too is one of non-alignment with power-blocs. As long as China's military alliance with Russia stands, the kind of Asian collective security pact as envisaged by Chou En-lai is impractical. It will alienate the Atlantic powers, prejudice peace and intensify East-West tension. India cannot and will not commit herself to such a pact.

AMERICAN PROPOSAL

As the Chinese proposal is anti-West, the American proposal for a 'South East Asian Treaty Organisation' is anti-communist. The proposal is to have the SEATO, with Thailand and the Philippines as prominent members. Gradually the SEATO can absorb others willing to join, thereby enlarging itself.

Firstly, the SEATO is anti-Chinese. It may seek to enthrone Chiang Kai-shek in China proper ruled over by the Reds. Secondly, it may mean Western imperialism getting another lease of life in South East Asia. In other words, the SEATO will be more violently anti-communist than anti-imperialist. Asian nations, poor and economically backward, requires the elimination of imperialism and help to preserve national freedom and economic self-sufficiency.

American State Secretary, Dulles, has screwed his resolve to blow up communism to the last turn. In this sense, Uncle Sam's commitments to upkeep 'freedom' are deeper and more determined. And perhaps, these are the terms by which the Eisenhower Administration will have to pass muster before long. But as a champion of freedom from imperialism, United States is found wanting, is caught napping. However much U. S. exerts to usher into birth the SEATO, her efforts are likely to be abortive until she tightens her belt to oppose imperialism.

BRITAIN WANTS ANOTHER 'LOCARNO'
The British alternative is a Locarno treaty for Asia. In 1925 six West European States signed the Locarno Treaty; they mutually agreed not to attack each other; each signatory agreed further to rush to the rescue of the other, subjected to aggression by a signatory. This Locarno Treaty stands for 'status quo' in a fast-changing Asia. It furthers British interests in South East Asia, for Britain, no longer a first-rate world power, intends to keep to herself the remaining fragments of her empire, granting the same concessions to other colonial powers. It wants Asia to underwrite British rule in Malaya, Hongkong and Singapore. It means that imperialism has come to stay in South East Asia. Small wonder, India and other free Asian nations cannot agree. The pact will help France to keep her hold on Indo-China, America to exert her dominant influence over North Korea, Formosa and the Philippines, even China to demand adequate concessions in Korea and Indo-China.

But America isn't willing. Acceptance of the new 'Locarno' will force America to recognise Red China, for which America isn't ready. The American Congress opposes, tooth and nail, any attempt to recognise Red China, to seat her in the U. N. America refuses to underwrite the security of Red China. She nurses up Kuomintang Formosa, North Korea and Japan not for that purpose.

There is no gainsaying the fact that America is loins girt and sleeves rolled up to fight international communism. Japan, North Korea, the Philippines and other 'footholds French, Dutch and British imperialisms' are bits set in a pattern in American global strategy. Hear 'PACIFIC STARS AND STRIPES' (Tokyo) speak: "Altogether it is estimated that \$ 800 million are now pouring into

Japan each year to bolster its economy..... Another is that American financial aid of nearly \$ 1 billion in various forms contributes enormously to the wellbeing of the economically hardpressed empire. By helping Japan remain free, U. S. is performing a service not only to Japan, but to all the free world." The paper continues: "The Japanese islands cover an area from Siberia to Shanghai and are in a position to control the pacific ocean approaches to Soviet Vladivostok, the Yellow Sea, North Korea, North and Central China. Their position may be compared to that of the British Isles off the coast of Western Europe. Should Soviet Russia control Japan's warm water ports, the Reds would have a base from which they could expand across the Pacific. The U. S. main line of defence would be forced back to Hawaii". American intentions are clear enough.

VALUE OF NEUTRALISM

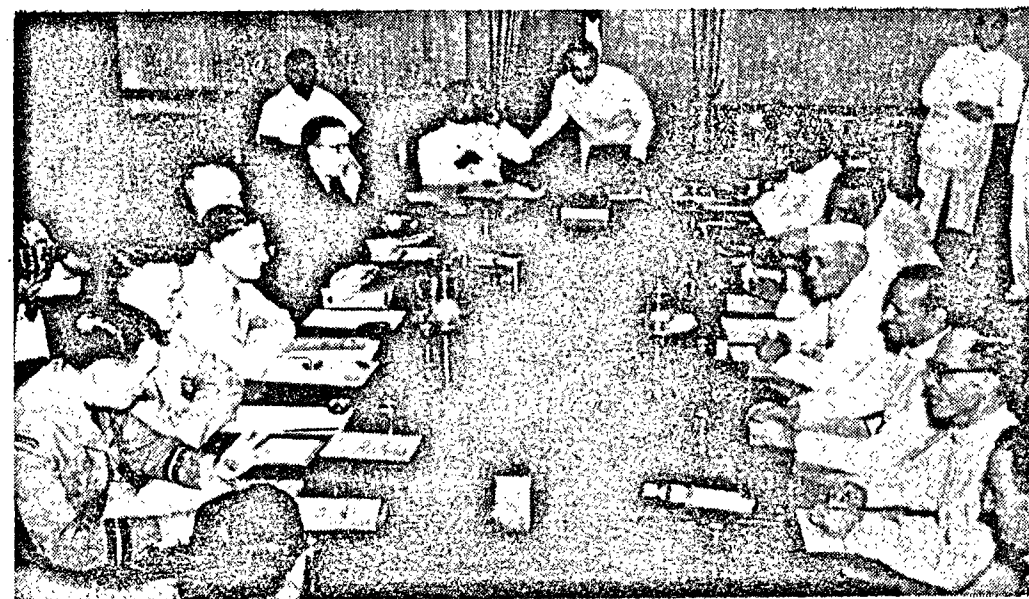
India has already made her stand obvious. India isn't ready to join any pact, whatever its nature. For example, when Mr. Aneurin Bevan called for the creation of "a third bloc of nations holding the world's balance of power and compelling the two giants to listen to what they have to say", Nehru replied that "the idea of a third bloc frightens or embarrasses people". As the 'Colombo Five' declaration points out, South East Asia wants peace and freedom with self-respect. If India's and like-minded nations' policy of 'dynamic neutrality' is to be successful, three things are necessary: (1) peace in South East Asia, cease-fire wherever fighting goes on in the zone, (Nehru's personal envoy Krishna Menon's efforts in Geneva must be looked at from this angle); (2) allaying the fears of South East Asian nations regarding Chinese expansionism (For this, the five Nehru-Chou principles are sure to help); (3) Elimination of imperialism everywhere, especially in South East Asia.

Nehru is independent in his views and obstinate in sticking to them. Nehru, the neutralist, is too badly burnt during his struggle against British imperialism ever to play with fire again. Appeasement or surrender on the instalment plan is not his line. He believes rightly that a policy of live-and-let-live, of peaceful co-existence, alone can help bring peace. India's duty, therefore, is one that laughs at rest.

What about threats to peace that may arise in the future? India's answer isn't ambiguous. The free nations of Asia are duty bound to support the cause of freedom and self-determination of her neighbours. Allowing footholds to communist expansionism or Western imperialism, economic or political, is detrimental to peace and security. It means one step forward, two steps backward.

No political cassandra can forecast the shape of things to come, Stability is a dead fish floating down-stream. The only kind of stability known to-day is change. There is no hard and fast rules along which international events develop. Experience is a task-master, a hard teacher. It gives the test first, lesson afterwards. India and like-minded nations committed to the policy of 'dynamic neutrality' believe that, given the will and moral fortitude, the peace-loving nations can defeat the factors of international strain and imbalance.

—X—



A Preliminary Meeting of Canada, Poland and India, Members of the International Armistice Supervisory Commission for Indo-China, took place in New Delhi on August 1. The Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, who presided, left the meeting after the opening speeches were delivered. Later Sri V. K. Krishna Menon took the Chair.

U. S. Constitution and its Indian Counterpart

By
Mr. PHILIP BROWN

THE Declaration of Independence and the U. S. Constitution, when they were written, were revolutionary documents. Their aim was to make despotism impossible. Both seek to make the rule of law and concepts of justice the main factors in government. And to a large extent they have succeeded. They are living, dynamic forces in American life today.

These documents express the highest principles of political life: that all men have certain inalienable rights, that governments are set up to provide for the welfare of the people, and that the rule of law stands above government and citizen alike.

No official, not even the President of the United States, has power that is contrary to the laws enacted by the elected lawmaking representatives of the people. The lawmakers themselves may not enact legislation contrary to the Constitution. The Supreme Court and Federal Courts repeatedly have declared Federal and state laws unconstitutional.

The American Constitution, like its Indian counterpart, is based on the principle that government should derive its authority from the people. Experience in colonial governments had taught that safety lay in preventing the concentration of powers in one authority. The Constitution delegates specific powers to the federal government. All other powers are "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The powers of the National Government were separated into legislative, executive and judicial branches, making each branch a check upon the others. This makes it possible to entrust power to the government without danger of tyranny by any one group of persons.

The Congress, composed of Senate and House of Representatives, is the lawmaking branch. Neither chamber acting separately can enact a law, nor can Congress delegate its power to make laws. Congress may vest in the executive branch authority to make necessary rules and regulations to enforce a law.

The President has a share in the legislative power through his veto. A bill passed by the Congress must have his approval before it becomes law. However, if he disapproves and vetoes the bill, his veto may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress.

Just as the United States has a dual system of government — state and federal — so it has a dual judicial system. The judiciary acts as a check and balance to the legislative and executive branches and guarantees that all receive "equal justice under the law."

That the U.S. Constitution is a living document, amenable to the wishes of the people and to the needs of the times, is proved by several amendments that have been passed since its ratification in 1789. The first 10 amendments constitute the Bill of Rights which ensures freedom of religion, freedom of speech and of the press. It guarantees the right of peaceful assembly, protects the people against military intrusion in their homes, unreasonable search or seizure of persons, homes or papers; guarantees that no person, rich or poor, will suffer loss of life, liberty or property without due process of law; secures the trial by jury; and prohibits excessive bail and fines and cruel or unusual punishment.

The framers of the Indian Constitution closely studied those of other democratic federations, particularly the United States. There are a number of significant similarities between the Indian and American constitution. In its very form of government, federal as opposed to unitary, the Indian system is similar to that of America.

Other common features include: a written Constitution, national and state governments, and a Supreme Court. The two most glaring forms of social injustice—slavery in the United States and untouchability in India—are declared abolished and their practice is forbidden in the constitutions of the two countries. The 13th amendment prohibiting slavery was added to the U. S. Constitution after the end of the Civil War in 1865.

The Tragedy of Linguism

By Sri C. H. V. PATHY

THE creation of the new Andhra State on the basis of language and the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission by the Government of India have given to the linguistic question a touch of topical interest and the issue has been discussed both in the press and on the platform for the last few months. Indeed, it has been before the public in one form or another for the last quarter of a century and the last word on it has not yet been uttered. But, it will be easily agreed that no attempt has so far been made to study the consequences of linguistic division of the country in the background of the constitutional evolution of India and the various political forces at work outside the frontiers of our Republic.

The protagonists of the linguistic agitation have so far succeeded in getting public support and sympathy mainly because of the emotional slogans they have employed and the sentimental colouring they have given to their demands. This has been so especially in the case of Andhras who have been repeatedly harping on the fact that their language, culture and civilisation could not grow richer if they were under the political administration of a composite State. They have been demanding a separate State mainly because they argued that only under a separate set-up could the Telugu language fully develop and the people given an opportunity to make its literature dynamic and great. The Andhras also argued that the Madras administration was not giving adequate attention to the economic and social problems clamouring for solution in their region and that this could be eliminated only if a new State was constituted and manned entirely by the Telugus for the Telugus. They carried on the struggle with a negative programme of accusations against the joint administration which, according to them, collected taxes from their area but failed to undertake measures for the betterment of the people speaking the Telugu language.

The coping stone for this emotional war was provided by the unfortunate martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu but for whose death under tragic circumstances the birth of the State would have been delayed.

The Andhras must also be credited for forcing the Congress to accept the linguistic redistribution of India as one of the planks in its programme for national revival. Once the Congress party accepted the need for creation of States on the basis of language, all over the country, partisans of various language groups began to raise their own demands. Thus, the Malayalees have started agitation for an Aikya Kerala State, the Kannadigars have demanded a Karnataka State and the Mahrattas have toed the line to this cry. The Bengalis, Gujaratis and the Biharis have swelled this orchestra and the Akalis have started a movement for what has come to be known as Kalisthan. While admiring the leaders of these various linguistic movements for their passion to develop their regional cultures, anyone who knows anything about the recent history of India will realise that their work represents the perfect antithesis of the political system that great men like the late Sardar Patel had visualised and to a degree attained. When India achieved independence and the dominion of Pakistan took away a good slice of her territory, it was the integration of the States that gave to the country's map an appearance of reality and geographical continuity. The vision and insight of Sardar Patel created a new India out of the ashes of partition, giving it an impregnable unity. Therefore, if the demand for linguistic provinces if conceded by the Central Government, it will succeed in putting the hands of the clock back and divert the course of our natural history along new and perilous channels. It will result in the Balkanisation of India and the unleashing of economic trends which will sap our growth.

It is also unfortunate that the authors of the Republican constitution of India failed to study the question before it was adopted by the Constituent Assembly. It is the constitutional provision for the creation of new States that is sought to be used by the linguistic agitators who fail to grasp the fact that the redistribution of States on the basis of language alone will lead to internecine quarrels among various sections of the population and the undermining of the political unity of Bharat.

The cry for linguistic separation and national unity can never go together. India is a country of Continental dimensions and once the Centre is weakened, the edifice of political unity suffers considerable damage. Linguism will only succeed in opening the Pandora's Box and the flood gates of inter-State quarrels and litigations on an unimagineable scale. Moreover, the carving out of States on the basis of language will retard the process of economic development and stifle the growth of agriculture and industry. It will mean a huge rise in the cost of public administration and the vesting of authority on a number of State Governments, without the financial resources to push through projects for the economic welfare of the people. As long as the Centre collects the income-tax, death duties and Customs and the States are saddled with the responsibility to run all the nation-building departments like agriculture, public health and education, the new States will have to carry on with deficit budgets and mounting expenditure leading ultimately to financial insolvency. In addition, these States will also need crores of rupees to house their offices, assemblies and other administrative paraphernalia.

Again, the demand for linguistic provinces is a direct challenge to the Five-Year Plan and the economic policy underlying it. The Plan visualises the development of the nation's resources, human and material, cutting across all artificial barriers of caste, religion and language. This will be impossible of attainment once the States are reorganised on a language basis. The mighty assets of the nation like coal deposits, iron ores and rivers do not obey language. There will be constant friction between States over the utilisation of river water, hydro-electric power and irrigational extensions. This is already evident in the case of the Tungabhadra River valley which is at present jointly developed by Andhra, Mysore and Hyderabad.

Under linguism, it is difficult to evolve a national economic policy, much less implement it. While one State may desire prohibition, its neighbour may follow a wet policy, leading to smuggling and frontier troubles. There will be a great difference between States in the matter of tax structure and its incidence. The Central Government can never dictate its policy to a single State since

any intervention will be considered by a particular linguistic group as a favour conferred upon its neighbour to its own detriment.

Further, the cry for linguistic separation is at variance with the political trends in all progressive countries of the world. In Great Britain, in spite of the tremendous growth of the number and activities of the Governmental departments, all schemes for even the devolution of power to provincial Parliaments in Scotland, Wales and North England have been frowned upon and rejected. In France, the unitary system of Government (in spite of rapid change of Ministries) has been preserved intact from the days of Louis the Fourteenth and Napoleon Bonaparte. Russia and the United States are Federal only in form but essentially unitary in spirit. In the Federations of Canada, Australia, South Africa and Switzerland, the trends towards a strong Centre are unmistakably evident. As a system of Government and theory of the State, Federalism stands discredited in the world and hence the demand for the multiplication of administrative units in India rather sounds strangely out of tune with the times.

The history of India itself teaches us the dangers of separation which brings in its wake inefficiency, sloth, strife and national weakness. The great epochs in our history have always been periods when the country was administered by a strong Central authority whose writ was unquestioned through the length and breadth of the Kingdom. The Mauryas, the Guptas and the Muglas were able to keep their subjects happy and prosperous because their Empires were governed by a strong Centre, capable of giving good leadership, in war as well as in peace. The British rulers also continued their tradition of Central Government with remarkable success. Viewed from this angle, the move to create administrative areas on the basis of language seems to be a scheme fraught with incalculable dangers.

With Pakistan making feverish arrangements to gang up with western defence arrangements and with armed Communism knocking at the eastern doors of India, in Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, India needs a strong and powerful Centre to consolidate the democratic form of Government.

A Recipe for Leadership

Brigadier Sir John Hunt, leader of the team that conquered Everest, looks to our youth for the spirit in which to tackle the problems of today, and says in the course of a B.B.C. Broadcast, that spirit can be cultivated not in comfort and security.....but by living hard and living dangerously.

THE urge to climb mountains is but a part of man's quest for experience, the challenge of his spirit by the compelling magnet of adventure. But it is still not a satisfactory explanation.

There are many people who would claim that adventures are not experiences to be sought after, that they may have been forced upon men in the barbaric past but that we have already had far too many enforced hardships and that, in this age of science, we should apply ourselves to the development and perfection of the comforts and conveniences of our civilised age.

I am bound to say I disagree.

NEW DRAGONS

There was a time when primeval reptiles, or dragons, and other fierce beasts preyed upon our early ancestors.

Now the age when fearsome dragons lurked in swamps is no more: the wheel of evolution and the march of progress have swept them all away. Yet I suggest to you the place of those primeval reptiles has been filled by a yet more sinister dragon—a creature which is the very product of our so-called civilisation. It lurks not in out-of-the-way places but in the comfort of our own homes.

This dragon represents a far greater danger than its ancestors; it calls for the spirit of many St. Georges to defeat it. The name of this dragon is Despair.

This may seem a queer commentary on our times, but the simple fact is that the more we have the more we want and the more we get the more bored—the less happy—we become. In the end, the dragon Despair swallows us up.

Whereas many of us have found that hardships, dangers, sacrifices, great moments experienced together can produce a spirit of teamwork, of giving of sharing with others—and that these things breed happiness.

There is an urgent need for this spirit in the world today an adventurous spirit which inspired those early explorers from every land to cast aside security and reach out into the unknown.

SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

For I am certain that a perception of true values is sharpened by stripping off the conventions and the luxuries of life, by stepping out of civilisation for a while and seeking solitude by simple living in strange and lonely places.

I very humbly suggest that the ascent of Everest is, in a small way an example of this spirit and what it can achieve. On the day when the news was announced in London that Tenzing and Hillary had climbed Everest there were many people who interpreted the triumph as exclusively British achievement. Some there were, in fact, who focussed attention on those two men who reached the top, and a few, mistaking utterly the spirit of the enterprise, sought to establish which of these two had first arrived up there, in order to acclaim him alone the victor.

But broader visions prevailed and the deed was soon recognised as the work of an exceptionally united team.

SIGNIFICANT EVENT

As I look back in lengthening perspective upon the story of Everest's first ascent in 1953, I see more and more clearly what a significant event it was, and will continue to be, in the history of human achievement.

For it was an achievement not only of two climbers, nor of our expedition, nor even of the combined strength of all eleven expeditions in thirty-two years of endeavour.

It was brought about also by the Sherpas who served these expeditions, faithful, tough and cheerful little men who carried the loads to great heights, increasing their mountaineering skill to the point where one of them had fully earned a place in the climbing party.

After partnering Lambert in 1952, when they reached a point only about a thousand feet the top, Tenzing reached the summit with Hillary in 1953, thus symbolising the part played by his countrymen in the long standing struggle.

And in the final analysis, too, the story of the ascent of Everest is one of team-work. We reached the summit of Everest because we were united in attaining this particular ideal.

If there is a deeper and more lasting message behind this story, I believe it to be the value of comradeship, regardless of race or creed, forged by the hardships and the dangers to which mountaineering exposes its followers, strengthened by a great experience shared together.

Now here is the real burden of my message. We must look to our youth for the spirit in which to tackle the problems of today. That spirit can be cultivated, not in comfort and security, nor on the canned adventures of thrilling novels, the cinema, or the television screen, but by living hard and living dangerously.

JOY OF TRYING

If you want a recipe for leadership, I would say this.

Look for some task which is difficult to do, something which is a challenge to your skill and which has the spice of adventure in it. Find other companions to share the job and help you to carry it out. Plan and prepare for this job together, and then go out to achieve it for all you are worth.

Whether you succeed or fail, you will find that you have gained something much more lasting than the deed itself.

The Rockefeller Foundation

THE Rockefeller Foundation, one of the largest and all-encompassing philanthropic trusts in the world, recently marked its 41st anniversary. It was chartered in the United States in 1913 by the late John D. Rockefeller, oil magnate, "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

During more than four decades of its operation, the Foundation has distributed grants totalling over \$500 million among institutions and projects in nearly every country of the world ministering to a wide range of human needs.

The Foundation's programme is carried out through four divisions: Medicine and Public Health (professional education, medical care, investigation and control of specific diseases and deficiencies, and development of the health sciences); Natural Sciences and Agriculture (experimental biology and the development of basic food resources through aid to agriculture); Social Sciences (projects contributing to the understanding of social and economic behaviour, social values and philosophy, political and social problems of democracy and international relations; and to the development of personnel); Humanities (encouragement of work in history, philosophy, linguistic, and, within certain limitations, in the arts).

Except to a limited extent in public health and agriculture, the Foundation does not itself engage in research, but seeks to advance

its purposes through grants to universities, research institutes and other qualified agencies conducting work within the scope of the Foundation's programme, and in the training, through post-doctoral fellowship, of competent personnel in its various fields of interest.

HELP TO 15,000 SCIENTISTS

Under its fellowship and programmes, the Foundation has aided more than 15,000 scientists and technical specialists throughout the world, until there are few important feats of science with which the Rockefeller name is not connected in some fashion. Fourteen former fellows have been awarded Nobel prizes.

The Foundation's Division of Medicine and Public Health has long been the world's foremost spearhead of attack against plagues—yellow fever, typhus, hookworm diseases, and malaria, among others—that have caused more death and disease than all mankind's wars combined. The foundation had done much to end the inroads of preventable diseases on a world scale before the World Health Organisation came on the scene, and still continues its multi-pronged attack in that field. As a result, tens of millions of lives have been saved and many of the pestholes of the world wiped out. Modern systems of public health and disease prevention, ending most epidemics, have been created.

NO CHARITY

There is no charity under the Rockefeller Foundation. That is left to local agencies. Rockefeller felt that the most important function of the organisation would be to help in elimination of the causes of poverty. Foremost of these, he believed, were disease and ignorance, which he held responsible for most of man's woes, including hatreds and wars. He was convinced that no man of sound body and mind, if given a fair chance to develop, would ever let himself be victimised by political or social nostrums.

"The only thing which is of lasting benefit to a man is that which he does for himself," according to Rockefeller. "Money which comes to him without effort on his part is seldom a benefit and often a curse." Again, "If the people can be educated to help themselves, we strike at the root of many of the evils of the world. That is the fundamental thing."

The Foundation concerns itself primarily with small grants. In general, its officers look for opportunities to make grants which will be strategic in terms of human welfare, rather than those which would involve large sums of money. The grants are meted out with consummate care—race, creed and political pressures are ignored. For every request it grants, the Foundation rejects about 20.

FOUNDATION WORK IN INDIA

Back in 1920, two Rockefeller representatives were sent to Madras to help the state government in its fight against hookworm disease, as part of the Foundation's worldwide campaign against hookworm. One of these representatives remained in Madras until 1932. In the meantime, and subsequently, other representatives, all experts in medicine and public health, have been resident in this country. These representatives were sent to help the Government of India and state governments, at their request, to develop public health programmes of various sorts.

In 1932, in cooperation with the Government of India, the foundation supplied funds for construction and equipment of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Calcutta. The Institute has long since been taken over completely by the Indian Government. It has trained hundreds of health workers for service all over India, and today offers courses in a wide variety of subjects.

The Foundation helped in the establishment of several demonstration rural health units throughout India which also serve as training centres for health personnel. It also operates a malaria control programme in Mysore State and a virus research centre in Poona in cooperation with Indian authorities.

TRAINING

The foundation's aid to India, however, has over the years been principally concerned with training personnel. Apart from various training programmes in India, through 1952, 168 fellowships and travel grants had been given to qualified Indians for advanced studies abroad, largely in the field of public health.

Grants by the Foundation to India through all its divisions totalled more than \$2,500,000 through 1952, in addition to all expenses of staff members resident in India, amounting to over a million dollars. But as the investment has been in the training of technical personnel and in the encouragement of new projects and ideas, the cumulative effect far outweighs the modest sum spent.

The Foundation's headquarters are in New York's Rockefeller Centre, with branch offices or research stations in 17 nations, including India. The payroll members around 250 people, a sizable number being specialists of all kinds. The foundation's board of trustees comprises 21 distinguished professional and business leaders, now headed by Dean Rusk. Every year they disburse from 10 to 15 million dollars.

DO YOU KNOW?

1. India's First Five Year Plan has already surpassed the target in:
 - a. Foodgrains
 - b. Cotton textiles
 - c. Oil seeds
2. Since Independence India has been spending on new railway lines at the rate of:

Rs 1 lakh every day
3. The Damodar Valley Corporation will benefit one or more of the following States:
 - a. Bihar
 - b. West Bengal
4. The Bharat Electronics Ltd., which will produce wireless and electrical equipment for the Armed Forces and States Governments is scheduled to start in:

1956
5. The Community Project and the National Extension Service are reaching:

One out of every 8 villagers.

A UNIVERSITY FOR EUROPE

By Mr. DAVID HARDMAN

[Formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the U. K. Ministry of Education]

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From what were once the barracks of Hitler's Wehrmacht—"barracks which were the symbols of tyranny of body and mind"—has grown a university whose charter is goodwill and international understanding. The University of the Saar, founded in 1948, is neither French nor German, but European; and has students from 30 different countries.

NO area in Europe, not even the Ruhr, suffered the physical devastation to be seen in the Saar in 1946. Over 65 per cent. of the houses, 60 per cent. of the factories and more than half the schools were rubble. To-day, though there are still many signs of war, the German will to work (more than 90 per cent. of the population of the area of 740 square miles are German speaking), the cordiality between the independent Government of the Saar and the French Commission, and the upsurge of a popular feeling of autonomy and home rule have all brought about amazing reconstruction of the physical landscape. The people of the Saar believe they are once again on the march to industrial and commercial ascendancy.

One of the signs of this will to independence and ascendancy is the interest in education. Between six and seven hundred entirely new schools and additional annexes to schools have been built since 1947. A magnificent arts and crafts school, with a syllabus ranging from ballet and weaving to sculpture and photography, is nearing completion. The vast college for domestic science, attended by some 3,000 women students per week, has no equal, either in buildings or in up-to-date equipment. The new extensions to the French Lycee Marshal Ney, a school for 1,600 boys and girls, and the new Ludwig Commercial school are other notable educational landmarks.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

But more spectacular than any of these, because of its unique conception, is the University of the Saar, founded in 1948 in what were once the barracks of Hitler's Wehrmacht. There on the wooded slopes outside Saarbrücken, to-day stands a university of 1,500 students from 30 different countries, whose charter is goodwill and international understanding.

The barracks themselves have been adapted with great ingenuity, to become laboratories, lecture theatres and places of residence. New buildings are nearing completion now and the foundations of others have been laid in the past six months. As is true of the whole of the Saar, immense schemes of reconstruction on the most modern lines are going on.

Saarbrücken is ideally situated for the first European university. Paris, Berne, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Brussels and Luxembourg are within one to five hours by direct train routes. Geographically and historically the area has age-long links with France and Germany. Set up to attempt to bridge the gulf between the two nations, the university teaches and publishes in French and German, its teaching staff comes from a dozen different countries, including Britain. At present teachers from French and German universities are equal in number—62 each.

The Rector, M. Joseph Francis Angelloz, is a Frenchman, with a brilliant academic career to his credit and one closely allied with international problems. He sees his task, as the first head of the University of the Saar, as one based on Franco-German understanding and the ultimate attainment of European unity. He said recently:—

In the Saar, all who have been able to suppress frontiers within their own minds and hearts can have the exultant feeling of living in a privileged region where two peoples have ceased being enemies or even rivals and can, instead, feel at home in a new country which must react in new ways and be prepared to become the hub around which Europe revolves. We are making of Saarbrücken a European cross-roads and our bilingual university will become a centre where international groups work together."

SEPTEMBER 1954]

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LOW COST

There can be no university in the world which offers so much to its students at so little personal cost. Tuition fees, social amenities, health and insurance stamps and laboratory fees are less than £6 per year. Residence in hostels costs £8 per month for room and board. Most of the local students (French and Saarlander) are completely subsidised for board and tuition by the Governments of the Saar and of France, with a grant system similar to the one in Britain. Valuable scholarships are available to students from other countries to maintain the student body as internationally representative as possible.

In the well-equipped dining-room and cafeteria one could not but notice the friendly mixing of students from a diversity of nations and of different colours. Attending my own lectures on English education were students from more than 10 nations all of whom attended seminars and lectures where French, German and English were the language vehicles of their everyday teaching.

INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

The Faculties at present are medicine (taught at Homburg, 18 miles to the east on the German frontier), arts and letters, the natural sciences, metallurgical research (vital to the industry of the Saar), teacher training, law and economics. Unique is the Institute of European Studies created within the uni-

versity to provide studies in the history of Europe as a whole. Here graduates learn to be European, train to become responsible employees of the Council of Europe, and fit themselves to become international civil servants for the United Nations and its eleven specialised agencies.

I am sure the European Institute ought to be the first of many such in other universities. Already M. Angelloz and his staff have created a remarkable library and documentation centre for European affairs. Here research of the highest order can be undertaken, learned papers from other countries be made available, and contact with international agencies strengthened and maintained. Important to its work is the university interpreters' institute where interpreters for commercial work, industrial research and for employment with international organisations can gain an interpreter's diploma of the highest United Nations standards.

From the dilapidated barracks of 1946—barracks which were the symbols of tyranny of body and mind—has grown something entirely original among university foundations. Among the thousands of fir trees on the slopes surrounding a great and rich industrial city, a university has come into being which is neither French nor German—but European.

SPIRITUAL INDIA

By

Prof. B. BISSOONDOYAL, M.A.

AT the very mention of the name of the country that has thrown up Dayananda and Gandhi, Ramana Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo one's thought goes to its religion, its philosophy. In the long march of the ages religion has held its sway there as nowhere else. The Indian always thinks in terms of spirituality. It is the things of the spirit that make the greatest appeal to him. Nature itself is associated with religion. The places of pilgrimage, whether they be in the smiling plains or on the tops of hills, are so chosen as to please the eye. At the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumna and the mythical Saras-

wati at Prayag, at Pushkar in Ajmer, or at Hardwar—everywhere nature is seen in all its beauty.

Nothing moulds the life of the people like the religion of the land. When religion degenerates into superstition it becomes oppressive. Unfortunately for us this is the case at times. Hence it is that religion has become associated with bigotry, the worst kind of fanaticism.

But religion, in India, has many redeeming features. It makes for harmony, for peace. The Indians are a very tolerant nation. They push their tolerance so far that they have most undeservedly become the object of cons-

tant jibes at the hands of the merciless and indiscreet critics. We have often heard of the freedom of conscience having been granted first of all in France. It is a fashion to leave out of account all the achievement of the Asiatics when any fact is stated by historians. If history did not contain untruths and half-truths it would have been universally acknowledged that so far as the question goes of giving freedom to everyone to think as he or she chooses, it is the great Emperor Asoka that set the pace. For centuries together Hindus have been living in peace with their neighbours the non-Hindus. Communal riots are not so common an occurrence as they are supposed to be. In the villages, which contain the bulk of the population, Hindus and Muslims live like brothers. Anyone who goes to India is welcome, Parsis came all the way from their country and were received with open arms in the land where guests are honoured. It is known that Jews were once offered high posts in one of the Congress provinces.

Religion, it is said, is going by the board in this century. *The Times* said, of recent years, that it is dying out. It is the letter that dies. The spirit lives on. We cannot help looking before and after. Human nature can find satisfaction but in religion. Man is a religious animal. After the practical abolition of religion in France, Auguste Comte wisely came to the conclusion that some sort of religion there must be.

Religion has suffered discredit because in most cases, it has fought shy of reason. Religion points one way and the intellect the other. In his pride that he is a rational animal man threw religion overboard. It will startle many to learn that far from rejecting reason, the Indians pressed it into the service of religion. The scholastics of Europe distorted the text of Aristotle and others in order to give religion an appearance of logicity. It is not in this spirit that the system of Gautama, for example, is studied in India. The Indian gives out what he thinks without any fear of being persecuted. He receives encouragement from every quarter. Alluding to a great thinker, Matthew Arnold once said that he was "perfectly at ease in Zion." The meaning is that when the thinker set about considering a certain problem he was not hidebound; he had all the freedom he required to think. The same is true of the Indians.

Without a knowledge of the fact that religion is the supreme interest in the life of the Indians, it is hard to know the exact nature of the religion they have evolved. The Indians find unity when others see only diversity. One God manifesting Himself in nature looked upon as a whole, is the object of worship. This leads to the belief that the whole world is but one family, one co-operate group. Internecine wars between members of the same family have no *raison d'être*. A family divided against itself cannot present a pleasant spectacle. The big nations of Asia make it a duty to toil hard to bring about peace wherever there is general carnage and death. The great Chinese Wall, known to every student of history, mirrors the mind of the people that set it up. An eagerness to live in peace and not to be disturbed was uppermost in their mind. If they would live, they were generous enough to allow others too to live. If such an eagerness has not been ours then we forfeit all right to be styled civilised. The greed of power degrades man. It has never been India's object to acquire spots in the sun. Asoka conquered so many places; he went with fire and sword from one part of India to another. But, at last, the Kalinga War revealed to him to what depths of degradation greed can lead. He was filled with remorse at the thought that he was responsible for the death of 100,000 gallant soldiers who put up a heroic fight in defence of their fatherland. When the picture of so many slain in Kalinga rose before his mind's eye he was overcome with grief. It dawned upon him that he was not true to the ideal set up by the Indians. If the Indians set out at all for an expedition it was with the object of making a cultural conquest. It is the culture of India that conquered Sumatra, Java, the Philippines and other lands—not its sword. It is Horace who said that conquered Greece conquered its conqueror Rome. Such is the might of culture that it succeeds where the force of arms proves ineffective. During the long centuries of foreign rule in India, the people preserved their civilisation, their culture. At first they were treated with contempt. The conqueror could see nothing in them worth the having. Macaulay found much more knowledge and wisdom in a shelf of books from the West than all the libraries in India and Arabia could contain. But others knew better. As soon as they had access into

the libraries of India it came to them as a revelation that the people of India spoke a language that for perfection, beauty and refinement, compared favourably with Greek and Latin.

Crabb Robinson, the intimate friend of Wordsworth, Lamb and other literary figures of his days, had a pleasant surprise when he received a copy of *Sakuntala*, the famous drama that had just been done into English by Sir William Jones. He expressed the opinions of the most cultured Europeans when he wrote:

"It is really a very pleasing and interesting piece, and is a perfect drama... There is in the style a richness and grace which are truly delightful and which show how universal poetic sentiment is. It requires only a slight change of situation and a voluntary adoption of certain sentiments and opinions to enter into the whole spirit of the poet. The poem is also characteristic of the Indian mode and morals: an exquisite purity and delicacy, quite unearthly and paradisaical in its frame... The atmosphere is too fine for European organs to breathe. The elements are rainbows and sunbeams, and perfume the grossest food enjoyed in it." (*Books and their Writers*).

The rest of the story will not bear repeating.

India broke the superiority complex of the Westerners. They who came to taunt remained to admire. The compact between the East and the West proved beneficial to both. There was a renaissance putting everybody in mind of the renaissance which began in Europe in 1453 when Greek scholars were driven out of Constantinople. The science of language, unknown so far in the West, began to receive the attention it richly deserved. The enthusiastic indologists of France, once convinced of the usefulness of Sanskrit, approached their government with a request to make the study of it compulsory in their lycees not because a knowledge of it would open up to the children of France the treasure-house of a great culture, but because, as they themselves put it, it would enable them to have a better understanding of their language, its grammar, its formation. But prejudice dies hard. The world had to wait for many decades more to see the day when humanities in Oxford began to mean something more than Greek and Latin culture. A chair was created and for the first time an Asiatic appointed professor. At last the recognition came that Eastern culture too had an important part to play. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has himself explained why he agreed to go to

Oxford. The Indian thinker met Mahatma Gandhi towards the close of 1938 and made these pertinent remarks:—

"Hitherto they were sending missionaries to India. Now that the Oxford University has introduced a Chair of Oriental Philosophy, I felt that it would be some use to be there... The living evidence on the basis of which I can teach oriental philosophy is you. For, you take an absolute stand on the principles of religion and morality." (1)

Who can deny it that his presence at Oxford at this time of day has served a very useful purpose? Speaking to a world on the verge of another conflagration, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said on 13-2-51 at the Cosmos Society and U. N. Association of Oxford University:—

"The U. N. is failing us because in spite of our professions regarding the sanctity of treaties and international obligations we are not serious about the proper functioning of that organisation."

The numerous works of Tagore published in English, French and other languages went a long way in raising India in the estimation of the world. They are nothing if not a new edition of the sacred books composed in the sylvan retreats of India.

In other parts of the globe it is the military power that counts. One nation is great because she is the mistress of the sea, another on account of her air force. The economic conditions too give supremacy to a country. It is with anxiety that the world watches the rise and fall in prices in the various markets. Will the bank of New York or that of London set the standard? is a question to which many anxious hours are devoted. Never in the history of the world has any modern nation risen so high as to think that there is something much more valuable than wealth or military power. It is in India that you find the spiritual leader getting the better of the militarist in an Asoka. Society is divided into four distinct classes in India. You have the class of the spiritual leaders whom neither wealth nor power can corrupt. It is they that represented India in days gone by. By their own examples they set lessons of selflessness. The soldier, the merchant and the servant classes subordinated themselves to them of their own accord. India's civilisation is a spiritual civilisation; it is a civilisation that redounds to the credit of man who should rise above the level of those creatures that remain what their primitive instincts make of them.

Anglo-American Relations

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IN spite of Sir Winston Churchill's visit to Washington and the joint statement of the President and Prime Minister on the conclusion of their talks there is vast scope for improvement in Anglo-American relations. They do not yet see eye to eye on Red China's admission to the United Nations or French withdrawal from Indo-China. But the logic of events is inexorable and U.K. no less than U.S.A. is convinced that the road to safety lies in their joint effort for peace in the Far East. In this context a dispassionate study of Anglo-American relations through the decades such as the one provided by Arthur Willert is of considerable interest.

Mr. Willert's essay on the road to safety* is a most interesting book and as Professor Charles Seymour in his preface says "Sir Arthur Willert has achieved Lord Acton's standard of being able "to say something that is both interesting and true." The style is easy, the assertions are supported by full references to contemporary press reports and diplomatic archives and the presentation well deserves Professor Seymour's statement that "this is an authentic exposition of important facts" for which "both the historian and the general reader interested in foreign affairs should be conscious of warm gratitude".

Coming to the subject of the book, it is almost a hereditary document as Sir Arthur Willert's father Mr. P. F. Willert, in his brilliant studies of Mirabeau and Louis XI of France has prepared for the equally brilliant exposition of his son. As the father explained how Louis XI struggled hard against the dominance of the Austro-Burgundian Empire and Mirabeau struggled for common sense and a planned approach to foreign politics, the son has explained that Anglo-American relations represent a kind of tight-rope dancing in which the Road to Safety had to be carefully trodden.

THE ROAD TO SAFETY—A study in Anglo American Relations by Arthur Willert Derek Verschoyle Ltd., London.

Lord Palmerston said "England has no permanent enemies or permanent friends but only permanent interests. The long history of European diplomacy even from the time of Louis XI's contemporary Henry VII down to the present day has always been a history in which England kept a close watch on things all over the world with special reference to her own interests as a small island which had to find scope for an adventurous mixture of many races.

As Goldsmith observes in his charming essay on National Antipathies "The Englishman calls a Frenchman 'a false Frenchman' and the Frenchman refers to England as perfidious Albion." During the First World War or the Great War of 1914-18, a cartoon appeared in which Napoleon with folded arms stood serene alike in peace and danger and said to England "Last time you and the Teuton combined against me; this time I am with you against him; next time I may be with him against you." This prophecy was fulfilled when France surrendered earlier to Hitler and so England had to look abroad for an Atlantic lifeline while Hitler howled over the radio "The Yanks are not coming this time."

This book explains how a sage with the appropriate name as Sir William Wiseman succeeded in preparing the ground between the years 1915-1919 to make the Yanks come in 1917 though the peace was lost in 1919 and so "the third link in the chain of events connecting the two wars was forged" and Sir Arthur's narrative is brought back to the point from which it started.

Napoleon called England "a nation of shopkeepers" and they bitterly realised the dictum of commercial enterprise. The customer is never wrong when they tried to dump tea in Boston Harbour and lost a rich country overseas and started the United States of America. Anglo-American relations continued bitter with the war of 1812-1814. The temporary peace patched up was shattered in 1864 by the Alabama incident and the cotton famine of Manchester. The matter was aggravated by the indiscreet support of the southern slave States in speeches and writings by British publicists.

America became too busy till 1917 to worry about one side or the other with her heterogeneous population of very many races. During the first World War, it was touch and go whether German Teutonic elements or the Puritan Anglo-German elements in the United States would succeed in putting the weight of America on one side or the other. The added complication was the apprehension of Britain that Canada and the U.S.A. might amalgamate into one big North-American union depriving British lacklanders of scope for adventure and profit.

So the problem of England has always been that of a country in which property in land and rich material resources like coal mines etc. were concentrated in a few hands and provision of lebensraum for its landless surplus population to build railways in South America, promote trade in India and settle and exploit the great wastes of the world including Arctica and Antarctica, the whirligig of time has almost come the full circle and the British Empire which Lord Bryce compared to the Roman Empire has come to the necessity of allowing American bombers to have aerodromes within the sacred soil of England itself. As somebody said "Instead of re-conquering America, England is threatening to become the latest State to be admitted into the Federation of the U.S.A. Law of Diminishing Returns and the law of even a mixed race

failed to succeed when the ruling races have lost their ancient discipline and the subservient races have lost their habit of obedience have been fulfilled. The Empire in the sense of a dominant voice in the ordering of world affairs has passed on the one hand to the U.S.A. and on the other to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As prophesied by Daniel "Stones cut without hands, namely atomic and Hydrogen bombs have made all empires impossible" or in the Hindu phraseology "The fearless unavaricious Brahmin who spoke freely even to kings in his poverty has given place to the cringing Brahmin civil servant and the covetous Brahmin businessman, the Kshatriya who preferred death to dishonour has started seeking the Road to Safety, only the Vaisya whose main eye is to profit remains and one premonitory sign of this was when in 1923 king George V preferred the commercial magnate Stanley Baldwin to be Prime Minister of England to the very superior person, George Nathaniel Curzon. Like Nostradamus Cheiro has said that in 1960 "A new world and a new dispensation may come when neither the U.S.A. nor the U.S.S.R. will dominate. We can only wait and see if we like the Road to Safety. The late President Truman is said to have retorted when our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru said "we follow a middle-of-the road policy" "Pedestrians can't afford to do that, they will be jammed" and knocked down by traffic from both sides"

An Independence Day Prayer

Thou hast given us to live.

Let us uphold this honour with all our strength and will;

For thy glory rests upon the glory that we are.

Therefore in thy name we oppose the power that would plant its banner upon our soul.

Let us know that thy light grows dim in the heart that bears its insult of bondage,

That the life, when it becomes feeble, timidly yields thy throne to untruth, For weakness is the traitor who betrays soul.

Let this be our prayer to thee—

Give us power to resist pleasure where it enslaves us,

To lift our sorrow up to thee as the summer holds its midday sun,

Make us strong that our worship may flower in love, and bear fruit in work.

Make us strong that we may not insult the weak and the fallen,

That we may hold our love high where all things around us are wooing the dust.

They fight and kill for self-love, giving it thy name,

They fight for hunger that thrives on brothers' flesh,

They fight against thine anger and die. But let us stand firm and suffer with strength

For the True, for the Good, for the Eternal in man.

For thy Kingdom which is in the union of hearts,

For the Freedom which is of the Soul.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

Seven Years of Freedom

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

SEVEN years is, by no means a long period in the life of a nation and more specially of a country like India which attained Independence after centuries of political serfdom. But during these seven years of freedom we have been able to achieve results in different sectors of national economy of which all of us could be legitimately proud. As the A.I.C.C. session at Ajmer pointed out, there has been "a very great improvement in the food situation in the country which has exceeded expectations and the targets laid down and has assured the country of an adequate supply of foodgrains." While the target of additional food production during the period of the Plan was 7.6 million tons, the production of foodgrains is estimated to have increased during the last three years by about 9.5 million tons. In addition to agricultural production there has been a general increase in industrial production as well. The target for cotton textiles by the end of the Plan was 4,700 million yards; but even in 1953, production exceeded the above target by over 200 million yards. There has been substantial increase in cement, paper, sugar, ship-building, manufacture of Railway wagons and locomotives and fertilisers. The Multi-purpose River Valley projects have enabled us to bring more than 1.6 million acres of new land under irrigation during the last three years of the Plan; electric power capacity also increased by 4,25,000 kw. Progress in the building of national highways and roads in addition to the construction of several new Railway lines has been considerable.

Besides these notable achievements in the domains of agriculture and large-scale industries in private and public sectors, there has been substantial increase in Welfare activities specially in the rural areas. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes have already covered over 50,000 villages and a population of 36 million and it is intended to cover the entire country with such projects by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. This tremendous undertaking will surely bring about basic change in the structure and functioning of rural India. The success in these schemes is not only due to thousands of trained workers but also to the

admirable public response which such projects evoked. For example, the total Government expenditure on 210 National Extension Service Blocks since their inauguration on October 2, 1953 has been Rs. 42.99 lakhs, while the people's contribution amounted to Rs. 45.8 lakhs. During the first six months of their work, the N.E.S. blocks could bring 78,000 acres of land under irrigation through minor irrigation schemes, about 16,000 acres were brought under fruits and vegetables and about 19,000 acres were reclaimed for cultivation. About 5,000 wells were either newly constructed or renovated, 1000 new schools and nearly 12,000 adult education centres were started. Approximately 1800 miles of village roads were constructed in these National Extension Service areas. On August 15, 1947 there were only 18,000 Post Offices in the rural areas; their number is now 40,000. The number of Public Call Offices at the time of Partition was only 339; now it is 2,260. All these are surely no mean achievements specially during a period when the nation had to divert considerable financial resources to the healing of the wounds of Partition. Even in the sphere of Rehabilitation, our achievements can compare favourably with those of any other country in both Asia and Europe.

In other spheres of national activity also, our achievements have been quite note-worthy. While saving the country from civil disorder as a result of the vivisection of India, we succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Union without a gun-shot. We have been able to eliminate the intermediaries in land by abolishing feudal Zamindars, Malguzars and Jagirdars. Through the amendment of the Company Law, the Government is now attempting to curb and if necessary liquidate the relics of feudalism in industry in the form of the Managing Agency system. The imposition of the Estate Duty is a significant step in the direction of removing glaring economic inequalities in the country. Important pieces of legislation relating to the reform of the Criminal Procedure Code, social customs like that of Marriage and Divorce and the abolition of social evils like that of Untouchability have already been intro-

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SEVEN YEARS OF FREEDOM

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duced in the Indian Parliament. The existing system of education is gradually being changed into Basic and Technical educational structure, although the pace of progress in this direction has not been as fast as it could have been. The old system of administration that we inherited from the foreign rulers is now being overhauled. A chain of National Laboratories and Higher Technical Institutes have been established in different parts of the country during the last seven years of freedom. There has been visible increase in medical amenities in both the rural and urban areas, although much yet remains to be done. Above all, the Congress leadership has given to the new Republic a stable and progressive government at a time when many other countries in Asia and in Europe have been, more or less, in the melting pots. Thanks to the eminent leadership of our Prime Minister, India has succeeded in gaining a very high prestige in International affairs for playing a vital role in the difficult but noble task of establishing peace on earth and good-will among mankind.

India has chosen the path of peace and democracy for building up a new social and economic structure in accordance with the teachings of the Father of the Nation. She has definitely rejected the way of war, totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses. It is wrong to think that the methods of authoritarianism are quicker and more lasting than the way of democracy and education of the masses. What India has been able to achieve in the political, social and economic spheres during the last seven years can stand comparison with the progress of any country in the world during the same period. We should remember that it took Russia full eleven years after the Revolution in 1917 to produce her First Five Year Plan in 1928. Even after the Five Year Plan, the transition from the old economy to the new order was not smooth. Immediately after the October Revolution, Russia had to face great resistance from the vested interests and there was chaos, confusion, bloodshed and famine in the land for about a decade before the fruits of a socialist order could be visible to the people. In China also nothing has been achieved by magic and all the facts are not so rosy as they appear from a distance. The land reforms there are not so revolutionary as they

are, perhaps, depicted to be. Those who have been to China during recent months and have tried to study the realities of the situation without any political bias are of the view that China will take at least ten years more to come up to the present level of India. China is our friendly neighbour and we are always prepared to learn from her in a particular sphere. But all of us should realise that India has been able to accomplish great things after Independence and there is no occasion for any kind of frustration or despondency.

This does not mean, however, that we should become smug or self-complacent and begin resting on our oars. Eternal vigilance and arduous work are the price of lasting liberty and we cannot afford to be over-optimistic and over-confident. As Sri Nehru recently wrote to the Presidents of different Pradesh Congress Committees, "we have to keep a balanced picture before us, in no way exaggerating our successes and also in no way minimising them and always remembering what we have yet to do". We have no shadow of doubt that India is a land of destiny and our Prime Minister is a man of destiny. We must always bear in mind the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and work ceaselessly for building a new, prosperous and glorious India. With faith and confidence in the purity of our mission, with good-will towards all and ill-will towards none, we should march forward with discipline and determination towards our cherished goal of a classless and casteless society in which there will be ample scope for the free and full development of both the individual and the community.

NEIGHBOUR

Our children and theirs
Have buried the hatchet.
The bigger the breach
The better they patch it..
While we, who took sides
In argument glowing,
Are outwardly calm,
But the hatchet is showing.

—Leonard R. Schiff.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

THE PRIZE OF VICTORY

Rumours had reached the Emperor Marcus Aurelius that one of his most trusted generals Avidius Cassius, was raising the standard of revolt in Syria. The Emperor ignored them. The ambitious general, it was whispered, was now casting his eyes not only upon the emperor's Kingdom but upon the emperor's wife. Still the emperor was hesitant and waited in patience for more evident proofs. But Avidius was not willing to wait. He suddenly spread a report that the emperor was dead. He rallied his legions to back him as the new emperor. Marcus was forced to act. When the news of the rebellion reached him he called his troops together.

"Fellow Soldiers," he addressed them, "My best friend has plotted to overthrow me and has forced me against my will to take the field. I enter upon this campaign with the conviction that I have neither committed any act of injustice against Avidius nor left undone anything that I ought to have done for him." He had no indignation to express no complaint to voice, he told his legions. "There is only one thing I am afraid of, Fellow Soldiers—for I shall speak the whole truth to you—and that is, that Avidius Cassius may kill himself to avoid the shame of coming into my presence or that someone else, knowing that I am on the way to take the field against him, may do the deed. Then I shall be robbed of the greatest prize of the Victor, as no man ever had". And what was the prize? "To forgive the man who has done me wrong, to remain a friend to him who has broken his friendship with me".

RECONVERSION

Despite the bitterness engendered by the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln never missed an opportunity to speak kindly of the South. An ardent Union supporter once took him to task for this attitude.

"Why do you try to make friends of your enemies?" he protested. "You should destroy them."

"Am I not destroying my enemies," gently replied Lincoln, "when I make them my friends?"

THE LUCID INTERVAL

There is no cure for birth and death save to enjoy the interval.

—Santayana.

TRANSCENDENTAL NONSENSE

Once, when Emerson had concluded a lecture at Middlebury College, the presiding Minister offered up a prayer as an antidote. "We beseech Thee, O Lord, to deliver us from ever hearing any more such transcendental nonsense as we have just listened from this sacred desk." Asked to comment on this public insult, Emerson remarked: "The Minister seems a very conscientious, plain-spoken gentleman".

DEATH OF AN INFANT

He did but float a little way,
Adown the stream of time,
With dreamy eyes watching the ripples play
Or listening to their fairy chime;
His slender sail
Ne'er felt the gale;
He did but float a little way,
And, putting to the shore
While yet 'twas early day,
Went calmly on his way,
To dwell with us no more!
No jarring did he feel,
No grating on his vessel's keel—
A strip of silver sand
Mingled the waters with the land
Where he was seen no more;
O stern word—Nevermore!
Full short his journey was. No dust
Of earth unto his sandals clove.
The weary weight that old men must,
He bore not to the grave.
He seemed a cherub who had lost his way
And wandered hither; No his stay
With us was short. And 'twas most meet
That he should be no delver in earth's clod,
Nor need to pause and cleanse his feet
To stand before his God:
O'blest word—Evermore!

J. R. Lowell,
Threnodia.

NECESSITY FOR GOD

If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent him.

—Voltaire.

EVER READY

Do every deed, speak every word, think every thought in the knowledge that you may end your days at any moment.

—Marcus Aurelius.

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BURKE AND COLERIDGE

Coleridge, according to John Buchan, is the successor of Burke as the philosopher not exactly of conservatism but of English constitutionalism and organic development. Like Burke, he is the philosophic commentator, but his speculative equipment is far deeper and wider than that of the earlier thinker. "He has Burke's profundity and his power of far-reaching affiliations. He has Burke's sudden poetry, his gift of metaphors which tease us out of thought as doth Eternity." On the whole he has Burke's political creed. Both are rhetoricians, but Burke's is the rhetoric of parliament and Coleridge's of the pulpit but though Coleridge is of Burke's school, he can sharply criticise his predecessor. He disliked Burke's opportunism.

"If his opponents are theorists, then everything is to be founded on prudence, on mere calculations of expediency; and every man is represented as acting according to the state of his own immediate self-interest. Are his opponents calculators? Then calculation itself is represented as a sort of crime. God has given us feelings, and we are to obey them and the most absurd prejudices become venerable, to which these feelings have given consecration. The fact was that Burke in his public character found himself, as it were, in a Noah's ark, with a very few men and a great many beasts. He felt how much his immediate power was lessened by the very circumstances of his measureless superiority to those about him; he acted, therefore, under a perpetual system of compromise, a compromise of greatness with meanness; a compromise of comprehension with narrowness; a compromise of the philosopher, who, armed with the twofold knowledge of history and the laws of spirit, looked, as with a telescope, far around and into the remote distance—with the mere men of business, or with yet coarser intellects, who handled a truth, which they were required to receive, as they would handle an ox, which they were desired to purchase."

But he was himself an opportunist and hated abstract ideals:—

"Universal principles, as far as they are principles and universal, necessarily suppose uniform and perfect subjects, which are to be found in the ideas of pure geometry and, I trust, in the realities of heaven, but never, never, in creatures of flesh and blood."

ODE

We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;
World-lovers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams:
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world for ever, it seems.
With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an empire's glory:
One man with a dream at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample a kingdom down.
We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself in our mirth;
And o'verthrew them with prophesying
To the old and the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying;
Or one that is coming to birth.

—Arthur O'Shaughnessy (1844-81)

GOLDEN SILENCE

Emerson the American transcendentalist, took a trip to Europe in order to sit at the feet of the masters of the Old World. One evening he came to see Carlyle. The "hermit of Craigenputtock" gave his young American visitor a pipe and took one himself. In perfect silence—so the story goes—the two puffed away at their pipes until bed time, when they shook hands and congratulated each other on the fruitful evening they had spent together.

UNTIL DEATH

If thou canst love another, be it so.
I would not reach out of my quiet grave
To bind thy heart, if it should choose to go.
Love shall not be a slave.
It would not make me sleep more peacefully,
That thou wert waiting all thy life in woe
For my poor sake. What love thou hast
for me

Bestow it ere I go.
Forget me when I die. The violets
Above my rest will blossom just as blue
Nor miss thy tears—E'en Nature's self
forgets—

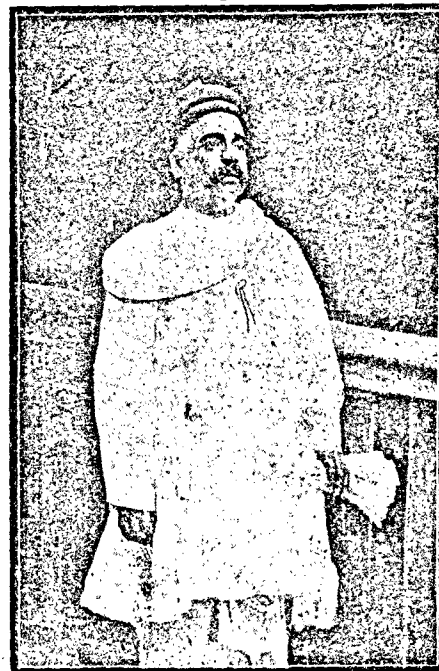
But while I live be true.
—F. A. Westbury.

Lokamanya Balagangadhar Tilak—An Appreciation

By

Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.

FONDLY and reverentially called 'Lokamanya', Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the greatest Indian leader of the pre-Gandhian era, came to be known in his own day, first, as the uncrowned king of Maharashtra, his home-province, and later as the uncrowned king of India itself. This was a richly deserved tribute to his service and suffering and sacrifice in the cause of his country. Hostile critics regarded him as the most



dangerous pioneer of disaffection and as the Father of Indian Unrest. In point of fact, however, he was a Prince among Patriots. And, none, whatsoever his opinions, could ever think of Indian nationalism without thinking of Tilak's role among the makers of the India of today.

A typical Chitpavan Maratha Brahmin, Tilak, born on 23rd July, 1856, was a life-long fighter, and patriotism was the ruling passion of his life. He began his career after taking his degree in Law in 1879 as an

educationist. The Poona New English School, the Deccan Educational Society and the Fergusson College—all owed their origin to his efforts. He hated everything foreign, and his mind rebelled at the sight of the Westernised type of education prevailing in his country. He sought, therefore, to introduce a new national type of education which would restore the ancient greatness of India and elevate her status to new heights.

But, the political advancement of India was his chief interest, and he devoted himself to the service of his country with a selfless devotion which was unique. India's subjection to Britain hurt his national pride, and he considered foreign rule to be an absolute evil. He believed that India's misery and backwardness were due to British rule, and so he made himself a relentless critic of the foreign connection. He became a journalist primarily to focus the attention of his countrymen on the various ills from which India suffered on account of political subjection. His journalistic career was as illustrious as it was historic. It forms an important chapter in the annals of India's national movement. His two papers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, represented a radical nationalist viewpoint, and soon became powerful weapons in his hands for all-round political education and nationalist propaganda.

Tilak was a brilliant and astute politician. He was well aware of the nature of the material with which he was concerned, and he made clever use of his knowledge. Even religion was pressed into service by him in the cause of his country's freedom. Hindu gods and heroes were made use of for encouraging a new spirit among the people, and Tilak was the first leader in India who initiated a really popular political movement in the guise of religious festivals. In 1893 he hit upon the original idea of introducing the Ganapati festival with a view to exploiting the religious feeling of his countrymen and to create in them a spirit of courage, patriotism, discipline and unity.

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LOKAMANYA BALAGANGADHAR TILAK

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Boys in schools and colleges were induced to participate in the celebrations so that they might imbibe a feeling of devotion to the motherland. The Ganapati festival became in course of time a real people's movement, and it inspired the Maratha youth with a new patriotic zeal. In an age when mass propaganda was yet unborn, this festival was turned into a potent instrument of political education.

Encouraged by the efficacy and popularity of the Ganapati celebrations, Tilak started the Shivaji festival in 1895 in honour of the great national hero of the Marathas. The motive in this case was more directly political. By publicising the greatness of Shivaji who had brought freedom to his country in the days of the Mughals, Tilak aimed at instilling in the mind of his people a new yearning for liberty and a resolute inclination for united national movement. This festival too proved an immediate success. It created an unthought of enthusiasm among the masses, and the Maratha youth were fired with the passion for service of the motherland in the same spirit which had actuated the great Shivaji.

On the occasion of these festivals, expert athletes and fencers demonstrated "lathi" play, "akharas" were started, meetings were held, patriotic and religious Kirtans were sung, "Kathas" and ballads were recited and political speeches were delivered. Although violence was not generally preached, everything was done to incite the people against the British government. A typical poem which used to be recited ran as follows:—"Listen. We shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war; we shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing". Another poem was directly seditious. One of its stanzas was as follows:—"Alas, you are not ashamed to remain in servitude . . . die, but kill the English. This is called Hindustan, how is it that the English rule here".

Tilak was the first Congress leader to go to jail several times and suffer long terms of imprisonment. He was sentenced to four months of imprisonment in 1882 for having condemned in strong terms the treatment meted out to the Maharaja of Kolhapur. In

1897, he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for having incited the murder of two European officers, Mr. Rand and Lt. Ayerst, through his articles in the *Kesari* during the Plague agitation in Bombay. In 1909 he was tried for having criticised the government's repressive policy against the Bengal revolutionaries, and was sent to jail at Mandalay for six years. During this trial, he conducted his own defence and spoke for full 21 hours 10 minutes. At the end he made the following stirring remark: "There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things; and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

It was mainly during his imprisonment at Mandalay that Tilak completed his monumental "Arctic Home of the Vedas" and "Gita Rahasya"—works which testified to his deep scholarship and remarkable intellectual acumen. His researches into and study of the ancient Vedic civilisation and its literature in his "ORION" were so subtle and comprehensive that they had a world-wide recognition, and won the admiration of the greatest Orientalists of his day, including MaxMuller, Jacobi and Bloomfield. On the basis of astronomical evidence, Tilak proved that the Aryan civilisation was older than the Egyptian, Chinese or the Chaldean civilisations, and that the age of the Rigveda might be fixed at about 4000 B. C. And, on the basis of geological evidence, he showed that the Aryans lived originally in North Polar regions about 800 B.C. His researches could not obviously be universally accepted, but the value and originality of his conclusions were beyond dispute. His interpretation of the Gita was an erudite philosophical feat, worthy of an intellectual giant. The emphasis he placed on action was in harmony with his own life work, and in his advocacy of "Karma" the reader is gradually led to light upon a succession of intellectual arguments which finally culminate in the establishment of a grand and original criticism of the Gita.

Though he could easily have obtained a pre-eminent place in the field of Oriental research, he chose to shine as a political leader, and spent himself completely in the

furtherance of his country's cause to which he dedicated his life. In the Poona Municipal Board or in the Bombay Legislative Council, in the Congress committees or in the Extremist nationalist party, he brought to bear upon every matter he dealt with an iron will and a fearless honesty which nothing could weaken or break. As the founder, exponent and head of extremism in Indian politics, Tilak earned a success which was rare in those days. As he emerged on the political field, his people saw in him the very type and incarnation of the Maratha character, the Maratha qualities and the Maratha spirit embodied in a great individual. He was no ordinary demagogue. His speeches were made up of hard and straight thinking, and he talked of serious and practical action always, careless of popular gush, sentimental applause and mere effervescence, and his words had the directness and force of a sincere and powerful mind. He was a true democrat who could effectively rouse the spirit of the mass and respond to their sentiment. He was never an academical politician or an idealist, and he was, first and last, a man of action, a captain of unwavering sincerity and a leader of indomitable resolution.

Tilak's contribution to the Indian National movement is memorable. The Congress movement before him was accidental in its mind, and moderate in its character and methods, limited to the English-educated few, and with no roots in the inner spirit of the nation. Tilak was the first leader to break away from the past, to revolutionise the present and to anticipate the future. He Indianised the national movement in a real sense and brought into it the mass of the people for the first time. As such, he was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi. He also infused Indian politics with religious and spiritual fervour which was going to be a sure foundation for a powerful and enduring political awakening in India.

At a time when the Congress was loyalist to its backbone, Tilak was the first leader to talk of Swaraj and Swadeshi in the nineties of the last century, even though the ideas could not catch on immediately. But, as real statesman he anticipated the future. He rebelled against the attitude of prayer-

fulness and importunity and the method of political mendicancy which characterised the Congress of his days. And, as the spokesman of radical views in Congress politics, he proved his convictions by declaring in a forceful manner, "Swaraj is my birthright, and I shall have it". This slogan for the first time instilled a spirit of self-reliant political action and shattered the country's old faith in British sense of justice. But it was as the founder of the Home Rule movement in 1916 that Tilak finally changed the course of Indian national movement. As an astute leader, he viewed the War as a God-sent opportunity to win freedom for India, and he exploited the situation with skill and vigour. His Home Rule movement, it is necessary to add, served to inspire (after his death on August 1, 1920) the freedom movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

Tilak's name stands out in History as the foremost political fighter and nation-builder of his age—a name to be cherished lovingly so long as India is proud of its past and confident of its future.

A FLOWER'S LAMENT

By SRI S. R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

As a bud I have seen
The lamentations of the sad wind
On many a winter morn
Storming cold on me its agony;
I withered like a new-born babe
Just out of its mother's womb.
Flowering forth one summer eve,
Embraced and kissed by the gentle south-wind,

Invited by many a beauteous damsel
To adorn her waving locks
I have smiled, standing like a proud
Emperor,

My lofty head lifted up in pride.
Today I am an old woman
With woes unquenched and passions
distraught

Longing for the attention of a passer-by;
Yet unnoticed I wither and die
In the agony of unsatisfied desires, still
possessed

By the plant that gave me to the world.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The President's Message

AUGUST 15, marking the completion of the seventh year of our freedom, was duly celebrated with flag hoisting ceremonies, processions, parades and meetings. The leaders took the occasion for exhorting the people to rededicate themselves to the fulfilment of the nation's task. The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in an Independence day message asked the people to dedicate themselves not only to the happiness and prosperity of the country but also to peace and mutual understanding among nations and the happiness of mankind.

As we make this solemn resolve, he said, we can derive satisfaction from the fact that as years roll on, the Government of our country continues its unrelenting efforts in the interest of world peace. Recently our efforts have been crowned with success and a good many countries have recognised the value of our efforts. Our own faith in the promotion of international peace has inspired us to undertake an arduous assignment in Indo-China. Let us hope the deliberations of the commission, which is going to start its work soon, will bring about the settlement of an international dispute which was fraught with danger to world peace.

In the home front, we have sufficient reason to believe that our fight against food shortages has borne fruit. Withdrawal of controls of every kind is unmistakable proof of improvement in the food situation.

The Message of New India

Hoisting the national flag over the Historic Red Fort in the Capital the Prime Minister told lakhs of cheering people assembled there that India was definitely marching forward, and asked them to join in the "pilgrimage of building a new India."

The message of new India, he said, is that everyone should have equal rights, politically, socially, and as far as possible economically, and all old customs of caste distinctions, and the like, should be wiped out, root and branch.

In his speech, Sri Nehru referred to India's big responsibility in Indo-China, her desire for peace and friendship with all countries, the need for unity, and eradication of casteism. He assured that under no circumstances will the Indian Army be allowed to fight anybody else's wars.

Seven years are of course nothing in the history of a nation but the period, short as it is, is enough to judge tendencies in terms of democratic progress. In another page will be found an assessment of the nation's activities in the direction of the welfare state from the pen of the General Secretary of the Congress.

Newspaper Editors Conference

Both the Prime Minister who inaugurated and Mr. A. D. Mani who presided over the 11th Session of the A I N E C at Delhi laid stress on the responsibilities of the Press apart from the rights of which we have heard so often. Mr. Nehru appealed to the Press not to make any sensationalism and preach violence. The non-violent approach which Mahatma Gandhi had taught them continued to be and would remain the basic and most important approach for them. "If we forget that we do so at our peril".

The Prime Minister said that he had not minded any criticism of the Government, provided it was *bona fide* criticism and not merely sensationalism or something that verged on vulgarity.

Wherever there is any failing, criticise us as hard as you like, we want the incentive, but try to understand and appreciate something magnificent, enormous and colossal that is happening in India. It is a common heritage we are building up.

Sri Nehru wanted the Press to be very important partners in the tremendous work that was going on in this country. Newspapers could help greatly in bringing about the emotional integration of India and stepping up the pace of social change.

In his presidential address Mr. A. D. Mani urged that the editors' position "needs to be strengthened on account of the intrusion of the gentlemen of big finance into the newspaper industry". "Nothing", said Mr. Mani, "has been so pathetic,

as the spectacle of highly educated men, who are capable of making signal contributions to the knowledge of contemporary affairs, being used as hired playthings of capricious men of finance. We should all like this state of affairs to end and we should like to see the emergence of the independent editor who would have full powers to determine the character and contents of a newspaper".

Science and the Humanities

Addressing the Convocation of the University of Bombay Dr. R. P. Paranjpye spoke with deep concern on the many problems of education which are still subjects of controversy. The position of English in our curricula and the question of discipline among students and the responsibility of teachers naturally called for some forthright comments. His observations on the relative importance of science and the humanities may be quoted:

"I do not imply," Dr. Paranjpye added, "that the arts students are anywhere near perfect in these matters, but they are certainly on the whole somewhat better. The fact is that the divorce between science and the humanities has been carried too far. Leaving aside those students who intend to go in for professions requiring some preliminary knowledge of science or who are competent to specialise and carry on research in any branch, I think that the academic authorities of our universities would do well to devise a more broad based course of education for the average student in which neither the sciences nor the humanities are entirely neglected.

"I believe some of the old universities in England are also considering the same problem and proposals are being made to give popular courses of lectures on some general humanitarian subjects to students of science and similar courses on modern trends in scientific thought to arts students. These need not be made subjects for a regular detailed examination, but perhaps the university authorities can see if it is possible to prescribe a paper in general science for arts graduates and a paper on humanitarian subjects for science graduates. The details can be worked out by experts, but there is no doubt that the graduates that we turn out are not quite capable of taking their proper place in a modern society which has on the one hand to make continual use of various scientific and mechanical appliances and on the other to deal with many economic, social, political, moral and cultural problems. The aim of our universities is to turn out not merely specialists knowing more and more about less and less, but also to produce well-educated men and women who are capable of being leaders in our independent India."

One recalls a similar controversy in nineteenth century England between two such redoubtable champions of science and literature like Huxley and Matthew Arnold. With what results? Both seem to have scored. The older universities of Oxford and Cambridge stuck to the classics while a number of new universities were started to facilitate progress in the practical sciences and technology.

Dr. Paranjpye, stressing the importance of the arts course, said that while agreeing that the study of science, properly under-

taken could give almost a complete education, he had serious doubt whether that was the case at present when large masses of students were put through a mechanical course of laboratory work joined to a superficial cramming of main facts in some branches of science. It was almost unofficially agreed that science students were generally weak in the proper handling of the instrument of language and were unfamiliar with the main topics that interest man as a social and political being.

Asia in World Affairs

In a letter to the Pradesh Congress Committees Prime Minister Nehru has expressed his belief that the recent statements issued after the talks between Mr. Chou En-lai and himself and between Mr. Chou En-lai and the Burmese Prime Minister "indicate a certain historic change in the relationship of forces in Asia."

Mr. Nehru points out "It is not these statements that have made any change in these relationships. The statements have only given expression to something that has been happening for some time, something that is giving Asia a place all her own in world affairs."

"We would gladly make similar agreements with other countries", he declared.

The statements, he added, were "in line with the spirit of the time and represented the conscious and subconscious urges of our people". They were "the natural development of our foreign policy".

What Europe thinks of McCarthyism

It was a Dutch weekly that wrote the other day that "if McCarthy did not exist, the Soviet would invent him." Indeed a widespread feeling is growing in Europe that McCarthyism has done more for Communism than the red army. "Not since Hitler as a world politician aroused so much violent feeling among Europeans," says George W. Herald, Chief European Correspondent of *The World* and he quotes Francois Bandy, Editor of a French Magazine saying: "In the long run the Communists will be the only ones to profit from this American obsession...It is the prototype of a nationalism that inflicts its heaviest wounds on the spirit and substance of the nation itself." The correspondent goes on to say that

McCarthyism "has created a warped mental picture of America in the eyes of so many people ahead. They think often not without a certain feeling of malicious glee—that we are no different from them after all, that we are liable to make the same mistakes they themselves committed not so long ago."

By allowing such ideas to spread, America gives way to the USSR on a point just as vital as China or Germany. We surrender our main attraction in the worldwide battle for men's minds—namely the fact that we have been successful in creating a society where free men can engage in the pursuit of happiness in an atmosphere of mutual trust and social peace—and thus impair our claim to world leadership in the fight for freedom.

All experts here—both American and European—therefore agree that we must make a vigorous effort to disprove the misconceptions about America which McCarthyism has already produced abroad.

In McCarthy's Footsteps

Already McCarthyism seems to have found a congenial soil in Pakistan which has of late started following the American model. We learn that about two lakh industrial workers in East Bengal are to be scrutinised by the Screening Board set up by the Government for the purpose. This is being done with a view to eliminating Communist elements from among factory workers.

A separate Screening Board has been set up to scrutinise workers in the Adamjee Jute Mills and the Karnafuli Paper Mills, it is learnt. Besides, Managers of factories employing 5,000 or more workers have been empowered to do the screening.

This is McCarthyism with a vengeance.

Truce Commission in Delhi

At the meeting of the representatives of India, Canada and Poland at Delhi, members of the International Supervisory Commission on Indo-China, it has been agreed that Mr. S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, should lead the advance mission to Indo-China. The Mission also includes representatives from Canada and Poland.

The Mission's task is to have discussions with the Governments of Indo-China and report on the arrangements to be made for the reception of the three Supervisory Commissions. Two IAF Dakotas carried the party from Delhi to Indo-China.

The Supervisory Commissions have since left for Indo-China.

India's Progress

A recent survey by *The New York Times* on United States Government and international assistance programmes in seventy-nine lands says:

India furnishes an outstanding example of the use that can be made of indigenous talent in employing foreign technical aid to the utmost. More than eighty Indian experts serve abroad and ninety foreigners have received fellowships for training in India.

India's progress is indeed outstanding. In three years of technical help in support of the Five Year Plan,

Food production has increased by 50,00,000 tons, power generation has stepped up by 3,15,000 kilowatts, and cloth output has risen to 4,70,00,000 yards, a postwar record. Agricultural, medical and social services have been extended to 46,000 villages of 3,74,83,000 people.

Barring natural calamity, self-sufficiency in food is within reach.

The United States Government Technical Co-operation Administration's contribution of approximately ninety crores of rupees, along with help from other agencies, quickened progress in the first three years of the Plan. The outlay of India was very large, says *The Times*.

A. I. C. C. Session at Ajmer

The All-India Congress Committee concluded a notable two-day session at Ajmer on July 26. After the committee unanimously adopted the official resolutions on International affairs and land reforms. The Congress President, Mr. Nehru, called upon Congressmen to explain to the people and implement the resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. and not to "take it easy and rest."

"For centuries" he said "we were toys in the hands of others. Now we have become participants in the world arena. We do something about our fate, but we also do things which influence the destiny of the rest of the world."

The world was watching India with interest. Mr. Nehru said:

We have taken a big responsibility in Indo-China. As soon as I go back to Delhi, I have to take up the matter. We have to prepare for it. We have to discuss things with Canada, Poland, France and the three States of Indo-China. It is big work. Our strength lies in the people's confidence in us."

In a spirited call to Congressmen Mr. Nehru said:

If you think I am your General—it is for you to decide whether I deserve your trust or you should cut off my head—then I regard you as my soldiers, and you should work as such.

Reorganisation of States

The Congress President, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has drawn the attention of Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees to "some of the major disruptive tendencies in India" and declared that it was the historic task of the Congress "to face this situation with courage and not, through fear or weakness, to compromise with any tendency that is bad for the future of India and her people."

In a letter written from Dalhousie Mr. Nehru has referred to the prevalence of casteism and communalism, missionary activities in tribal areas, and provincialism.

"Politically," Mr. Nehru says:

We do not wish to encourage any foreigner to live within some of our frontier zones. This has nothing to do with religion. Their presence there creates problems and we have to apply our rules with a certain strictness in these frontier areas."

In his observations on reorganisation of States Mr. Nehru says:

"It is obvious that it is not possible to draw any map of India strictly confined to each language in a particular area. There are bound to be bi-lingual or multi-lingual areas. If we do not approach this question in a spirit of give and take and compromise and good neighbourliness, and freedom of growth for everyone, then we shall always come into conflict with each other."

Welfare State

The Chief Justice of Bombay, Mr. M. C. Chagla, who was delivering the Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Lecture under the auspices of the Mysore University, spoke on "Individual Freedom and Welfare State". Mysore's Chief Minister Mr. K. Hanumanthaya presided.

In the course of his lecture, Mr. Chagla referred to certain outstanding questions which engaged the minds of the politician, the legislator, the Minister and the citizen, such as the right of the State to impose its own standards of morality, the state and measures of social reform and the functions of a Welfare State he said that while resisting unjustifiable encroachments of the Executive on the freedom of the individual, the Judge should not forget that he was also a citizen of the country and that it was not enough that he should do legal justice but also try and do social and economic justice if he could without causing hurt to his judicial conscience.

Formosa

While Korea and Indo-China are settling down to a state of comparative peace—thanks to Geneva and the Colombo powers—Formosa threatens to become the scene of a flare up, which might upset all the peace arrangements since ceasefire in the Far East. That is a possibility which can hardly be ignored. Dr. Syngman Rhee the old war horse of South Korea and Chiang Kai Shek who has found shelter in Taipeh behind the American Seventh Fleet are as provocative as ever. Only the other day the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Pacific Fleet, Admiral Felix Stump declared before leaving for Manila that his seventh fleet would defend Formosa against a People's China invasion in accordance with the President's instructions.

President Eisenhower himself reaffirmed in Washington that his orders at the beginning of 1953, for the Seventh Fleet to defend the Island from Chinese attack, were still in force. The Chinese would have to "run over" the Seventh Fleet, he said, if they intended to launch an amphibious attack on Formosa.

In the meantime a joint statement issued on August 22, by "all democratic parties and people's organisations" in China "solemnly proclaimed to the whole world" the Chinese peoples' determination to "liberate" Formosa. It was issued after a report by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, on the international situation, foreign policy and "the task of liberating Formosa", the Chinese Nationalist island base.

American reaction to this was quick and decisive. Admiral Stump to have said that atomic weapons could be used to good effect in the defence of Formosa. Units of his command, in the face of any obvious threat, would fire without waiting to be fired upon.

Now any one will see that the situation has all the possibilities of a flare up and any hasty or illjudged action on one side is bound to provoke a conflagration. Is it any wonder that leading men of the British Labour Party are thinking in terms of neutralising the island of Formosa? How far this would be acceptable to either side no one can say in the present uncertain and tense atmosphere.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE RELIGION OF THE HINDUS: Edited by Kenneth W. Morgan. The Ronald Press Company, 15/E 26th St., New York, 10.

We have had any number of distortions and misrepresentations of the Hindu people and their religion by Westerners who, after a brief and hurried tour of the country, have felt called upon to give their judgment. These off hand judgments often crude and ill-informed and not often engendered by ignorance or prejudice have tended to irritate the people and breed, a kind of contempt and indifference to foreign opinion.

This book which we owe to the discernment and generosity of the National Council on Religion and the Edward W. Hagen Foundation is inspired by the belief that a real understanding of a non-Christian religion would be promoted if devout adherents of that religion, "could be persuaded to describe all aspects of their religious life in terms intelligible to the westerner". It is a great relief to find that this admirable and praiseworthy task is done with competence and no little skill by the seven Hindu writers of this book under the immediate guidance of the Editor Mr. Kenneth Morgan who, we are told, made special trips to supervise preparation of the book.

The writers who are all well known scholars from different universities and sections of the Hindu community are steeped in the knowledge and tradition of their religion.

Dr. D. S. Sarma and his six colleagues in this great enterprise have furnished a book at once informative and fascinating, describing contemporary Hindus from the point of view of his life and belief in Gods. His attitude towards his fellow men and his solutions to the mysteries of life are all described with vivid impressiveness. Accurately described are the family worship, temple ceremonies, festivals, pilgrimages and other religious practices which are a vital and necessary part of a Hindu's daily existence. It is said that every act of a Hindu's daily life is touched by religion—his eating, his bath and the most insignificant details of his thought and actions. Dr. Raghavan who

has already made a name for himself as a scholar and translator of the sacred scriptures provides in a condensed form some of the principal and most meaningful passages from the Vedas and Upanishads, the Eepcs and the Dharma Sastras, the Bhagavat Gita and the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali. Altogether the book gives a clear picture of the rich variations of modern Hinduism without missing the underlying unity.

It is a great book reflecting the authentic voice of Hinduism, the ancient religion of the Hindus.

A SET OF SIX By Joseph Conrad, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, London. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd, Madras 2.)

Conrad, a Pole by birth and a foreigner was handicapped by using English as a borrowed garment just as so many of our own countrymen are, but his genius overcame all obstacles and he fashioned a prose style "massive, rotund and stiff with dignity" and 'distant' courtesy, reflecting the many coloured strains that added lustre to his poetic moods. He used the sea for the setting of most of his tales—"symbol of that freedom and range" says a critic of the English novel "which had been denied to his compatriots by the Russian ascendancy over Poland".

In the book under review there is a long short story which has nothing to do with the sea—the scene being laid in the wide, cold South America.

There are two short stories of revolutionaries and spies: *The Informer* and an ironic tale and an *Anarchist* a desperate tale". In between there is *The Brute* the volume's only sea story. The longest story is *The Duel*—an achievement of military historical fiction with the background of the Napoleonic wars. But the most Conradian of all is *Il Conde*, a moving little tale of an evil adventure which befell a venerable old man in Naples. Conrad himself set a high value on this "Pathetic tale" which he says in a "Note is an almost verbatim transcript of the tale told me by very charming old gentleman whom I met in Italy".

COMMUNISM AND PEASANTRY—Implication of Collectivist Agriculture for Asian Countries by Ram Swarup—Published by Prachi Prakashan, 12, Chowranghe Square, Calcutta—Price Rs. 9. Goldsmith wrote!

"A bold peasantry their country's pride.

When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

The Russian peasantry was first destroyed by the centralising and rationalising policy of successive Czars from Peter the Great. After the First Revolution of 1917, a kind of philosophical anarchy of Tolstoyan ideology prevailed in Russia and the peasantry revived. Mr. Ram Swarup says "that though according to Lenin, the toiling peasant was to be the central figure of economic revival" and "though the ultimate aim of communism was the liquidation of the independent farmers and their collectivisation, this fact was "not to be chattered about everywhere" till the preparations were complete for seeing the task through." The book is an ably argued plea against being led the Russian way. The author has the balance of mind to say at the end: "Because we cannot achieve the highest all at once, there is no need to think that we are condemned to remain tied down to the lowest. Let us look upward and onwards, and may our feet follow our wider glance."

KANCHI: An introduction to its architecture. The Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi.

Among the sacred cities of India Kanchi or Conjeevaram near Madras occupies a unique place in view of the historic part it has played in the religion and culture of South India. The history of Kanchi can be traced back to several centuries before Christ and in the brochure written by Dr. C. Meenakshi for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting we have a fascinating account of its vicissitudes through the ages and a complete picture of a tradition hallowed by the memories of powerful dynasties and celebrated reformers. Dr. Meenakshi tells us of Kanchi through the Pallava, Chola, Vijayanagar, Muslim and British conquests and of the many memorials of three distinctive phases of her history. She recounts the lives and influences of the Alvars and Acharyas who have left a permanent impress of their teachings on the life of the people. The sacred temple

of Kanchi are living memorials of the faith and greatness of its tradition. Buddhist, Jain, Saivite Vishnava saints and reformers have all contributed to the culture and civilization of this ancient city. Kanchi is above all a city of temples and we have specimens of temple architecture under a succession of dynasties in this city of Buddhist and Jain origin is well borne out in the splendour and magnificence of its two great shrines: Ekambareswara temple and Varadaraja temple. The brochure is neatly printed on art paper with numerous illustrations which make it a valuable handbook for scholars and tourists alike.

GREAT PHILOSOPHERS by Henry Thomas and Dane Lee Thomas. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay.

It is rarely that we come across a book of such fascinating interest as the one that the Thomases have written for the Vidya Bhavan. "Great Philosophers" is a book as inspiring as it is entertaining: for every page of this volume is suffused with the wisdom of the philosophers while the method of presentation is at once vivid and picturesque. To present the lives and teachings of a score of western philosophers within the compass of a small volume is difficult enough. But to expound their respective philosophies in the background of their individual lives and experiences and to familiarise us with the process of their reasoning and their ultimate revelations of the great profundities of life and nature are tasks demanding scholarship and talent of no mean order. Beginning with Plato and Socrates we have all the outstanding western Philosophers under examination—Locke & Hume in England. Voltaire and Decartes in France, Kant and Hegel and Shopenhauer in Germany—Marcus Aurelius, Spinoza and Emerson representing different times and climes in the western world. It is altogether a very readable and profoundly interesting book.

One wishes that the publishers have included portraits of the philosophers to accompany the studies.

Another small matter. In the next edition care should be taken to eliminate printer's errors that have crept into this fascinating study of the philosophers.

NEW HANDBOOK OF THE HEAVENS: By Hubert of Benhard, Dorotty A. Bennett & Dr. Hugh S. Rice. A Mentor Book. The New American Library, New York.

Astronomy offers a fascinating study but the beginner finds the language and the technique of the science somewhat forbidding. If the difficulties in the approach to the study of the heavens are removed there could be nothing more interesting or enthralling than to observe the course of the stars and other planets through the field glass or the telescope. The authors of this book in presenting astronomical facts with charts and data together with descriptions of the heavenly bodies have done a distinct service to the public, by way of popularising, what otherwise would be abstruse and repellant, this unabridged yet concise treatise with a 28 page photographic inset is all that could be desired of an introduction to the study of the world around and about us. Altogether, a very satisfactory guide to the study of stars for amateurs and laymen.

ORIENTAL SPLENDOR: An Anthology of Eastern Tales. Ed. by Herbert Von Thal, Arthur Baker Ltd. 30, Museum St., London. W. C.

With the awakening of the East there is a welcome interest abroad in the literature and philosophy of the Orient. Indian thought and Chinese wisdom are hoary with age while the West has had but a partial though vivid acquaintance with the stories and legends of Iran and Arabia. Ever since Britain gave us "Thousand and One Nights" entertainment the splendour and magic of Eastern life and thought has had a compelling fascination for Western readers. And here for the first time we have a collection that gives an insight into the life and imagination of the peoples of the Far East—of Egypt and China and Japan, and Cambodia and India and Ceylon and Persia. It is a world glowing with youth and beauty and valour—a fascinating world of colour and romance. One is glad to find the story of "Sohrab and Rustum" in Atkinson's prose and verse and specimen tales from Panchatantra. South Indian readers will be glad to be acquainted with the resurrected stories of the late Pandit Natesa Sastri's Dravidian Nights Entertainment.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY; LINGUISTIC PROVINCES; MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION By M. K. Gandhi

THIS WAS BAPU Anecdotes compiled by R.K. Prabhu, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

The Navajivan Publishing House, which has acquired the rights of all Gandhi literature has from time to time published several volumes on different subjects culled from the writings of Gandhiji in *Young India* and *Harijan*. It is but right that Gandhiji's thoughts on such important subjects as untouchability, linguistic provinces and the medium of instruction on which controversy is still going on—should be collected and presented in separate books for easy reference and edification. The three books dealing with live issues are bound to be read with interest by a considerable section of the public and the politically minded people.

In the book—This was Bapu—Mr. Prabhu has collected one hundred and fifty anecdotes relating to the Mahatma from various sources. They are vastly entertaining.

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVİK By William Bradford Huie; Signet Book, The New American Library, New York.

Here is described at length the historic and tragic story of a private soldier who was shot to death in 1945 by a firing squad of twelve for having deserted the U. S. A. Army. The solitary case of execution since 1864 is stated to have prompted the author to "dig him up" and the author has taken no little pains to lay bare the facts of the case. This book has been built "out of recollections of events long buried in military secrecy.....travel, hours of conversation, hundreds of letters, endless checking and rechecking of memories." His pains seem to have been amply rewarded for he has made a hero of Eddie Slovik.

Harry Dimmick's estimate of Slovik regarding his timid nature, his touching letters to Antoinette explaining his pangs of separation and, above all, the elaborate and meticulous arrangements attending the execution are bound to make an indelible impression on our minds and we pity Slovik all the more.

DIARY OF THE MONTH



- August 1 Indo-China Truce Commission meets in Delhi.
- France grants Home Rule to Tunisia.
- August 2 India rejects invitation to SEATO talks.
- Department in atomic energy under Nehru created.
- August 3 K-2 Mt. Godwin Austen, world's 2nd highest peak is reported conquered by the Italian expedition on July 31.
- August 4 Japan rejects U. S. A. plan for Far East security.
- Portuguese Governor threatens "scorched earth" policy before quitting.
- August 5 India protests against anti Indian demonstration in Portuguese East Africa.
- August 6 Union Minister T. T. K. Chari explains aims of the Industrial development Corporation, in Bombay.
- August 7 Advance mission of supervisory commission leaves for Indo-China.
- August 8 Nehru conveys to Sir John Kotelavala his inability to attend conference of Colombo powers.
- August 9 Government of India deplores U. K.'s assessment of Goa events.
- Mr. Attlee and other British Labour Party leaders leave for Moscow on their way to China.
- August 10 India agrees to neutral study team for Goa.
- August 11 President Eisenhower at press conference scouts idea of preventive war
- August 12 Suresh Chandra Mazumdar M.P., Managing Director, Hindustan Standard passes away following heart stroke
- August 13 Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates A. I. N. E. C. session at New Delhi.
- August 14 British Labour Party mission entertained at Peking by Chou En-lai.
- August 15 Satyagraha Volunteers march into Goa for merger of Portuguese settlements.
- August 16 Three Goan villages—Toldem, Dargen and Tamari—liberated.
- Senate reduces U. S. Arms aid by 200 million dollars.
- August 17 Portugal agrees to Delhi talks on neutral observers for Goa
- Two Battalions of U. K. troops leave Suez—as first stage in evacuation.
- August 18 Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit addresses the Indonesian Parliament.
- August 19 U. S. Senate and House of Representatives agree to allocate 60 million dollars for India.
- Sgr. De Gasperi, former Premier of Italy, dead.
- August 20 Government of India accepts Bank dispute award with modifications.
- August 21 Prime Minister lays foundation-stone of the Indian Standards Institution in Delhi.
- Goa league in London formed for freedom of Portuguese pockets.
- August 22 A joint statement by all democratic parties in Peking demands liberation of Formosa.
- Failure of Brussels talks on EDC
- August 23 Autumn session of Parliament—Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha—commences.
- Press commission report released.
- August 24 Talks on Franco-Indian settlement open at New Delhi.
- President Vargas of Brazil kills himself as a sequel to demand for resignation.
- August 25 Indian cultural delegation to Russia leaves for Moscow by air.
- Mao requests Attlee to bring pressure on U. S. to quit Formosa.
- August 26 Andhra Governor issues Ordinance for protection of imam tenants.
- August 27 Ram Manohar Lohia and 2,000 others in U. P. released.
- World Bank suggests fresh talks on Canal water dispute.
- August 28 French National Assembly approves negotiations on future of French settlements in India.
- August 29 Powerful 50 K.W. medium wave transmitter setup at Jullender.
- August 30 First batch of 912 officers and other ranks selected for international Supervisory Commission in Indo China leaves Delhi.
- August 31 U.S. draft for SEATO leaks out in Manila.
- Moscow gives big acclaim to Indian concert.
- Untouchability (Offences) Bill referred to joint Select Committee.
- Sir V. V. Giri resigns from Cabinet due to differences on Bank award modification.

◆ READERS' DIGEST ◆

A PRESS COUNCIL FOR INDIA

Among the major recommendations of the Press Commission is the one relating to the constitution of a Press Council—a statutory body with well-defined functions, and representative of working journalists, news paper proprietors, the Universities, and literary bodies. The Chairman is to be nominated by the Chief Justice of India from among the Judges or ex-Judges of a High Court. The Council is expected to "safeguard the freedom of the Press", to "build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards", to "improve methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession". As a corollary to the constitution of the Press Council, the Commission consider that "there is no necessity for a machinery for advising Government on the administration of Press laws, and the continued existence of the present Advisory and Consultative Committees is not recommended".

Commenting on this, *Triveni* the quarterly edited by Sri Ramakoteswara Rao observes:

The freedom of the Press, like the independence of the Judiciary, is an article of faith with all those who cherish Parliamentary Democracy after the British model. The Press in India has developed a great tradition of efficiency and integrity, thanks to the pioneering services of stalwarts like Motilal Ghose, Kalinath Roy, C. Y. Chintamani and A. Rangaswami Iyengar. In their days, the freedom that the Press needed was freedom from encroachments on its liberty by a foreign Bureaucracy. But today there is a growing menace from another quarter,—the money power represented by the Press Barons who run chains of newspapers and exploit the best talent in the country to advance their own interests. It was this new feature in the public life of India which led to the formation of bodies like the All-India Federation of Working Journalists, charged with the duty of safeguarding freedom of expression on the one hand, and security of tenure and reasonable working conditions on the other. The idealists among the profession were opposed to a conception of journalism which would degrade it from a vocation to a trade, and fought shy of Trade Unionism. The Commission have sought to reconcile these points of view and to protect the interests of the 'employees' in regard to pay, bonus, provident fund, leave, and discipline. It is wise of the Commission to seek to entrust the Press Council with supervisory powers in all these matters.

GOKHALE AND GANDHI

In a study of the life and character of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the pages of *Public Affairs* (published by the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore) Mr. D. V. Gundappa, a veteran Liberal who had known both the leaders, offers some very interesting observations. Compared to Gokhale, Gandhi was a revolutionary, he says, though discriminating revolutionary.

If a country wants independence, and if a class of people like the Harijans wants emancipation, it can achieve the object only by a sudden and determined jerk of its body, so to say, throwing off the oppressive burden of the foreigner or of the privileged superior. But in making that sudden move, Gandhi insisted that you should do no violence to the opponent. Gandhi had not yet elaborated his philosophy of *Satyagraha* in terms of Indian politics when Gokhale was living. He had tried it in South Africa and Gokhale had approved of it. Whether Gokhale would have approved of the Indian version of it had he lived to see its working is a matter for speculation now. To those who know of the great personal affection and admiration in which Gokhale and Gandhi held each other, it is difficult to think that they would not have continued to work together and would have parted company when they found they differed. We may be sure they would have tried every possible way of coming to agreement and working as one soul in two bodies.

One essential difference between the two may however be noticed. It was a difference of temperament and cast of intellect, he says, not one of aim or allegiance.

Gokhale's forte was to deal with fact,—with fact as he found it,—to try to modify that fact by bringing it under the pressure of other relevant facts and through the chemical heat of the logic implicit in them. But it was not his to bring a new fact into existence. It was the genius of Gandhi, on the other hand, to create a new fact and thereby alter the posture of things. He was like an elemental force of nature which bursts upon the world like storm or earthquake or torrential rain or volcanic eruption. It came without previous notice and it baffled all known apparatus of control. Such an all-upsetting phenomenon may be a blessing if it occurred once in a hundred years, to wash away the accumulated ills of society. But you cannot live your normal life if such paroxysms were a matter of everyday occurrence. Gandhi is in his place when you need an extra-ordinary access of energy to liberate you. But after you are liberated, you need the calm and steady eye of a Gokhale and his unossified and deep-searching intellect to study the problems which liberty brings.

- SEATO

The *Manchester Guardian* in a recent leading article questioned the usefulness of a South-East Asian Treaty Organisation. Discussing the possibility of Communist advance in Asia the paper suggested that the United States and Britain should decide precisely what to do in various possible circumstances. The *Guardian* also suggested that there is a need to build up economic well-being everywhere in the hope of making revolution unattractive.

"The conference at Baguio on the security of South-East Asia will be a curious one," the editorial began.

"India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia will not attend. Thus, the conference will be a easy target for Communist propaganda which is always alleging that the Western countries want to settle the affairs of Asia over the heads of Asian countries.

One of the main subjects of the conference will be to deter the Communists from further aggression in South-Asia by giving a guarantee that aggression will be resisted.

In a world which is supposed to be regulated by the Charter of the United Nations a collective security system is presumably already in force. Signatories of the Charter came to the aid of South Korea simply on the score that aggression had been committed.

The Charter provides for and even gives its blessing to regional organisations but, with any useful purpose be served in setting up a regional organisation in South-East Asia if some of the principal countries of the region decline to join it?"

It said, "For their next spring, the Communists are likely to employ not their own armies crossing international boundaries, but, the Communists underground in the territories they wish to control. They will filter in.

"Now, to provide for international action against this, will set a nice problem in drafting."

"The most useful part of SEATO may be the economic organisation which is apparently envisaged for stepping up the programme of economic development.

"But, what will this be except the Colombo Plan given more publicity and, it is to be hoped, much more American money?"

"It is a pity that the sources of external finance for the Colombo plan have until now had to be so preponderantly from the sterling area.

"Though some of the ideas put forward for the structure of SEATO do not seem too sensible, this does not mean that the Western countries can let affairs in South-East Asia take their course uncontrolled.

"It is foolish to think that the end of the war in Viet Nam brings in a period when Communism has decided that it has no Asian ambitions left unsatisfied. The countries most threatened next to Formosa on which the attack may be mainly verbal, are Burma and Siam. They are rich and strategically placed, the *Guardian* stated.

Surely the real problem for the Americans and ourselves is to assess these dangers and to decide precisely what we shall do in various possible circumstances," the editorial said. That is the proper meaning of saying that it is imperative that we should fix a line beyond which aggression should not be tolerated.

"The need is to decide on the strategy to dissuade the aggressor by open statement and private exhortation and to build up economic well-being everywhere in the hope of making revolution unattractive."

Action of this kind concluded, does not need an elaborate international machine, least of all one which is partly pretence. SEATO organised as some would like to have it might prove an encumbrance not an aid," says the *Manchester Guardian*.

"THORNS IN INDIA'S FLESH"

In an editorial titled "extracting the thorns in India's flesh" the *Baltimore Sun* said, "Thorns in India's flesh, unimportant but no less irritating, are the so called French and Portuguese enclaves". They are the small bits of territory that remain of the once extensive European possessions on the sub-continent of India.

"India regards them as anachronisms, relics of an era that passed out of existence with Indian independence. Gradually they are being nibbled away by nationalist movements, presumably spontaneous but certainly enjoying the moral support of the Indian Government.

Of the French possessions, most of Pondicherry a city with a population of 204,000 remains. But some of its outlying communes have seceded. Mahe with a population of 14,092 and Yanam with 5,100 have gone. Karikal population 60,000 is going.

"Latest advices from New Delhi have to do with the invasion of Portuguese Daman near Bombay, by a party of Goan nationalists. Goa is a small Portuguese enclave that has been Portuguese territory since its capture in 1510. Several shots were fired by the Portuguese police before they surrendered but there were no casualties.

It is easy to understand India's desire to remove the thorns. The Portuguese Government have not helped matters by refusing to hand over the territory.

TULSI DAS

Few books are more widely known or have exercised a greater influence throughout India than the immortal work of Tulsi Das—the *Ramayana*, the great Bible of Northern India which is daily read, recited and sung by millions of Hindus. Its master poet, says "P. D." in the *Bombay Chronical Weekly*, was more than just the Shakespeare of Hindi literature: he was also a great saint and religious reformer, and moral philosopher as well.

Although Tulsi Das died only three centuries ago, there are few facts about his life that can be definitely ascertained out of the numberless legends that have grown up around his name. He was born in a village near Banda in 1532, under an "unlucky star", and was abandoned by his parents. The little Brahmin child was picked up by a "sadhu" with whom he travelled all over India as his disciple, getting what education he could and learning no doubt the story of Rama as related by the Sanskrit poet Valmiki in his epic the *Ramayana*. It was this story that he was subsequently to re-write in the popular language of his day—Hindi; but his genius was not that of a mere imitator or translator and his version is widely appreciated today.

He married a pious woman called Ratnavali. But she soon returned to her father's house and when Tulsi Das tried to induce her to go back to him

she reproached him for his inordinate affection, saying that if he had been as devoted to Ram as he was to her unworthy body, he would have secured ere then supreme felicity. Tulsi Das was greatly impressed and he left his home and became a wandering ascetic. Although his principal haunts were Ayodhya, the birthplace of Ram, and later on Banaras, he visited many a holy place and continued to write and teach; and as legend would have it to perform many a miracle like raising the dead, for which he got into trouble with the Emperor and was imprisoned for a time. He died at Banaras in 1627 at a ripe old age, glad in the thought that he had spoken of the glory of Ram's name.

He was indeed a poet of the people, for in spite of his brilliant gifts of vision, in spite of his experience and his friendships with famous men of his time like Todar Mal, Finance Minister of Akbar and Mansing of Amber his countrymen knew him for a simple man.

Tulsi Das was a voluminous writer, no less than twelve works in poetry being to his credit. The greatest of these is of course the *Ramayana*, an epic poem dealing with the noble deeds of Rama. The story is simple, revolving as it does round Ravana who took advantage of the boon of safety granted him by the Creator to persecute both gods and Brahmins, and Ram, who came to the earth as one

of our princes upon the appeal of the celestials and who had to go through many hardships—exile in the forest as well as a protracted war—before he could destroy Ravana, with the help of the Hanuman; and lastly around his faithful wife Sita and brother Lakhman, who followed him into exile.

But into this simple poetic structure

Tulsi Das has woven all the aspirations of his own heart and those of others and the doctrines of whole-hearted worship, faith and individual morality in fact all his own tenets and teaching.

THE NEW JAPAN

The Special Edition of *Pictorial Japan* (published by Japan Overseas Publicity Association, Tokyo) is a charming brochure of 150 pages printed in art paper, and fully illustrated, which we owe to the courtesy of the Japanese consulate in Calcutta. There are pictures illustrating different aspects of life and activity in modern Japan. As every one knows modern Japan or Japan after the last war is altogether different from the old Japan of feudal times. The pace of progress, or change if you will, brought about by the American occupation has been phenomenal. In fact as the Editor aptly says: war has wrought unbelievable changes in Japan though Mt. Fuji stands unchanging in her immemorial beauty and grandeur. The purpose of this publication is to reveal, the new metamorphosis in the life and conditions of the people. Hence we have in this book a charming account not only of the natural and scenic attractions and the traditional features of the land of the rising sun but the active living forces of Japan's politics and economy, her arts and sports, her education and technology. We have a true glimpse of the Japan of today—a new Japan that wants to be friendly and work with the rest of the world in peaceful co-operation and goodwill.

CLEVER

The firm took on a Jewish assistant but were worried because he had no experience. The next day he told the boss: "I sold a man a pair of shoes for six dollars. He had only two dollars. He had only two dollars with him so I took that as a deposit."

"You incurable fool!" lamented the boss. "He'll never come back."

"He'll come back all right," said the clerk. "I gave him two left shoes."

CASTE IN INDIA

"D. A. S." writing in *Mysindia* says that a great deal of nonsense is talked about the caste system. Throughout the ages, he points out, worth alone was the criterion and not birth which was and is a pure accident. In the Vedic ages, men and women were honoured for their inherent goodness, no matter to which creed or caste they belonged. Whoever was good, pure and noble was honoured and respected.

He illustrates this with stories from the classics which show that the better mind of ancient India invariably ignored caste.

The first is a story from the great epic Mahabharata. Once upon a time, a Brahmin sage entered the Vindhya forest to perform penance. In course of time, he gained control over his mind and subjected his corporal frame to severe austerities. He won the struggle and became a Siddha, attaining Yogic perfection.

The story goes to say how this Rishi found true Dharma in the life of a Pathivrita who devoted her life to the service of her husband and how a low born hunter by his devotion to his aged parents walked the way of righteousness and was in truth a better Brahmin than himself.

Another episode relates to the conjugal life of the great Brahmin Rishi Vasishtha. Besides being the greatest Brahmin of all time, he was also the preceptor of the Solar Race of Kings. He remained celibate for a long time.

Then it occurred to him that it would be more helpful if he married and set up a family. During those ages, the Brahmin could choose a wife from any stratum of society. So he took a handful of sand and went about seeking a suitable spouse. The most beautiful princess of the time would be proud to marry him, but he imposed a test. He asked whether any woman could make use of the sand he carried with him to cook food. No one could do so. On his wanderings he came to a place which was inhabited by Harijans. It was there that he met his wife Arundhati. He at once concluded that Arundhati was the best of women and that she alone could pass the test. It was easy for her to please him. Vasishtha married her.

But this matrimonial alliance between Vasishtha and a Harijan woman enraged all the other Brahmins. They were afraid of openly criticising him, for his Yogic powers were great. So they adopted other clandestine methods of showing their disapproval.

An edict was passed that no one should enter the hermitage of Vasishtha, and that no one should invite the great sage or his wife. It was a case of social ostracism, which was in vogue in those times.

Vasishtha did not mind all this, for he was above such petty matters, but his wife did attach some importance to social position and took it rather seriously. One day she spoke out her grief to her husband. The sage thought over it for a while and then said, "Look here, Arundhati dear, you are greater than all of us, for you know the secret of Agni Vidya, and if you by your Yogic powers control fire for a while, all these sages will come and fall at your feet."

She did so, and there was no fire in any of the hermitages. A very serious situation arose and all the Brahmin sages met together and exchanged views. They came to the decision that there was no way out except to go and fall at the feet of Arundhati. They did so, and Arundhati took pity on them and helped them out of their difficulty.

One more episode from the Upanishads is that relating to Satyakama Jabali. He approached a great rishi for instruction in Atma Vidya. He was asked to state his parentage.

The young man was absolutely frank. He replied that he did not know who his father was because his mother who was a servant maid in the Royal Palace was probably seduced by some unscrupulous courtier, and at that distance of time she could not remember who it was. The guru admired his candour and childlike simplicity and said, "I will take you as my disciple. It does not matter to whom you are born I am convinced that you are a true Brahmin because you speak the truth. That is enough for me." Jabali became his most beloved student.

Throughout the ages, the Vedic sages placed a high premium only on the worth of a person and never on birth.

VEDANTA KESARI

The Holy Mother Birth Centenary number of the *Vedanta Kesari* opens with an invocatory Sanskrit hymn and English translation by Dr. V. Raghavan. This is followed by a collection of utterances regarding the Holy Mother by thirteen direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna. There are personal reminiscences and studies, packed with incidents and anecdotes by Swamis of the Maths, who have had the exceptional privilege of personal acquaintance with Sri Sarada Devi. And then there are other articles on kindred subjects by writers like Dr. F. M. P. Mahadevan, M. Jean Herbert, Dr. C. T. K. Chari and members of the Ramakrishna Order. The 200 pages of this attractively go up volume with a number of illustrations, offer wholesome reading besides being an appropriate tribute to the life and services of the Holy Mother.

SOCIAL LIFE PERVADED BY EXPLOITATION

What is happening today, asks Acharya Vinobha Bhave, in *Harijan*. Big industrialists invade the cities.

Cities in their turn exploit the villages. Villagers exploit Harijans and landless labourers; they exact maximum work from them, but pay them minimum wages. Harijans and labourers exploit their women. It is an usual sight in the cities to find men-scavengers confining themselves to the driving of the night soil cart while the women are made to clean the latrines and carry the filth to the cart, that is, to do the dirtiest part of this dirty business. What do women do? They average themselves on the animals under their charge. They do not give them adequate food and exploit them by making them work to utter exhaustion.

Thus there is an unbroken line of exploitation running all along the social scale from the top to the bottom.

It reminds the Acharya of the story of a slave. Being unmarried this slave had no children. The parents were dead long ago.

The master, as was his wont, beat him, certainly when there was any fault in his work, but also when there was no such fault. The slave thought: Whosoever wants can beat me just for the liking! How sad that I cannot beat anybody! It did not occur to him that his victim would feel the same pain as he did. He felt that in any case he could not escape being beaten. The most, therefore, that he could hope for was to find out someone whom he could also beat.

So he kept a dog and whenever the master beat him, he avenged himself—or so he thought—by beating the dog.

But the dog was a clever animal. It learnt very soon that when its master received beating, he invariably turned to give vent to his anger on it. Afterwards, therefore, it would always run away whenever it scented any trouble.

This is only a story, but it has a lesson, says the Acharya: "Even the exploited do not hesitate to subject others to similar exploitation. Such exploitation pervades entire social and economic life in India today. We are out to end such exploitation."

IN DEFENCE OF GHOSTWRITING

A course in ghostwriting was announced not long ago at an American University and immediately there was a heavy spray of caustic comment about it from people who can do their own writing; the strictures on ghostwriting however valid, says Victor

M. Ratner in *Harper's Magazine*, never look the other side of the matter: the dismal damage done in our time by people who do their own writing, in situations where they shouldn't.

Anybody who has worked in business or government or at a university or foundation has seen uncouth memoranda and reports, prepared by important executives, so badly written that their readers did not understand them, or were left totally unmoved by them, or fell asleep over them, or all three. Some of the people who wrote these documents were very able . . . in other respects. They knew how to create major policies. They knew how to handle people. They were saturated with knowledge of what they were writing about.

But they lacked the particular skills of the writer. They did not know how to be concise, eloquent, how to construct a piece of writing; and did not have the writer's patience—or compulsion—to work over draft after draft until the thing came right.

The sad fact is that effective communication of complex material is an art not every one has. It calls for considerable native endowment plus hard-won techniques. Really good writing, as any editor knows, is no less difficult and rare than good painting, sculpture, musical composition, choreography. And many people highly competent at other things cannot master these arts. But they almost always think they know how to write. What's hard about that? Doesn't anyone? They confuse their simple and effective use of words at the low level of everyday living with an ability to use language functionally at more difficult levels.

This is one reason, says the writer, why almost every operation he has known, in business, government, and education, suffers grievously from communication troubles.

One sees major policies which seemed perfectly sound, and even noble, cause irritation and confusion and finally collapse, not so much because they were weak but because communication with in them and about them was weak.

It may be helpful, therefore, to put some effort into keeping the wrong people from doing the writing. Which means getting writers to do it. And with full credit for what they do.

In the theater and movies, for example, they do get full credit. There, the producer (the maker of policies, the gatherer of talents, the person whose judgment, for good or ill, determines the ultimate quality of the project) hires writers as he hires writers as he hires directors, actors, musicians, and dancers, and credits them for their several contributions. One thing wrong about ghostwriting is that it is so often *uncredited* writing. If it is credited it is honest and can be admirably useful.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Court of the United States in 1954, announced an historic decision which many people regard as one of the most important milestones in recent American history. By unanimous vote, the nine Supreme Court justices declared that racial segregation—the separation of white and coloured students—is illegal in public schools throughout the United States.

The Supreme Court's ruling, actually, is not a sudden reversal of former United States policy. In 27 of the states, white and coloured students have attended the same schools for many years. In 17 southern states and the District of Columbia, however, segregation has been required by law. In four other states, segregation has been a matter of local choice and has been practised in some of the schools.

Under the new ruling, segregation in any public school is held to be contrary to the U. S. Constitution.

In reality, as all students of U. S. history know, the Supreme Court's decision is only the logical culmination of a long series of steps. President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued on January 1, 1863, which abolished slavery in the United States, was the first major step in the effort to give freedom and equality to Negroes. Since that time there have been numerous important constitutional changes, legislative actions and judicial decisions designed to end segregation, to bring about equal treatment of Negro citizens with regard to education, employment, political and voting rights, security and protection under the law, and, in general, to give to Negroes the same rights and opportunities as those enjoyed by white citizens of the United States.

Due largely to these measures, encouraging progress had been made, even before the recent ruling of the Supreme Court, in ending segregation in colleges and university in the southern states. The first Negro student to study at a southern university was graduated in June, 1938, at the University of Maryland School of Law. Since that time there has been an increasing number of Negro students at southern universities and colleges.

"RETIRING AGE"

There is no doubt that we are not as imaginative, energetic and creative after 40 as we were in the brave days when we were 21, observes the *New York Times*. Hence there is common sense in the established practice of retiring university professors, research scientists and business executives at the age of 65 or 70. In fact, this is the critical period, as Dr. Flanders Dunbar of New York found after a careful survey. When this "dangerous retiring age," as she calls it, has been surpassed, vigor and initiative depend entirely on good health. Experience and judgment compensate for loss of imagination.

"Most of our notions about the aged are wrong. The conventional idea is that a calm life under an apple tree on a farm is better for a centenarian than the tension of the crowd. Yet Dr. Dunbar finds more centenarians along the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi than in 'Meccas of the aging such as California or Florida.' So far from twiddling their thumbs and living from day to day, centenarians in good health are a remarkably active lot. One banker over 100 became an organizer of boy's clubs; a woman of 105 was putting grandchildren through college with her earnings from needlework and running a gift shop.

There are enough figures of historic importance to bear out Dr. Dunbar. What of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was writing liberal opinions in his eighties? Or Titian, who painted one of his masterpieces when nearly a hundred? What of Gladstone and Churchill, both Prime Ministers in their eightieth year? When a man is scrapped because he is too old it is fair to ask "too old for what?" He is certainly too old to win the heavyweight championship or beat the record for a hundred yard dash. But he is not too old to be a mathematical physicist; a great composer (witness Verdi at 80) or a great justice. May be what Matthew Arnold called a "passionate, absorbing, almost blood-thirsty clinging to life" has something to do with the unwillingness of strong, healthy old men and women to be relegated to some high shelf."

INDO-U.S. TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

The Indo-U. S. technical cooperation programme, now in its fourth year, is directed to assisting development projects under the Five-Year Plan. It is one of the largest among similar programmes now under way in 58 countries in Central and South America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa. It has the same basic intent of the Colombo Plan and U. N. technical assistance—to aid in economic and social development.

American aid to India under the programme in the three years ended June 30, 1954, totalled \$189 million. In the first two years, aid was devoted primarily to measures to increase agricultural production—top priority of the Five-Year Plan—and provided among other items for import of 186,000 tons of fertilizer, 110,000 tons of iron and steel for farm implements, and the drilling of 2,650 irrigation tubewells.

As India's food problem neared solution in the early months of this year, emphasis was given other phases of the Five-Year Plan. With special economic aid funds available in 1954, transport and industry received major attention. Programmes were launched for railway equipment, steel for railway and industry, for the Rihand hydro electric development project in U. P., and increased electric power facilities in the city of Madras and the state of Rajasthan.

Like similar programmes elsewhere, the Indo-American programme has two other important phases—supplying of American technical specialists, and training of Indian technicians in the United States. Salaries and travel expenses of American technical specialists are not taken from project funds. They are met solely from additional U. S. funds, as are travel and training costs of Indian technicians.

Technical specialists from the United States are brought to India on request of the Government of India to assist development work in particular fields. The number of requests has to date been at least twice the number of U. S. technical specialists in India. As of May 1, 1954, there were 98 American technicians in India on assignments ranging from several months to two years. There were 39 in agriculture and fisheries work, 21 in engineering and natural resources, seven in

health and sanitation, two in social welfare, six in education and visual aids, 11 in community development, housing and cottage industries, five in industry.

Some of these were assigned to ministries of the central government, some to the states, others were in India on inter-university contracts, and some under special contracts for Damodar Valley Corporation.

Inter-university arrangements exist in three instances—between the University of Illinois and Allahabad Agricultural Institute; the University of Illinois and the Indian Institute of Science at Kharagpur in West Bengal; and the University of Wisconsin and eight different Indian technical institutions.

Advanced training of the technicians of one country in the educational institutions, industrial plants and research laboratories of the other is an important means of transfer of technical knowledge. As of May 1, 1954, 191 Indian trainees had completed advance studies in the United States. Fifty-three others were in the U. S. Another 52 were in various stages of preparation for departure and approximately 200 additional assignments were under consideration. Costs of the training and travel to the U. S. are paid entirely from dollar funds. Fields of study include industry, trade, the labour; agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and health and sanitation.

Specific projects under the Indo-American programme are initiated by the Planning Commission of the Government of India, and developed jointly with the U. S. Technical Cooperation Mission in New Delhi, representing the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) or the U. S. Government. All projects when instituted are administered by appropriate ministries of the Government of India.

Out of the total U. S. allocation of \$189 million for the first three years, \$169.61 million has been committed to joint projects. India's commitment to these same joint projects is Rs. 1,350 million (about \$184.25 million). For the first Five-Year Plan India has budgeted \$1,433 million.

U. S. contribution to the joint projects is used to buy supplies and equipment not readily available in India and transport them to this country and to pay costs of contract services such as in the drilling of tubewells.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Kenya

SUGGESTION TO SEEK INDIA'S AID

Representatives of more than 75,000 Indians in Kenya called on the British and Colonial Governments to seek India's aid to end the 22-month-old Mau Mau emergency.

The Kenya Indian Congress made the proposal following up a suggestion by the President, Mr. Nahar Singh Mangat, 53-years-old Queen's Counsel.

A majority of the delegates, supported a resolution that the Congress should express "its deep concern at the alarming continuation of the emergency."

The resolution said the emergency was "sapping the moral and monetary resources of Kenya" and suggested that the British and Kenya Governments "should solicit the offices of the Government of India to bring the emergency to a desirable termination."

Malaya

RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN MALAYA

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. S. L. L. Polak said: that the constitutional position of Indians in Malaya was "unfortunate and unsatisfactory." It is regrettable that their pioneer work, agricultural, commercial, professional and otherwise, has been so largely forgotten. Their economic and cultural contribution has been obscured by recent events in which two larger racial elements have been mostly concerned. "At a time when India is particularly sensitive to the problems affecting Indians overseas it is, I suggest, of the greatest importance that the British Government do everything possible to establish right relations of all kinds including adequate constitutional representation between Malayan citizens of Indian origin and other Malayan citizens."

Ceylon

COMPAIGN AGAINST TAMILS

A stir was caused in the Ceylon House of Representatives on July 4 when a Sinhalese member, Mr. V. A. D. Sugathadasa, made a sweeping remark that the Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon, who were all foreigners, were responsible for the ills of the Sinhalese.

In a speech delivered in Sinhalese, which he refused to translate in English for the benefit of non-Sinhalese-knowing members, Mr. Sugathadasa alleged that Ceylon had been invaded and exploited by Tamils from South India from the time of Sri Rama and it was now time that they should be asked to go back to India. There was no other country except Ceylon which Sinhalese could claim as theirs. It was time for the Government to take serious view of the situation.

Mr. A. L. Thambayah deplored the attitude taken by Mr. Sugathadasa and said if Jaffna Tamils were to go back to South India, the Sinhalese also should return to North India, for, it was from there that the Sinhalese originally migrated to Ceylon. The Tamil members of the House could tolerate no longer such communal cries raised as was done on the floor of the House. He cited the activities of Tri-Sinhala Peramuna which was inciting communal passions against the Tamils and urged the Premier to take immediate action against such trouble makers before the situation developed to serious proportions.

Premier Kotelawala, replying to the debate, said Ceylon belonged not only to the Sinhalese but to all Ceylonese—Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghert. Everyone should do his best to safeguard communal harmony. He hoped to enlist the help of opposition members to maintain peace in the country, he said. Every member of the House should assist him to get the Ceylonese their rightful place and refrain from putting one Ceylonese against the other.

Portuguese Africa

FEARS OF INDIANS IN MOZAMBIQUE

According to the Lourenco Marques correspondent of the *Johannesburg Star* many Indians had left the Portuguese colony for British East Africa, taking with them large sums of money, mainly in South African currency. The correspondent said Indians in Mozambique were "aware that in the event of any trouble in Goa and elsewhere in Portuguese India, their assets would be frozen in Mozambique."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ○ DEPARTMENTAL ○ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

—(c)—

INDO-CHINA COMMISSION'S DECISIONS

The seven-day conference on Indo-China which concluded at Delhi on August 6 reached the following unanimous decisions:

(i) Advance mission: That an advance mission composed of representatives of the three Governments should leave New Delhi on Saturday, the 7th August, for Phnom Penh (Cambodia), Vientiane (Laos), and Hanoi (Viet Nam). The advance mission (which has since left for Indo-China) will assist the International Commissions to establish themselves in the three territories on the due date, in terms of the provisions of the respective agreements. The advance mission will also study and explore the organisational and other problems relating to the three Commissions, and report back to the three Governments within approximately two weeks.

(ii) Establishment of the Commissions: (a) Date: The International Commissions for supervision and control in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will be established on the 11th of August, 1954, the last date of cessation of hostilities in Indo-China in terms of Article 44, 23 and 37 of the three respective agreements.

(b) Locations: (i) In accordance with articles 11 and 25 of the Laos and Cambodia agreements respectively, the Commissions will be set up at Phnom Penh (in Cambodia) Vientiane and Tiane (in Laos).

(ii) In respect of Viet Nam, the Commission will be installed and begin its work at Hanoi. Future locations of the Commission and of its subordinate organs, other than the inspection points designated in the agreement, will be decided upon by the Commission, taking into account the circumstances and requirements and after consultation with the Trung Gia Commission.

(iii) Personnel: (a) The personnel of the International Secretariat and all elements for the common pool in each of the three Commissions will normally be provided and arranged for by India, Canada and Poland will also provide part of this personnel. (b) Each Government will provide the confidential and personal staff for its national delegation. (c) The Polish Government, having regard to the special circumstances of the use of the Polish language by the personnel of their delegation, will arrange to provide interpreters and translators in Polish as required. (d) A Committee proposed of representatives of the Government of India, the High Commission of Canada and the Embassy of Poland in New Delhi will establish the rules and conditions of service, the necessary qualifications, rates of pay, etc. for the personnel of the International Secretariat and staff and arrange for their recruitment. This Committee will also make appropriate arrangements for similar recruitment of local personnel in Indo-China. (e) India will have responsibility for the administration of the International Secretariat.

(iv) Secretaries-General: Appropriate arrangements will be made for the appointment of Secretaries-General and Deputy Secretaries-General for the three Commissions.

(v) Supervision and control: Fixed and mobile inspection teams composed of an equal number of officers from each of the three countries in accordance with the provisions of the three agreements will be established as soon as practicable at the points prescribed and in terms of the relevant provisions of the three agreements. Each country may provide technical personnel as required for each team and India will provide the additional technical personnel for the common services.

(vi) Finance: The pay and allowances of the personnel included in the national quota of each delegation will be paid by their respective Governments. The pay and allowances of the international staff and all other expenses will be a charge on the general expenditure of the Commission as provided for in the agreements.

India, as Chairman of the three Commissions, will communicate with the Chairman of the Geneva Conference in regard to the financial arrangements.

On the morning of the 4th August, 1954, the Conference welcomed the delegates of Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, France, Laos and the Associated States of Viet Nam, who promised their support and co-operation and wished the Commissions success in their work.

The members of the conference are happy to place on record that the entire work of the Conference was carried out in a spirit of harmony and cordiality and with expedition. All problems were fully and frankly discussed and all decisions were unanimous.

The representatives of Canada and Poland expressed their warm appreciation of the hospitality extended by the Government of India and the admirable arrangements made by the Government of India for the successful work of the Conference.

The first special train carrying the bulk of service personnel who have been selected for service on the international supervisory commissions in Indo-China left Delhi on the evening of August 30.

NEHRU ON THE AWAKENING OF ASIA

Prime Minister Nehru, who was speaking from the ramparts of Delhi's Red Fort on the occasion of the seventh Anniversary of India's Independence, said:

"Whether anybody likes it or not, the time has long passed when any country could continue to retain her colonial hold over another, anywhere by force. If any nation still thinks that it can continue to rule and dominate others then it has neither understood the present day world nor the mind and heart of Asia."

Mr. Nehru referred to Goa thrice in his half-hour speech and said:

Our country has become completely free politically, except for a small part which is still under foreign domination. I am quite certain that this part will also become free (Cheers). It will become free because of the change in the current of world affairs and because of our own determined resolve. When India resolves and crores of her people determine that these small foreign possessions should become free, then we shall certainly fulfil this resolve (Cheers). It is inconceivable that any tiny bit of territory on our soil should remain under Colonial rule when our vast land has become free. Goa shall be liberated and integrated with free India."

Mr. Nehru said that the foreign possessions in India were very small. They were mere "particles", of the size of a few villages. But sometimes even pain in a small portion troubled the whole body.

This problem, should have been solved several years ago. But we stuck to our policy of solving this problem through peaceful means. I hope that one side of the problem relating to the French possessions would be settled peacefully soon. There are, however, certain difficulties regarding the other side. Certainly, that will also be solved but, as you know, we have some principles by which we own our freedom and by which we propose to maintain our freedom. You know what those principles are: They are that we follow the path of peace and *ahimsa* live together and try to solve our problems through them. I do not say that I or you have succeeded fully in following these principles always and every time. But, remember, that we will gain in stature and strength to the extent we succeed in working on these principles courageously and bravely and not like cowards. We will also succeed to that extent in serving our people and the cause of world peace."

In his third reference to Goa, Mr. Nehru said that as far as the question of Goa was concerned, India would try to solve it also through peaceful means. Portugal said that Goa belonged to her. But in saying so, he spoke with a voice which was three to 40 years old.

"Goa has become a test for all nations. In this test, every nation is on trial because it has to state clearly its stand on the question whether any country can rule over another or not. This is the question of Colonialism or whatever you wish to call it."

Mr. Nehru said that Goa could neither change the fate of India nor enrich Portugal. It was a symbol of the old Colonial idea of one country ruling over another.

Goa is the oldest symbol of this colonial idea in India. It is an ugly pimple and if anybody says that we should continue to tolerate this pimple, then he has not understood our mind and heart nor of Asia (cheers). We do not want any nation to intervene in the solution of the problem of Goa. But we want every nation to search its head and heart and decide to which side it would lean and what its advice would lean would be in the matter of Colonialism. This will show whether a nation has understood the new current and the new light in world affairs or whether it still continues to be stuck in the old grooves.

MRS. PANDIT'S ADDRESS TO INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the United Nations General Assembly addressing the Indonesian Parliament at Jakarta on August 18, said:

"Your country and mine won their political freedom at almost the same time and since then we have both been trying to secure for our people the maximum of economic progress with the minimum of social disruption."

"Our tasks are somewhat complicated by the diversity of races and traditions which exist among our people and which in the past have often been a source of weakness to us. But now our efforts must be directed towards making this weakness the strength on which to build the future."

"Indonesia is a microcosm of all Asia. The harmonious blend of many races and religious civilisations of Asia is to be found here and an Asian wherever he may come from is proud to see the best elements from his own civilisation represented here enriched and absorbed by an original genius of people into one of the world's greatest cultures."

"That proof of the tolerance of this country's people is an example to be followed. I have emphasised this aspect of nation-building this faith in unity out of diversity because it is also the principle on which international relations must be based."

"We cannot achieve peace so long as tensions born of suspicion and hatred continue to exist."

"It is therefore imperative that there should be areas of peace, areas where no one thinks of war as a means of solving any problem however formidable and hopeless it may seem. The more countries are drawn to each other in common determination to work for peaceful solutions without fear or favour the wider these areas of peace will become until they embrace the whole world."

—(o)—

A. I. N. E. C. RESOLUTIONS

The Two-day annual session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference which concluded at Delhi on Aug. 14 welcomed "in principle" the constitution of a statutory Press Council, charged with the responsibility of ensuring the maintenance of journalistic standards as the best means of providing for self-regulation in the journalistic profession.

The conference also welcomed the Press Commission's recommendations regarding the desirability of a contract form of service for editors which would ensure their independence and protect them from arbitrary interference on the part of proprietors.

It disapproved of the Government of India's move to amend the Criminal Procedure Code to make defamation of public servants a cognizable offence and to include Ministers in the category of public servants.

The conference expressed the view that any attempt to favour any class of persons by changes in procedural laws relating to offence under the Indian Penal Code was undemocratic and politically improper and offensive and requested the Government to drop the provision seeking to make defamation of public servants a cognizable offence.

The conference expressed its "grave misgivings" over the indignities to which newspapermen were being subjected in certain States by District authorities and condemned such "harassing tactics" and enjoined upon State Governments the need for the avoidance of methods which were seemingly calculated to terrorise and victimise newsmen not acceptable to the District authorities.

By another resolution the conference deplored the precipitate extension of the Press (Objectional Matters) Act of 1951 at a time when the Press Commission had the matter under consideration.

The conference viewed with concern the Congress Party's move to amend Article 19(2) to extend its scope and reiterated the AINEC's view that the Article as amended in the Constitution (First Amendment) Act 1951, authorising the Government to impose reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right of freedom of expression in respect of matters specified in the Article was adequate and helpful for the purposes of democratic Government.

INDIA GOVT'S DELEGATES

The Government of India have decided to nominate the following persons as delegates and principal alternates for the three International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam Laos and Cambodia.

Viet Nam: Mr. M. J. Desai (Delegate), Major-General K. P. Dhargalkar (Alternate).

Laos: Dr. J. N. Khosla (Delegate), Major-General P. S. Gyani (Alternate).

Cambodia: Mr. G. Parthasarathy (Delegate), Major-General Sardanand Singh (Alternate).

CONGRESS VICTORY IN THE SOUTH

Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, Chief Minister, and Mr. T. Manavalan, Congress candidates for the General and Reserved seats respectively from the double-member Gudiyatham constituency were declared elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly by Mr. P. C. Manickam, Returning Officer.

Both the Congress candidates won by an overwhelming Majority, Mr. Kamaraj having secured 10,000 votes more than what the other candidates opposing the Congress, together polled. The Chief Minister had a majority of 38,212 votes over his only rival for the General seat, Mr. V. K. Kothandaraman (Com.).

PORTUGUESE AREAS

The Government of India in a note handed to the United Kingdom High Commissioner, Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, repudiated the 'unwarranted implication' contained in the U. K. Government's statement on events in Goa, and in the views that the British Government had conveyed to India.

The note reads:

"The Government of India notes with regret and surprise the statement released for publication by the U. K. Government on the 'situation in the Portuguese possessions in India,' following the visit of the Portuguese Ambassador in London to the Foreign Office to discuss this matter with Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State."

The Government of India consider that the U. K. Government is in error in regard to the true facts, and nature of the 'recent events' to which the statement refers, when it directs to the Government of India the expression of its 'hope' that "there would be no resort to force or methods that will lead to the use of force".

IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH

Dr. Raghunath Paranjpye, delivering the Convocation address of the Bombay University on August 17 said that most educationists including all the Vice-Chancellors agreed that English should not be hastily discarded from our educational system.

He added: "In what way it should be brought into actual operation may be a matter for discussion and difference of opinion and the decision must depend upon many attendant circumstance like the availability of suitable teaching power, the existence of the necessary literature and especially text-books, an agreement on technical and scientific terminology and the progress made towards the adoption of the national language by the Union and other State Governments in their various activities. It would not be in the best interests of our students to force the pace in our State only; irrespective of what is done elsewhere and base our policy on merely sentimental consideration."

Dr. Paranjpye said any convocation address of these days could hardly omit a reference to the question of the medium of instruction. As far as he was concerned, he wholeheartedly accepted three propositions: "First, that the mother-tongue is the best and most natural medium of instruction; secondly, that the national language should be a compulsory subject of study at all stages of education above the primary, and that it is bound ultimately to become the principal medium of higher education and research in India; and thirdly, that the importance of English as an international medium of communication and the source of most modern ideas in science industry and culture should not be minimised."

U. N. SCHOLARSHIP PLAN

Since the U. N. General Assembly adopted its scholarship plan for peoples of U. N. trust territories, six nations, including the United States, India and Turkey, have made scholarship offers. Aim of the plan, introduced by India in 1952, is to increase educational status of people in areas administered by the U. N. Applicants may apply for scholarships directly to the U. N. Secretary General.

TASK BEFORE GRADUATES

Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar delivering the Convocation address of the University of Madras said that in building up a new India "we should synthesise the twin heritages of Eastern and Western thought." In doing so, they should guard against the possible disappearance of individual freedom. It made little difference in what manner or in favour of which particular creed freedom was suppressed, he declared.

He told the new graduates: "Your education so far and your experience hereafter will be happily fruitful only if you contribute your bit to secure a just balance in society, politically by throwing your weight on the side of law and order, to ensure the just balance of power, economically to increase efficiency in production and justice in distribution and socially by reverence for the rights and privileges of every individual by generosity in the appraisal of worth and consideration for fallen merit."

NATIONALISATION OF TEXT-BOOKS

A Nagpur PII message says that the M. P. Government 'would prepare, print, publish, and distribute through its agencies all language books for primary schools. This decision will take effect from 1955-56', writes M.P. in the *Harijan*.

If the news is correct, it is bad for education as well as the growth of healthy democratic government. It is not known why Government decided as it did to take the unusual step of writing, printing and even selling the books itself. Such monopoly control in educational matters is not desirable nor conducive to free and unregulated education. In this matter, the following warning given by Sri Rajagopalachari should be noted by our Government:

In reply to a suggestion from a questioner for Government publication of text-books, he said that "it was more dangerous than appeared on the surface. In such an event text-books would be changed and political views would get into text-books."

Let not our Governments also believe, as they perhaps seem to do, that the evils of text-book trade will disappear with Government servants plying that trade as a nationalized concern.

CENSORSHIP OF FILMS & THE PRESS

Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, and Chairman of the All-India Sangeetha Natak Academy, presiding over the tenth anniversary of the Cine Technicians' Association of South India on August 8, expressed it as his personal view that censorship of films should go on, in the alternative, if the country was still in a stage when censorship could not be dispensed with representatives of the film industry should be associated with the Censor Board and such portions of the films as were considered to be obscene or were likely to incite violence or create disorder should be cut.

Incidentally, referring to the Press Act, Mr. Rajamannar said: "In America, they do not believe in using anything like what we have in this country compendiously called 'Press Law'. What they believe is that, if a speech or a picture or an article in a journal actually creates disturbance, then they take steps for prosecution. But they do not interfere with freedom of thought or expression. If it is so in a vast country like the U. S., which has a high development of political sense, I do not see why the same principle should not apply in India which is a far more peace-loving country than any other country in the world."

DIVORCE SUITS & ENGLISH LAW

A full Bench of the Madras High Court, consisting of Mr. Justice Govinda Menon, Mr. Justice Mack and Mr. Justice Ramaswami on Aug. 6 held that the English law and practice of divorce must be applied under Section 7 of the Indian Divorce Act and that the decision of a Full Bench in *Agnes Sumathi vs. Paul*, laying down that the proper form of a decree to be passed in the first instance in a suit for a declaration of nullity of marriage was that of a decree *nisi* and not a decree absolute, required no reconsideration in the light of any changed circumstances.

Their Lordships also held that so far as decrees for nullity were concerned, the Indian Courts must follow the law and practice in England and as regards nullity decrees, it should be in the decree *nisi* form, but that the period for making a decree absolute should be six months. This however, con-

stituted no obstacle to the Indian Courts making a decree *nisi* for nullity absolute within that period in exceptional cases, they observed.

In the course of his concurring judgment, Mr. Justice Govinda Menon answered the point raised, whether, after the attainment of Independence, it would be in consonance with the prestige and dignity of a free country to follow the law and regulations of another country. His Lordship observed that the Constitution itself provided for such adaptations and that, after all the Indian Divorce Act was founded mainly if not solely, upon the English Act and one did not feel that it was incongruous to keep pace with the changes that were made from time to time in the parent law.

In a matrimonial suit that came up before him, on the Original Side of the Madras High Court, Mr. Justice P. N. Ramaswami referred the following two questions for determination by a Full Bench:

The questions were:

(1) Whether the decision of the Full Bench in *Agnes Sumathi vs. Paul*, laying down that the proper form of a decree to be passed in the first instance in a suit for a declaration of nullity of marriage is that of a decree *nisi* and not a decree absolute, requires reconsideration in the light of changed circumstances; and (2) whether the general order made in England, namely, Matrimonial Causes (Decree Absolute) Order, reducing the period of delay from six months to six weeks applies to decrees passed in cases of declaration for nullity of marriages by the High Court on the Original Side under the provisions of Section 7 of the Indian Divorce Act.

WRIT AGAINST EXTRADITION

At the Madras High Court on Aug. 17 the Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Rajagopala Ayyangar allowed three petitions preferred by Sri K. Nallakannu, and two others for the issue of a writ of mandamus or any other appropriate writ, asking the Government to forbear from enforcing the extradition warrants issued against them by the French Indian authorities of Karaikal.

It was contended on their behalf that the treaty of 1815 entered into between Great Britain and France could no longer be enforced since it would be illegal, and contrary to the principles of natural justice and a direct violation of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.

REPORT ON CURRENCY AND FINANCE

Against the background of International economic progress, the Report of the Reserve Bank of India on Currency and Finance for the financial year '53-'54, gives an excellent review of the financial and economic developments that have taken place in India in 1953-'54. The Report is divided into two parts, the first dealing with "International Economic Development" and the second with "Indian Currency & Finance". Dealing with the international sphere the Report points out that in the year '53-'54 there has been a marked overall increase in Industrial and agricultural production and a fair degree of price stability. In general the flexible monetary policy coupled with the relaxation of controls has successfully eliminated inflation in many countries. This in turn has resulted in easing the world payment position.

After thus analysing the international trend in a compact and concise manner, the Report turns to the more important problem of Indian currency & finance. It observes that the Indian economy like the world economy in general, witnessed an appreciable progress on all sides. The expansion of Industrial and agricultural output has resulted in establishing and maintaining a stable price situation in 1953-'54. Regarding the monetary sphere though there has been an expansion in money supply, inflation has not arisen due to the increasing needs of rapidly developing Indian Economy. The balance of payments position has taken a favourable turn due to a considerable reduction in the volume of imports. Notwithstanding the decline in exports, especially of Jute manufacture, the position has not deteriorated due to the considerable fall in food imports offsetting the unfavourable effects of the contraction in exports. The Report adds that the extensive development projects have been undertaken to stem the tide of growing unemployment. The large outlays of development expenditure have given rise to budgetary disequilibrium. But the resources both internal and external available for the development projects are now estimated to be Rs. 1354 crores whereas the plan contemplates an expenditure of Rs. 2244 crores leaving a gap of Rs. 890/crores. Much depends upon the

success with which the Govt. try to shorten the gap.

The Report contains as many as 19 graphs, illustrative of the various economic factors. Statements of a statistical nature, which reflect the main pattern of Economic trends in the national and International sphere are also appended.

In thus giving a clear and factual representation of the problems of Indian Economy, the Report proves a valuable guide to Economists and businessmen.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN MADRAS

Those who have vague notions of rural progress would do well to read the report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras prepared by Sri J. C. Ryan, M.A., I.A.S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, which gives a factual presentation of the place of Co-operative associations in agricultural development. Dealing in a comprehensive way, the Report analyses the working of Co-operatives in different spheres. Needless to say a review of the Report will amply testify to the truth that co-operation in Madras has made great strides in the development in the last two decades bringing into its orbit not only agricultural production but also industrial production, marketing, distribution, housing and co-operative farming. It is viewed from the report that Co-operation has become an essential feature for the economic development of the State as a whole.

The Report substantiates the truth of the statements wherever necessary by elaborately giving statistics and figures briefly and clearly. The Report states that the co-operative urban housing schemes are aimed to ameliorate the conditions of the middle classes and the lower income groups. As agricultural progress is said to have three interrelated processes, technical, economical and social, the co-operatives in Madras, as evidenced from the Report, make a bold attempt to tackle these processes of agricultural development to a successful end. In Madras, the achievements of co-operatives, in the direction of assignment of Govt. land for the poor, some subsistence holdings, formation of better farming and better living societies and weavers' societies have been singled out for permanent notice.

WELFARE OF CHILDREN

The Lok Sabha adjourned discussion till next session of a private member, Miss Maniben Patel's Bill, seeking to regulate and license institutions caring for women and children.

Members who took part in the brief debate on the consideration motion gave general support to the Bill.

The Law Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas, intervening in the debate, asked the mover to withdraw the Bill as the Government had already brought forward a Bill to protect the rights of children. The Bill had been passed by the Rajya Sabha and remained to be discussed by the Lok Sabha.

The provisions sought to be introduced in Miss Patel's Bill, said Mr. Biswas, could easily be included in the Government Bill. Further, the Government proposed to bring forward a comprehensive Bill soon on the prevention of immoral traffic in women. This Bill could look after the licensing of homes caring for women.

Miss Patel did not seem to be satisfied with the explanation and said that if the Government gave categorical assurance that the objects of her bill would be included in the legislation Government proposed to bring forward she would withdraw her Bill.

The Home Minister, Dr. Katju, then intervened to say that the Bill for the prevention of immoral traffic in women would be published in the Gazette by the end of this month or early in October. It would be introduced in the next session. He said that the objects of Miss Patel's Bill could be included in this Bill and the Children's Bill.

EQUALITY FOR MEN

A new campaign by Danish women demands—full equality for MEN!

In the vanguard of the movement to protect the interests of hitherto neglected husbands march the woman dentists and midwives of Denmark.

When a man dies, these women point out, his pension, if he has one, goes to his widow. But what of the poor widower? Why shouldn't he get the benefit of her pension, if he is left to fend for himself? Which is certainly quite a question!

OF WOMAN IN JAPAN AND PAKISTAN

UNESCO has just completed an enquiry into the question of women's access to education in Japan, Pakistan and Mexico. This study undertaken by two educators and two sociologists, was particularly concerned with the various sociological factors affecting the education of women.

The enquiry was carried out in Japan by Miss Subasi Ghosh, an Indian educator, and by Mille Claire Leplae, Professor of Sociology at the University of Louvain, Belgium. The question of women's access to education in Pakistan was examined by Mille Laplae together with a Chilean educator, Miss Irma Sales. Miss Sales then proceeded to Mexico where she and a Haitian sociologist, Mille Jeanne Sylvain, surveyed the educational possibilities available to Mexican women.

In each of these three countries, the enquiry was undertaken with the co-operation of UNESCO National Commissions and national experts were asked to assist the UNESCO experts.

The conclusions of this enquiry will be published by Unesco and submitted to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in order that steps be taken into consideration in the three countries concerned to face problems affecting the access of women to education.

AFRICAN WOMEN

"Few people at all realise the debt which the world at large owes to the women of the tropics, says Geoffly Marefield. The housewife in Europe has probably no idea that the cotton of her dress was picked by women's and children's fingers, that her tea and coffee, the ingredients of her margarine and her soap were largely harvested and processed by women working in an exhausting climate on a miserable diet. The women of the tropics are not only mothers and housewives; they also carry on their shoulders a surprising proportion of the world's production and trade. They stand squarely at the bottom of the pyramid of human society, and it is largely on their work that the upper parts of the social structure are raised at all."

INDEPENDENCE DAY AWARDS

The President has awarded "Bharat Ratna" to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, former Chief Minister of Madras, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, and Dr. C. V. Raman, eminent scientist.

The decoration of the award made for exceptional service towards the advancement of art, literature and science and in recognition of public service of the highest order is in the form of a circular gold medal.

The names of the recipients of this award, and also of "Padma Vibhushan," have been published in Gazette of India (Extraordinary) issued on the Independence Day.

The five recipients of "Padma Vibhushan" (Pahela Varg) are Mr. B. G. Kher, Indian High Commissioner in London, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, India's representative at the United Nations, Mr. Nandlal Bose, famous Indian painter, Dr. Satyendra Nath Bose, eminent scientist, and Dr. Zakir Hussein, leading educationist.

THETHIYUR SASTRIGAL

The death of Brahmasri Thethiyur Subramanya Sastri in Madras removes a powerful exponent and champion of Hindu orthodoxy in South India. The Sastri who richly deserved the title of Sastraratna for, his learning and piety used to give daily discourses on Hindu Dharma and Vedanta philosophy. The lectures, at once profound and homely, drew many people, men and women, from far and near. Apart from popular exposition of the tenets of the Hindu faith, he held classes for earnest students of the ancient Dharma and gave every possible encouragement that money or teaching could do to promote the cause of Brahmanical studies. Many rich and influential people flocked to his lectures and helped him with money which he gave away as freely to pundits and priests and musicians. Indeed he gave away money as freely and abundantly as he received, and every good cause had his discerning sympathy and support. The Sastri was a stern disciplinarian, but he never spared himself and expected others to follow his own example of rectitude and austerity. Modern innovations in society were naturally abhorrent to his orthodox soul and he spoke out his mind in terms not always palatable to indifferent listeners. But he was true to his

faith and was bent on keeping up the old standard of conduct and culture untainted by the passing phases of fashion which like the tide seem irresistible. But Sastri kept the flag flying, went on his way undaunted and stood out as the champion and bulwark of a great but slowly dying cause that can still inspire men with crusading spirit.

THE LATE MR. S. R. SARMA

We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. S. R. Sarma, Chief Operating Superintendent, Southern Railway which occurred on July 19 at the Railway Hospital, Perambur. Sad to think Mr. Sarma was only 52.

Mr. Sarma entered Railway service in 1924 as Traffic Probationer. Before that, he served as a lecturer in Meenakshi College, Chidambaram, after a brilliant career in College. He was appointed to the present post in 1950. He was also the first Public Relations Officer of the Southern Railway. He was the Rotary Governor of Madras District about six years ago.

In Mr. Sarma's death has passed away one of the greatest Rotarians of the Region. Indeed he fully lived up to the ideals of Rotary and his contribution to Rotary extension has been warmly appreciated by fellow Rotarians. His passion for Rotary foundation fellowship was not confined to luncheon lectures. He believed the Rotary Foundation to be the most successful yet made to bring about international understanding, and it is recorded that his entire allowance of nearly Rs. 3,000 when he was the Governor of the 56th District of R. I. he donated to the Rotary Foundation Fellowship.

Mr. Sarma who was a bachelor, leaves his aged mother, a brother and a sister, and a host of friends to mourn the loss.

M. R. SURESH CHANDRA MAZUMDAR

The death at Calcutta of Mr. Suresh Chandra Mazumdar, M. P., Managing Director, *Hindustan Standard* and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, following a heart attack is widely regretted. He was only 66. But he had packed in those few years many decades of selfless service in the cause of the nation. Mazumdar died a bachelor, deeply loved and mourned by colleagues who miss his genial presence and inspiring guidance in their daily tasks. His death has deprived the country of a patriot and journalist of a high order.

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Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

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