

THE
JOURNAL REVIEW



1954

Vol: 55

No 10, 11, 12

JL
on 2 MOOR.
NS4. 55
124 657

NOW RUNNING AT MADRAS
CHITRA, KAMDHENU, BHARAT & SARASWATI

VAIDYA FILM'S

Vairamalai

Starring..

PADMINI RAGINI
MANOHAR THANGAVELU

FRIEND RAMASAMY

M.R.CHELLAM *and others...*



★
★
Verified
m

STORY & DIALOGUES...
THOTTAKKARA **VISWANATHAN**
DIRECTION **N. JAGANNATH** B.A.

STUDIO:
VAUHINI

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55.]

OCTOBER 1954 :—DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 10]

	PAGE		PAGE
ASPECTS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT		THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF AIR MAIL	453
By SRI K. SANTHANAM	433	JAPAN'S ECONOMIC CRISIS	455
NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE SCHEME		By SRI M. M. WAGH	455
By SRI PUSHP BAHU	435	ROLE OF A FREE PRESS	456
MARVELS OF STANDARDIZATION		By MR. CARL T.	456
By PROF. P. L. GOLWALKAR, M.A., B.COM.	436	HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS	457
FROM MY NOTEBOOK		THE WORLD OF BOOKS	461
By "BEE"	438	DIARY OF THE MONTH	464
CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS	440	READERS' DIGEST	465
INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN ANDHRA		INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA	472
By SRI G. S. BABU, B.A., (HONS.)	441	QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE	473
THE BANK AWARD AND AFTER		UTTERANCES OF THE DAY	474
By SRI S. R. VENKATARAMAN, B.A., B.L.	445	POLITICAL & PERSONAL	475
FATHER OF THE NATION		EDUCATIONAL	476
By "R. D."	448	LEGAL	477
THE FIRST AND THE LAST		TRADE AND FINANCE	478
By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL	449	WOMEN'S PAGE	479
"MAYA AND MUNDUS"		GENERAL	480
By "T.S.R."	451		

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS IN THE "INDIAN REVIEW"

	PAGE		PAGE
Advaita Ashrama	5	Macleans' Tooth Paste	1
African and Colonial Review	3	Ramtirth Brahmi Oil	7
All-India Astrological Society	7	Sri Ramakrishna Math	4
B. O. A. C.	16	Siddhartha Publications Ltd.	2
Burmah-Shell	6	Southern Railway	3
Curzon & Co.	4	Spunpipe Co.	4TH COVER
Daibabal Ashram	5	Sunday Times	14
Dalda	15	Shaik Md. Rowther & Co., K.P.V.	13
Emmess	9	Travancore Cements Ltd.	11
Free India	10	Travancore Rayons Ltd.	1
Government of India	8	The Indian Library	6
Hyderabad Government	5	United India Life Assurance Co.	6
India Cements Ltd.	5	Vaidya Films	1
Lexin	2		

OCTOBER 1954]

3

THE INDIAN REVIEW

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

MILEAGE COUPONS

For Mercantile Firms

and

For Touring Government Officials

With effect from August 15, 1954, Mileage Coupon books will be issued at full tariff fares for aggregate distances of 3000 miles and 1500 miles in II Class only, at the following stations :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Madras Central | 11. Tuticorin |
| 2. Bezwada | 12. Trivandrum Central |
| 3. Cocanada Town or Port | 13. Coimbatore |
| 4. Guntur | 14. Calicut |
| 5. Bellary | 15. Cochin Harbour Terminus |
| 6. Hubli | 16. Bangalore City |
| 7. Madras Egmore | 17. Mysore |
| 8. Trichinopoly | 18. Devangere |
| 9. Madura | 19. Bhadravti |
| 10. Virudhunagar | 20. Arsikere |

Inserted by Public Relations Officer, Southern Railway.

Just Out!

Just Out!!

The Holy Mother Birth Centenary Number

THE VEDANTA KESARI (41st Year)

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED BUMPER NUMBER, JULY 1954

Highly Spoken Of by Press and Public

Special articles and illuminating symposia on the life and teachings of the Holy Mother and on problems, aspirations and on attainments of womanhood in divers fields of life.

Senior monks of the RAMAKRISHNA ORDER—Eminent women, And outstanding thinkers of East and West have contributed.

Pages: 200 Price: Rs. 2-0-0
Postage As. 8. (Regd)

Regular Subscribers will receive their copies free of any extra charge.

Annual Subscription: Rs. 5/- including this Special Issue

YEAR STARTS IN MAY

Apply to:

THE VEDANTA KESARI OFFICE
SRI RAMAKRISHNA MATH, MADRAS - 4.

DEPENDABLE

SANKAR BRAND PORTLAND CEMENT



Known all over for

**SOUNDNESS
STRENGTH
STABILITY**

★
THE
INDIA CEMENTS LTD.
11/12, Second Line Beach,
MADRAS - 1

fill up and
feel the difference

with **SHELL** or **B.O.C. PETROL**

with **I.C.A.**

THE UPANISHADS

SELECTIONS FROM THE 108 UPANISHADS
Text in Sanskrit Devanagari and English Translation

BY

Dr. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

FOREWORD BY

Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

In preparing the translation, it has been the aim of the author to be faithful to the original without doing violence to the English language. The commentaries of Sankara and Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin have been freely availed of in negotiating many a difficult corner.

Price Rs. 3.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

THE RAMAYANA
MAHABHARATA
SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

UPAKHYANAMALA
PRAYERS, PRAISES & PSALMS
SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., G. T. MADRAS.

RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL

AYURVEDIC MEDICINE (Regd.)

HAIR & BRAIN TONIC

- Stops falling hair,
- Increases growth of hair,
- Turns grey hair into natural black



(SPECIAL No. 1)

- Removes dandruff and baldness
- Induces sound sleep
- Greatly increases memory

PRICE: BIG BOTTLE—Rs. 3/8/-, SMALL BOTTLE—Rs. 2/-
SOLD EVERYWHERE

Send M. O. for Rs. 5/13/- for Big Bottle & Rs. 3/13/- for small Bottle
(Including Postage & Packing charges as no V.P. is sent.)

YOGIC Classes are regularly conducted from 7-30 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. and evening 6 to 7-30 p.m.
at the above address. (Sundays closed).

TO BE HEALTHY AND TO KEEP FIT ask for our attractive CHART (Map) showing YOGIC Asanas, which will be sent on receipt of Rs. 1/12. These Asanas can be easily performed at home.

SHRI RAMTIRTH YOGASHRAM

"DADAR (Central Rly.)"

Gram: "PRANAYAM" BOMBAY No. 14

Tel.—62899

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

Publishers, "Indian Review".

ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

DEAR SIRs,

Please enrol me as a subscriber to the INDIAN REVIEW from

M. O. for Rs. 6 (Six)

I am sending an _____ Foreign 15sh. (U. S. A. 4 Dollars

Cheque for Rs. 6-4

one year's subscription.

Name

Designation

Address

Yours faithfully,

*Have you
purchased*
**10-YEAR
NATIONAL
PLAN
CERTIFICATES**

4½%
*Interest on
maturity*
**FREE OF
INCOME TAX**

INVEST IN INDIA'S FUTURE

DO IT NOW

**THIS IS YOUR
INVESTMENT FOR**

*India's
Development*

- You can subscribe from Rs. 25/- up to Rs. 1,000 and jointly up to Rs. 2,000.
- Handsome interest of 4½% per annum on maturity—and income-tax free.
- Encashable any time after one year but better to hold on till maturity.

FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS, ASK
Any Post Office.

Any authorised agent or Orga-
niser of the National Savings
Organisation.

The Regional National Savings
Officer.

AC.588

EMMESS

AIR CONDITIONERS

Remote & Portable Types

for

Dependability, Efficiency & Economy



MAKERS OF "EMMESS" PRODUCTS:

THE MADRAS SERVICES

Refrigeration, Air Conditioning
and

Electrical Engineers

DINROZE ESTATE 1-17-G,
Mount Road, MADRAS-2

Phone : 86597

*Servicing of:—Refrigerators, Air Conditioners & Electrical
Equipments and Machinery of every description.*

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY

PRINCIPAL FEATURES:

Opinions of the Week

Plan with Planets

Cartoons

Up-to-the-Minute Photos

Short Story

and

Snappy Leaders

Hindi Lessons

Besides

STRAIGHTWORDS

the straight and simple contest giving away Rs. 4,500 in prizes.

SINGLE COPY: 3 As. 6 MONTHS Rs. 4-8-0 ONE YEAR Rs.9.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further Particulars From

FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road : : MADRAS - 2.

TRAYONS

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED

Rayonpuram, P. O.

Travancore - Cochin State.

INDIAN PIONEER PRODUCERS
OF
RAYON YARN
AND
TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM.

MANAGING AGENTS:—

EMCETE & SONS (Travancore) Ltd.

K. P. V. Shaik Mohamed Rowther & Co.,

POST BOX NO. 1264

41, LINGHI CHETTY STREET, G. T. MADRAS

Branches at

MASULIPATAM, KAKINADA, NEGAPATAM and KARAİKAL

Telegraphic Address:

General: "SHAIK"

Coastal Service: "JALANATH"

U. K. America Service: "SAMUDRAPAR"

Singapore-Australia Service: "EASTSHIPCO"

Agents For:

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., BOMBAY.

THE EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY.

THE UNITED STATES NAVIGATION CO., Inc., NEW YORK.

THE ALEXANDRIA NAVIGATION CO., S. A. E., ALEXANDRIA.

THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO., MADRAS.

Steamer Service:

Regular Cargo and Passenger Service to Coastal
Ports of India, Burma and Ceylon: India/U. K. and
Continent: India/America: India/Australia & Far East:
Madras/Rangoon: Madras/Singapore.

TELEPHONE No. { 4972 (2 Lines) Office.
3677 (After Office Hours.)

SUNDAY TIMES

26th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Inland.	Foreign.
One Year Rs.	9 8 0	10 8 0
6 Months „	4 12 0	5 8 0

Subscriptions are not accepted for less than 6 months.

THE BRIGHTEST NEWS
AND VIEWS ILLUSTRATED
WEEK-END NEWSPAPER
IN INDIA

IT GIVES YOU THE
NEWS BEHIND THE
NEWS!

SUNDAY'S BEST

Wanted Agents in Unrepresented Areas.

MY MOTHERLAND PAMPHLETS

In appreciation of these, Acharya P. C. Ray writes:—

“One can gain much useful information and will derive much benefit by going through these pamphlets.”

Only the following are now available:

2. Sri Ramana Maharshi
14. Gandhism in Action
20. The Way of Prosperity
22. Dayananda Saraswathi
30. The Dope Plague
35. Mrs. Annie Besant and Her Fight for India
36. Chanakya
37. Guru Nanak
38. Guru Govind Singh.
39. Asoka the Great.
40. Vikramaditya
41. Sri Krishna Chaitanya
42. Emperor Harsha
44. Sri M. Visweswarayya
45. Sirdar Patel

For all the 15 Pamphlets send Rs. 1-9-0
(Inclusive of registered postage.)

Price 1 anna each

● Postage 1 anna for any four

THE SUNDAY TIMES BOOKSHOP, MADRAS - 6

Aspects of

SRI AUROBINDO

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Foreword by

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

Price: Rs. 1-4-0 Postage Extra

YOGASANS FOR HEALTH

(ILLUSTRATED)

By V. MUTHUSWAMY

Being a reprint of articles which
appeared in “Sunday Times”

Price Rs. 0-12-0 Postage 0-1-0



The tastiest meal I'd ever cooked ...and I didn't know why!



At last they all sat round and I served the food. Then it happened!

Practically from the first mouthful there wasn't a sound. It looked like an eating match. I simply couldn't believe that this was the same family. What had I done right?

My husband had always been finicky about his food and the children had taken after their father. After lunch I sat down and thought back over the morning shopping. Vegetables?... nothing different there. Meat and fish?... from the usual shops. Then I remembered. There had been something different!

Only that morning I decided to try a tin of Dalda Vanaspati. My dealer had recommended it to me as the perfect cooking fat for frying, baking, and sweetmaking. 'Your family will love the way it brings out the natural flavours of food,' he said, handing me the airtight sealed tin.

It all came back to me then—the way I had fried in Dalda that morning. I even remembered trying a piece and thinking what a wonderful flavour!

Well, it was Dalda Vanaspati that made the difference right enough. It is ideal for all your cooking and it brings out all the natural flavours of food. And remember, it is dangerous to run risks with your health by buying cooking fat loose in the bazaar. Even the most costly fats can be adulterated or contaminated by flies and dirt. Packed in the airtight sealed tin Dalda Vanaspati is always fresh, pure and wholesome. Make Dalda the leading item on your shopping list the next time you go out—it's so economical!

Available in 10 lb., 5 lb., 2 lb., 1 lb. and ½ lb. tins. Dalda now contains vitamins A and D.

Nourishing Dishes For Your Family

For free advice write today to:
THE DALDA ADVISORY SERVICE

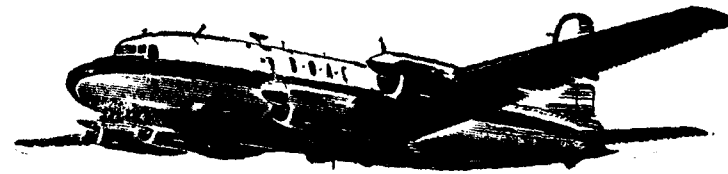
P. O. Box No. 353, Bombay 1



Look for the tin with
the Palm Tree.

DALDA VANASPATI

COOKS BETTER—COSTS LESS



SAVE Rs. 1702

BY B.O.A.C. TOURIST SERVICES TO LONDON

Fly Tourist to London at off-season fares and save time and money. Same high B.O.A.C. standards. Fully pressurized, air-conditioned four-engined airliners. Skilled B.O.A.C. flight crews. Complimentary meals on board. Bar service. Stopover wherever you like at no extra fare. Prompt attention; no tips... all this and big savings too.

MADRAS LONDON	FIRST CLASS Return Fare	OFF-SEASON Tourist Return Fare	SAVING
	Rs. 4,361	Rs. 2,659	Rs. 1,702

Off-Season Tourist fares available from India between 1st August, 1954 and 28th February, 1955. Return journey may be made within validity (one year) of ticket. Off-Season fares to other European destinations are also available.

Consult your local Travel Agent or B.O.A.C., Air Booking Centre, 35/4 Mount Road, Madras 2. Phone: 85394.

B.O.A.C. TAKES GOOD CARE OF YOU

FLY → B.O.A.C

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55.]

OCTOBER 1954

[No. 10

THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

By

SRI K. SANTHANAM

Lieutenant Governor, Vindhya Pradesh

—()—

THE development of a nation, like the development of an individual, has two aspects which may be called the positive and the negative. The positive aspect consists of the blossoming of innate abilities and utilisation of external resources.



SRI K. SANTHANAM

Since the attainment of freedom, the development of India in its positive aspect is proceeding at a fair pace. Great efforts are being made to convert our vast natural resources into human wealth, and distribute it equitably among all the people of India. There are also vigorous movements for the revival and promotion of literature, art, music, dancing and arts and crafts. On the whole we have every reason to be satisfied so far as the positive aspect of development is concerned.

The negative aspect consists of the recognition and persistent effort at reduction and

elimination of tendencies obstructive of or inimical to the development of the positive aspects. These are the combined results of various factors like history, tradition, climate, etc. It is, therefore, not easy or pleasant to tackle them. Yet unless these tendencies are clearly recognised and an unwearying effort is made to reduce and neutralise their effects, the development of positive aspects will not only be hindered, but also the value of the result may be considerably diminished. From their very nature the negative factors vary from community to community, though some of them due to particular types of economy or climate or geography may be common to some communities. In the case of India I consider the following tendencies deserve to be closely watched and carefully tackled.

There is a general lack of time sense which makes it difficult to achieve national efficiency and co ordination. This deficiency expresses itself in two forms. There is first of all a lack of punctuality which besides causing loss of valuable time induces irritation and bad temper. There is also the lack of restraint in the allocation of time. Musical and dramatic performances go on for four to five hours till the audience is thoroughly exhausted. The same is the case with public

meetings. Long speeches which are often pointless have become the order of the day. It is considered almost improper to have only a few speeches at any meeting. The waste and abuse of time that is occurring all over the country has become almost a disease and deserves prompt attention.

There is next the question of orderliness and discipline. India is a land of crowds and unfortunately the crowds on most occasions are disorderly. Fortunately they are harmless and peaceful. But the lack of order and discipline is productive of so much discomfort and confusion that few festivals and gatherings are pleasant and enjoyable.

Unnecessary noisiness adds to the effect of disorderliness. In an essentially rural civilisation the silence of nature is often so oppressive that people tend to become a little noisy. But India is fast getting urbanised and the trains and buses and other forms of communication tend to make even rural life partly urban. Noise is one of the greatest discomforts of urban life. A conscious effort at silence and speaking in low tones where it is unavoidable seems to be necessary, if the amenities of urban civilisation are not to be spoiled by being too noisy.

There are again our traditional fondness for ceremonials. These are not confined to the ancient temples or customary marriage or funeral ceremonies. India seems to have a genius for inventing new ceremonial forms for everything. Now for every conference there has to be an opening ceremony and many inaugural addresses before the chairman of the reception committee invites in a long speech the president to preside. By the time the poor president begins his address, the delegates and visitors are tired out and often prefer to go out. The new custom of presenting innumerable addresses to a distinguished visitor is another unpleasant ceremonial. I have found to my dismay that when I visit even a remote village of this comparatively backward area, the Panchayat, the merchants, the peasants and other local organisations consider it necessary

to present separate printed addresses which should have caused them a great deal of trouble. It is considered to be a great virtue if hundreds of persons garland individually and separately a visitor. I have seen many a visitor almost smothered with garlands. When these garlands consist of wild flowers, with not very pleasant odour, the discomfort can well be imagined. How good and pleasant it would be if we can establish a new tradition that all organisations in a place should combine to present a single address and single garland to any person whom they wish to honour.

Our tendency to superstition seems to be almost incurable. We not only hug all ancient superstitions but seem to delight in adopting new ones also. Many of the old superstitions which were harmless in the past have become particularly harmful under modern conditions. Thus the belief in auspicious days and hours overcrows trains on particular days and leaves them light on other days, thereby resulting in inadequacy of accommodation during crowded days and its wastage on other days. The evil results of the belief in astrology and the exploitation of these beliefs by all kinds of quacks is too well known to need elaboration.

Lastly there is our traditional tendency to ignore unpleasant necessities. This is particularly disastrous in the field of health and hygiene. While we worship our rivers and tanks we do not hesitate to pollute them. The Hindu has a healthy dislike of all dirt, but he thinks he can escape it by simply ignoring it. He has to learn that unpleasant necessities have to be faced and tackled. A nation-wide campaign for the prevention of pollution of our rivers and tanks will probably pay greater dividends than the vast sums that are being spent in the campaign for health.

I have mentioned some of the negative aspects of national development. They are only illustrative and not exhaustive. I hope that I have brought home the necessity of dealing with these aspects, if our efforts for national progress are to be fruitful.

National Extension Service Scheme

By SRI PUSHAP BAHL

—()—

The finest virtue of India, if we are asked to describe it, is her great power of assimilation. She has an excellent record of absorbing not only the culture and traditions of even her conquerors in the past, but also powerfully affecting them with her own culture and civilisation. Any good idea, from whichever source it springs, has never appeared to us as alien and has always been welcomed. After attaining our Independence, our leaders, so much revered at home and respected abroad, gave a serious thought to the economic planning of the country, which offered tremendous human and material resources. All our Governmental efforts and co-operation of the people were needed and diverted to one single major objective *viz.* to bring prosperity and a sense of economic security to the teeming millions groaning under poverty and yet amid plenty. This work of planning exacted a lot of labour from our leaders and Civil Services, and the result is the First FIVE YEAR PLAN a People's Plan, a piece of human patience, skill and endeavour, a documented account of the national resources, both human and material, and the suggestions in respect of their optimum utilisation. The Five Year Plan, quite modest in its targets, aims at bringing a vital change in the country by dealing with all the facets of our national life. Idealistic enough and yet realistic, this colossal constructive approach to the developmental problems of the country, has been widely hailed both in India and abroad. A great interest was evinced by America, and we reciprocated. They offered aid and ideas with the clearest understanding that no political strings were attached to such an offer. On such idea was that of organising A NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE parallel to the one functioning in America. The idea was appreciated and given a good thought to make it feasible under Indian conditions. It was very simple and yet very effective. Previously we had, no doubt various beneficiary departments doing some good in their respective domains, but they failed to achieve a measure of success that was expected from them mainly because of the fact that "different development departments approached the villagers separately without a sense of common objectives through their lowest officials, inadequately trained and incapable of guidance to the

villager." But the idea of National Extension Scheme brought home one fact *viz.* that the rural life was an integrated feature, and any attempt to bring a healthier change in it by piece-meal efforts was bound to fail. What was actually desirable was that all the development departments of the Government should act unitedly through such an agency as could coordinate their activities to the greater benefit of the rural population. Such an agency was further expected to bring to the door of the farmer the results of various researches and demonstrate them actually, and approach the villager with a helping attitude and a missionary zeal for resolving his problems, clarifying his doubts and removing his superstitions. The idea of N.E.S., so eminently suited for agricultural countries and having proved a success in the country of its origin, U.S.A., was readily adopted by the Government of India and the details chalked out by the Planning Commission. So, on October 2, 1953, exactly one year after the launching of Community Projects, the National Extension Scheme was inaugurated.

The N.E.S is expected to cover 120,000 villages comprising one-fourth of the total rural population of the country during the Plan period, 1951-56, and the entire country by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. During the period 1951-56, 1200 Blocks, each Block consisting of 100 villages with a population of about 66,000, will be established. 270 Blocks are to be established in 1954-55, and 450 Blocks are to be taken up during 1955-56. The total expenditure on the Scheme will amount to Rs. 101 Crore during the current Five Year Plan. The Government of Punjab has earmarked Rs. 25 Lakh for the N.E.S. during the current financial year. The allocation of expenditure between the Union & the State Governments will be 75% of the non-recurring cost and 50% of the recurring expenditure to be borne by the Union Government and the remaining expenditure to be met by the State Governments from their own resources.

The programme under the NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE is co-extensive with the Community Projects' Programme, which aims at stepping up the total food crops production by toning up the AGRICULTURE

through distribution of better seeds, application of manures and fertilizers, reclamation of waste lands, soil conservation, weed-clearing, deratting the fields, and by providing "technical-know-how" in respect of the use of improved agricultural implements, sowing and harvesting operations, storing and marketing facilities, improving IRRIGATION facilities by repairing old wells, constructing new wells, installing Pumping Sets, and sinking more tube-wells, improving the CATTLE wealth of the country through inoculation and vaccination of cattle, castration and artificial insemination for improving milch and draught breeds, tackling RURAL HEALTH & SANITATION problems by mass vaccination of persons, opening of health and First-Aid centres, family-planning clinics, maternity wards and the training of "daies", construction of drains, proper disposal of the night-soil, paving of streets, purification and renovation of drinking water wells and general cleanliness, imparting EDUCATION by opening new Primary Basic-Education schools, adult literacy centres, and establishing reading rooms, promoting COTTAGE INDUSTRIES for creating more employment, and patching pucca roads,

constructing kucha roads and feeders, thereby improving rural COMMUNICATIONS and establishing new markets and contacts with distant urban areas.)

For implementing this gigantic programme, a huge army of social workers, technical experts and administrators is working under the guidance of Sri. S. K. Dey, Chief Administrator, Community Projects and National Extension Service Scheme, Government of India. The Village Level Worker, the pivot of this organisation, is a thoroughly trained man for his job, for in the last it is his business to resolve the problems of the farmer in the field, and transform the whole outlook of the villagers by actually demonstrating them the ways through which they can improve their lot, earn more and enjoy a richer, fuller and varied life.

NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE is a major peace offensive that has ever been launched, by the people and the Government to fight ignorance, superstition, pestilence and poverty, and like any other campaign its success is also dependent upon the confidence in the righteousness of the cause and the sustained interest of the masses.

Marvels of Standardization

By Prof. P. L. GOLWALKER, M.A., B.COM.

The laying of the foundation stone of the new building for *Indian Standard Institute* on the 21st Aug., by the Prime Minister marks an important landmark in the Industrial history of India. This event is also associated with magnitude of the task ahead when India stands at the threshold of her industrialisation and has marked the beginning through the First Five Year Plan. The limited resources of our basic raw material like coal, Iron & Steel etc., more than emphasise the need of rapid standardization to economise their use at a time, particularly when more emphasis is to be given on Industrial development in the II Five Year Plan. The importance of an effective organisation for the formulation of standards in every field of industrial activity and their implementation need not be over emphasised.

But what is standardization? Standardization may be said to be the process of formulat-

ing standard for every type of business and industrial activity to avoid the variability of products and aiming at increasing efficiency in every branch of manufacture including the tools and machinery and the uses of raw materials. In other words standard may be said to be an essential corollary to the requirements of any Industry. As every industry aims at maximisation of returns with the minimum of efforts and investments, it behoves us to lay down certain norms of efficiency for produce to be manufactured. These norms are commonly known as standards, which are necessary to reap the maximum benefits from the limited resources available. Thus a standard seeks to establish common denominator for any industrial products, raw materials, tools etc., and other materials used in any industry. In the present age of industrialisation and world wide competition standards are not only a necessary

adjunct to achieve the maximum efficiency but they also present an index of the industrial progress of the country.

The Standardization is not a new concept but the novelty is in its name. We Indians have been worshipping God since times immemorial and we find therein that a particular deity has assumed a particular shape. This is nothing but standardization. Even a chisel or hammer has got a definite shape which will be found wherever we go. But it may be well admitted that its importance has been more realised in the modern world, particularly during the First World War, when in every activity economy of resources-men, material and capital was the watch-word, though it assumed its present importance on a wider scale, during the Second World War.

A beginning in India towards standardization was made in 1947 by the establishment of Indian Standards Institute as per resolutions of the Industries Conference of the same year, with the object of improving the standards of Indian products to bring them up to quality levels competitive with foreign-products and to standardise the quality of Indian goods for consumption at home and abroad. The I.S.I. has been enrolled as a member of the International Standards Institute, Geneva, since its inception which amply signifies its importance.

Since its establishment seven years ago with a membership of 100, it has now a membership of 800, has published 574 standards and nearly 730 standards are on its anvil. These standards include paints, chemicals, oil, soap, rubber, coal & coke, sugar, auto-insecticides, iron & steel non-ferrous metals, wood, cement, electric goods, and other branches of industry.

This shows the national importance of I.S.I. Its membership in the International Standards Institute Geneva has afforded the facility for coordination of national standards to assist and promote international Trade. The I.S.I. with its Textiles, Engineering Buildings and chemical wings amongst its five sections and 420 standardization committees is helping to Promote the Indian Trade. The progress of the Institute has been helped by the passage of the Indian Stand-

ards Institute (certification marks) Act of 1952, empowering the I. S. I. to specify standard, specification marks and issue licences to firms manufacturing these products conforming to the Indian Standard.

Standardization is the key stone of Industrial progress, in as much as without standardization large scale production becomes difficult. With the aid of the standardization the product can be marketed easily without the fear of unfair competition at the same time it helps and protects the consumers to purchase their requirements. The adoption of standards reduces the varying quality of the same type of manufacture and thus helps the producer to manufacture the best and standard quality with the increased efficiency. Standardization also helps the promotion of trade, to gain prestige and name for their manufacture in the home as well as foreign markets. Thus it affords several economies to industry putting it on a wheel of progress by ensuring protection to consumers and guarantee of markets to the producers.

The standards so far have neither been popular amongst the consumers, majority of whom are illiterate, nor amongst the producer, which needs an effective propaganda. In the present age of democracy legal compulsion of standards can hardly be envisaged as is common in other western countries. The standards need be made popular and known to the public consumers, through the documentary films which will help the manufacturer and ensure the availability of standard goods possible on a large scale. For this purpose Certification Marks scheme is to be launched by the I.S.I the rules of which have been published in April '54 for public opinion. The step is expected to popularise the standards by making standard goods available to common consumers as this would obviate the necessity of the formal procedure of licencing to the producers.

The progress of standardization in India has been slower than expected which is due to want of availability of standard products and lack of popularity of standards. Still the achievements of I.S.I. in such a small period bears the testimony that the standardization is gathering momentum at a gratifying speed.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

THE WISDOM OF THE GREEKS

The lightly worn scholarship of F. L. Lucas like the scholarship of that other Cambridge Dr. Quiller Couch, is revealed at its best in his recent English translation of "Greek Drama for Everyman." Here are a few charming fragments from that mine of wisdom and beauty, which like the falling cascades caught up by the noonday sun, are fascinating in their many coloured splendour. Lucas's version has all the charm and grace of the original truly reflecting the sense and spirit of classical Greece:

THETIS DENOUNCES APOLLO FOR SLAYING HER SON, ACHILLES

Loud once he hymned my happy motherhood—
No sickness for my son, no early death!
'Blest above all, and dear to Gods in Heaven,
He called me in the paean of his praise.
And I believed that Phoebus' tongue told truth,
Yet he that sang, yea, he that feasted there,
That promised this—he, it is he has slain
My son, my son.

—Aeschylus.

CHILDREN

Dear to our eyes, O lady, is this sunlight.
And fair the wide sweep of the windless sea,
Life-giving streams, or earth grown green with
spring.
I could name many another loveliness;
But nothing there is so bright, so beautiful
As for a childless heart long gnawed by
sorrow,
Are little children blossoming at home

—Euripides.

HIS OWN EPITAPH

This gravestone here holds hidden Eupho-
rion's son below it,
Aeschylus the Athenian, where the corn of
Gela grows.
But, for his worth in battle, ask, if ye would
know it,
The Marathonian woodland, and the long-
haired Mede that knows.

—Aeschylus.

THINGS DONE

One thing not God himself hath power to
do. To make undone what things have once
been done.

—Agathon.

WORLD CONFLAGRATION

For surely, surely it shall come, the day
That ends the world—when from the golden
Of heaven shall burst forth its pent-up face
And everything from earth to sky shall blaze
In the mad fury of one fullfed flame.
Then, when it dies away, there shall have
vanished

The vast abyss of ocean—earth be void
Of all her cities—not a bird shall fly
Across the charred wreck of the firmament.
Then He who all destroyed, shall all restore.
Attributed to Sophocles by Justin Martyr.

'RIPENESS IS ALL'

Him I call happiest,
My Parmeno, that quickly gets him back
From whence he came, once he has gazed un-
troubled.
Upon life's solemn pageants—stars and
clouds,
Water and flame, and the sun that lights us
all.
Whether you live but a few years, or a
hundred,
These will not change—and to the end of
time
You will not look on sights of greater glory.

—Menander.

HOME

Ah, what more perfect happiness than this?
Safe back from sea, to lie with drowsy senses
And hear the rain-drops on the roof of home.

—Sophocles.

SUSPICION

Why you are more distrustful than a snail,
That, when he travels, takes his house as well.

—Anaxelut

SILENCE

What happy creatures, then, are grasshoppers,
Whose females haven't even the tiniest voices:

—Xenarchus

DESTRUCTION

'He has got married' 'what is that you say:
Got married! why, I left him alive and
walking'.

—Antiphanes

HUSBANDS

We married men alone
Must face an audit of our lives, not yearly,
But every mortal day.

—Alexis.

OCTOBER 1954]

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

439

CARLYLE AND THE CATTLE DROVER

Birrell, in his Autobiography, tells a charming anecdote of Carlyle and a cattle drover—they were fellow travellers on a Highland boat. The drover, with unconcern, asked Carlyle for the loan of a pencil. Birrell says:—

"I happened to be passing and heard the question. I was frozen with horror.

Carlyle surveyed the drover, through his light blue eyes, with a look of wonder and profound melancholy, and then overcome by that deep-rooted sympathy he always had for the poor men who do the rough work of the world, and not write about it, the old man stopped, proceeded to untie his wrappers, to unbutton his long duffle coat, to undo his cardigan jacket, to fumble in a waistcoat pocket, and to produce a worn stump of pencil, which he handed to the drover, who had stood composedly by while this unrobing was going on.

The drover proceeded to make a few scabbles on his Bill of Lading and then handed it back with a word of thanks. Carlyle never uttered a word the whole time."

CONSISTENCY

Pyrro, the philosopher maintained that we never know enough to be sure that one course of action is wiser than another. In his youth, when he was taking his constitutional one afternoon, he saw his teacher in Philosophy (from whom he had imbibed his principles) with his head stuck in a ditch, unable to get out. After contemplating him for some time, he walked on, maintaining that there was no sufficient ground for thinking he would do any good by pulling the old man out. Others, less sceptical effected a rescue, and blamed Pyrro for his heartlessness. But his teacher, true to his principles, praised him for his consistency.

—Bertrand Russell.

ON FRIENDSHIP

Landor's smallest poems are often full of an exquisite sentiment that deserves a nobler name, and what can be more moving than this one:

"Proud word you never spoke, but you will speak

Four, not exempt from pride, some future day,
Resting on one white hand, a warm, wet cheek,
When over my open volume you will say—
'This man loved me,' then rise and trip away."

HUSBAND AND WIFE

There was the confirmed bachelor who used to spend his evenings alone at the local cafe. Suddenly he got married. "Why did you do it?" asked his friends. "It was like this," said the ex-bachelor. "Sitting alone in the cafe finally became a bore."—"And now?"—"And now it's a pleasure!"

Some time later the wife begins boasting—as wives will—of the men she might have married. "They were all more intelligent than you," she explains—"Alas!" says the husband, "they proved it."

And so, back to the cafe. The husband is claiming that, in any argument with his wife, he gets the last word—"How do you do it?" ask his friends; admiringly "I apologise!"

THE MAHATMA'S CONCERN

I am more concerned in preventing the brutalization of human nature than in preventing the suffering of my own people . . . I know that people who voluntarily undergo a course of suffering raise themselves and the whole of humanity, but I also know that people who become brutalized in their desperate efforts to get victory over their opponents or to exploit weaker nations or weaker men not only drag down themselves but mankind also. And it cannot be a matter of pleasure to me or anyone else to see human nature dragged in the mire. If we are all sons of the same God and partake of the same divine essence, we must partake of the sin of every person whether he belongs to us or to another race.

—Gandhi.

PERFECTION

Nothing could be done at all if a man waited until he could do it so well that no one would find fault with it.

—Cardinal Newman.

THE GRACE OF COURAGE

Help us with the grace of courage, that we be none of us cast down when we sit lamenting among the ruins of our happiness or our integrity.

—Stevenson.

THE CHOICE

Seek not to have things happen as you choose them, but rather choose them, to happen as they do, and so you shall live prosperously.

—Epictetus.

Consolidation of Holdings

—0—

SMALL, scattered strips of land in Indian villages are gradually assuming a composite and standard shape. Instead of uneconomic, neglected and inaccessible holdings, they are now becoming consolidated, compact and homogeneous blocks.

The result is regular sizeable fields which enable the use of new agriculture techniques; circular and approach roads which increase the mobility between houses and to the village, and institutions like Panchayatghars and schools which accelerate the progress of social welfare programmes.

This process of bringing together small and scattered holdings is known as the consolidation. And it has been going on since the early 20s, though the suggestions of the Planning Commission under the First Five Year Plan have accelerated the pace.

State Governments have increasingly felt that the division and sub-division of agricultural land—arising out of pressure of population and inheritance laws—hamper good cultivation and prevent bigger yields. Legislation for consolidation of holdings has therefore been passed in many States e.g. Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, PEPSU, Hyderabad, Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir.

HOW IT WORKS

A village where consolidation of holdings is to take place first goes under a field-to-field survey by the *Patwari* who also prepares a map incorporating all changes in the field numbers since the last Settlement. The *Kanungo* carries on the preliminary attestation of the record of inheritance and consolidation (called *Jamabandi* in northern India). Later two records are prepared—one of the owners of holdings and another of field numbers.

Villagers then elect an advisory Council which includes members of the Panchayat and a Harijan. The Council in consolidation with the villagers classifies and evaluates the individual's fields as Annas 16, Annas 14 and Annas 12 the price depending on the fertility of land and its proximity to the village. Wells and trees are also evaluated for necessary compensation.

The village is then measured and demarcated in *killas* (36 X 40 of 5½-ft.—unit called

(*Karam*) and *Mustatils* or rectangles (25 *killas*). The register of holders is prepared showing against their names the consolidated land in the village along with its value. This in fact is the consolidation on paper.

FINAL SETTLEMENT

The Consolidation Officer then prepares a draft scheme reserving land for roads, channels, schools, playgrounds, Panchayatghar, manure pits, etc. The scheme is published and is open for objection for 30 days, after which it is sent for confirmation to the settlement Officer.

Allotments are made on the basis of the bulk of land an owner has at a particular spot. Wherever he has the major portion of his land the other plots, however scattered, are transferred to the same place. Lots are drawn in case of persons with equal claims.

To have all his fields in one block helps the farmer in many ways. Now he need not waste his time going from plot to plot, scattered all over the village. He can also fence his consolidated holdings and even instal tubewells or pumping sets because now they will be more economical.

PROGRESS SO FAR

According to information available in July 1954, the consolidation work done in different States was:

Bombay	12.91 lakh acres
Madhya Pradesh	26.9 lakh acres
Punjab	37.85 lakh acres (The work is in progress on 28.14 lakh acres)
Uttar Pradesh	5.66 lakh acres (Consolidation carried out up to 1947)
PEPSU	8.04 lakh acres (The work is in progress on 1.3 lakh acres)
Delhi	91 thousand acres (The work is on progress in 58 thousand acres)

Along with efforts to consolidate holdings, measures to check further fragmentation and sub-division are also being introduced. Thus steps are afoot to convert the scattered and haphazard plots into regular fields so that there are adequate blocks available for profitable cultivation.

Industrial Unrest In Andhra—A Statistical Study

BY SRI G. S. BABU, B. A. (Hons.)

—0—

A fierce unrest seethes at the core
Of all existing things
It was the eager wish to soar
That gave the gods their wings.

—Rich. Nonckton Nilnes.

WORK is an indispensable adjunct to life and existence irrespective of the form it might take. Abraham Lincoln in his *MUD*

SILL THEORY OF LABOUR remarked:

"If the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the caring and none of the work, He would have made them with mouths only and no hands; and if He had ever made another class that He intended should do all the work and no eating He would have made them with hands only and no mouths."

And work in the present Industrial Era comes to be very much closely associated with big industries.

With the onset of mechanical invention and Industrial revolution, work places, more than workers, became significant; workers got to work in groups and in allotted places; the Era of independent trades in the respective houses thus came to an end. This as usual brought in its wake manifold and complex labour problems. The alleged superiority of the employer with his employee began to dwindle; the problem of better working conditions came to manifest itself; with the emergence of concerted action by the workers the better bargaining capacity of the employers started to vanish and lastly class consciousness and conflict grew. Added to this the first world war taught the workers all over the world to recognise the potential of their vast economic strength. They began to refuse to believe any longer that they were made for Industry and to assert vehemently that the industry must adjust itself and comply with human needs. Alongside with this development, the realisation that political power is closely associated with industrial supremacy and the consequent need for rapid industrialisation brought the problem of Industrial Peace to the fore front. The existence of industrial unrest was realised as a hindrance to industrial prosperity and economic well-being. Not only that, in industrial conflicts, Society at large may be put to great inconvenience and even untold hardship. In some cases

property and even human life may be endangered. In yet other situations, industrial unrest may threaten the integrity of the society as a whole. Possible it is for the conflict to become so bitter that the social organisation of the community, nay, even of the nation be endangered. Hence all societies and Governments became watchful of all types of industrial unrest; the problem of capital-labour relations began to engage contemporary economic thought and more attention came to be paid to the distributive role of the science of economics.

TYPES OF UNREST

Industrial unrest as defined by Dale Yonder is the "behaviour indicating dissatisfaction with attempts to achieve goals with respect to industrial relations, or to change or modify the goals". Industrial unrest like that associated with all the major institutions, takes many forms—inarticulate and articulate. Migration, absenteeism and tardiness, other disciplinary problems and labour turnover are different kinds of inarticulate unrest whereas work stoppages indicate articulate unrest.

MIGRATION

Migration is one form of inarticulate unrest but all migration need not be taken as evidence of existence of this form of unrest. The movement of workers from one job to another or from one locality to another is termed migration of labour and it is one of the most frequent forms of unrest. This may be said to exist usually in unorganised industries. When the workers are not organised and their bargaining power weak, they resort to migration in search of either better terms or better working conditions. Labour statistics are woefully lacking in this country and data regarding this form of unrest much more so. No doubt, measurement of this form of unrest bristles with numerous difficulties but its existence and meaning in terms of employee dissatisfaction are inescapable. This form of unrest is conducive neither to the industry nor to labour. On the one hand it jeopardises productivity and on the other it affects the social and economic life of the worker. Viewed thus, avoidance of this form of unrest is of prime importance.

ABSENTEEISM AND TARDINESS

The second form of inarticulate unrest is termed absenteeism and tardiness. One of the most common evidences of industrial unrest is an unusually high level of absenteeism and tardiness. When large numbers of employees absent themselves from duty or present themselves late for their work it is generally indicative of underlying dissatisfaction. Reasons for this form of unrest are (1) sickness (2) severe working conditions (3) habit and (4) legalised absenteeism. Absenteeism due to sickness cannot altogether be avoided though it could be shortened by timely medical aid. But when it arises out of severe working conditions the problem becomes complex.

Two factors play the dominant casual role here, one, industrial fatigue and the other low earnings; and invariably the two are irreconcilably interconnected; for, fatigue is sometimes as much due to work done for which worker's temperament may not be quite suited or due to worker having to make unnecessary physical movement without sufficient rest pauses as to intolerable wage conditions, of which absenteeism becomes inevitable after a while.*

Absenteeism results also due to the habit of workers to abandon their work for a day or two immediately after the receipt of their pay packets. Lastly, absenteeism arises on account of festivals, pujas, ceremonies and religious celebrations which are more frequent in India than in other countries and this is termed "legalised absenteeism". Whatever the reasons, this lackadaisical attitude on the part of employees towards their jobs represent one of the common manifestations of inarticulate unrest. Statistical information regarding absenteeism is sought to be obtained from the quarterly returns prescribed under the Industrial Statistics (labour) rules 1952. But it is still in its formative stage and hence accurate information regarding absenteeism in industry is not available. Absenteeism to the extent it affects national output is a vital concern of the community as a whole.

OTHER DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS

Inarticulate industrial unrest also frequently appears in an increased number of disciplinary problems. Violations of work rules become more numerous. Employees act with little regard to work regulations and tend to show equal disregard for the consequences of their actions.

*Dr. B. Natarajan.

LABOUR TURNOVER

The last form of inarticulate unrest is labour turnover. One of the most obvious evidences of unrest including particularity that which is relatively inarticulate is labour turn over. Labour turn over is the name given to the separation and replacement of employees—their movement out of jobs. Data relating to labour turn over even in organised industries is meagre and not available.

WORK STOPPAGES

When industrial unrest becomes articulate, it tends to take the form of crowd and mob action providing the most widely recognized form of such unrest.

Having discovered some real or fancied explanations of the discomfiture, some actual or imagined cause of the dissatisfaction, those who participate in unrest may come together in crowds to give concerted expression to their feelings. Having united about some common symbol they co-operate in more spectacular and contagious collective active action. This is the most obvious type of what is popularly described as unrest. Industrial unrest the most common crowd behaviour is that of the work stoppage. Such stoppages are generally and popularly described as strikes while most stoppages are strikes, others may result, from direct action by employers. In other words, some stoppages are lockouts.*

The term work stoppages includes cessation of work as a result of a labour dispute regardless of whether employers or employees have taken the initiative in stopping operations. Work stoppages called the strike is a concerted suspension of work by a body of employees, usually, for the purpose of adjusting an existing dispute over the terms of the labour contract. Strikes are categorised as sit down strike, slow down strike, sympathy strike, general strike, jurisdictional strike, outlaw or wild cat strike and unfair labour practice strike. While statistics relating to all forms of inarticulate unrest is conspicuous by its absence, data regarding strikes are available in government reports and an attempt is made in the following lines to analyse the strikes in Andhra between the periods 1946 and 1952.

With the cessation of hostilities in 1945 after the six year old second global war, the pent up demands of the workers began to crop up. Labour unrest which was held in forcible check during the years of war

*Man Power Economics and Labour Problems.

began to manifest itself after the year 1945. The number of strikes, workers involved, both directly and indirectly, the number of man days lost is tabulated below.

Year	Number of Strikes	Workers involved		Loss of	
		Directly	Indirectly	Man days	Wages of
1946	17	23,941	5,682	1,71,187	1,98,556
1947	22	24,769	3,133	3,01,191	5,31,399
1948	20	26,530	2,211	13,33,810	3,21,259
1949	7	1,492	632	2,234	3,331
1950	19	10,875	1,497	3,977	8,589
1951	30	21,557	1,533	27,244	41,821
1952	31	24,727	2,037	1,00,570	2,16,880

During the period under review there were 145 strikes and more than 10 lakhs of man days and 13 lakhs of rupees of wages were lost. This must be viewed in the background that the State occupies a significantly lower place in the industrial map of the country. It will be seen that there was also an increase in number of strikes, it rose from 17 in 1946 to 31 in 1952. The year 1947 experienced the largest loss in wages and 1948 the largest loss in man days. In the history of strikes during the period the year 1947 is an year of comparative peace; the number of strikes, the man days lost and the wages lost were at their lowest.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF STRIKES

A further classification of these strikes according to the regional distribution is set out below in a tabular form.

Districts	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Srikakulam	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Visakhapatnam	11	11	10	3	9	10	9
East Godavary	2	1	4	1	1	—	1
West Godavary	1	2	—	1	1	2	2
Krishna	—	2	—	—	—	—	1
Guntur	3	5	4	2	5	10	15
Nellore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chittoor	—	1	—	—	—	3	3
Tadapanah	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Anantapur	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
Kurnool	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
Total	17	22	20	7	19	30	31

In the geographical distribution of strikes we find that they are more predominant in the districts of Visakhapatnam and Guntur. Together, they constitute a large percentage to the total number of strikes in the State. The total absence during some years and comparatively fewer strikes during the whole period in the Rayalaseema region is conspicuous. But this does not signify that industrial unrest was practically non-existent in that area but only indicates the industrially backward nature of the region. The percentage of strikes to the total in the two districts of Visakhapatnam and Guntur can be found from the following table.

Districts	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Visakhapatnam	64.7	50.0	50.0	42.9	47.4	32.3	29.0
Guntur	17.6	22.7	25.0	28.6	26.3	32.2	48.4
Total	82.3	72.7	75.0	71.5	73.7	64.5	77.4

It will be seen that the percentage of strikes to the total number range from 64.5 in 1951 to 82.3 in 1946. Another noticeable trend is that the percentage has steadily fallen from 1946 to 1952 in the case of Visakhapatnam whereas it has grown in the case of Guntur District. The largest number of strikes in Visakhapatnam District may be explained by the existence of two big jute mills and one ship-building yard with their powerful trade union organisations.

MAN DAYS LOST

The result of work stoppages can best be judged by the numbers of man days lost. The industry which suffered the maximum loss of man days is the textiles (cotton and jute). The number of man days lost by the various industries during the period is tabulated below.

Year	Textiles	Ship-Building	Tobacco	Sugar	Others	Total
1946	1,31,976	29,800	9,803	—	698	1,71,187
1947	39,246	2,30,993	19,673	—	11,029	3,30,941
1948	13,29,512	433	2,95,884	36	3,31,810	12,49,665
1949	923	—	583	620	108	2,234
1950	2,052	438	—	—	1,487	3,977
1951	18,837	5,606	27	—	2,773	27,243
1952	60,744	7,292	30,625	—	1,959	1,00,570

Next to the textiles the ship-building industry suffered a huge loss during the

year 1947 but the position improved subsequent to that year. The lesser loss in the sugar industry may well be explained by the seasonal nature of the industry.

CAUSES ANALYSED

"A day's work is a day's work, neither more nor less, and the man who does it needs a day's sustenance, a night's repose and due leisure, whether he be painter or ploughman*. This view of Bernard Shaw is not borne by facts brought out in the analysis of causes of strikes. Strikes have ceased to be a product of discontent regarding wages and working conditions alone. Strikes on grounds of prestige are not infrequent. Workers to-day feel and want to impress that they are co-partners in the industry and that their right to have a say, even regarding the personnel of the industry, is legitimate. With the rise and growth of trade union movement strikes launched on matters purely administrative are not unusual. The State's strikes analysed according to their causes during the period under review is shown below. The figures represent the percentages to the total.

Causes	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Wages and bonus	47	36	20	14	26	37	36
Leave and hours of work	6	1	10	14	21	13	3
Personnel	12	36	30	58	32	17	19
Others	35	28	40	14	21	33	42

Strikes launched for the enhancement of wages and bonus lost its pride of place after 1947. The number of strikes for personnel and other reasons began to occupy a fairly important position; strikes due to them increased from 47 per cent in 1946 to 61 per cent in 1952. The highest percentage of 72 was reached in the year 1949.

RESULTS: The statement gives the analysis of the strikes in the State during the period under discussion.

Results	(in per cent)						
	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Indefinite	35	68	65	86	26	13	52
Partially successful	18	14	1	1	5	17	1
Successful	18	9	5	1	16	20	—
Unsuccessful	29	9	30	14	53	50	48

*Unsocialist Socialist.

It would be seen that the results of the strikes are far from satisfactory. The successful strikes range between only 5 per cent in 1948 to 20 per cent in 1951. The percentages of strikes successful and partially successful also do not during any year exceed more than 37. This is a pointer to our trade unions who are in the habit of hasty use of the last weapon in their armoury. Strikes should always be the last method to settle a dispute; the lesser they are resorted to the better for the country.

METHOD OF SETTLEMENT

Settlement of strikes in the State is brought about by (1) mediation by Labour officers and others of the Government (2) by adjudication (3) by direct negotiation between the management and the workers' unions and (4) by voluntary resumption by the workers. Analysis of the strikes by their methods of settlement is given below.

Method of settlement	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Voluntary resumption	24	14	55	100	58	33	45
Mediation	52	27	20	—	26	47	42
Adjudication	—	5	5	—	—	—	—
Direct Negotiation	24	54	20	—	16	20	13

The figures here also represent the percentages of strikes to the total, classified according to the method of settlement. The large crop of voluntary resumption represents that the strikers were either less organised or their cause not good enough. During the last 3 years it is gratifying to note that the Government Labour officers are able to bring about settlement in a large number of disputes. Though this is a welcome feature the workers and the management should strive to resolve their differences more by direct negotiation. Excepting during the year 1947 the percentage of strikes settled by direct negotiation falls below 25. Mr. Giri, the Union Labour Minister, stressed the need for direct negotiation when he said:

"Whatever be the form and content of the law of labour relations it should be the earnest endeavour of every one of us to allow full scope for mutual negotiations and collective bargain. Interference by third party, Government or Tribunals, should be the last step."

No other time was more propitious than the present for ushering in an era of industrial peace. There has been a general

decline in industrial disputes in the country as a whole; the work stoppages were 772 in 1953 as against 963 in 1952 and 1071 in 1951. This has resulted in the transformation from shortages of production in many sectors to an appreciable increase in the quantum of production. This proves beyond doubt that industrial peace and economic development go hand in hand. Human nature being what it is, there would always be grounds for dispute and discontent; it need not be necessary for better wages or working conditions but may be due to the present ideological conflicts. Misunderstandings and trials of strength cannot perhaps be avoided under the present economic system but it can very well be minimised if the employers on their part can realise that trade unionism, collective bargaining and conciliation are inseparable from industrialism in the modern state and the employees understand the basic economic dictum that there can be no distribution without production and that the national cake should first be made big before a bigger slice can be snatched from it. Labour and capital are two indispensable factors of production; the one should aid the

other to make itself more productive. Labour without capital has no root and capital without labour can bear no fruit.

Before concluding, I would like to point out the prevailing tendency of attaching importance only to the more visible forms of articulate unrest of work stoppages namely strikes and lockouts, ignoring completely or belittling the evil effects of inarticulate unrest. While the trade union organisations and managements engage themselves in fewer words, lesser emotion and cool and dispassionate heart to heart discussion of hard facts and naked realities, it is the duty of the State to collect correct and reliable data regarding the invisible forms of inarticulate unrest, explore and publicise ways and means of stopping them to create a much harmonious atmosphere and thus pave the way for industrial prosperity. It is to be hoped that enlightened employers will take the initiative in giving effect to them, for the consequences of inarticulate unrest are equally disastrous to the economy of the state.

The Bank Award and after

By Sri S. R. VENKATARAMAN, B.A., B.L.,
Servants of India Society, Madras

THE industrial Disputes (Banking and Insurance Companies) Act of 1949, may be said to be the genesis of the present controversy relating to the Bank awards and the recent modification of the latest award by the Government of India. The said Act which is applicable to all Banks and their employees having branches in more than one State was referred by Government of India to the All India Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes), Bombay, presided over by Mr. K. C. Sen for formulating concrete proposals for implementing the provisions of the Act. The Sen award, as the decision of this Tribunal is called, was considered in the Banking circles to be too generous, especially those relating to the scales of pay and dearness allowances for the employees. Therefore, the Banks appealed against the Sen award to the Supreme Court, which by a majority declared the Sen award void on the technical ground that the constitution of the Sen Tribunal offended the

provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. This was on the 9th April, 1951. But the Bank employees who were for implementing the Sen award, struck work when the Government froze the Award relating to the scales of pay and Dearness Allowance. In the end the Government was also forced to enact a legislation called The Temporary Provisions Amendment Act of 1951, according to which all Bank employees are now in receipt of pay and allowances they were receiving prior to the Sen award. Soon after, the Government of India appointed another Tribunal presided over by Mr. S. Panchapakesa Sastri, to adjudicate afresh on the issues involved in the matter. The Sastri award differed from the Sen award materially in that it reduced the basic pay and D. A. of the employees of the Sen award which gave point to point adjustments by which an employee who had put in 25 years of service would get all his past increments,

But the Sastri Tribunal restricted them to 4 increments. Thus 90% of the Bank employees got a cut in the existing emoluments and it is no wonder that the Bank employees all over the country were dissatisfied with the Sastri Award. While admitting the appeal preferred by the employees before the principal Bench of the Labour Appellate Tribunal, Calcutta, the Bench observed:

"It is quite clear that neither Pre-Sen Awards nor the Sen Award, nor the Sastri Award had or has fixed living wages for the bank employees. The cut may not reduce the emoluments of the employees to the starvation level. But there cannot be any doubt that it would have the effect of serious maladjustment of the standard of living which the workmen have been used to at least for about 3 years. This in our opinion may lead to dissatisfaction not based merely on sentimental grounds amongst the majority workmen as is likely to lead to disturbance of Industrial Peace".

The Bank employees however, being dissatisfied with the scales of the Dearness Allowances of the Sastri Award as well as the classification of Banks into A, B, C, and areas into class I, II, III areas according to their resources and population respectively, appealed against it. A Special Bench of the Labour Tribunal presided over by Mr. Jeejeebhoy, Bombay, which heard the appeal confirmed the pay structure of the Sastri Award, with this difference that it recommended a higher rate of Dearness Allowance than the rate recommended by the Sastri award. It fixed the minimum dearness allowance for A, B, & C class Banks in areas I, II, & III at Rs. 50, 45 and 40 for the first slab of Rs. 100 basic pay. The minimum dearness allowance for D class banks in areas I, II & III was Rs. 35, 30 and 25 respectively, as against 33 1/3, in the case of class II and III of the Sastri award. But the decision of the Tribunal in respect of scales of pay, dearness allowance and particularly the finding empowering Industrial Tribunals to compel banks to disclose their secret reserves and other confidential information, naturally was disliked by the Banks. They, therefore, appealed both to the Reserve Bank of India and the Government of India, demanding the modification of decisions of the Appellate Tribunal.

THE GOVERNMENT'S MODIFICATION

After going into the issues involved in the matter, the Government of India modified the Award on the ground that "it is inexpedi-

ent on public grounds to give effect to certain decisions of the labour Appellate Tribunal." The most important modifications made by the Government are:—

1. Instead of the classification of the country into three areas as adopted by the Sastri Award, it will be divided into four areas. While class I & II areas adopted by the Sastri Award are retained, under class III area the Government have included all towns not included in class I & II areas and whose population is 30,000 and above.

2. Class IV areas will include towns with less than 30,000 in population and which are not included in any of the first three areas.

3. Rural centres with a population of less than 30,000 in part B and Part C States are totally excluded from the operation of the Award.

In respect of Dearness Allowance, the Government have modified the Tribunal's Award, which was higher than that under the Sastri Award, and have adopted the scale contained in the Sastri award.

The most controversial modification relates to the total emoluments drawn by an employee as on March 1954. Where the emoluments of an employee are larger than the emoluments to which he would become entitled under the provisions of the modified award, the difference between the two will be adjusted over a period of three years from the date of the enforcement of the award, by proportionate recovery of such excess. Both the Sastri Tribunal and the Labour Appellate Tribunal said that there should be no reduction in the total emoluments drawn by an employee on January 1st 1950, i.e. before the Sastri Award and Labour Appellate Tribunal.

The effect on the employees of the modification of the award in this respect will be understood from the following. Supposing an employee in Madras of an A Class Bank is getting a basic salary of Rs. 130 and a dearness allowance of Rs. 64, making a total of Rs. 194, under the modified scheme, his basic pay will be reduced to 112, and his dearness allowance too will be reduced to Rs. 35, but he will get a house rent allowance of Rs. 9, thus making a total of Rs. 156 only. But his present emoluments will not be cut till March 1955. Upto March it will work out as Rs. 112, as basic pay, Rs. 35 as Dearness allowance, Rs. 9 house rent allowance and

Rs. 38 as Temporary adjustable allowance making a total of Rs. 194. In April 1955, when increment is due, one third of the last item, namely Rs. 38 will be reduced. The effect of this is far reaching as far as the employees are concerned, as there will be corresponding decrease in the Provident Fund contribution made by the Bank and the employees, in the Bonus the overtime allowance, and gratuity, all of which are based on the basic pay drawn by the employee.

It is strange that the Government should have exempted Rural Banks when the banks themselves did not ask for that exemption. After the inquiry by the Appellate Labour Tribunal was over, the Government of India of their own accord filed a petition before the Tribunal praying for the exemption of Rural Banks which was dismissed by the Tribunal. This was in March, 1954. It is strongly felt that the Government should not have modified the award in this respect after the Tribunal had dismissed their petition. Even with regard to the exemption of the United Bank of India Ltd. the Sastri Tribunal placed the Bank under B class for two years till 1955 and thereafter it said, it should be classified under class A. This decision was also confirmed by the Appellate Labour Tribunal. Therefore, the exemption granted by Government to this Bank is not warranted by facts. As a result of this exemption about 2,500 employees of this Bank would be denied all the benefits of the Award.

The Government's justification for effecting the various modifications in the Award, is that if the Award of the Appellate Tribunal were implemented, it would lead to the closure of all bank branches resulting in the shrinkage of credit facilities in rural areas and that the burden under the Award would be too much for the rural banks to bear, that it would entail the closure of a large number of banks' branches and seriously affect the entire banking business in the country both big and small and therefore the modification particularly with respect to the adjustment of new scale of pay and dearness allowance have been made for reducing the burden of the establishment costs of banks.

The Bank employees counter this argument of Government by stating that the modification of the award by Government went against the fundamental principles of social justice, and that the Government surrendered to the demands made by the banking interests in the country. The bank employees are as keen as any one also that rural banking should develop

but not at the cost of the employees. It is the duty of the Government of India and the Reserve Bank to give facilities to banks to open branches in rural areas. They further argue that neither the award, nor the Government have anything to say about the very high salaries running into lakhs drawn annually by managers of several banks in India. This matter, they rightly point out ought to have been taken into consideration while dealing with the capacity of banks to pay the scales of pay and the Dearness allowance under the Tribunal's award. Thus the employees' demand is for a full and complete inquiry into the high salaries drawn by the managerial staff of banks in India, of the huge undisclosed reserves of banks and all other matters which had been the subject matter of the modifications.

Mr. V. V. Giri in his letter of resignation succinctly stated why the modifications were not acceptable to the employees. He said that full and correct information was not available on (1) the number of employees who were likely to be adversely affected by the Appellate Tribunal's Award, (2) the amount of additional expenditure that may have to be incurred by the banks for the implementation of the Award, (3) the capacity of individual banks to meet the additional burdens, (4) the possibility of effecting substantial economies in the expenditure of banks and (5) the reduction of banks' operational costs and expenses. Mr. Giri's proposal for resolving this problem was twofold: He wants the Appellate Tribunal's Award to be enforced immediately and simultaneously and a High Power Commission to be appointed to go into all matter in dispute. Since his return to Madras on the 12th September, he has asked for a Tripartite Conference. Secondly, if the first proposal is not acceptable to Government, pending investigation by the High Power Commission, the *STATUS QUO* must be maintained. In the meanwhile the Government also take steps to implement the award.

Viewing the whole situation now, and the statements made by responsible Ministers of the State, after the matter was debated in the Lokh Sabha and commented on in the Press, there are indications that the whole matter will be reviewed again and a just decision acceptable to the parties involved in the matter will be arrived at ere long.

The Government of India have since set up a one man committee of inquiry, under Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha to go into the situation arising out of the modifications of the Bank Award. —Ed. I.R.

Father of the Nation

By "R. D."

THE second of October is the birth-day of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation and such a day is verily the anniversary of the national searching of our earth. Yet in the words of Sri C. Rajagopalachari, "amidst a plethora of festivals and anniversaries, we are apt to lapse into ceremonial homage without any corresponding re-invigoration of spirit". The best way to celebrate such anniversary is "to make our little selves react to the old teachings of Gandhiji" as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru said on a past occasion.

"My first complaint," said Mahatmaji, "is that India is being irreligious. Here I am not thinking of Hindu or Mohamedan or Zoroastrian religion but of that religion which underlies all religions. We are turning away from God". That was an old remark which perhaps still holds good. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore in advance called the Day of Independence our *Mahajanmadin* (Great Birth-Day) which he might not live to see (as he actually did not) but he added that unless we had clean and chaste minds free from thoughts of all sins, we would not achieve true independence and all our bondage would not vanish yet. "It was tragic", lamented Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "that after the attainment of freedom, people were not as rigid in adhering to truthful conduct as they were in the past". On anniversaries like this, it is for all of us to re-affirm truth, purity, and non-violence in all spheres of national activities.

According to Mahatmaji, religion was a personal matter and if we succeeded in confining it to the personal plane, all would be well in our political life. This is another matter which we should particularly remember on this great Day of Remembrance.

Congress always acted and fought for India as one nation and Mahatmaji always placed the interest of the nation over everything else. Yet after the attainment of Independence, some began to think more of themselves than of the nation. We can, however, take consolation from the thought that it was merely the twisting of the limbs after the long sleep of bondage which we would

gradually get rid of as we fully awaken on a day like this and take the vow of "Nation First" in everything we do.

As an illustration of the standard of living that we should set before the country, we may remember Mahatmaji's instructions as to "How Indian Governors should live"; "(1) An Indian Governor should in his person and surroundings be a teetotaler; (2) he and his surroundings should represent handspinning as a visible token of identification with the dumb millions of India; (3) plain living and high thinking must be his motto, not to adorn his entrance but to be exemplified in his daily life; (4) for him there can be no untouchability, no caste or creed or colour distinction and (5) he should speak the language of the province and the lingua franca of India". In a manner this forms the quintessence of his constructive programme of prohibition Khadi, simple economic life, high moral standard, untouchability, no distinction of caste or creed or colour, national language and regional language. On such an anniversary, we should have a severe searching of the heart to find out how far we have followed his instructions and what lee-way we have yet to make up, particularly in lessening the "differences between high and low and rich and poor" "in simplifying life, reducing individual needs and spreading and securing confidence and love all round", and in "putting aside all old passions", as pointed out respectively by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

Last not least, Mahatmaji always thought that it was the rightful duty of the people to ventilate their grievances before their government but they must not take the law in their own hands, for "that way lay the ruin of all". There was rising indiscipline in many places and this pained Mahatmaji so much that he remarked "I have lost all desire to live long" Just as every one should respect the views of others and no one should show any resentment for any honest criticism, none should also think less of reason than of violence particularly in a country where independence was achieved by non-violence.

The First And The Last

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Parliament recently discussed a number of important economic problems like those of land reforms, rationalisation of industry and flood control. Sri G. L. Nanda, the Union Minister for Irrigation, Power and Planning assured the members of Parliament that the Government regards land reforms "as of crucial importance for the progress of the country". He assured the Lok Sabha that "a phased programme" in regard to land reforms would be taken up in all the States. Sri Nanda also announced that the Government has decided "to meet the flood situation in the country on a war footing". "As far as I am concerned," observed Sri Nanda, "the flood problem will be No. 1. problem with me". Replying to the debate on Rationalisation in industry, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari pleaded for "rationalisation without tears". He assured the House that the displaced worker "will not be left in the street" and that the Government would try to help him by means of a fund by collecting a levy on the units which have been rationalised. "We must in the process see", stated Sri Krishnamachari, "that those people who are likely to suffer and those least capable of bearing that suffering, suffer the least and the thing has to be planned and worked out".

It is true that the problems of land reforms, flood control and rationalisation of industry are complicated and difficult problems which have to be solved with considerable caution, vision and planned procedure. But such questions, though inherently complex, become comparatively simple if we have a clear objective before the mind's eye. Mahatma Gandhi gave us a remarkable Talisman for our guidance in such complicated matters. "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test: Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the

hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubt, and your self, melting away". These magnetic words of the Father of the Nation should be always kept before our minds in tackling national problems of great importance. For, after all, the main objective of a democratic State should be to level up the down-trodden and level down through peaceful means those in whose hands the wealth of the nation is concentrated at present. Unless a redistribution of wealth or poverty takes place in the existing Indian society it would not be possible to build up a New and prosperous India. Without social and economic equalities, more political freedom would not be of much value.

In regard to land reforms, for example, our main concern should be the protection of the rights of the actual tillers of the soil. This has been the policy of the Congress from the very beginning. As the Congress President recently emphasized, there can be no place for large-scale ejections of tenants in our policy of land reforms. We have been able to abolish intermediaries in land in almost all the States. But the position in regard to the security of tenures of the cultivators is not yet very satisfactory. It is also desirable to stop all ejections, except those for the non-payment of rents over a certain period, by legislation or even by executive orders if necessary. The question of fixation of ceilings on existing land holdings requires urgent and serious consideration by all the State administrations. The basic problem is the vital need for providing stable and gainful employment to millions of our people who have been trying to eke out their livelihood for decades by toiling on land with the sweat of their brow. So far as the question of rationalization is concerned, the fundamental problem again is the need for securing full employment to crores of our countrymen who are today forced to be idle either totally or for several months in a year. We have guaranteed the right to work to all able-bodied citizens of India under our Republican Constitution. Any step that cuts across this basic national policy even

for a temporary period should be taken with the greatest care and consideration. It is not enough to try to absorb those workers who will be displaced as a result of rationalization. The main criteria of our industrial policy should be full employment, maximum production and socio-economic justice. Unless we face the problem of unemployment with a sense of urgency in all spheres of national life, it would be difficult to build up sound and stable democracy in this country. As in land so in factories, it is the humblest worker whose interests must be regarded as supreme in the formulation of our policies. When we discuss the problems of flood control, it is true that we have to look at the question in an integrated fashion for devising both short-term and long-term measures. But, here again our main concern for immediate attention should be the poorest villager who has lost all his belongings, including his sources of livelihood, during the recent floods in Eastern India. The humblest citizen does not desire to live on "doles" he wants some work to keep his body and soul together and it is our first duty to provide him with that work. Long-term measures for flood control and for taming the rivers would come in due course.

Similarly, there are many other instances in which we do not try to take care of those people or sections of society who deserve help the most. We find that the roads in the cities are being widened and tarred while thousands of villages have no approach roads, half-metalled or even kuccha. We are planning to provide drinking water in Municipal towns while millions of our people in the rural areas have to daily walk for miles for obtaining drinking water for their families. We are providing irrigation facilities to cultivators through a number of big River Valley projects. But what about those rural labourers who do not possess any land at all? The State Governments are establishing thermal and hydro-electric stations for supplying cheap power to industries. But do we take care to supply power first to the poor village artisans before we sanction it for large-scale industries? Even in sanctioning schemes for electric lighting, do we try to supply electric lights first to the villages? In the Community Projects and Village Extension Service blocks, most of our schemes are intended to assist those who possess some land or property for

the security of State loans. But what about those who are landless and without any other means of earning their livelihood? Are we trying to help them in starting some cottage or village industries on a Co-operative basis? Yes, there are some schemes of this kind as well, but their working lacks a sense of urgency. In the rural areas, the Harijans are, undoubtedly, the worst sufferers. They have been ousted from land in most of the States; many of them have not been able to secure new plots of lands although there are some schemes for their rehabilitation. They are still unable to obtain drinking water from the village wells freely and with respect. It is not enough to give Harijan students some scholarships or some places in Government service and public institutions. We must try our best to raise their social and economic status in the remotest corner of India. In the cities, we find new and palatial houses being constructed with great speed. But the slums, even in a city like Delhi, continue to show their ugly faces to all of us who desire to establish a Welfare or a Sarvodaya State in this land of Gandhi. We are keen to rationalize large-scale industrial establishments. But have we, so far, viewed the pressing problems of the small-scale and cottage producer with sympathy and understanding?

These are some of the points which illustrate the trend of thought even among those who are keen to do good to the people and raise the standard of living of the masses. It is not suggested here at all that there is want of earnestness and honesty in our welfare schemes. But we have to cultivate a certain outlook which would enable us to take up first things first and begin by filling the ditches and cavities before undertaking the work of national reconstruction in a scientific manner. If we desire to build a house in a proper way, we must begin by levelling the ground and cleaning the dirt and filth. Similarly, if we want to rebuild India on sound foundations, we must do away with glaring social and economic inequalities and try to help the lowliest and the poorest sections of society. We should take care first of the last man in the long queue of priorities. In short, the first should be the last and the last the first in our schemes of development. Only then can we hope to build a New India of Gandhiji's dreams.

"MAYA AND MUNDUS"

(Power, Illusion and Reality)

By "T. S. R."

There will always be people to say that the world of Reality is the material world perceptible to the senses and in special to the most delicate of the senses, namely, the mind. An eminent Judge of the Madras High Court whose exposition of the Hindu Sastras and Dharmas no one could excel, the late Sir T. Sadasiva Ayyar was once stung by a scorpion. As there never yet was a philosopher who could patiently endure the tooth-ache, he shrieked in agony "Bring those Maya Vadins who say the body is an illusion. I will make the scorpion sting them and prove they are wrong." Again, when owing to a defect in legislation, a man liable to be arrested if he was externed but was eligible to be on bail if he returned without permission from externment, a Magistrate in a Travellers' Bungalow, not far from Madras, gave him bail at 10-30 A. M. on the charge of returning from externment and re-arrested him at 10-45 A. M. on a fresh externment order. The late Sri S. Muthia Mudaliar, who appeared for the prisoner, said "This is pure fraud." The Magistrate retorted "Oh, No, this is only Maya." The Sanskrit slogan says "The magic Maya which Sambra, Namuchi and the great Bali had, are all well known to women whose spells are even more powerful." In this context the study by Mr. Paul David Devanandan whose name translates as "Little Beloved Son of God" is of considerable interest.

Mr. Devanandan also begins and ends by saying that the concept of Maya has a three-fold approach in the meaning of Illusion, Fraud and Power. He suffers from the limitations of not being deeply if at all acquainted with the original sources in Sanskrit and other languages dealing with the concept of Maya as contrasted with Reality. He also suffers, if one may say so without disrespect to his industry and erudition, from a partiality inevitable for his own religion. It is only given to few like Sri Ramakrishna to be able to be circumcised and live as a Muslim for some time and to be baptized and live as a Christian for some more time and yet to

return to his own Vedanta without any feeling of disrespect or disregard for the other faiths in which he travelled. From the days of Mr. Neil McNichol, the professed Christian studying other religions has never been able to shake off his fear whether he will be guilty of apostasy, heresy, or profanity if he talks over-appreciatively of the religions he studies as an outsider. Subject to this small criticism, the book is brilliantly written to emphasize his thesis.

Coming to the subject of the book, the most succinct account of Maya as Blinding Illusion is found in the seventh chapter of the Gita. "The qualities, which promote Satwa or Harmony, Rajas or Acquisitive Energy and Thamas or Lazy Lust are all from me, the Creator. I am not in them but they are in me. Blinded by these tendencies, the whole world (Mundus) does not understand that I am beyond and above them. This distinction between the Creator and the creature has led to a whole series of philosophical divergencies of which the principal are the Advaita of Sankaracharya, Dvaita of Madhva and the Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja. Mr. Devanandan occasionally shows his prejudice by saying, "The time is come when thoughtful Indians should realize the inadequacy of Upanishadic assumptions to furnish the living inspiration and the theological theory which modern India must needs possess if she is to succeed in her attempts to remodel Hindu life and society." (page 231).

This forgets that all words change their meaning and their re-interpretation is not "complete transformation of religious theory." A D. S. Sarma, a Radhakrishnan and a Gandhi are not completely transforming the Upanishads when they interpret them with reference to changed conditions of space, time, and knowledge. One might as well say that the Christians must change the gospel because

THE CONCEPT OF MAYA by P. D. Devanandan, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. Price: Rs. 4.

they do not literally follow our Lord's direction "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out. It is better that thou shouldst enter the Kingdom of Heaven without an eye rather than having two eyes and be cast into everlasting hell."

One might say similarly that when the Lord said "Take no thought for the morrow", is your faith to be transformed with reference to the virtues of prudence and social obligation in a world living on insurance and capital formation? So in the sense of Maya as Illusion, the concept is only that if Harmony, which is characteristic of Satwa, is not emphasized the preponderant Rajas or Acquisitive Energy or Thamas or Lazy Lust feeling is sure to lead one astray. The good old words of the preacher in Ecclesiastes hold good "Vanity of Vanities, all is his Vanity." Similarly the exposition of the Hindu Seer who crushed the banyan tree's little seed so that it became non-est while it had formerly contained the germ of a huge tree holds good.

Regarding Maya as Fraud is not either interesting or profitable except as in the book under review "in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph. D. in the University." Even the miraculous Maya, sister of Lord Sri Krishna, who defied Kamsa and saved the Divine Infant practised a kind of fraud. The law courts' most legal fictions are a kind of fraud, but enough of this.

Regarding Maya as Power, the late Col. Elliot of the Madras School of Ophthalmology wrote a book called "The Myth of the Mystic East." He was a member of the Magic Circle and he professed to have exposed many alleged magical and spiritual phenomena said to be practised in India. As Mrs. Besant said "When Mrs. Blavatsky showed some phenomena and thought-transference and precipitation of letters she was dubbed a trickster and a charlatan. Col. Elliot who professed to know said that the Easterners were proud of cheating people while the Westerners though they cheated occasionally were genuinely ashamed of what they did. I had some correspondence with him in which I pointed out that even in that book carefully revised by him, he had given inconsistent accounts to attack the authority of Easterners within the course of a

few pages. Whether Maya in the sense of magical and spiritual phenomena is creative of Illusion and Fraud must always remain a question which only each individual can answer for himself alone. Thus Sir C. V. Raman said recently "Astrology is humbug. If it is true, it is pernicious. If it is false, it is wicked." Or as a judicial friend of mine said "I believe in astrology but do not believe in astrologers." I have myself seen persons capable of reading through a thick wall what is written on the other side which according to the ophthalmologist Col. Elliot would be totally impossible. I have also seen cheap chemical experiments with phosphorus being passed off as producing fire from the hand of a spiritually advanced person. Many things like the radio, wireless and television would have been condemned as due to witchcraft in the middle ages.

To sum up, Maya as Power is really for those who feel they are sufficiently good not to be corrupted by power. Maya as Illusion can only interest illusionaries. Maya as Fraud can only interest those who are inclined to fraud. But Maya in the highest sense as a screen more powerful than the Iron or other Curtains of politics which must be pierced by discriminative knowledge to reach God will always be a necessary study for those belonging to all religions and to none.

SPIRITUAL LIFE

O Perfect Wisdom,
When will thy truth,
ever new and full of light
Shine in the sky of my heart?
Through the long night I wait
And watch the eastern horizon,
With face upturned and folded hands,
In hope of new happiness, new life,
and a new dawn of day.
What shall I see, what shall I know?
I know not what that joy shall be,
New light within my inmost heart;
By that light, full of great joy I will go
singing towards my home—
Who would desire to
linger in dreary exile?

—Rabindranath Tagore
Tr. Satyendranath Tagore

Thirty-five Years of Air Mail

India celebrated the centenary of her postal system with an official exhibition opening in New Delhi on October 1. This article traces the development of the Air Mail.

THE little blue air mail label which sends our letters and cards flying across continents in a matter of hours is 34 years old. It was first issued by the British Post Office on August 17, 1920—full one year after the British air companies inaugurated the world's first regular air mail service between London and Paris.

But that was not the beginning of the air mail. The credit for carrying the first aerial post goes to India. At an exhibition held in Allahabad on February 18, 1911 the Posts and Telegraphs Department of the Government of India exhibited an aeroplane officially labelled as the "First Aerial Post". In this aircraft a bag of mails was flown from Allahabad to Naini, six miles away.

Seven months later, on September 9 to be exact, British pilots began to carry air mails between London and Windsor in an organised manner. Before the experiment was discontinued some 1,30,000 letters and post cards had been flown between the two points.

To Britain went the honour of operating the world's first regular daily air mail service. This began on August 25, 1919, when a converted war-time aircraft flew from London to Paris. Initially the air mail fee for a letter was Sh. 2/6d. (equivalent of Rs. 1/11-) per ounce but the following year it was reduced to 2d. (roughly 2 annas) only. Then followed services to other European capitals.

KARACHI—BOMBAY SERVICE

In 1920 the Royal Air Force, acting on behalf of the Government of India, organised an air mail service between Karachi and Bombay as an experimental measure with the object of testing the extent to which air mail service was likely to be used by the public. It was closed down as soon as sufficient data as to running expenses had been collected and its continuation as a purely commercial proposition was not advocated.

When Imperial Airways, one of the predecessors of British Overseas Airways Corporation, was formed in 1924 by the amalgamation of the four pioneer companies, it was charged with the mission of establishing new air services to India, Africa and the rest of the world.

Two years' preparation had been required before Imperial Airways could launch its first service on December 27, 1923 between Cairo and Basra and the much longer route to India entailed even more preliminary work. But the great cause of the delay was the difficulty in securing the assent of countries over whose territory it was proposed to fly.

INDIA—ENGLAND SERVICE

The first England-India air mail service left Croydon on March 30, 1929 and arrived in Karachi (then part of India) on April 6. The following day it returned to the United Kingdom, completing the journey in less than a week. The London-Karachi route covering some 5,000 miles thus came to be operated once a week in each direction. A few months later this service was extended to Delhi.

The air mail route to South Africa was developed about the same time. When the African service started in 1931 it branched off from the Indian service at Cairo. Later in the year when the Indian service by-passed Egypt in favour of Palestine the point of divergence became Athens.

In 1932 internal air mail services were begun from Karachi to Bombay and Madras and later from Karachi to Lahore as continuation of the trunk England-India air mail service.

After the formation in 1933 of Indian Trans-Continental Airways, in which the Government of India, Indian National Airways and Imperial Airways were partners, events marched rapidly. In July of that year the London Karachi air mail service had been extended to Calcutta, by October a weekly service was operating upto Rangoon and on December 9 Singapore became the eastern terminus.

By April 1935, in collaboration with Qantas Empire Airways, air mails were being carried to Australia. Hong Kong was linked to the main U. K.—Australia route in March 1936.

EMPIRE AIR MAIL SCHEME

The introduction in 1937 of the Empire Air Mail Scheme, whereby all first class mail between Britain and the Commonwealth was carried by air without surcharge, gave added impetus to the development of air transport. Section by section the scheme was extended to the participating countries and the first flying

boat carrying unsurcharged mail for India, Burma and Malaya left Southampton on February 23, 1938; in July the service was extended to Australia and in September mails were being carried to Hong Kong.

The scheme was then in full operation and Imperial Airways became the largest carrier of external air mails in the world. Three services a week ran between England and Australia and five services a week between England and India. These developments enabled the local airlines to step up the frequency of their feeder services.

With the declaration of the war in September 1939 the principle of the "all-up" air mail scheme was abandoned and the Government imposed heavy air surcharges to reduce mail loads.

When Italy entered the war and the Mediterranean was closed to civil flying, a new air mail route, called the "Horse Shoe" route was opened from Durban via Egypt to India and Australia. This connected at Khartoum with the air service from England via West Africa. This service maintained air mail links between the U. K. India and Australia until after the entry of the Japanese into the war in 1941 when Calcutta became the eastern terminus.

BOAC

War-time exigencies led BOAC, which had by then taken over from Imperial Airways and British Airways, to pioneer thousands of miles of new air mail routes, some of them to places where British aircraft had never before flown. One such route was across the North Atlantic to Canada and another across the Indian Ocean from Ceylon to Australia.

The military demand for air transport became so urgent that it was found impossible for civil airlines to carry on their normal traffic. In order to reduce mail loads still further the Post Office introduced the airgraph service. The airgraphs were photographed on a miniature film about half inch square. The films were sent throughout by air and a photographic facsimile measuring about five inches by four inches of the original letter was made from the film and delivered to the addressee. The service was discontinued in July 1945.

ALL-UP SCHEME

Since the end of the war both internal and external services have made phenomenal progress.

The "all-up" principle for the carriage of mails applies within the country. Under this scheme nearly one-third of all internal mails are being carried by air. Night air mail services have been introduced between Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

Before the beginning of the World War II, British, Dutch and French airlines were the sole carriers of external air mails. To-day the number of foreign operators has considerably increased, while India's own national operator carries a fair share of the world air mail traffic.

BOAC alone operates a 1,75,000 mile route network. This provides direct air mail links between India and Europe, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., Canada, all parts of the Middle East and Africa, the Persian Gulf, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Malaya, China, Japan and Australia. With the services of Qantas Empire Airways across the Pacific and those of Trans-Canada Airlines across Canada which join up with the BOAC routes at Montreal, giving an all Commonwealth girdle around the globe, there is no destination to which the blue-labelled mail cannot be sent in a fraction of the time taken by surface transport.



Mr. A. C. B. Symon, C.M.G., O.B.E., who has been appointed High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Pakistan.

Japan's Economic Crisis

By

SRI M. M. WAGH

If General Dawes failed to rehabilitate the German economy in the '20s, Mr. Dodge, it seems, has fared no better in Japan. Making all allowance for the debasement for the word 'crisis', the severity of the economic crisis that faces Japan today cannot be under-estimated.

Nothing can be more revealing than the foreign exchange and foreign trade figures as given out by Mr. Uetani, one of the leading industrialists of Japan. According to him Japan's credits stood at \$ 292 million in 1950. In 1951 these rose to \$ 329 million. Although the second half of 1952 witnessed a sharp decrease in exports, Japan still enjoyed a favourable balance of \$ 94 million. However, since 1953 the position has taken a definite turn for the worse. In 1953 there was a deficit of \$ 310 million in Japan's foreign exchange, and the situation has deteriorated progressively. As Mr. Uetani explained, at one time Japan had favourable trade balance with all countries to the tune of \$ 1170 million. In May of this year this has dwindled to \$ 800 million. Deducting from this \$ 200 million owed by South Korea and Indonesia, and the I.M.F. loan and money borrowed for the purchase of cotton, this figure is reduced to a mere \$ 48 million.

What are the factors that have contributed to this sorry situation? Whatever Messrs. Dodge and Dulles might say, there is no gainsaying the fact that the chief reason for the present situation is the series of mismanaged and misconceived policies followed by America in post-war Japan.

In the first place America never looked upon Japan as anything but a military base in the Pacific, and this was amply proved by the Korean war. Secondly, America never contemplated the economic development of the country. Rather, Japan was a good dumping ground for American products, as India once was for Britain. Before the McArthur regime imposed restrictions on Japan's trade with Red China, Japan imported over 75% of her coking coal, iron ore, and industrial salts from the Manchurian region. These raw materials have now to come chiefly from the U.S.A. at more than double the price for supplies from

China. The result has been an abnormal increase in the price of Japanese machinery exports. If we take the steel price for example, it is \$ 50 a ton higher than the U. S. price.

So long as the Korean war and the boom that it brought in its wake lasted, Japan could easily find markets for her exports in Asia and Australia. Especially in the S.E. Asian region Japan recorded significant gains in 1951. It was during this period that Japanese textiles drove most of its competitors out of the S. E. Asian region. In other spheres also Japanese industry made phenomenal strides. In 1952 the general industrial production index stood at 150% while machinery production was 225% of the 1932-36 levels.

American expenditure, or what are called dollar transfusions also constituted one of the props of the Japanese economy. Thus, 800 million dollars of American spending in Japan in 1951 converted a trading deficit into a small surplus. It is reported, that nearly \$ 200 million were spent annually by American troops on "fraternisation" with Japanese women. This factor of the U.S. military and troop expenditure amounted to nearly 50% of invisible exports for Japan.

The props have been withdrawn. The Korean war is no more, American troop enthusiasm for fraternisation has subsided, and the facade of prosperity has crumbled, revealing general instability and weakness.

It is true, that Japan is overpopulated. But on balance Japan had a much better chance of developing her economy than any other over-populated country, say India.

The Japanese Govt. and business circles feel that the immediate remedy for rehabilitating the economy lies in attacks on trade unions and wage cuts. The recent announcement that the Zaibatsu was to be revived seems to be a step in this direction. But the trade unions in Japan are very strong with a strength of nearly 5½ million, and the revival of Zaibatsu practices would not enable the country to make much permanent headway. Depreciation of currency, another measure which Japan has used very often, will not help much in the long run.

[OCTOBER 1954]

The truth is, Japan's need for expansion cannot be satisfied so long as restrictions on trade with China continue to exist. Since the Meiji era China has played a prominent role in Japanese foreign trade. China headed the list of Japan's export trade, and was never below third place in the import trade. The percentage of imports from China was 15 of the total imports, while exports varied from 15 to 30. Japan imported raw materials and exported finished goods. This pattern of trade holds good even today despite China's struggle for industrialisation.

Many realistic Japanese recognise the urgency of this need. But theirs is the voice in the wilderness. So long as Mr. Dulles persists in his policy of boycotting China, and making S.E. Asia Japanese preserve by driving out Britain and India, Japan's economy will remain as crippled as it was before the Meiji era.

Role of A Free Press

By Mr. CARL T. ROWAN

I believe that no individual or organisation ought to play a bigger role in helping a society make the changes demanded of it by the times than the free newspapers of that society.

Some of us take our free press for granted, but I think it significant that over the history of my country, men have recognized that their newspapers were helping to shape their lives.

"It is better to appear in hell than in the newspaper," warns an old Spanish proverb. Many a crooked politician or corrupt government official has learned the truth of that.

Some papers are assets to society while others are scarcely worth the liberty and trust bestowed upon them by free men. Even so great a friend of the free press as Thomas Jefferson once was agitated to say:

"The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehood and error."

Nevertheless, both friend and foe have recognized the role of the press.

"We live under a government of men and morning newspapers," cried Wendell Phillips, American orator and abolitionist.

"Newspapers are the schoolmasters of the common people," said Henry Ward Beecher, a great man of religion.

"Despotism can no more exist in a nation until the liberty of the press be destroyed than the night can happen before the sun is 'set,'" said the writer, C.C. Colton.

And that great statesman, Thomas Jefferson, often embattled with newspapers good and bad, gave the following two remarks as his opinion:

"No government ought to be without censors and where the press is free none ever will."

"Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

I am sure that Jefferson had in mind the existence of at least a few newspapers which would seek to serve as the consciences of their communities. These are the newspapers with a heart, with social consciousness, newspapers which stand vigilant to protect freedom and to strike at the human problems which wreak sadness and misery upon men and can scar the face of an entire nation.

But even in campaigns against the things we despise, the press should be honest. It should not adopt the old dictum that the function of a modern newspaper is to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable. The weak do not grow merely by hating the strong, whether we speak of nations or men.

The world needs men with courage. We need them everywhere. We need them so sorely in the free press of the world that even the most archaic society can change under the pressure of our day to give hope to the ignorant and the ill, the hungry and the harassed, the millions of mankind who have waited so long for a smile from fate and an opportunity to be their own masters.

—o—

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Manila Agreement

Observers have commented on the indecent haste with which the Manila agreement was rushed into. Nor can the fact that some of the countries most affected by the regional organization have not cared to participate in the discussions be altogether ignored in an assessment of its real value. India and those who think with her still feel that the SEATO agreement "may not be favourable to the cause of peace."

The firm and unqualified refusal of India, Burma and Indonesia to have anything to do with SEATO sprang from their basic policy of not entering into entangling alliances and their conviction that SEATO could only lead to increasing tension. Sir John Kotelawala has been reiterating that Ceylon needs a hundred years of peace and development and that Ceylon's policy must be determined by that consideration. To enter into the military alliance of SEATO aligning with the Western Power bloc in the process is hardly conducive to that goal.

It will be noticed that none of the delegations was prepared to go on record with any definite comment on the results of the Conference. Mr. Dulles seems to think that to have met and signed an agreement, however infructuous was in itself an achievement in the face of determined Asian opposition, at any rate from quarters which cannot easily be dismissed as immaterial. And then the apparently divergent approach made by the different participants in earlier stages on what they expected to get out of the agreement is significant. Every participating country seems to be happy over its own reading of the conclusions. Even among the signatories, America is happy not to be confounded with opposition to any kind of aggression other than "Communist", while Pakistan seems to be happy over the deletion of "Communist" accompanying the word aggression!

The ink was not dry over the signatures and Mr. Mohamad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan told the world that Mr. Zafrullah Khan, had signed the treaty only for transmission to

the Government. Mr. Ali reiterated that Pakistan had made no commitment with regard to the SEATO.

The P.T.I. staff correspondent in New York, reflecting the reaction in the United Nations Head Quarters asks "Has this added anything really new?"

Australia, New Zealand and the United States had their ANZUS, there had been sufficiently close tie-ups with their military and economic aspects between the United States on one side and the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan and other Western Nations who made up the SEATO membership on the other and Britain and France had the NATO bond between them and the United States.

These links did not make a SEATO, but, neither did the attenuated Asian attendance at Manila create anything more than a shadow of the SEATO as originally conceived by its authors. The very fact that throughout the proceedings, a steadfast eye was kept on having the door very much open for other vital Asian countries to come in later was thought to emphasise this point.

Particular attention had been drawn to the United States writing in the clause on its own "understanding" of the vital word "aggression", running, as it were, over the whole gamut of difficulties with which Manila bristled. A passage in editorial comment in *The New York Times* stated:

"The protected treaty area comprises not only territories of the signatories, but, also the general area of South-East Asia and South-West Pacific and the protocol extends this protection specifically to the free part of Indo-China. This excludes Formosa, about which the United States and Britain have different ideas, but, Formosa, like South Korea and Japan, is inevitably linked with the new pact through the United States. The United States has made it plain in an 'understanding' which is part of the treaty, that it will apply its guarantees only against Communist aggression which should reassure India 'vis-a-vis' Pakistan, though the United States will not be indifferent to other aggression and will consult with its partners on ways to cope with it".

That well known commentator Walter Lippman, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune*, knocked the non-intervention bogey on the head when he explained:

The Manila treaty is aimed at the big hole in the old-style pacts. In a gingerly way the new treaty opens up the possibility of legalised and licenced intervention in internal affairs.

A New Step in Social Legislation

After prolonged and somewhat acrimonious debate the Special Marriage Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 17.

The Lok Sabha passed the divorce by mutual consent provision in the Bill in an amended form after a heated discussion. The amendment accepted by the House provides, among other things, a one-year period during which the estranged couple, who have petitioned for divorce under this provision, may retrace their step.

Prime Minister Nehru, intervening in the discussion, welcomed the provision and said, "I am absolutely convinced that by bringing in divorce, you make for a happier marriage normally".

Another amendment adopted by the House laid an obligation on the courts, before proceeding to grant relief under the Act, to make every endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the parties.

The highlight of the debate was a forceful and moving speech by Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, Deputy Speaker who, for all his pious and fervid declarations of faith in the old order gave his approval to the new measure with its amendments. While declaring his support to the Bill, he devoted the major portion of this speech to a vehement criticism of the introduction of the provision for divorce. Marriage, he said, was essentially a human institution and to allow people to take wives or husbands just as one put on or removed one's garments was simply reducing it to a farce and mockery. The introduction of divorce, he feared, might take the country back to the days of the law of the jungle. He, however, earnestly hoped that few would take advantage of the provisions of the Bill and that those administering the measure would not overlook the interests of society.

Mr. Hiren Mukerjee (Communist) was, on the other hand, happy that for the first time, some real good work was done by Parliament. Although his party would have wished the provisions of the Bill to go much further than they did, they were conscious of the fact that in the present state of the country, the Bill was itself a considerable advance.

The Law Minister, Mr. Biswas, regarded the Bill as a step forward in social legislation and a fulfilment of the Directive principle set out in the Constitution.

Nehru-Ali Correspondence

A White Paper was issued last month embodying the series of letters exchanged between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India on the subject of Kashmir.

An unequivocal stand in regard to Kashmir question in view of the U.S. military aid to Pakistan has been communicated to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, by the Prime Minister of India in a letter dated Sept. 29.

Mr. Nehru refers to the "sudden and brutal invasion" which took place in October 1947 and asks, "Are we to take a risk of that again, realising that this would lead to very serious consequences to both countries? That risk becomes far greater with additional military aid to Pakistan." Mr. Nehru says in the letter:

"Peace is always better than conflict and a peaceful approach is always to be preferred to one based on military power. If that military strength is added to because of the help of a foreign power, that confuses the issue still further and brings a new dangerous factor into the situation, because it reverses the growth of real freedom in the countries of Asia, for which we have all fought and struggled so long."

The Delhi Agreement

The Governments of India and Ceylon have pledged themselves, under the agreement signed on Oct 10 by Prime Ministers Nehru and Sir John Kotelawala, to expedite the registration of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon as Ceylon or as Indian nationals with a view to reducing the number of "Stateless persons". The basic difference of opinion between the two delegations in regard to Stateless persons, however remains. India continues to reject Ceylon's contention that those not accepted as Ceylon citizens are Indian nationals.

Every endeavour would, however, be made they say, to complete the disposal of pending applications within the two year period contemplated in the January agreement. At the end of this period, the position is to be reviewed with a view to deciding what further steps may be needed to deal with the problem.

The Ceylon Government will resume the practice of issuing identity certificates for travel abroad to persons of Indian origin whose applications for Ceylon citizenship are pending. The Indian High Commissioner will issue similar certificates to those whose applications for Indian citizenship are pending before him.

Sidelights on Press Enquiry

The Press Commission which was hailed with such a chorus of appreciation from the entire Indian press gives in its report some startling figures revealing the apathy of the public, and what is most surprising, of the Press itself. The lack of adequate response to the questionnaire from the Press itself for whose benefit, mainly if not solely the enquiry was conducted, is something altogether unexpected and deplorable. The Commission's persistent efforts to obtain the views of public men and the Press and its forbearance in the teeth of open and calculated indifference to repeated requests for active co-operation are recorded in a way that comment would be superfluous.

Out of 670 Members of both the Houses of Parliament addressed by the Press Commission, replies to the General Questionnaire were received only from three. Out of 1,015 invitations addressed to Members of the State Legislatures, only four elicited replies. The response from 145 State Political Parties was equally poor, while, of the 16 all India political parties, only one offered its views. There was no response from any one of the 29 Vice-Chancellors addressed by the Commission. Of the 1,350 members of the public, to whom copies of the General Questionnaire were supplied voluntarily or on request, only 77 sent in their views. The Commission addressed the General Questionnaire to the editors of all newspapers and periodicals numbering 7,335; response was received only from 111 of them.

Though the Commission had the legal powers to launch prosecutions against the proprietors of newspapers and periodicals for their failure to submit the factual information called for the Commission decided not to resort to this course.

Instead they decided to issue summons under Section 4 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, to the defaulting proprietors for personal appearance with documents. Where they were resident within 200 miles of the place fixed for attendance or to produce information if they were resident beyond this distance. The Commission issued summons for personal appearance or production of the necessary information to the proprietors of 251 newspapers and periodicals. Those who failed to comply with this direction were called upon, by virtue of section 4 of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, to produce the necessary books and accounts before the Chairman or an officer of the Commission's Secretariat empowered for the purpose, and to show cause why they should not be prosecuted under Section 175 of the Indian Penal Code or why a warrant of arrest should not be issued against them for compelling their attendance at the specified place.

While a considerable amount of information was collected by such persistence, the Commission recorded with regret that some of the proprietors completely ignored requests, reminders, show cause notices, and summonses for personal appearance or production of information issued by the Commission. Since the bulk of the information required had been collected and the work of the Commission was coming to an end, further action against the defaulters was dropped.

The Nine Power Pact

The European Defence Community plan destroyed by a vote of the French National Assembly has at last been replaced by the nine power pact signed in London on Oct. 3. The signing was preceded by a week of alarms and excursions, of alternate hopes and disappointments. It was feared at one time that the conference would share the fate of the E.D.C. meeting but the efforts of Mendez France and the timely guarantees offered by Britain and U.S.A. saved the situation. The outstanding feature of the pact is that West Germany will be rearmed to fit in in a new European Defence Scheme.

The pact was signed in London by the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the United States, Canada, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg.

Britain has pledged to keep four Divisions and a tactical Air Force on the Continent for the rest of the century to bolster up European Defence.

The Nine Power Agreement provides for West German forces of 500,000 men, 1,350 planes, and small units under the Atlantic Pact Command. Thus Germany will join the Atlantic Pact.

Britain, France and the Benelux countries also signed an agreement to bring West Germany and Italy into the Brussels Treaty Organization. At the same time the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the United States, and France also signed a declaration virtually renouncing their occupation powers in West Germany immediately, and pledging an early return of her Sovereignty.

Under the agreement, the Western Powers will retain full responsibility for West Berlin and for negotiations with the Soviet Union on German reunification.

U. N. Commission & S. Africa

The three-man Good Offices Commission, appointed by the UN General Assembly to assist in the negotiations between South Africa and India and Pakistan on the question of treatment of Indians in the Union, reported last month that it had not been able to get such negotiations going, and blamed the South African Government.

The issue, which has been before the U.N. since 1946, is again on the agenda of the General Assembly session.

The Commission, headed by Mr. Leo Mates, of Yugoslavia, said it was

unable to submit any proposal likely to lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem, on account of the uncooperative attitude of the S. Africa Government which had even prevented its Permanent representative from meeting the Commission.

The Commission was first established in 1942, and was reappointed last year with the request to report back on

"the extent of progress achieved, together with its own views on the problem, and any proposals which, in its opinion may lead to a peaceful settlement of it."

Its latest report said that in view of its experience of the previous year, when it had been "unable to carry out its task", it decided in February this year that an official direct approach to the parties was not likely to be successful.

The Commission resolved, therefore, to attempt to find some possible new approach through private informal conversations between its members and the officials of the countries concerned. However, the Commission, to its disappointment, has to report that it has not been able, by way of such conversations, to discover any new procedure through which it could hope to fulfil its task to arrange and assist in negotiations between the three parties.

The Commission said that, "as a last effort", it decided to send a formal invitation on Aug. 25 to the Permanent South African representative to the United Nations to attend a meeting of the Commission "to explore the possibilities for the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly".

"However," the report added, "in his letter of reply, dated Sept. 2, the Deputy Permanent Representative of S. Africa informed the Secretary of the Commission that the attitude of his Government remained unchanged, and that it regarded the General Assembly resolution as unconstitutional and consequently could grant no recognition to the Commission".

Partitioning of Trieste

An agreement settling the long-drawn-out dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia over the Adriatic territory of Trieste was intialled in London by representatives of four countries.

The effect of the agreement will be to partition the existing free territory of Trieste (area 285 square miles, population 272,000) between Italy and Yugoslavia.

The line of division will approximate existing zonal frontiers. Since the end of World War II, Anglo American troops have occupied Zone "A" which includes the city and fort of Trieste and is mainly Italian in character. Zone "B" to the south, is mainly Slovene and is occupied by Yugoslavia.

The agreement will provide for Anglo-American troops to be withdrawn from Zone "A" and replaced by Italians.

The compromise arrangements ends the nine year old bitterness and hostility between neighbours and is hailed on either side as opening a new era of political tranquillity between the two countries and greater security for Europe.

Soviet Steel Plant for India

There is evident enthusiasm about the offer of Soviet Russia to establish a steel plant in India for the production of half a million ton of finished steel. There has been no commitment on either side so far.

The Russian Government, which is reported to be equally keen about the project, is willing to assist not only in regard to capital equipment and technical personnel, but also to advance loan to be recovered in easy instalments at a very low interest—about half of what is being charged by the United States and the World Bank.

But what has impressed New Delhi more is that the Russians hope to establish the steel plant in about 18 months. If this hope materialises, says a Delhi correspondent, the plant will go into production long before the proposed German steel factory gets moving.

India has availed herself freely of British and American aid and business deals and it is natural and proper that as a neutral she must be equally prepared to accept aid from other quarters provided, of course, there are no strings attached. There is nothing in this transaction for special comment.



The WORLD of BOOKS



GREEK DRAMA FOR EVERYMAN. Chosen & Translated by F. L. Lucas (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.) Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London W. C. 2.

F. L. Lucas, author of that charming anthology of GREEK POETRY FOR EVERYMAN has now followed it up with a Companion volume GREEK DRAMA FOR EVERYMAN which as Sir Ernest Barker said of its predecessor is "a beehive full of honey". Within the covers of this single volume we have English versions of seven complete Greek Plays together with an anthology and summary of the whole field of Greek Drama. There are translations of Aeschylus' "Prometheus" and "Agamemnon", Sophocles' "Antigone" and "Oedipus the King", Euripides' "Hippolytus" and "Bacchus" and Aristophanes' "Clouds" and summaries with extracts of thirty seven other plays and choicest fragments of some lost Plays. And then we have introductions to the Plays besides critical prefaces to individual authors, in addition to notes and comments and comparative studies which add to the attractions of a book of surpassing interest to the lay reader who cares for poetry at its highest level. Lucas's verse translations, always easy and graceful, are charming in their simplicity, with all the colour and movement of the original. What can be more perfect than this celebrated passage of Menander's done into beautiful English by this Cambridge scholar, beginning with

Him I call happiest,
My Parmeno, that quickly gets him back
From whence he came. * * *

You will not look on sights of greater glory
(See page 438)

or the wisdom of the Chorus in the "Bacchae" of Euripides:

In many a shape is the God's will wrought
And much they accomplish that one foreknows,
What men deem sure, they bring to nought,
And what none dreams of they dispose.

There is wisdom and beauty in Greek poetry and Lucas's fine rendering fully reflecting the sense and spirit of the original, is a source of infinite joy to the Greekless reader.

HINDUISM: Doctrine and Way of Life: By C. Rajagopalachari. The Hindustan Times Ltd., New Delhi Rs. 3/-.

Mr. Rajagopalachari who has familiarised us with the story and teachings of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and expounded the philosophy of the Upanishads, has, in this slender volume, outlined the basic elements of Hindu faith and ethics and the way of life flowing from them. In the eight chapters that comprise the book he discusses the essential features of Hinduism or Vedanta—a term which has not so far been solely appropriated by any single Hindu denomination. The chapters on Maya and Karma and the Vedanta ethics spotlight the distinctive thought and tenets of the most ancient of religions. The author makes it clear at the outset that he does not profess to prove anything but seeks to present the body of faith called Vedanta to those who are not familiar with it. And this he does in a way that is at once understandable and attractive to the lay reader. In expounding the moral and philosophical background of the Hindu faith Mr. Rajagopalachari points out how this most ancient of beliefs and practices is of special and topical interest to us in our own age. "It is the writer's conviction," he says, "that Vedanta is a faith as suitable for modern times as it was for ancient India, and more especially so, as the world is now fully and irreplaceably permeated by the discipline and knowledge that have come to stay through science and are bound to grow a time advances." This is a thought provoking synthesis of science and religion showing the role of Vedanta in a secular state.

CULTURAL UNITY OF INDIA by Gertrude Emerson Sen — The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India - Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Mrs. Sen has practically adapted her 'Pageant of India's History' in small compass in this book. It is like Mrs. Besant's "India, a Nation", written now not by an Irish woman by birth who was an Indian by adoption but an American by birth and Indian by marriage.

VIVEKANANDA: A Biography by Swami Nikhilananda. Ramakrishna—Vivekananda Centre, New York. Also Sri Ramakrishna Math, P. O., Belur Math, Dt. Howrah.

Thanks to the devotion and the scholarly aptitude and enterprise of so many of the disciples and friends of the Ramakrishna Math, a vast body of biographical literature has grown up on the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda and his great Master. Intimate revelations of their mind and work by fervent disciples like M and enthusiastic appreciation of their teachings by reputed European savants like Max Muller and Romain Rolland have brought home to us the value of their lives and teachings, and their tremendous and growing influence on contemporary life and thought. It is therefore not want of material but the very abundance of material that has gathered round the memory of the great master that must be puzzling to those who attempt a biography. Swami Nikhilananda has mastered the vast biographical literature at his disposal and given us a picture of the master as he was with copious extracts from his own writings and speeches. Swami Vivekananda leapt into fame in America suddenly by his inspiring address to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago and the flame of his teachings has been kept undimmed by the diligence and devotion of his disciples at the various Vedanta centres in America. The Swami's mission was both national and international. While he breathed a new life of courage and patriotism into the heart of Young India he carried the message of the mystic East to the Western world with a direct and intuitive experience of reality. Vivekananda like his great Master, forgot himself in his contemplation of the Absolute; but there was another part of his personality which bled at the sight of human suffering. His mind, as the biographer says, oscillated between contemplation of God and service of man. Swami Nikhilananda has portrayed this dual role of the Swami with a wealth of evidence and recorded words that must carry conviction. The appendix contains selected sayings of the Master on some of the deepest problems of life and mind—on religion and the Atman, on Karma and Rebirth. The western reader will appreciate the glossary at the end of the book, as without it, the more technical Sanskrit words, can hardly be understood by the stranger to the religion of the Hindus.

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (A Study In International Relations) by Naresh Chandra Roy, M. A., Ph. D., 99.5-10, Ballygunge Place, Calcutta, 12. Price Rs. 3.

This is an attempt by Professor Roy to clear up misunderstanding between the great democracy of the West and the nascent democracy of India. It is well known that many Indians went to the U. S. A. to get inspiration and enthusiasm for struggling for freedom in India. It was the late Sir Subramania Aiyar's letter to the President Wilson which brought things to a climax though that letter had to be smuggled in the soles of the shoes of the Theosophist Mr. Hotchner. The U. S. A. is in a position of what we call in South India "If you catch hold of a tiger by its tail you have to keep on the move to prevent the tiger turning round and attacking you and tearing you to pieces." So the U. S. A., when it began to undertake to interfere in World Affairs, cannot wash its hands off the affair. As no war can never be "a war to end all wars" but only "a prelude to the next war," this plea for a better understanding between the two nations deserves respectful study.

SRI AUROBINDO: VIEWS ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS- Prachi Prakashan, 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1, Price: 8 annas.

This book is frankly propagandist and is an attempt to prove that Sri Aurobindo was definitely an anti-Communist who thought there was only one block namely, the Russian Bloc, and one free area, the area of the so-called "Democracies". The thesis is skillfully expanded by (1) Nolini Kanta Gupta, (2) Rishabhchand, (3) Dilip Kumar Roy, (4) B. C. Sen, (5) The Editor of "Mother India", (6) R. Swarup and (7) Dr. Indra Sen, all of whom claim to speak with the authentic voice of the Master. How far the Master if alive in the flesh now would support this bringing together of his alleged views is a matter of genuine doubt.

INDIA AND CEYLON—A Study - by P. R. Ramachandra Rao, published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs by Orient Longmans, Madras - Price, 2-12-0.

This is a topical book extremely well written. The map at the beginning is self-explanatory showing that the centre of the East and Far East is Colombo. On the whole, it is a very readable and useful publication indispensable to all publicists.

MY DAYS OF ANGER By James T. Farrell. A Signet Book. The New American Library, 501, Madison Ave, New York.

Danny's life told with gripping realism in FATHER AND SON is continued in this volume with a wealth of details harmoniously blended into a coherent and moving record of a growing adolescence fumbling through a series of tense affairs. Daniel O'Neill, now grown into manhood, goes into the University by day and works all night to earn his keep; but the flesh is weak. He struggles through poverty and passion through the years of adolescence and keeps up the fight against ruthless circumstances only to find himself no better—at any rate he works with an aching heart battling through troubled and uncertain years with hopes and ambitions yet unrealised. FATHER AND SON ends with Pa's death; at the end of this book Danny finds himself a complete orphan with the death of his mother. Danny is part and parcel of Chicago's teeming, ruthless south side where poverty and ignorance gang up to break the hearts of men and force them to obey a bitter code. Mr. Farrell's story is appetising and we long to know the rest of Danny's life growing into age and maturity and his final release, whatever it be, from the fell clutch of circumstance.

FUNDAMENTALS OF INDIAN ART by Prof. Surendra Nath Dasgupta, Published for Hindustan Cellulose & Paper Co., Ltd., by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Bhavan's Book University, General Editors: K. M. Munshi, N. Chandra-sekhara Aiyer. Price: Rs. 1-12-0.

This interesting book by Dasgupta gives one a clear insight into Indian Art. An artist has always been criticized as indulging in "Bursts of great heart and slips into sensual mire." Mr. Dasgupta emphasizes "that good and noble character with great powers of self-control is absolutely necessary for the making of a good artist. For, unless such a character is formed, the artist swayed by passions can never attain the concentration necessary for contemplative intuition." The book is well illustrated and in short compass enlightens and instructs while continuing to be interesting and comprehensive.

SANSKRIT STUDIES By M. Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore.

It is a pleasure to renew our acquaintance with the writings of the late Prof. Hiriyanna, now happily made available to us in the series of admirably printed volumes which we owe to the devotion and assiduity of the Kavyalaya Publishers of Mysore. As in his life so in his writings the Professor carried his learning with gentle unobtrusiveness; and we are struck as much by the scholarship and critical acumen of these Essays as by the clarity and persuasiveness of his manner. The studies cover a wide period and are collected from different periodicals in which they have appeared. "The Study of Sanskrit" with which the book closes is an address delivered as long ago as 1916. While "Sanskrit Poetry: A Historical Retrospect" with which the book opens appropriately appears to be one of the early papers of the author, "Classical Sanskrit Literature" is a criticism of Keith's well known work of that name. Other papers included in the volume are studies in "Kalidasa" and "The Vocabulary of Meghasandesha", Bhasa's "Vision of Vasavadatta" and Bhavabuti's "Malathi and Madhava" and a critical appreciation of that most moving of all epic dramas in Sanskrit—"Uttara-Kama Charita".

PARISUDHA QURAN: A translation by Moulvi P. Mohammed Edasseri in Malayalam. Published by A. J. Khaleel for Islamic Literature publishing house. Bangalore 4.

The present volume is the first part of an ambitious project to render into Indian languages the Holy Quran.

The translation has reached in quality an excellence rarely to be met with in such works. To the Malayali reader the prophet's pronouncements are brought home in words and language with which he is very familiar. In fact the translator has taken great care to clothe his versions in Hindu religious phraseology, so that even a bigoted Hindu going through the work does not find himself in unfamiliar fields.

In these days of religious frenzy, a work like the present one bringing home to its readers the fine fountains of spiritual thought and wisdom which lay in the Holy Quran shorn of all bigotry and extremism is bound have profound unifying values. Both the publishers and the translator deserve the gratitude and congratulation of the Malayalam public.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1 Age of marriage under Special Marriage Bill restored to 18.
—Dr. Sinha tells Bihar Assembly that Bihar's loss in recent floods is 50 crores, and 170 crores since 1950.
- Sept. 2 Sri Venkateswara University inaugurated by Sri Prakasa at Tirupathi.
- Sept. 3 Mr. Gunzarilal Nanda, in Lok Sabha outlines proposals for control of floods.
—Madras University Academic Council approves new proposals for Educational reform.
- Sept. 4 Chinese bombard Chiang's island of Quemoy off the Port of Amoy.
—Dwiles says that U. S. will react if Philippines is attacked.
- Sept. 5 P. S. P. executive accepts Secretary Lohia's resignation.
—U. S. Aircraft shot down for alleged "violation of Soviet area".
- Sept. 6 Bill to amend the Constitution introduced in the Lok Sabha by Commerce Minister T. T. Krishnamachari.
—SEATO Conference opens at Manila.
- Sept. 7 Ceylon Premier Kotelawala wants safeguard against Communist South India.
—America refers Soviet attack to U.N. Council
- Sept. 8 Khandubhai Desai appointed to central Cabinet as successor to V.V. Giri.
—Eight nations sign pact at Manila.
- Sept. 9 Addressing Delhi Press Association Mr. Nehru says SEATO endangers peace.
- Sept. 10 Western Powers reject Soviet plea for talks on European security.
- Sept. 11 Govt. of India announce "steep" increases in import duty on some items like pencils, liquors, woollen fabrics, flasks, blades and playing cards.
- Sept. 12 Mr. Eden in Bonn for talks with Dr. Adenauer, West German Chancellor.
—Chiang's planes raid Amoy: Chinese threat to Quemoy.
- Sept. 13 Burmese Premier U. Nu reiterates policy of neutrality.
—Agreement on rearmament of Germany following Eden's talks with Adenauer.
- Sedt. 4 Mr. Nehru in Lok Sabha commends Marriage Bill
- Sept. 15 Govt. of India bans movement of sugar stocks requisitioned from hoarders.
—Bank employees delegation meets new Union Labour Minister.
- Sept. 16 Lokh Sabha adopts; provision for divorce by consent.
—Draft for Constitution of China approved by Congress.
- Sept. 17 Justice Rajadhyaksha appointed one man Committee to hold further enquiry into Tribunal's award in Bank dispute.
- Sept. 18 French Premier offers new plan for European defence.
—U. K. sends invitation to nine power conference in London.
- Sept. 19 Viet Nam Army chief, GeneralHinh appeals to Ex-Emperor Bao Dai living on the French Riviera to intervene to solve crisis.
- Sept. 20 U. S. immobilises South Korea army.
—Lok Sabha passes Chandranagore merger Bill.
- Sept. 21 Rajya Sabha adopts Income Tax Amending bill as passed by Lok Sabha.
—Van Kleffens of the Netherlands elected president of the session of U. N. general assembly meeting.
- Sept. 22 U. N. Assembly denies representation to Peking government.
—Indonesia Premier Dr. Sastroamidjojo meets Nehru in Delhi.
- Sept. 23 Bank employees go on token strike.
—Lok Sabha passes Constitution Amending Bill.
- Sept. 24 Judicial enquiry ordered on police firing in T. C. State.
—Soviet experts invited to help start new steel project in India.
- Sept. 25 Vijayalakshimi Pandit appointed as Envoy in U. K.
—Joint statement of Indian & Indonesian Prime Ministers urges common approach to regional problems.
- Sept. 26 H. H. The Sankaracharya of Singeri passes away in bathing accident in Tunga River.
- Sept. 27 Labour Party Conference at Scarborough rejects Bevanite resolution opposing SEATO.
- Sept. 28 Railway disaster near Hyderabad.
- Sept. 29 Deshmuk, India's Finance Minister, assures World Bank meeting at Washington that foreign capital is safe in India.
- Sept. 30 The two day debate on foreign affairs in Lok Sabha concludes with overwhelming support for Nehru Government.

◆ READERS' DIGEST ◆

BROWN MAN'S BURDEN

Mr. Chester Bowles, former U. S. Ambassador in India, is not surprised at the attitude of suspicion and even antagonism shown by most Asians to European and American measures to provide military defence for South East Asia. This suspicion, according to him, is unwarranted but quite natural, judged by past experience.

The reason for this distrust lies deep in Asian experience. For generations Asians have seethed under the weary superiority of Westerners explaining that they came originally to Asia not for personal profit but to uplift the natives and to introduce them to the blessings of Western civilization. When Westerners now say that they have come to save Asia from communism, a wave of bitter memory surges from Suez to the Sea of Japan.

The hypocrisy of the old-time "white man's burden" theme is obvious not only to Asians but to most thoughtful Westerners. The record of the colonial past makes the task of understanding between East and West difficult at best. But, as the West begins belatedly to seek a new basis for cooperation, it finds itself confronted with still another hurdle—an Asian state of mind that might be described as the "brown man's burden".

Many outspoken Asians, filled with their own sense of mortal superiority, seem to believe that the West is inhabited by racially prejudiced warmongers who measure their civilization by the number of their bathtubs and atomic bombs. The one hope of saving the West from its utter poverty of principle, these Asians maintain, is a stiff dose of Asian spirituality administered to the erring Europeans and Americans through periodic lectures. This attitude does not make for easier relationships.

His admiration for the accomplishments of the new nations of Asia runs deep. His dislike of the classic Western viewpoint toward Asia is, he hopes, well established.

However, to those Asians who throw stones with such abandon at the West, I cannot resist pointing out that they, too live in a glass house. While the Asian has been telling the Westerner that he must understand the mind and heart of Asia, the new power and responsibilities of Asia require a greater effort by Asians to understand the West. Perhaps a friendly look at Asia's glass house can help achieve a badly needed perspective.

Glorying in an imperial past is only too human, he continues, and Asians are not immune from it. Even Nehru frankly admits "how excited" he became on discovering India's historic role in South Asia.

None of this is relevant to the present, except to remind us that the West's period of ascendancy is only the most recent of many historical shifts of power.

FROM COMMUNISM TO FREEDOM

"The dream he lost" is the apt title of an article in *Freedom First* in which Mr. Philip Spratt gives a glimpse of how he was attached to the Communist party and why after a long period of active work he left it. Mr. Spratt joined the communist movement after graduating from Cambridge and came to India to organise it. He was the most prominent accused in the Meerut Communist Conspiracy case. He left the Party after spending years in jail as an under-trial prisoner and convict.

At the time of my final release (June, 1956), he says, I had decided that the communist theory is gravely defective, and that I disliked communist political practice and wanted to take no further part in it. But I had not come to an adverse conclusion about communist policy in the broader sense. In fact the popular front and the Soviet peace policy seemed hopeful.

About the time of my release the great purge got going in Russia. I was accustomed to doctrinal disputes and expulsions and character-assassination, but "physical liquidation" was a shock. I could not believe the confessions. An acquaintance of mine, a member of the British Party, was accused and sent to a camp, and presumably died there. I heard about another friend, Freda Utey, somewhat later. I was impressed by Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia*, which I read at this time. I knew Lyons' record, and the book seemed to be eminently truthful.

These events finally dissolved my identification with communism and the Soviet Union. I was still further disillusioned by the very suspicious deal with Hitler, and the attack on Finland. It was then that I first wrote articles in the press strongly criticising Soviet policy.

Even then I still felt hopeful about the East-West alliance after the Nazi attack on Russia. It seemed possible that they would continue to work together after the war, and so preserve peace, and that each side would to some extent correct the other's faults.

Their failure to do so, and the fearful danger that we face in consequence seems to me entirely a result of Soviet policy. Nobody could have tried harder than Roosevelt did to bring Stalin round to a peace policy. Truman carried on in the same spirit, and even offered to internationalise atomic energy. Russia refused, for no reason that can command any respect.

This deliberate decision to plunge the world back into chaos, and very probably atomic war, for the sake of a gambler's chance of world power, seemed to him nothing short of crime—"the biggest crime that even the Soviet Government has committed."

THE RUSSIAN WAY

Writing under the heading "The Russian Way," the *Manchester Guardian* said:

"There was an interesting trend in the recent celebration of the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. The part played by peasants in bringing the Communists to power was minimised. The impression was created that the revolution had been the work of the industrial proletariat.

"In describing the career of Mao Tse-tung emphasis was on his early period in Shanghai and Chang-sha, when he was organising the town workers and intelligentsia. In fact Mao's rise to power and his eclipse of rival Communist leaders came when the Communist command left Shanghai and retired to the hinterland to raise peasant armies. This was not mentioned.

"A reading of history by the Communists always has topical significance. The Chinese Communist revolution was different from the Russian precisely because of the negligible part played in China by the industrial proletariat. Sometimes this has been admitted by the Chinese; sometimes it was an embarrassment. There is a snobbery among the communists in favour of the industrial proletariat; and in the eyes of the Chinese it may seem humiliating or backward to admit that their revolution was really made by peasants.

"Only when they wanted to dissociate themselves from Russian orthodoxy would they admit the true facts. The inference is that at present they want to walk the Russian way."

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The United Nations Economic and Social Council urged member-Governments to take all practicable steps further to expand mutually beneficial international trade.

A resolution on this was approved unanimously by the 18-nation council at its eighteenth session after a compromise. It requested the U. N. Secretary-General to include in his next world economic report an analysis of factors tending to limit expansion of trade and the problems involved in the development of trade between all the various geographical and currency areas.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN CHINA

Dr. Marcus James, an Anglican clergyman, who has just returned from a month's tour of China, said he found religious freedom there.

"The churches are open," he declared in a statement to the press.

I had private talks with many religious leaders including Anglican and Roman Catholic Bishops. The Christians are in good heart. There is no persecution.

They say the time may come when there will be a clash between them as Christians and the regime of Mao Tse-tung. They don't know.

There are fewer than 3,000,000 Christians in China's population of over 600,000,000.

Dr. James, a 33-year-old Jamaican, is Chaplain to the University of London. He went to China at the invitation of the All-China Youth Federation, which includes the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

He travelled about 4,000 miles inside China—to Peking, Nanking, Tientsin and Mukden—as a representative of Christian Action.

Another visitor to China, a young English Quaker schoolmaster, has stated that Christian churchmen in seminaries in Peking, Nanking and Shanghai have declared their satisfaction with Article 88 of China's new draft Constitution, which guarantees freedom of religious worship.

THE GRACE OF ACCEPTANCE

Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, writes: "India needs help in money and technical skill and hopes that foreign countries will not deny her a helping hand." And again: "we borrow freely from others; at any rate when such loan is essential for our progress, but we want to remain Indians." Commenting on this, *Guardian of Madras*, a Christian weekly writes: "India has indeed borrowed freely—much of her Constitution, large quantities of foodstuffs at one time, a great deal of money from the World Bank. Even her language, which was certainly one of the means of her attaining independence, is borrowed. And the only attitude possible in the face of such indebtedness is the grace of acceptance. Commenting on the Master's washing of the Disciples' feet, William Temple once said: 'The desire not to be beholden to any one is completely un-Christian.'" Of St. Francis of Assisi, G. K. Chesterton said finely: "In his life, he may be said to have written a grammar of acceptance, a grammar of gratitude."

COMMUNISTS IN INDIA

That there are only sixty thousand Communists on the official register in India, does not present a picture to be alarmed at, writes the *People*, not when compared with much smaller countries like Holland and Belgium which have numerically more Communists than India and, comparatively speaking more of them to the square foot than India to the square mile. And France and Italy have more Communists amidst them than any country in Europe outside Russia and China.

Spraking about our own Reds, we may safely assert that a good many of them are only pinkish fellow travellers rather than true and flagrant Reds. There is hardly any need, as some of the organs of the capitalist press scream from time to time, to ban the party or otherwise declare it out of bounds. Let us leave these alarms and tantrums to Pakistan whose rulers, afraid of their own shadows, see a Communist in every bush. Probably there would have been fewer Communists in the world today but for the faulty mistaken policy of the United States. The dishonest and criminal intervention of United States State Department in Guatemala trouble has made Communism appear much less offensive than the international capitalism of Wall Street. If John Foster Dulles is a patriot, so is Chou En-lai.

EARNING WHILE LEARNING

Someone once said that an American summer produces some of the country's best-educated waiters. There is truth in the statement, too. When college students finish their work for the year in June, they eagerly take summer-time jobs ranging from such conventional work as waiting on table to such unusual chores as snake tending.

The chief reasons why students take menial and often bizarre jobs is that they need money and have not had time to acquire a marketable skill. Since they want employment only until their colleges open again in the fall, they are anxious to take almost any honest work and particularly that which calls for physical participation.

Athletes and young-out-of doors enthusiasts have their names on the employment lists of such summer enterprises as beach resorts and swimming pools (for life guard duty) as early as the preceding Christmas. Some athletes

purposely choose hard physical employment to condition themselves for the college foot-ball season in autumn. Others hire out as ditch diggers, steel workers and members of construction gangs.

For the more sedentary student anxious to earn a few extra dollars to defray part of his school expenses there are such work outlets as tutoring, operating elevators, and serving as assistants in laboratories and libraries.

Those who want more activity have found employment in moving lawns, acting as tour guides on sight seeing trips, ushering in outdoor theatres and caddying on golf courses.

GOVERNMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

While the problem of unemployment is increasing in the country, some of the Government policies in this regard evidently tend to worsen the situation, writes the *Modern Review*. And the most glaring instance of this contradictory policy is the re-employment of retired officers as well as the extension of the terms of many officers who are already due to retire. It is now-a-days a common practice and the practice has become widespread enough, to re-employ retired Government officers either in the departments to which they originally belonged or in some other departments. Again, retirement is often put off by extension of the terms for several times. New employment is thus bound to be limited with the rise in unemployment.

Government seem to have forgotten what was done during the early 'thirties to check the growing unemployment. It was the compulsory retirement at the age of 55 and this was followed with few exceptions by the authorities at that time. Why is it not being followed this time also? Are the early officers of the present regime more efficient and more indispensable than their compeers of the late 'thirties? In the railway department, in the post and telegraphs department, in the income-tax department, just to cite a few examples, re-employment and extension of the terms of the high officers have become a normal feature of Government employment policy.

The usual excuse put forward is the paucity of qualified and suitable younger men. There is some justification for this, we know. But thanks to nepotism and wire-pulling by well-placed relatives, it is seldom the best candidate who is put forward for selection.

ARTS AND LETTERS: UNESCO'S PROGRAMME

Unesco has published a pamphlet entitled "Arts and Letters" which describes its programme in this field and explains the practical measures and daily activity by which it is carried out. The mission of the organization in regard to the plastic arts, the theatre, music and literature is to make the art of each nation known and appreciated by its own people and by the people of foreign lands. Unesco moreover co-operates with governments in the protection of works of art that may be endangered; it supports artists in their endeavours to achieve international co-operation and mutual aid, and to defend their professional interests.

The pamphlet, issued in the series "Unesco and its Programme", is intended to provide briefly the essential facts of the Organization's activities. The spirit in which these activities are conducted is set forth in the statement: "It is not the duty of an international institution to dictate to the fine arts, nor to anticipate the activities of professional associations. On the contrary, its role is to assist artists to pursue their vocation without hindrance, to supply their needs, and to comply with the recommendations of the artistic community by all means in its power."

PLANNED ECONOMY

The central theme in this Independence Number of *The Eastern Economist* is the structure of public opinion which stands behind the changes of India's policy in the last seven years. For the first time the emphasis has been shifted from facts to an examination of the currents of thought which lie behind them. The section dealing with 'Economic Affairs' traces the changes that have occurred in the seven years since Independence in respect of control, food and industrial policy and economic planning.

In the section 'The Administrative System', some of the more general aspects of the centralised direction and control of economic development than the day-to-day economic problems are discussed. Such important issues as the role of the state, the need for balanced regional development, the question of inter-state relations, the need for modernising social institutions with which the central planning authority has to be concerned find a place.

The section on 'The Social Revolution' deals with the emancipation of women and of the backward classes, the organization and development of the instruments of publicity and the progress of education.

This number also contains valuable statistics on the various aspects of the Indian economy and suitably illustrated by graphs characteristic of the Eastern publications.

This number should prove of value to those interested in the Indian economy.

RAILWAY AMENITIES

For the first time the Indian Railways will provide sleeping berths to Third Class passengers travelling on long-distance trains.

This decision has been taken by the Government of India on the recommendation of the three-man Indian railway delegation which recently undertook a two-month study tour of European railway systems.

Details of the proposal are being worked out by the Railway Board. It is understood that in the beginning sleeping berths will be provided for long distance passengers on Janata Express trains. Experience gained in these will be used for assessing the demand, on other trains for similar sleeping accommodation.

A number of other recommendations made by the Vasist delegation have, it is understood, been accepted by the Central Railway Ministry.

All the Railways will be asked in the near future to throw open the dining cars on trains to Third Class passengers also. At present, the dining cars can be used by the upper class passengers only.

There will be no separate entrances and exits at railway stations for Third Class and upper class passengers according to a recommendation which has been accepted by the Railway Ministry.

Another recommendation which has been accepted relates to the provision of efficient Information Services at railway stations. This will be designed to avoid long queues of information seekers and to minimise delays in the answering of enquiries, either in person or by telephone.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

The value of education in religion has often been questioned. But then does anyone question the necessity of education in the arts of drama, dance or painting, in science or medicine? If the necessity for education be recognized in these cases, why should it be questioned in the case of religion? asks Sri Bhables Chandra Choudhuri in the course of an article in the February number of *Science of Mind* published by the Institute of Religion, Science and Philotophy, Los Angeles, California. Education in religion must be conceived, he says, not in terms of imparting mere theological precepts, but rather in terms of awareness of the inner soul and of rendering easier our response to spiritual ideas.

Education in religion needs for its avowed aim the pursuit of cultivating the noble instincts in man for his right guidance. It should, for instance, impart such an admirable concept of life and things around him that he should learn to see and not to merely turn his ears to them; observe and not merely glance over them, "with open eyes—standing blind!"

The secret of real religious education, according to him, lies in elevating the divine fervor in man—to rejoice with the hills, throb with the sea, and to discover as the great souls did the handiworks of God.

The function of education in religion is, then, to train the eyes to see, ears to hear, mind to observe and feel the infinite presence of a Supreme "Over-Soul" that gives joy in creation, proclaims the glory of all beings and phenomena in an order of divine fellowship. It should train men and women in meditation and communion with such a divine Power. Seers from Socrates to Mahatma Gandhi have proclaimed along the way of the divine kingdom: "Seek and ye shall find."

There can be no higher or more edifying pursuit than to entertain in our mind ideas of love, truth, and beauty. The contemplation of the spiritual order, righteousness, justice and peace may, perhaps, do more to mould human character, he says, than any other single influence.

Should education in religion be viewed in that light fears that often daunt the heart of the skeptic or the atheist will soon be realized to be none other than those of a coward, and we may then learn to live courageously the true life by surrendering ourselves to that which is eternally Good.

GLORY OF INDIAN ART

The concert of Indian dancers, singers and musicians held last month in Moscow was a great success, according to the Soviet news agency, Tass.

The concert hall was overcrowded. Every performance by the artists was accompanied with warm, prolonged applause.

Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the Indian Ambassador to Moscow, his wife and members of the embassy were present at the concert.

Under the heading "The magnificent art of the Indian people" the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* published comments by a Soviet spectator on the performances of Indian artists, the Tass said:

A Chukhno, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., said

"I attended with great interest the wonderful concert by our Indian friends. It is hard to say which of the numbers pleased me most. Like all other people in the hall, I felt that our guests had brought with them the best of the rich national art of the Indian people.

"It was evident that they strove to reveal to the full the lofty culture of the popular masses of India. And this attempt found a warm response among the audience. The colourful performance of the Indian artists revealed to us the many-sided life of the people of India.

"Their songs and dances are remarkable for their expressiveness. The folk songs in the masterful rendering of Asa Singh Mastana rang with the joy and pride of a farmer in the fruits of his labour.

"The performances of Indian artists have made a profound and lasting impression. And when they rounded off their concert with the National Anthem of the Indian Republic, the audience rose to their feet and warmly applauded the representatives of a great people who is linked to us by a feeling of sincere friendship, by mutual sympathy and common striving for peace."

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

The Maharaja of Patiala, Rajpramukh of PEPSU, has sent a *Danpatra* (gift deed) to the Panjab and PEPSU Bhoodan Samiti, announcing a gift of 9,352 bighas of his personal lands to the Bhoodan Yagna of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

The Bhoodan Samiti, in a statement hailed the "generous donation of the maharaja of Patiala as a major contribution towards making the Bhoodan movement a success in Punjab and PEPSU."

PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

According to the *Unesco Courier*, magazine of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the progress of the American Negro in less than a century the period between Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves and the recent decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools is one of the most amazing social phenomena of our time. A special number is devoted entirely to a fully documented and illustrated description of the enormous strides made by the American Negro toward achieving equality of opportunity in all walks of life.

The facts about the steady progress in the Negro's status have now become of world-wide interest because of the spectacular Supreme Court decision. A large number of these facts are presented in the *Courier* by such outstanding experts as Thurgood Marshall, head of the team of Negro lawyers concerned with the protection of the legal rights of American Negroes; Dr. Murray S. Stedman, Jr., Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College Pennsylvania; Morroe Berger, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Princeton University; Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University.

In a survey titled "A Look at U.S. Race Relations", Dr. Berger recounts noteworthy advances since the 1930s in the battle against racial discrimination and the prejudices which cause it. The Supreme Court, in a series of decisions, gave the Federal and State governments greater power in protecting Negroes against discrimination; strengthened their rights in the administration of justice, citizenship, employment and voting; and helped to weaken segregation, housing and public transportation.

The American Negro is gradually winning his fight for equal job opportunities with whites because, as another article explains, the time has come "when skill, not colour, counts". Negroes and whites have very different ideas about the various aspects of discrimination. Whites are concerned with: intermarriage; other social relations; use of public facilities; political rights; legal and official discrimination; economic activities such as employment and land ownership. The Negroes, largely because of their low economic status, reverse the order of importance in this list.

On the subject of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools, Dr. Stedman explains why the doctrine, previously operative, of "Equal but Separate" facilities in schools was judged unanimously by the Court to signify unequal. The principal passages of the momentous decision are given by the *Courier*; and Mr. Thurgood Marshall, who helped argue the case, writes on "The Great Test of Civil Rights". Professor Klineberg, presents an exposition of a devastating criticism of racial prejudice: "The effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation", signed by 32 American social scientists, and presented to the Supreme Court as an appendix to the brief of the NAACP. A two-page chronology of significant dates and events in the Negro's struggle for equality, is also published in this issue.

KOLAR MINING INDUSTRY

President Rajendra Prasad assured the Mining Companies in Kolar Gold Fields that the Union and State Governments would do their utmost to see that the gold mining industry was fully developed in the area.

Speaking at a party given in his honour by the Directors and Officers of the Mining Companies last month, the President said he was glad to know that the Companies had discovered a new rich ore deposit in the area. He assured them that the Centre would render all possible help.

The Union Government, he said, was interested in the gold mining industry in K.G.F. A committee had been constituted by the Centre to inquire into questions relating to the working of the mines, he added.

Sri M. A. Sreenivasan, Chairman, Board of Directors of the Kolar Gold Mining Companies, forecast the starting of one of the biggest gold mines in the country in K.G.F., if an opportunity is given for the development of a few ore deposits.

Acquainting the President with the discovery of a very large lode of gold-bearing quartz near one of the existing mines as a result of years of "bold and ceaseless exploration underground," he said, the working of this ore could not only provide employment to many thousands for many years to come, but also yield very substantial revenues to the Governments.

FOR FLOOD VICTIMS

Substantial quantities of penicillin and other drugs as well as various items of equipment needed to fight the danger of epidemics in the flood-affected areas of Assam, Bihar and West Bengal are being supplied by the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) from stocks on hand in Calcutta and Bombay warehouses.

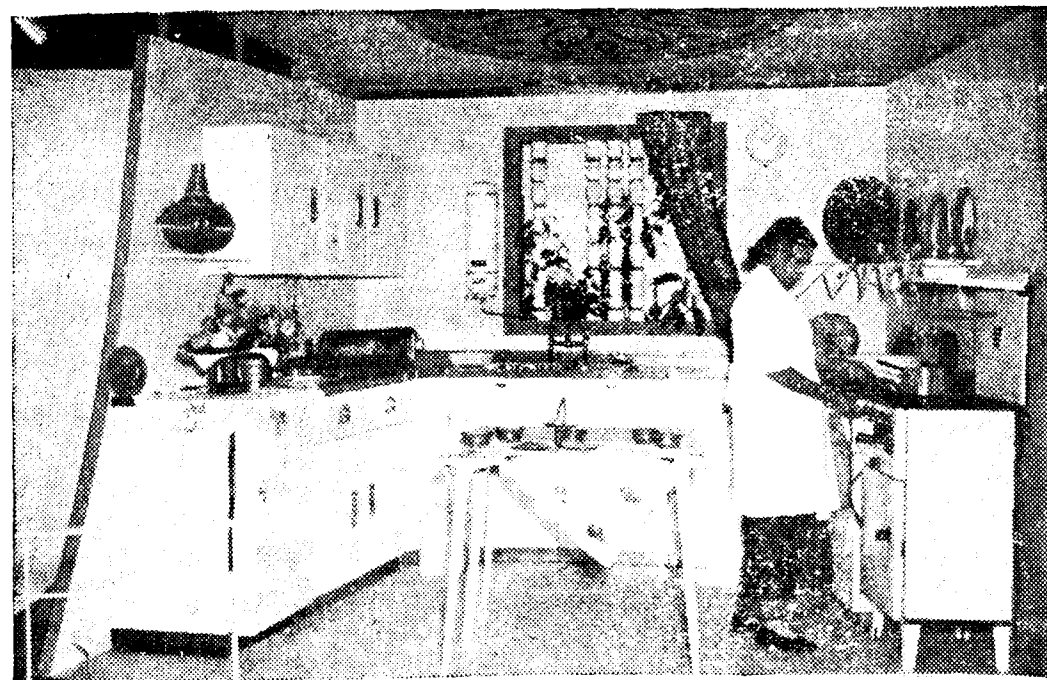
Emergency drugs released to the three State Governments by UNICEF, with the World Health Organization acting in the capacity of technical adviser, included the following up to August 31st:

- 1,630,000 sulphaquanadine tablets
- 450,000 triple sulphonamide tablets
- 2,250,000 paludrine tablets
- 720,000 iodo-chlorhydroxyquinoline tablets
- 2,350 vials (3,000,000 units each) of penicillin

In addition to the drugs, syringes and hypodermic needles for injections are being supplied in quantity.

The decision to rush UNICEF drug supplies to the flood-devastated areas was taken after a visit to Bihar early last month by Dr. C. Mani, WHO Regional Director, and Mr. T. G. Davies, Chief, UNICEF Area Office, who made an on-the-spot survey of needs and problems arising out of the emergency. On their return to Delhi after full discussion with the authorities in the disaster zone, arrangements were made in co-operation with the Union Ministry of Health, to release maximum quantities of supplies immediately.

For emergency feeding programme in the three States of the Indian Union affected by the floods UNICEF has donated over 800,000 lbs of powdered milk, while an additional 300,000 lbs have been lent for distribution through another agency in East Pakistan. Ten thousand lbs of powdered milk were flown from Calcutta to Gauhati in response to an urgent telegram late last month, while the remaining amounts of milk being supplied by UNICEF to Assam, Bihar and West Bengal have been shipped by rail and road.



INDIAN STAND AT LONDON FOOD FAIR

The greatest interest among the crowds of visitors to the British Food Fair held in London recently seemed to be centred on the Indian stands in the International Kitchen Section. This picture shows a member of the Indian team at work in their kitchen during a demonstration. India is one of the eighteen countries which took part in the Exhibition.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Australia

IMMIGRATION INTO AUSTRALIA

In an interview given to *The Adelaide Advertiser* General K. M. Cariappa, India's High Commissioner, said: "I have not criticised Australia's policy. I have only made a suggestion that Australia might follow Canada's example and admit an yearly quota of Indians." (The newspaper *West Australian* had reported General Cariappa as saying that he would very much like to see Australia taking a small number of Indians, say ten yearly. Speaking at a dinner of the Yilgarn Road Board at Southern Cross, he said that the white Australia policy was "rather hard" and could be detrimental to the future Australia.)

In his interview to *The Adelaide Advertiser*, the General said: "We are member nations of the Commonwealth and we have fought in two of the bloodiest wars and made sacrifices for the common cause. We feel hurt that we cannot come here."

General Cariappa continued: "We will only come if you invite us and then only if a guarantee is made that those migrants who come will have a life of dignity and self-respect and not be put away into communities. If we are invited to send people here and if we can get people to come here naturally they would be selected. It is up to Australia to fix the number to be invited."

South Africa

PLAN TO DRIVE OUT INDIANS

The Town Council of Bloemhof, a small South African town, wants all ground at present owned or occupied by Indians in the town declared an area of white occupation and ownership only.

The Council decided at a recent meeting to make an application to the Land Tenure Advisory Board on these lines.

The Council wants to have the Indians in a township reserved for them beyond the Indian cemetery, about three-quarters of a mile from the centre of the town.

It is estimated that at least one-quarter of the business in Bloemhof are owned and managed by Indians.

Ceylon

INDIA-CEYLON PROBLEMS

The Ceylon Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala was opening the first big and comprehensive conference at Colombo on September 14 on Indo-Ceylon problems attended by Cabinet Ministers and M.Ps.

Mr. C. C. Desai, Indian High Commissioner, assisted by the Deputy High Commissioner and his Secretaries, represented India.

Sir John Kotelawala said the object of the conference was not so much to review the progress as to obtain the views on certain steps taken to implement the Indo Ceylon agreement. "There are some 1,50,000 Indian passport holders", Sir John went on, "and of them some 70,000 are residence permit holders. These latter have to go when their permits expire, unless the permits are renewed. As you know the Indian problem is our economic problem and it is in that light we are dealing with it. We are, therefore, asking the resident permit holders to go as and when we feel there is no longer room for them in our country. All the 1,50,000 Indians will have to go, but their going will be arranged on a staged basis. They will be repatriated or asked to go in batches."

Sir John added that this was Ceylon's economic problem and if at all they are sending away Indians out of the island, it was purely due to this consideration.

EXODUS OF INDIANS

The exodus of Indian nationals of Ceylon has already begun although there are still two months' time for the first batch of 5,000 to leave the island under the Ceylon Government's repatriation scheme.

According to authoritative figures, on an average 20 to 25 persons are at present daily leaving the island for good and crossing over to India from Mannar. These include holders of valid temporary residence permits as well as those whose residence permits have expired.

The exodus is believed to have begun because of the general sense of insecurity and the feeling among Indian nationals that they have no further prospects in the island.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

SEATO TREATY

EIGHT nations signed the South East Asian Treaty at Manila on Sept. 8 promising to stand together against aggression in South East Asia, and the South West Pacific. The United States, Britain and France joined with Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Siam and the Philippines recognising that an armed attack in the area would endanger peace and safety. The eight nations agreed "to act to meet the common danger" if the attack was inside the area, and against a party to the treaty."

The text of the new Treaty, approved by the eight-nation Conference, provides that it will establish the "South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty." This will cover the general area of South-East Asia, the South-West Pacific, and the territories of participants.

Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-Nam are covered in a separate protocol which, in effect, designates these States as being under the protection of the Treaty.

Hong Kong and Formosa are excluded.

The preamble expressed the aims of the participants, and warns any potential aggressor that the parties stand together.

It includes a statement on the right of self-determination of peoples, and refers to the United Nations as the Organisation for the Preservation of Peace.

In Article 1, the parties undertake to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

In Article 2, they agree to work together to strengthen defence and political stability.

In Article 3, they undertake to cooperate to develop economic measures for social well-being.

In Article 4, each party recognises that an armed attack in the area endangers its own peace and safety, and agrees to act in accordance with its constitutional processes. Para 2 of the Article says that in the event of menaces other than by armed attack, the parties will consult on measures to be taken. Para 3 of the Article provides for action in a designated territory only in consultation with the Government concerned.

Article 5 establishes a council to implement the Treaty with provision for military or other planning which may, from time to time, be required.

Article 6 provides that the parties' obligations under the United Nations are not affected and that U. N. remains the paramount organisation for the maintenance of peace, and security.

In Article 7, it is agreed that other States in a position to contribute to the objectives of the Treaty may become members by the unanimous consent of the parties. The Government of the Philippines becomes the repository for ratifications and accessions.

Article 8 defines the area covered by the Treaty.

Article 9 covers ratification processes.

Article 10 says the Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely.

Article 11 formally provides for the recognition of a text in French.

PACIFIC CHARTER

The eight nations represented at the South East Asian Defence talks issued a declaration of principles involved calling it the Pacific Charter. The text of the Pacific Charter is:

"The delegates desiring to establish a firm basis for common action to maintain peace and security in South East Asia and the South-West Pacific

"Convinced that common action to this end in order to be worthy and effective must be inspired by principles of justice and liberty do hereby proclaim:

"First in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.

"Second, they are each prepared to continue taking effective practical measures to ensure conditions favourable to the orderly achievement of the foregoing purposes in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

"Third, they will continue to co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to promote higher living standards, economic progress and social well-being in this region.

"Fourth, as decreed in the South East Asian Collective Defence Treaty they are determined to prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the treaty area to subvert freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity."

PRIME MINISTER ON INDIA'S
POLICY IN GOA

Winding up the debate on foreign policy in the Lok Sabha on September 30 the Prime Minister said the Government had a broad policy and matters like that of Goa had to be integrated into that broad policy.

Acharya Kripalani had hinted Mr. Nehru added, that India's policy in regard to Goa was perhaps influenced by what the U. K. or the Commonwealth or some other countries had said. Prof. Mukherjee had said the same thing in stronger language.

"I venture to suggest that what we did in Goa, and what we are doing there, has nothing to do with what U. K. said or any other country told us. It has not the slightest influence on us. In fact, if I may say so the effect it had on us was a contrary effect, because one does not like to be told as to what is right or wrong in regard to one's policy by another country. Whether that policy is right or wrong is another matter."

The Prime Minister said that what some countries told India about Goa was not exactly what some members imagined.

"I can assure the House that those representations to us did not in the least affect our policy in regard to Goa. That policy was governed by our understanding of our broader policies and our trying to fit in Goa into these broader policies.

Mr. Nehru said that some criticism had been made about India giving recognition to the Pope on the ground that it was wrong to give recognition to any religious dignitary. It had also been stated that the Pope was creating trouble for India in regard to Goa.

Both these statements are, of course completely wrong. We recognised the Pope not in his capacity as a religious head—that of course is there—but as the temporal head of an independent State. The fact that he is the temporal head of a sovereign and independent State flows from his other position and status. It is not our recognising any religious head as such though of course he is the religious head of a very big and large and widespread community. Further it is quite wrong—and I repudiate it—that the Pope has given us any trouble in regard to Goa.

The dignitaries of the Catholic Church in India had expressed themselves in favour of the movement of Goa for merger with India. One of the main arguments of the Portuguese Prime Minister was that Goa has Christians and more particularly Roman Catholics, that the remains of St. Francis Xavier were there and that some how or other if Goa became integrated with India, these places might be desecrated. This was, of course, an absurd statement to make and showed ignorance of the fact that five million Roman Catholics lived in India and that they had every liberty to practise their religion like other citizens in India.

Mr. Nehru pointed out that no one had complained about anything being done to de-

secrete the St. Thomas Mount in Madras all these centuries.

The Prime Minister recalled that two days ago he had met some Goan Catholic leaders of the Goan Liberation Council.

These men were not politicians but professors and professional men who had in the past received decorations from the Pope and the Portuguese Government.

These men had been moved out of their normal non-political existence and formed themselves into the Liberation Council for the purpose of helping in the liberation of Goa. It was very significant that these sober people who had nothing to do with politics should also feel the urge of the times and come forward.

It was wrong and unfair for any member of the House, therefore, to say that the Catholic Church, or the Head of the Catholic Church, His Holiness the Pope was in any sense standing in the way of this movement for liberation or encouraging the Portuguese Government in its intransigence.

I shall endeavour to explain our policy which in its basic approach might not change, I hope, but which certainly insofar as the steps we take or do not take might change at any time. Acharya Kripalani took exception to our not permitting Indian nationals from going there. He will be perfectly right in taking exception to it if I stated that as a principle, as a maxim I did not. I say Indian nationals have every right to go there (cheers), but (laughter) every right has to be exercised in the right way and at the right time.

I want to remove this misapprehension in any one's mind that we think that it is not the right or sometimes even the duty of an Indian non-Goan national to go to Goa. It may well be. I do not differentiate at all and I even agree with the hon'ble member when he said that in such a thing it may be the right of any individual from any other country to join in too. But all these rights have to be considered in the context of particular situation. They may create grave embarrassments and difficulties to their country and others. It was in this context that we considered this matter of Goa in August.

A tremendous propaganda was taking place, encouraged by people who did not like our policies very much, that the Goan people were in love with Portuguese rule, that they did not want to change, that they were quite happy as they were. It was said that at least Goa was a peaceful, idyllic spot where quiet and calm reigned while in India there was trouble all over and to this peaceful, quiet, idyllic place, where the people were completely happy and satisfied hordes of Indians from outside were swooping down and compelling, and forcing and coercing them to accept their domination. That was the propaganda. Of course the propaganda believed by numbers of people elsewhere. We had to meet their propaganda and to show what the real fact was. The real fact was that the people of Goa themselves wanted their freedom and their association with India. How were we to show it? If we had allowed at that time large groups of Indians to go there, I have no doubt at all that the fact that the Goans wanted their freedom and were prepared to sacrifice themselves for it would never have emerged as it is emerging to-day.

—()—

CHANDERNAGORE

Mr. A. K. Chandra, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, introduced in the Lok Sabha, on September 15 a Bill seeking to provide for the merger of Chandernagore with the State of West Bengal and connect-ed matters. The Statement of Objects says:

On June 8, 1948, the Government of the French Republic, in agreement with the Government of India, declared that it intends to leave to the populations of the French establishments in India themselves the right to pronounce their future fate and future status. In the referendum held on June 19, 1949, the citizens of Chandernagore voted in favour of merger of the territory with India. On May 2, 1950, the *de facto* administration of Chandernagore was transferred to the Government of India. On February 2, 1951 the Treaty of Cession of the territory of the Free Town of Chandernagore was signed at Paris between the Presidents of India and the French Republic. On June 9, 1952, Chandernagore was transferred *de jure* to the Government of India.

On October 27, 1949, in a Press Note, about the future status of Chandernagore the Government of India had declared: "Any changes in the administrative set-up will be carried out only after consulting local public opinion".

On November 19, 1953, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 3 of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, the Central Government appointed a Commission consisting of Dr. Amarnath Jha to inquire into and ascertain the wishes of the citizens of Chandernagore in regard to its future administration. The Commission submitted its report on December 18, 1953 recommending *inter alia* the merger of Chandernagore with the State of West Bengal.

After consideration of the report and consultation with the Government of the State of West Bengal, the Government of India announced their decision in Parliament on May 8. This had been embodied in the present Bill which provides for the merger of Chandernagore with West Bengal and consequential changes.

Under Article 3 of the Constitution, the Legislature of West Bengal has been consulted on the Bill and has given approval to both its provisions and its introduction in Parliament. The recommendation of the President has also been obtained."

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The Lok Sabha, referred the Home Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju's Untouchability (Offences) Bill to a joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament.

The Bill seeks to penalise any person who takes any part in the ex-communication of any person who refuses to practise untouchability. In addition to the normal penalty for an offence the Court may also cancel or suspend any licence in respect of any profession, trade, calling or employment when an offence is committed under this law.

PRICE OF FOOD GRAINS

Concern over the falling prices of foodgrains in the country was voiced in the Lok Sabha by Mr. S. C. Singhal, when he asked whether the Government had any plan for standardising these prices.

The Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Panjab-
rao Deshmukh said that while it was true that the prices of foodgrains had tended to come down, so far the levels reached by this downward trend were not such as to cause hardship to the cultivators.

The Government had as yet formulated no plan to standardise the prices but they were watching the situation. The downward tendency had been arrested and at present there was a slight upward trend. Suitable measures would be taken if the prices tended to fall below uneconomic levels.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY

The Government of India have constituted a committee with Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as Chairman. The Committee will go into the entire question of preventing cruelty to animals and will in particular consider the legislation on the subject and the practical and administrative difficulties in the implementation of that legislation, examine corresponding legislation in other civilised countries and clearly define the word 'animal' for purposes of this legislation. Having regard to the requirements of scientific research and medical and veterinary treatment, the nutritional and non-vegetarian dietary requirements of the population, the most modern practices for the slaughter of animals, the game and wild life legislation in various civilised countries, the conditions governing import and export of animals, the requirements of scientific and nature study in so far as confinement of animals is concerned, and the requirements of public entertainment in so far as exhibition and performance of animals are concerned, the committee will make such recommendations as are considered necessary.

"RAJYA SABHA"

Following the change of the name "House of the People" in Article 79 of the Constitution into "Lok Sabha" a few months ago, the President of the Council of States has also announced that, after due consultation the name of the "Council of States" is changed into "Rajya Sabha".

SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY

IN the presence of a large and distinguished gathering Sri T. Prakasam, Chief Minister, inaugurated Sri Venkateswara University at Tirupati on Sep. 2.

The Venkateswara University Act establishes a residential University at Tirupathi initially, to be converted into a residential cum-affiliating institution after two years.

The Act provides for the affiliation of the colleges in Nellore district—now affiliated to Andhra University—to Venkateswara University after two years, besides the affiliation of the colleges in Cuddapah, Chittoor, Kurnool and Anantapur.

The other important features of the University are that it will have faculties of Oriental Learning with special emphasis on Sanskrit Indology, Theology, architecture, music, dancing and other fine arts, sciences, commerce, technology, engineering, and teaching.

RESERVE BANK AID TO VARSITY

The Central Board of the Reserve Bank of India has approved a scheme for establishment, in certain Universities, of three Chairs on economics subjects in which the Reserve Bank is interested.

Mr. B. Rama Rau, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, in his communication to the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, said that it was proposed that one of the Chairs, the Professorship of Monetary Economics, should be attached to the University School of Economics and Sociology of Bombay. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank proposes to offer to the Bombay University a sum of Rs. 25,000 monthly for five years.

Explaining the proposed scheme the communication said, when a Chair in Monetary Economics was established at the Bombay University, opportunity would be provided for research in monetary problems, which could be conducted in close co-ordination with the Bank's Research Department.

TEACHERS IN RURAL AREAS

The Government of Madras have issued orders fixing the qualifications and pay scales for teachers in rural areas under the Government of India's scheme for providing relief to educated un-employed in the State.

Only Matriculates including S.S.L.Cs., under-graduates, secondary grade trained teachers

and graduates are eligible for appointment as teachers under this scheme. Untrained Matriculates, S.S.L.Cs. and under-graduates will be given a fixed pay of Rs. 40 plus dearness allowance, and secondary grade trained teachers will be given scales of pay, which are current in the district plus dearness allowance, while untrained graduates will be given a fixed pay of Rs. 50 plus dearness allowance. Untrained graduates, under-graduates and Matriculates, selected for appointment in the new schools will undergo training for periods extending from one month to six weeks. Candidates will be paid salary for the period of training at scales mentioned above.

It is learnt that in order to expedite opening of new schools, the Government have directed that these may be started and run departmentally until other agencies like local bodies are ready to take charge of them.

SINGLE-TEACHER SCHOOLS

The Madras Government have decided to make an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 for equipment and pay, allowances etc., of teachers of each of the 1,270 new single-teacher schools to be opened under the Government of India's scheme for relief of the educated unemployed.

An additional grant of Rs. 500 a year will be made to each school for putting up a shed for the school if no building could be secured free.

A Press note issued said:

Under the scheme sponsored by the Government of India for providing employment to the educated unemployed, the Government of Madras have sanctioned the opening of 1,270 single-teacher schools in 1270 school-less villages in this State, of which 881 schools will be opened in villages with a population of 1,000 and above and 389 in villages with a population between 500 and 1000.

The number of schools allotted to each district is as follows: Chingleput-10, Tanjore-78, Ramanathapuram-54, North Arcot-114, Tiruchirapalli-168, The Nilgiris-5, South Kanara-76, South Arcot-89, Madurai-69, Tirunelveli-57, Salem-330, Coimbatore-97, and Malabar-90.

RACE BAR IN SCHOOLS

White and Negro students went to school together for the first time in Washington on Sept. 13. School officials said there would be some classes with members of both races in practically every school in the district of Colombia where White and Negro pupils were previously separated.

ALL-INDIA CADRE FOR JUDICIAL SERVICE

Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, Chief Justice of India, urges that there should be an all-India cadre of Judicial Service to be administered by the Centre.

The Chief Justice was speaking at an at home given by the Jaipur Bar Association on August 2 when its President, Mr. Gulabchand Casliwal, M.L.A., pleaded for the abolition of the distinction between Part "A" and Part "B" States, especially in the matter of emoluments of High Court judges.

The Chief Justice said if there was no all-India cadre of Judicial Service, the conditions of service were bound to differ from State to State. An All-India Service would also create a feeling of unity among different States.

Stating that the dispensation of justice should be cheap, the Chief Justice said that court fees should not be charged at every stage but they might levy a lump sum at one stage. In democracy, opportunities to secure justice should be equal for all. To-day only the rich could afford to go to the High Court. A tax on justice amounted to sale of justice, Mr. Mahajan added.

CHANGES IN CR. P. C. BILL

The Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on the Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure has expressed itself against making defamation of the President, Vice-President, Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, Ministers or other public servants, a cognisable offence.

It is, however, of the opinion that there should be an independent authority apart from the person aggrieved, to set the law in motion.

The Bill, as it has emerged from the Joint Committee, gives the Public Prosecutor the right to launch prosecution against any person alleged to have committed an offence of defamation against high dignitaries. Ministers and other public servants in respect of their conduct in the discharge of their public duties.

No complaint can, however, be made by the Public Prosecutor without the previous sanction of the concerned Central or State authority.

Members who have appended minutes of dissent to the report have variously des-

cribed the new procedure for defamation cases as "obnoxious", "repugnant to the growth of democracy", and "an attempt to suppress legitimate criticism."

These members have generally felt that the protection proposed in the Bill should, in any event be confined to the President, Vice-President, and Governor of the State and should not be extended to Ministers. "who are objects of daily controversy" and to public servants "who are legion".

The committee has made a number of other changes in the Bill relating to the procedure to be adopted in cases instituted on police report, appointment of honorary magistrates, disputes in regard to immovable property, use of statements recorded by the police, and disposal of warrant cases.

SPECIAL MARRIAGES

Speaker Mavlinkar ruled out all amendments in the Lok Sabha seeking to provide for guardians' consent for marriages under the Special Marriages Act where the girl is below 21. This means that boys aged 21 and girls aged 18 will be free to marry under the Act without the intervention of any guardian.

The bill had originally prescribed 18 as the marriageable age under the Act for both boys and girls but provided for guardian's consent where either party was below 21. The Rajya Sabha raised the marriageable age to 21 for both, which automatically eliminated the provision for guardian's consent. The Lok Sabha yesterday retained 21 as the marriageable age for boys but reduced it to 18 in the case of girls.

DETENUS IN INDIA

There were 104 persons in detention in 12 States in India on June 30, 1954, according to a Home Ministry notification published in the Gazette of India.

There were no detenues on that date in Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Ajmer, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Vindhya Pradesh or Andaman and Nicobar islands.

The number of detenues in other States are: Assam—2, Bihar—9, Bombay—39, Punjab—1, Uttar Pradesh—3, West Bengal—18, Madhya Bharat—23, PEPSU—4, Rajasthan—2, Saurashtra—1, Bhopal—1, Tripura—1.

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, addressing a meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries convened at Delhi on August 28 to consider a number of important issues relating to industries in the country, said that what the Government of India wanted was "the greatest possible expansion of industrial activity in this country", and that in the second Five-Year Plan, emphasis on industrial development had to be much greater than in the first Five-Year Plan.

Cabinet Ministers in charge of Finance, Planning, Production, Works, Housing and Supply and Labour, members of the Planning Commission, leading industrial magnates in the country and representatives of labour attended the meeting.

Mr. Krishnamachari said that the Industries Act under which licences were issued for setting up of industries and controls exercised was not "an instrument of restrictions" of all kinds. The powers under the Act were used as an aid to economic development and expansion.

The Minister indicated the possibility of Development Councils being established for heavy chemicals, light electrical, pharmaceuticals, drugs, and textiles of art silk and woollen industries.

INSURANCE INDUSTRY DISPUTES

The Government of India have decided not to appoint an all India tribunal, at present, to adjudicate upon industrial disputes in the insurance industry. The machinery provided under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, is always available for settlement of industrial disputes in individual insurance companies. This decision has been taken in view of representations by some unions and associations of insurance employees who have been urging the Government to appoint an all-India tribunal.

INDIA'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

The Finance Minister Sri C. D. Deshmukh told Mr. Valiulla in a written reply in the Rajya Sabha that during 1953-54 India had a surplus of Rs. 21.1 crores in its balance of payments with the United States. During the same year, India had a current account deficit with the U.K. of Rs. 46.2 crores.

DUTY ON PRECIOUS STONE

The Government of India have decided to reduce with immediate effect the duty to five per cent *ad valorem* on rubies, emeralds and sapphires, says a Press Note issue by the Ministry of Finance.

This has been done, the Press Note said, in the interest of local employments, and to enable the trade to retain the competitive position in external markets.

The Press Note added: "In March, 1953, a duty of 20 per cent was imposed on precious stones, unset and imported, uncut and unset pearls.

Representations have been received that its incidence has been burdensome on rubies, emeralds and sapphires, which are mostly exported after cutting. It has not been found practicable to devise an easy and reliable procedure for granting a drawback."

REPAYMENT OF INDIA GOVT. LOAN

The Government of India have issued a notification intimating that the whole of 3½% loan, 1954-59, issued as counter part of the 3½% sterling loan, 195-59, in terms of their notification No. D/1184-B dated February 22, 1940, will be repaid at par on December 15, 1954, with all interest due up-to-date. Interest will not accrue on the loan from and after December 15, 1954.

A similar notification has been issued in London in respect of the outstanding balance of the sterling loan.

GIRL'S ADVICE TO BANK EMPLOYEES

Mr. V. V. Giri, Union Labour Minister who was passing through Nagpur on his way to Madras after relinquishing his office, told pressmen that the bank employees should convince the Prime Minister and his Government of the justness of their case and, if they did so, "I am confident happy results are likely to follow, giving satisfaction to all concerned". A tripartite conference might be immediately summoned and proceeded to secure "a happy ending."

NATIONAL PLAN CERTIFICATE

Over a lakh and a half persons had subscribed to the National Plan Certificates by the second week of September. The National Plan Certificates which were issued as supplement to the National Plan Loan, since closed are continuing until further notice.

WOMEN IN THE SERVICES

Prime Minister Nehru intervened in the discussion on the Indian Administrative (Recruitment) Rules, in the Lok Sabha, and said the rule barring married women to continue in the All-India Services was a permissive clause and it did not automatically follow that they must resign.

Mr. Nehru agreed that the rule might be better worded but "it would be wrong in the existing circumstances for us to lay down a firm and fast rule that any person who is married must inevitably continue whatever the consequences of marriage may be."

Mr. V. P. Nayar (Communist—Travancore-Cochin) who preceded the Prime Minister, asked the House to "throw out" the rules some of which, he said, were "reactionary".

Referring to the rule which imposes a disqualification on a married woman for appointment Mr. Nayar said, "leave the Home Minister to the wrath of women members here". But the rule was "very harsh". In other countries women were known to be engineers, doctors, sailors and even pilots, but according to Dr. Katju, the only duty which women I. A. S. officers had to perform was to order fire or control crowds "I do not find any justification why women should be asked to choose between marriage and Government service", Mr. Nayar said.

Most of the rules, Mr. Nehru said, were normal rules and they could be changed. There was no sanctity or statute attached to it and if the House or the Government so wished they could be changed.

ADVICE TO YOUNG GIRLS

"Englishmen are terrified of women with brains" said Godfrey Winn in a B.B.C. talk. A young man of twenty-one likes a girl who is a bright talker, especially if she just babbles on about this and that, but he hates being cornered by women in an argument, and he prefers her to look at him with innocent, adoring eyes. And what I ought to have told my niece Jane the other night is that if she finds that difficult and boring, she had still better learn fast. Because it's much more boring to be left on the shelf. And however much a girl may boast about her desire for independence, the fact—another fact—remains that being married is still in our country considered the highest form of success for any girl, whatever her background, or her circumstances".

BRITISH WOMEN'S CHANCES OF MARRIAGE

What are the average British woman's chances of marriage today? asks *Tit Bits* and says that, a table showing these chances at various ages was drawn up by a statistician on a percentage basis. He figured first of all that each woman's chance of marrying at one time in her life is 100.

Accordingly, a woman aged from 15 to 20 years has 14½ chances in a hundred, he reckoned.

A woman between 20 and 25 has 52 chances; a woman from 25 to 30 has 18 chances.

The woman between 30 and 35 years has 15½ chances. Between 35 and 40 a woman's chances of marriage dwindle to 30. And a woman aged from 40 to 45 years has only 2½ chances of finding a man to lead her to the altar.

What about women over 45? The ratio drops to less than one chance in a hundred, it was calculated.

After 60, there is only one chance in a thousand.

Footnote for unmarried women over 30: Never mind, ladies! Being a man, the statistician is probably wrong!



Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who has been appointed India's High Commissioner in the U. K. She is expected to assume office in the middle of November.

GENERAL

—()—

SRI SANKARACHARYA OF
SRINGERI

Hindu Dharma and Hindu religion have sustained a heavy loss in the passing away of His Holiness, Sri Jagadguru Chandrasekhara Bharati reputed head of the Sringeri Mutt. His Holiness, who was 62 slipped in the Tunga River while bathing on the morning of Sept. 23 and was carried away by the current. Life was extinct when he was rescued. His Holiness was a great scholar well known for his spiritual attainments and was shedding lustre on all his devotees through the length and breadth of the country.

Born in Sringeri on Oct. 16, 1892, Sri Narasimha Sastry, as he was then called, had his early education there. He was one of the 14 children of his parents. Following the death of 13 of them, his parents decided to dedicate him to the service of the Mutt.

When he was hardly 12, he evinced keen interest in study and was sent to Bangalore for higher education in Sanskrit.

Knowing that he was the only disciple who could succeed him, the then head of the Mutt, Sri Sachidananda Siva Abhinaya Narasimha Bharathi Swamikal, asked one of his disciples to bring him to Sringeri, but before he arrived the Swamiji had died. He was then initiated into Sanyasa on Apr. 7, 1912, when he was 20 and appointed head of the Mutt under the name of Sri Chandrasekhara Bharathi. The Swamiji undertook an All-India tour from 1924 to 1927.

THE PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

The Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India met in Madras for two days and discussed, among other things, the Press Commission's report concerning the P.T.I. Two resolutions were passed. The first says:

The Board of Directors of the P. T. I. notes with regret the various aspersions cast on the P. T. I. by the Press Commission in its report."

It, therefore, calls upon the Government of India to examine the imputations in the light of evidence, if any available, and in consultation, if necessary, with experts and to have them expunged from the report."

The other resolution says:

The Directors of the P. T. I. consider the recommendations of the Press Commission retrograde and impracticable and requests the Government not to implement the same unless the P. T. I. is given full opportunity to place its case before them."

The Press Commission observed in their report:

"Certain witnesses had made statements before us that the Press Trust of India Board could not function effectively on account of divisions and factions. It is difficult to say how far each allegation is justified but it seems clear that apprehensions of this nature are widely held in the newspaper profession and the trend of the evidence tendered by those connected with the Press Trust of India Board has created the impression that these apprehensions are not unjustified." (P. 146).

Then comes the following:

"We do not propose to deal in detail with the allegations of improper management and nepotism that have been brought to our notice, or elaborate on complaints that have been made by witnesses that where certain business interests are concerned, the Press Trust of India has shown willingness to accommodate them by not covering news which might affect them adversely and that in some other cases the Press Trust of India has gone out of its way to cover news which might publicize certain private interests. There is a substratum of truth in several of these allegations." (P. 147).

It will be observed that one of the signatories to the P. T. I. protest was a member of the Press Commission also. The times summary cannot be said to be farfetched whatever the motive but the Hindustan Times points out there is one thing to be said for the P. T. I. and that is that any allegations of improper management or nepotism or favouritism relate to the period between 1948 and 1951 when the P. T. I. was admittedly passing through a period of transition from one ownership to another.

The existing Board of Directors took effective charge from early 1953 when the old order changed effectively. The Press Commission makes no reference to this vital fact.

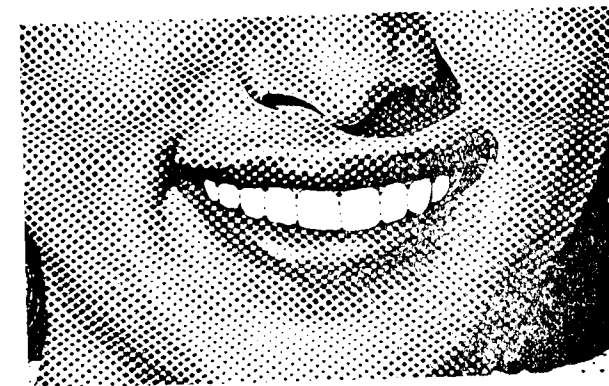
The Standing Committee of the AINEC passed a resolution recording its considered opinion that the Press Trust of India "has been generally fair and objective in the presentation of news." It further recommended that the present structure of the ownership of the PTI being an agency owned co-operatively by newspapers, should be retained.

DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI

We regret to record the death of Kavimani Desikavinayakam Pillai, great Tamil poet and scholar, at Nagercoil on September 26 at the age of 79.

The Kavimani composed innumerable songs for children, patriotic poems, a life of the Buddha, and satirical works on Marumakkathayam family life. He translated Omar. His collected works, "Malarum Malayum" first published in 1938, is now in the 11th edition. His songs are very popular and are often sung by musicians all over Tamil Nad. He was a lyrical poet and a true successor to Subramanya Bharati.

Did you
MACLEAN
your teeth
to-day?



Yes, here is
the secret...

Let us be quite clear about it, teeth stay healthy longer, if you clean them properly. The use of Macleans Peroxide Tooth Paste—twice a day, every day—will ensure whiter teeth, firmer gums and sweeter breath—you can see the difference. A special ingredient in MACLEANS removes the dingy coating from your teeth and brings out the natural whiteness and sparkle of the enamel.



... I recommend
Maclean's Tooth
paste to any one
as proud of their
teeth as I am."

Also available with **CHLOROPHYLL**

Brajkishore Shastri

Candid picture of 'New' China

FROM MY CHINA DIARY

"The people of South Asia sometimes feel that China may have more to offer them than other countries because her starting point in her economic problems is the same as theirs—Mr. Shastri's conclusion is that China is a terrible warning. . . . [It is] an unusually interesting diary of a visit to Communist China. . . ."

Manchester Guardian

Mr. Brajkishore Shastri, an outstanding figure in the Praja Socialist Party and the trade union movement in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, was one of the members of the Indian Workers' Delegation that visited China recently. His book is a penetrating analysis of the complex pattern of Chinese life under Communism.

Price Rupee One

**SIDDHARTHA PUBLICATIONS
LTD.,**

35, FAIZ BAZAR, DELHI - 7.

You should read and advertise in

THE MAHA BODHI A Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

It is now in its 61st year of publication, and has subscribers all over the globe. At a conservative estimate it is read by 25,000 persons of all classes and creeds. A high class magazine or thinking people catering to those who value Art, Philosophy, Archaeology, and all aspects of Buddhism as well as Culture in general.

Annual Subs:

India Ceylon	Rs. 5
Burma	" 6
Other Eastern Countries	" 8
U.S.A.	\$ 3
United Kingdom & Europe	10 Sh.

THE MAHA BODHI
4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street,
CALCUTTA-12.

LEXIN

The Famous Snake-Bite Cure

Also used very successfully in all
cases of cholera.

Ask for Free Booklet.

**P. BANERJI,
MHIJAM E.I.R.,**

Representatives:

**Messrs. SARMA BROTHERS,
P. O. Akbarabad, Madras.**

**Messrs. M. BHATTACHARYA & CO.,
Clive St., Calcutta.**

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi, vastly learned in the Astrology of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna Jyotish-Shiromani Raj Jyotish M.R.A.S. (Lond.) has won unique fame not only in India, but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day -2nd September, 1939-of the declaration of last world war, prediction of the achievement independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd September, 1946 and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various News-papers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Shiromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Atgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji." Her Highness The Dowager of Maharani Sahiba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Mamnatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Mamnatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. R. Roy of Orissa High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with supernatural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deo Raikot says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantric activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das of Koonjoar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U.S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Muni Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. O., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasions", etc. etc. and many others.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS tested by thousands all over the Globe..

DHANA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN:—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all round prosperity in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special for Speedy action Rs. 29-11. Super powerful with extraordinary effects Rs. 129-11.

BAGALA MUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. Price Rs. 9-2. Special for Speedy action Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case wore this Kavacha). Super powerful Rs. 184-4.

SARASWATAI KAVACHA.—For success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9, Special Rs. 38-9.

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super powerful Rs. 387-14.

Detailed and descriptive Catalogue with testimonials free on request.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

Head Office & Residence 50/2, Dharamtala Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Wellington Square Junction South). Calcutta-18, Phone: Central 4055. Consultation hours: 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas", Calcutta-5, 5.9 A.M. to 11 A.M. Phone B-3685.

Central Branch Office: 47, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Consultation Hours 5-30 P.M. to 7-30 P.M. LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, London.

CURZON & CO.

The FIFTY-FIVE year old Firm
famous for faultless furniture

"DOOD-SAGAR" (Regd.) Spring-centre overlay mattresses,
cushions and upholstery.

"CURZONDEX" (Regd.) Filing system and Library Index
Cards.

FLUSH-DOORS for modern buildings strong and decorative.

TEAK PARQUETTE Flooring—Ideal for air-conditioned rooms.

PVC Plastic Leathercloth—attractive colours, long-lasting quality
at competitive prices.

"PLIOFOAM" Luxury latex-foam Rubber Mattresses and
cushioning.

"MASONITE" Presdwoods.

"UNALIT" Tempered Super-hardboards.

"FORMICA" Laminated decorative plastic sheets.

STEEL Racks, Shelves and Cash Boxes.

"SUNUMINIUM" Venetian Blinds (in metal),

"FLATPAK" Folding Furniture and Chairs.

"VONO" Spring mattresses.

CURZON & CO.

EST. 1898

MOUNT ROAD,

MADRAS 2.

Wonderful Talisman

IF FAILS MONEY REFUNDED.

LAKSHMI KAVACHA. It gives sound health, immense wealth, vast learning, son, high fame, good friends, respect everywhere, success in lottery, race, examination, trade, business, recovery from fatal diseases. It has miraculous power in bringing all kinds of luck and prosperity. Price Rs. 13-10 Specially prepared for giving immediate effects, Rs. 47-5.

MOHINI KAVACHA. Enable arch foes to become friends more friends more friendly Rs. 19-10 Special Rs. 51.

OPINION: MR. V. D. JACOB, Electrical Storekeeper, Power House, Achampet, Hyderabad. (Deccan):—"One Lakshmi Kavacha I bought from you, within 6 months it worked wonder of wonders, it raised me in wealth like rocket....."

Foreign orders will be booked with full advance. Detailed Catalogue Free.

DAIBABAL ASHRAM, (1) Hatkhola Calcutta.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The March issue of the Prabuddha Bharata is a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It contains a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number.

Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukherji, Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintoharan Chakravarty, M.A., Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M. L. C.; Dr. C. Kumbhar Ravi, M. A. Ph. D.; Dr. V. M. Ante, M.A., Ph. D.; Sri R. R. Divakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri C. Sivaramanarti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Parvataninivarti; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C.T.K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C.C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph. D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A., and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

PRINTED ON IMITATION ART PAPER

Pages 160

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 5

Will be sent to subscribers of Prabuddha Bharata without extra charge

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh; U. S. A. \$ 4.00

(Only Annual Subscription Accepted.)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA : : 4, Wellington Lane : : CALCUTTA -13

Grams: "COTTAGE"

Phone: 4784

GOVT. COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Sales Depot

GUNFOUNDRY, HYDERABAD-DN.

Offers

UTILITY AND HANDICRAFTS
PRODUCTS

HANDLOOM TEXTILES

Coating, Shirting, Door and Window Curtains, Bed Sheets,
Pillow Cases, Cotton & Silk Sarees

Famous

BIDRI WARES, NIRMAL PRODUCTS, SILVER FILIGREE ARTICLES, IVORY &
HORN ARTICLES, LEATHER GOODS, HIMROO FABRICS, PAITHAN BROCADE
SARI PALLAWS AND BORDERS, CARPETS, HEMP ARTICLES.

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN

A Bookish-Library Quarterly of India

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN is measurably a specialist library quarterly, we can make no claim to a fantastic circulation, but its range may be indicated by the fact that it has a circulation to libraries, universities, colleges and other institutions in fifty-six countries.

Feature articles by outstanding authorities in their subject areas appear in each issue. Included also are papers on various aspects of library work, offering hard-to-get and valuable information unobtainable elsewhere.

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN is published in MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER. A year's subscription costs Rs. 8-8-0 in India. (\$3 50 or 16sh elsewhere).

If you would like to see a copy we would be glad to send to any librarian interested, in the hope that we might widen even more our range of subscribers.

The Indian Librarian

233, MODEL TOWN, JULUNDUR CITY, (INDIA).

The United India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Madras

Commend to you

THE LIFE INCOME POLICY

which is tailored to suit your individual needs

Steady and certain monthly income from age 55

And the sum assured to heirs on death

At age 30, a monthly premium of Rs 21-7 payable till age 55 or earlier death, secures the following benefits:

- (a) On death before age 55: Rs. 5,000 with bonus declared.
- (b) On survival: (i) The bonus declared in cash: (ii) A monthly pension of Rs. 25/- as long as the assured is alive and (iii) Rs. 5000/- to the dependents on the death of the Life Assured.

The monthly pension may also be commuted after at age 55.

Branch Manager:

THE UNITED INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Post Box No. 281:

MADRAS-1

A new monthly journal published in London. The only paper of its kind.

THE AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD

Incorporating **THE INDIAN** at Home Overseas

Managing Editor: Dr. K. D. Kumria

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND TRADE REVIEW

AFRICAN AND COLONIAL SECTION

History is in the making in Africa and the colonial world, and the job of the new magazine is to give you the facts.

It will tell you not only what is happening, but the significance of it.

Edited and produced in London—one of the world's keenest new centres, "African & Colonial World" will attempt to reflect the opinions and aspirations of the African and colonial peoples themselves.

There is no more dynamic factor in present-day politics than the struggle of these peoples for equality and self Government.

INDIAN SECTION

Promotes the political and cultural welfare of the four million Indians overseas.

Provides means of closer contact, through its news service, between Indians in various parts of the world. Ventilates problems and disabilities of Indians domiciled in other lands and brings them to the attention of metropolitan governments.

Presents Indians in overseas lands to the people of India, and presents Indians at home their problems and progress to their fellow countrymen in other lands. Publishes regular articles affecting Indians everywhere with special cultural and trade sections.

Annual Subscription 14 Shillings.

The ideal medium for manufacturers and exporters to reach Colonial and Indian merchants in the overseas territories.

Specimen copy and all particulars from:

The Manager, 12, Kennington Park Road, London, S.E. 11.

Indian Judges

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES WITH PORTRAITS

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR B. L. MITTER, K.C.S.I.

This is a collection of famous Indian Judges who have adorned our courts during the last half a century. Indians have distinguished themselves in various professions under British rule but nowhere have their talents risen to such heights as in our law courts, where it is indisputably recognised that they have held their own with singular distinction on the Bench as on the Bar. The sketches of Indian Judges are designed to present not only a record of individual achievements in law, but also to throw light on the evolution of Hindu and Muslim Law under British administration, and with them the growth of social and political institutions and the modernisation of an ancient and deep-rooted civilisation.

CONTENTS:—Sir T. Mathurwami Iyer; Nanabhai Haridas; Dwarknath Mitter; Mahadev Ranade; Sir Subramania Aiyar; Sri Bashvam Ivengar; Badruddin Tyabji; Sir Gurudas Bannerjee; Sir P. C. Bannerjee; Sarada Charan Mitra; Rt. Hon. Amir Ali; Kashinath T. Telang; Justice Mahmood; Sir Romesh Ch. Mitter; Sir N. G. Chandavarkar; Sri C. Sankaran Nair; V. Krishnaswami Aiyar; Justice Shah Din; Sir Shadi Lal; Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, and Sir Abdur Rahim.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

INDIAN SCIENTISTS
INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Price Rs. 5 (Five) each.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOK-SELLERS, GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS.

NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Price Rs. 5 each

Ram Mohun Roy Lord Sinha
Sir D. E. Wacha Sir W. Wedderburn

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

Indian Judges. Sketches of 21 famous Judges.
Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.
Indian Scientists. Sketches with an account of their Researches.

POLITICS

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. "It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet is receiving wide attention. It is a book which can be put into the hands of a child." —Gandhi. As. Eight.

Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

Congress Presidential Addresses. (1911-1934.) Containing full text of Presidential Addresses. Rs. 8.

Indian National Evolution. By A. C. Mazumdar. Rs. 5.

The Governance of India. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 5.

INDIAN TALES

The Gaurlanship of India: A Mock Trial. By R. Javanthirathan. Rupee One.

Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttaramacharitra, Nagananda and Mudrarakshasa. Re. One.
The Idiot's Wife. By Dr. Nareesh Chander Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L. As. 8.

Sakuntala. By Kamala Sathianadhan. As. 6.

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S WORKS

Freedom and Culture. Rs. 2.

The Heart of Hindustan. Rs. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings. By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M.A.

Jesus Christ: By Mr. S. K. George.

Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampatkumaran. 2nd Edn.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. A. R. Wadia.

Buddha. By D. Dharmapala. 4th Edn.

Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Yakub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

Valmiki Ramayana. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari & English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

The Srimad Bhagavata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sri P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

Sankara's Select Works. Text in Devanagari and English translation.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Saiva Religion. By S. Katiressu. Rs. 2-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2.
Bhagavad Gita. Text and English Translation. By Dr. Annie Besant. As. 8.

Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.

The First Four Califs. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.
Three Great Acharyas: Sankara, Ramanuja and madhwa. Rs. 3.

North Indian Saints. (Ramanad to Ram Tirath). Rs. 2.

Chaitanya to Vivekananda. Lives of the saints of Bengal. Rs. Two.

GENERAL

Indian Review Golden Jubilee Number 1900-1950 Over 150 Illustrations. Price Rs. 3.

50 Years In the Service of the Nation: A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan & Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by His Excellency C. Rajagopalachariar. Rs. Two.

Books That Have Influenced Me: A symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice, M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. Re. 1-8.

Famous Battles In Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.

Malabar and its Folk. By Mr. T. K. Gopala Panikkar, B.A. Rs. 5.

Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. William Miller. Rs. 1-8.

HERE IS AN INVESTMENT SCHEME WHICH BRINGS YOU A PROFITABLE MONTHLY RECEIPT FOR FIFTEEN YEARS FREE OF INCOME-TAX

BY PURCHASNG AN ANNUITY CERTIFICATE

AT ISSUE PRICE OF	YOU WILL DRAW	REGULARLY
Rs. 3,500/-	Rs. 25/- Every Month	for 15 years, monthly payments commencing after the expiry of one calendar month from the date of investment. Monthly payment represents repayment of capital with compound interest at about 3½ per cent
Rs. 7,000/-	Rs. 50/- Every Month	
Rs. 14,000/-	Rs. 100/- Every Month	
Rs. 28,000/-	Rs. 200/- Every Month	

The Maximum amount that may be invested in the certificates is:

For an adult: Rs. 28,000

For an adult jointly with another adult: Rs. 56,000

For a guardian on behalf of each minor: Rs. 28,000

Applications are received at the offices of the Reserve Bank of India at Bombay.

Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Bangalore, branches of the Hyderabad State Bank in Hyderabad State, branches of the Bank of Mysore Limited at Mysore, Mandya, Chitaldrug, Chickmagalur, Shimoga, Tumkur and Hassan, branches of the Imperial Bank of India at other places in India and all treasuries and sub-treasuries in India at places where there is no branch of any of the above banks conducting Government treasury business.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

15 YEAR ANNUITY CERTIFICATES

PROSPERITY FOR THE NATION—PROFIT FOR YOU.

For further particulars apply to any of the receiving offices or consult the Regional National Savings Officer of your state or write to the National Savings Commissioner, Railway Board Building, Simla-3.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55.]

NOVEMBER 1954 :—DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 11]

	Page		PAGE
THE CARDINAL, THE POPE & THE VATICAN By Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA ...	481	THE INFLUENCE OF THE RADIO By Sri V. R. NATARAJAN, M.A. ...	502
JAWAHARLAL THE IDOL OF INDIA By "R. D." ...	484	FROM MY NOTEBOOK By "BEE" ...	504
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA By K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A., PH.D. ...	487	HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS ...	505
AND NOW FRANCE By K. S. K. ...	490	THE WORLD OF BOOKS ...	509
MILLS HANDLOOM AND KHADI By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL ...	494	DIARY OF THE MONTH ...	512
MILITARY WORK AND CONSCIENCE By Sri R. L. WATTAL ...	496	READERS' DIGEST ...	513
THE FORMOSA ISSUE By Mr. NORMAN CLIFF ...	497	INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA ...	520
THE KASHMIR DISPUTE By Sri C. N. BHALE RAO ...	498	QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE ...	521
LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR By Sri P. C. NAIR, M.A., B.L. ...	500	UTTERANCES OF THE DAY ...	522
		POLITICAL & PERSONAL ...	523
		EDUCATIONAL ...	524
		LEGAL ...	525
		TRADE AND FINANCE ...	526
		WOMEN'S PAGE ...	527
		GENERAL ...	528

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS IN THE "INDIAN REVIEW"

	PAGE		PAGE
Advaita Ashrama ...	5	Southern Railway	F. 3
All-India Astrological Society ...	3	Sankar's Select Works	F. 4
Curzon & Co. ...	4	Sunday Times	F. 14
Dalda	F. 13	Spunpipe Co.	4TH COVER
Daibabal Ashram ...	5	Shaik Md. Rowther & Co., K.P.V.	F. 15
Free India	F. 11	Travancore Cements Ltd.	F. 12
Government of India	F. 1	Travancore Rayons Ltd.	F. 9
Lexin ...	2	The Maha Bodhi	... 2
Ramtirth Brahmi Oil	F. 5	The United India Life Assurance Co.	... 6
Sri Ramakrishna Math	F. 16	The Tata Iron & Co., Ltd.	... 7
Siddhartha Publications Ltd.	... 2		

NOVEMBER 1954]

3

THE INDIAN REVIEW

SOUTHERN RAILWAY MILEAGE COUPONS

*For Mercantile Firms
and
For Touring Government Officials*

With effect from August 15, 1954, Mileage Coupon books will be issued at full tariff fares for aggregate distances of 3000 miles and 1500 miles in II Class only, at the following stations :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Madras Central | 11. Tuticorin |
| 2. Bezwada | 12. Trivandrum Central |
| 3. Cocanada Town or Port | 13. Coimbatore |
| 4. Guntur | 14. Calicut |
| 5. Bellary | 15. Cochin Harbour Terminus |
| 6. Hubli | 16. Bangalore City |
| 7. Madras Egmore | 17. Mysore |
| 8. Trichinopoly | 18. Devangere |
| 9. Madura | 19. Bhadravti |
| 10. Virudhunagar | 20. Arsikere |

Inserted by Public Relations Officer, Southern Railway.

Sankara's Select Works

Sanskrit Text and English Translation

BY MR. S. VENKATARAMANAN, B.A.

Contents:—Hymn to Hari; The Ten Versed Hymn; Hymn to Dakshinamurti; Direct Realisation; The Century of Verses; Knowledge of Self; Commentary on the Text; Definition of one's own self.

The main object of this invaluable publication is to present, in simple English, some of the works of Sri Sankaracharya in which he tried to expound, in a popular style, the philosophy of the non-dualistic Vedanta of which he was the well-known founder. With this view, the present translation has been rendered free of technical words and phrases, and, in some instances, literal and technical accuracy has been purposely sacrificed in order to make the translation readable and comprehensive by itself independently of the text. It is, however, hoped that the juxtaposition of the Sanskrit text and the English translation will serve the double object of enabling the student of Sanskrit to understand the text better and to correct by a reference to the text, any defect of expression in the translation as an inevitable result of the attempt to grab it in a popular style. A publication of this kind should be specially helpful for a proper understanding of the broad outline of Sankara's Philosophy of non-dualism.

Price Rs. 3.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

UPAKHYANAMALA
UPANISHADS
PRAYERS, PRAISES & PSALMS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.

RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL

AYURVEDIC MEDICINE (Regd.)

HAIR & BRAIN TONIC

- Stops falling hair,
- Increases growth of hair,
- Turns grey hair into natural black



(SPECIAL No. 1)

- Removes dandruff and baldness
- Induces sound sleep
- Greatly increases memory

PRICE: BIG BOTTLE—Rs. 3/8/-, SMALL BOTTLE—Rs. 2/-
SOLD EVERYWHERE

Send M. O. for Rs. 5/13/- for Big Bottle & Rs. 3/13/- for small Bottle
(Including Postage & Packing charges as no V.P. is sent.)

YOGIC Classes are regularly conducted from 7-30 a.m. to 9 a.m. and evening 6 to 7-30 p.m.
at the above address. (Sundays closed).

TO BE HEALTHY AND TO KEEP FIT ask for our attractive CHART (Map) showing YOGIC
Asanas, which will be sent on receipt of Rs. 1/12. These Asanas can be easily performed at home.

SHRI RAMTIRTH YOGASHRAM

"DADAR (Central Rly.)"

Gram: "PRANAYAM" BOMBAY No 14

Tel.—62899

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

Publishers, "Indian Review".

ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

DEAR SIRs,

Please enrol me as a subscriber to the INDIAN REVIEW from

M. O. for Rs. 6 (Six)

I am sending an

Foreign 15sh. (U. S. A. 4 Dollars)

Cheque for Rs. 6-4

one year's subscription.

Name

Designation

Address

Yours faithfully,

SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

CONDENSED IN THE POET'S OWN WORDS

Text in Devanagari and English Translation.

COMPILED BY

Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Dr. Sir P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

This edition contains an account of the Avatars of the Lord and the Stories of Dhruva, Priyavrata, Jadabharata, Vritrasura, Ajamila, Gajendra-moksha, etc., etc. Also all the important episodes in the life of the Lord Krishna—the killing of Kamsa, the marriage of Rukmini, the story of Kuchela, the famous discourse to Uddhava, the passing of the Lord and the salvation of King Parikshit.

Dr. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer says in the Foreword:—"We find in the Bhagavata the highest truths of religion and philosophy and the highest principles of ethics. The lilt of the verse in the Bhagavata has a peculiar charm of its own. There is a solemnity and grandeur in the devotional songs which attunes the mind to the high theme.....No other work in the Hindu religious literature has made a more careful study of the psychology of Bhakti."

Price Rs. 3.

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
UPAKHYANAMALA

PUANISHADS
PRAYER'S PRAISES & PSALMS
SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., BOOKSELLERS, & PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

EMMESS

AIR CONDITIONERS

Remote & Portable Types

for

Dependability, Efficiency & Economy



MAKERS OF "EMMESS" PRODUCTS:

THE MADRAS SERVICES

Refrigeration, Air Conditioning
and

Electrical Engineers

DINROZE ESTATE 1-17-G,
Mount Road, MADRAS-2

Phone : 86597

*Servicing of:—Refrigerators, Air Conditioners & Electrical
Equipments and Machinery of every description.*

HINDU ETHICS

Principles of Religio-Social Regeneration

BY BABU GOVINDA DAS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY BABU BHAGAVAN DAS

AND A FOREWORD

BY DR. GANGANATHA JAH, M.A., D.Litt.

It is critical of current Hindu beliefs and lays down lines along which reform should proceed.

Price Rs. 2

THE WORLD TEACHERS

Life and Teachings of Sri Rama
BY M. R. SAMPAKUMARAN, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Sri Krishna
BY M. R. SAMPAKUMARAN, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ
BY S. K. GEORGE, M.A., B.D.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster
BY PROF. A. R. WADIA, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Buddha
BY DEVAMITTA DHARMAPALA

Life and Teachings of Muhammad
BY AHMAD SHAFI & YAKUB BHASAN

Life and Teachings of Sri Sankara
BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A.
Price Re. 1 (One) each.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

A SYMPOSIUM BY

Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri
Sir C. V. Raman
Mr. C. Jinarajadasa
Mr. Justice M. C. Chagla
Dr. C. Rajagopalachari
Sir Bomanji J. Wadia
M. K. Natarajan
Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy
Mr. B. Sanjeeva Rao
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer

OPINIONS

The Hindu, (Madras) :—

"This is an edifying symposium on the choice of books. . . . The book provides profitable reading."

Hindustan Standard (Calcutta) :—

"We strongly recommend this book to all book-lovers."

Hindustan Review (Patna) :—

"Is an unique publication."

Leader (Allahabad) :—

"It is an admirable book."

Price Re. 1-8-0

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS

TRAYONS

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED

Rayonpuram, P. O.

Travancore - Cochin State.

INDIAN PIONEER PRODUCERS

OF

RAYON YARN

AND

TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM.

MANAGING AGENTS :—

EMCETE & SONS (Travancore) Ltd.

PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS

Selections from

THE VEDAS, UPANISHADS, EPICS, GITA, PURANAS,
AGAMAS, TANTRAS, KAVYAS AND THE WRITINGS
OF THE GREAT ACHARYAS AND OTHERS

TEXT IN DEVANAGARI AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

FOREWORD BY

MAHATMA GANDHI

The selection covers the entire field of Sanskrit Literature from the *Vedas* down to the latest writers of devotional poetry. No sect has been ignored; no religious bias has prejudiced the selection and the differing needs of persons on various levels of spiritual and religious development have been kept in view. Effort has been taken to avoid repetition of ideas and to present to the scholars the richness of expression in devotional poetry. Indeed, no effort has been spared to render this book representative, comprehensive, and up-to-date.

Mahatma Gandhi says in his Foreword:—"The collection presented in this volume does enable.....one like me to know how our ancestors prayed to the One Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph. May this collection help the reader to dispel his unbelief or strengthen his belief."

Dr. T. M P, Mahadevan, Professor of Philosophy, Madras University:—"It is at once grand in conception and grand in execution. I trust that it will serve as a sure and unfailing guide-book to all those that are heavy-laden and cry out to the Infinite for succour and light."

Illustrated Weekly of India:—"This handy volume, *Prayers, Praises and Psalms* in Sanskrit with reliable English renderings forms a comprehensive collection of devotional lyrics."

Price Rs. 3.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

UPAKHYANAMALA
UPANISHADS
SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

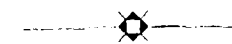
Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.

FREE INDIA

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY



PRINCIPAL FEATURES:

Beautiful Front Cover

Full Page Pictures

Film & Fun Pages

Bombay Letter

Delhi Dispatch

Pakistan X-rayed

Snappy Leaders

Opinions of the Week

Plan with Planets

Cartoons

Up-to-the-Minute Photos

Short Story

and

Hindi Lessons

Besides

STRAIGHTWORDS

the straight and simple contest giving away Rs. 4,500 in prizes.

SINGLE COPY: 3 As. 6 MONTHS Rs. 4-8-0 ONE YEAR Rs.9.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further Particulars From

FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road : : MADRAS,- 2.

From

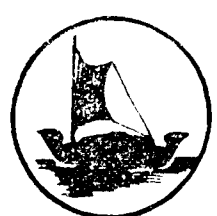
Travancore-Cochin State, THE
VEMBANAD BRAND CEMENT
is the best material of its kind. You
get this Brand: you help Indian
Industry in the various stages of
production. You can depend on
VEMBANAD BRAND PORTLAND
CEMENT. Insist on it for all your
building programmes

VEMBANAD BRAND

TRAVANCORE CEMENTS LTD
REGISTERED OFFICE KOTTAYAM

FACTORY: NATTAKOM. KOTTAYAM

CENTURY


Here's one family you
don't have to ask to
'smile please!'

Portrait of a happy family!

Every smile has a history. Particularly the beaming smiles on my family's faces. But it wasn't always the same healthy family that I am photographing today.

Only a few months ago my husband was continually falling ill. And that meant less money coming in. On top of that my three children started to lose weight and never seemed to enjoy life.

It was only a chance conversation with their school teacher which gave me the clue to the whole trouble. 'Excuse me being personal,' she said after I had told her my worries, 'but I wonder if the cooking fat you use has anything to do with the problem?'

When I told her I bought the best and most expensive loose fats I thought that would answer the question. 'Loose fats, however good they may be, are constantly exposed to dirty hands and flies,' she quickly replied, 'and that means contamination followed by sickness.'

She advised me to buy Dalda Vanaspati at once. Because first and foremost, Dalda

safeguards health. Germs can't get into that sealed tin. And the makers of Dalda Vanaspati don't let a tin out of their hands until it is up to the highest standard.

I was convinced she was right! And my family were converted to Dalda cooking in no time. They love the natural flavours which Dalda brings out in food.

Bought in airtight sealed tins, Dalda Vanaspati can always be relied on to be pure, fresh and wholesome.

I shall keep this photograph as living proof of the way Dalda Vanaspati keeps my family happy, healthy and contented the whole day. If you want a photograph like mine cook all your food with Dalda Vanaspati. Get a tin today.

Available in 10 lb., 5 lb., 2 lb., 1 lb. and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tins.

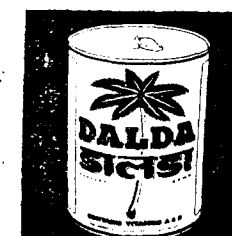
Dalda now contains vitamins A and D.

How to choose a good cooking fat

For free advice write today to:

THE DALDA ADVISORY SERVICE

P.O. Box No. 353, Bombay, 1.



Look for the tin with the Palm tree

HVM. 220-X52

DALDA VANASPATI

COOKS BETTER—COSTS LESS

SUNDAY TIMES

26th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Inland.	Foreign.
One Year	Rs. 9 8 0	10 8 0
6 Months	„ 4 12 0	5 8 0

THE BRIGHTEST NEWS
AND VIEWS ILLUSTRATED
WEEK-END NEWSPAPER
— IN INDIA —

IT GIVES YOU THE
NEWS BEHIND THE
NEWS!

Subscriptions are not accepted for
less than 6 months.

● SUNDAY'S BEST

Wanted Agents in Unrepresented Areas.

MY MOTHERLAND PAMPHLETS

In appreciation of these, Acharya
P. C. Ray writes:—

“One can gain much useful information
and will derive much benefit by going through
these pamphlets.”

Only the following are now available:

2. Sri Ramana Maharshi
14. Gandhism in Action
20. The Way of Prosperity
22. Dayananda Saraswathi
30. The Dope Plague
35. Mrs. Annie Besant and
Her Fight for India
36. Chanakya
37. Guru Nanak
38. Guru Govind Singh.
39. Asoka the Great.
40. Vikramaditya
41. Sri Krishna Chaitanya
42. Emperor Harsha
44. Sri M. Visweswarayya
45. Sirdar Patel

For all the 15 Pamphlets send Rs. 1-9-0
(Inclusive of registered postage.)

Price 1 anna each

● Postage 1 anna for any four

Aspects of SRI AUROBINDO

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Foreword by

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

Price: Rs. 1-4-0 Postage Extra

YOGASANS FOR HEALTH

(ILLUSTRATED)

By V. MUTHUSWAMY

Being a reprint of articles which
appeared in “Sunday Times”

Price Rs. 0-12-0 Postage 0-1-0

THE SUNDAY TIMES BOOKSHOP, MADRAS - 6

K. P. V. Shaik Mohamed Rowther & Co.,

POST BOX NO. 1264

41, LINGHI CHETTY STREET, G. T. MADRAS

Branches at

MASULIPATAM, KAKINADA, NEGAPATAM and KARAİKAL

Telegraphic Address:

General: “SHAIK”

Coastal Service: “JALANATH”

U. K. America Service: “SAMUDRAPAR”

Singapore-Australia Service: “EASTSHIPCO”

Agents For:

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., BOMBAY.
THE EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY.
THE UNITED STATES NAVIGATION CO., Inc., NEW YORK.
THE ALEXANDRIA NAVIGATION CO., S. A. E., ALEXANDRIA.
THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO., MADRAS.

Steamer Service:

Regular Cargo and Passenger Service to Coastal
Ports of India, Burma and Ceylon: India/U. K. and
Continent: India/America: India/Australia & Far East:
Madras/Rangoon: Madras/Singapore.

TELEPHONE No. { 4972 (2 Lines) Office.
3677 (After Office Hours.)

Just Out!

Just Out !!

*The Holy Mother Birth Centenary Number***THE VEDANTA KESARI (41st Year)**

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED BUMPER NUMBER, JULY 1954

Highly Spoken Of by Press and Public

Special articles and illuminating symposia on the life and teachings of the Holy Mother and on problems, aspirations and on attainments of womanhood in diverse fields of life.

Senior monks of the RAMAKRISHNA ORDER—Eminent women, And outstanding thinkers of East and West have contributed.

Pages: 200

Price: Rs. 2-0-0

Postage As. 8. (Regd.)

Regular Subscribers will receive their copies free of any extra charge.

Annual Subscription: Rs. 5/- including this Special Issue

YEAR STARTS IN MAY

Apply to:

THE VEDANTA KESARI OFFICE

SRI RAMAKRISHNA MATH, MADRAS - 4.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55.]

NOVEMBER 1954

[No. 11]

The Cardinals, the Pope and the Vatican

BY DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA,

Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

—o—

I THE CARDINALS*The Roman Catholics*

In India there are three major communities—the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians. We have all been living together for centuries, yet we know ever so little of each other's religion and form of worship, philosophy and organization of priestcraft. The Christians in India are again divided into Protestants

and Catholics. The Catholics are mostly Roman Catholics who owe their allegiance to His Holiness the Pope in the Vatican. There is a small section of English Catholics as well, as I learnt only the other day from a Britisher who said he was a Catholic, but



Dr. Pattabhi

not a Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholics are much nearer the Hindus in that though they have changed faith and attend their Christian Churches, yet they have not discarded idolatry or sometimes even caste. I am not referring to the general bias amongst even Protestant Indian Christians who would like to marry within the fold of Christians who had once belonged to their own original caste. The Roman Catholics appear to observe caste in a more intimate fashion. They wear

marks *Tilak* on their foreheads. Idolatry, caste and *Tilak* *निलक* constitute the essence of Hindu religion in practice. But there the community of spirit stops. For the rest, the Roman Catholics worship the Mother, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Their religious head is His Holiness the Pope who has his headquarters at the Vatican. It is but desirable that we know more about the Catholic organization, the Cardinals and the Archbishops and Priests.

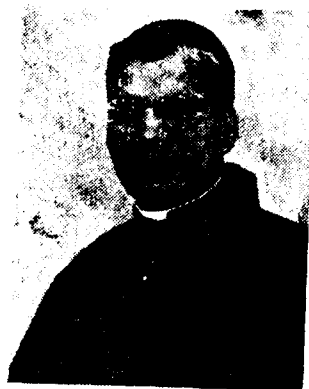
The Princes of the Church

Hitherto the Seventy Cardinals that constitute the Princes of the Church were being appointed from Italy and from European nations, but today we have an Indian Cardinal. It may be remembered that it was on the 28th December 1952 that the first Indian Cardinal was appointed and the news of such an appointment was announced to the great jubilation of all India, not merely Christian or Catholic India. We have all heard the word 'Cardinal' particularly when prefixed to the name of Cardinal Newman, but till the other day we had no Indian Cardinal in our midst. Amongst the ecclesiastical positions held in India, the most common is that of the Reverend and the next most common is that of the Bishop. I know, however, a centenary Indian who was Reverend Canon Anantham belonging to the Protestant Church and a Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of England in Madras—Rev. Canon Sell.

First Indian Cardinal

This is the first time an Indian is honoured by being made a member of the Papal Council,—one of the seventy Princes of the Catholic Church. The Council comprises six Cardinal Bishops, Fifty Cardinal Priests and Fourteen Cardinal Deacons who form the sacred College and when the *Holy See* falls vacant, these seventy elect the new Pope. The total fixed by Sixtus V has been confirmed by the Code of Canon Law and the number has not been increased. Like in other world organizations, human curiosity is wont to count the nationality of the different units of a composite body, and in this view we have 26 Italians and 44 non-Italian Cardinals representing 27 nations. There was a time when in Italy itself the State was divided into its component units for purposes of such allocation and the Cardinals were spoken of as Roman, Piedmontese, Tuscan and Neapolitan. Today Italy is regarded as one national unit.

The Church in India shares with the State the rapid progress in regard to officers held by Indians. The number of Bishops was 17 seven years ago. Today it is somewhere about 71. In Bombay, the rise has been rapid. Within



Cardinal Gracias

five years the Arch Diocese had been entrusted to an Indian, but its Archbishop has also been made a Cardinal and Cardinal Gracias has passed from the position of an auxiliary Bishop to that of a Prince of the Catholic Church. The Cardinal has inaugurated a new

era in the history of the Indian Church and by his qualities of leadership and brilliance of mind, coupled with a warm personality, he has helped the Church come of age in India, himself becoming not merely its head but an international figure.

Speaking of the election of Cardinals, it may be of interest for us to recall how since

1870 the Pontiffs who choose the Cardinals have shown a marked tendency to internationalize the College. The inference, one writer says, is sufficiently plain. Any man, even a layman, can be elected Pope; but for a great many centuries, the Cardinals have not gone outside their own body for a candidate.

Then again, it may be asked why a secular State like India should concern itself with one religion or another. That is true. India as a secular State does not honour or favour any particular religion, but holds all religions in equally high regard and a world-honour conferred upon any one of her citizens is regarded as an honour rendered to India itself. A secular state does not mean an infidel State or an iconoclastic one. It only means that no religion is acclaimed as the State religion, just as for instance Britain's State religion is Protestant Christianity and France's is the Catholic Faith.

II THE POPE

The Pope is the ecclesiastical head of the Roman Catholic Church and is a Designation now used in the *West*. Once the name was frequently used by any Bishop, but after the fifth century it came to be reserved to the Bishop of Rome and became the official title. In the *East*, however, the title became restricted to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antelope, Jerusalem and Constantinople. Writers are fond of viewing the Pope as representing all the degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Thus they say, he is the Bishop of Rome, Metropolitan of the Roman Province, Primate of Italy, Patriarch of the Western Church and Head of the Universal Church. His influence was exercised not only in dogmatic questions but in matters of discipline by means of appeals, petitions and consultations. He has the power of spontaneous intervention. The Pope is supreme in matters of doctrine and possesses the same authority and the same infallibility as the Church.

The Pope is a hard working person. He is 72, and works for 14 to 15 hours a day. He carries his own research and does not trust a Secretary to verify a quotation. He uses a one-way telephone by which he can only speak to others while others cannot speak to him. He has 3000 Diocese under him, also 2900 Bishops, 500,000 Priests, Nuns and Brothers and Brothers in religious order with some

750,000 serving in missionary areas throughout the world. He is the political head of the Vatican and sends Nuncios and inter-Nuncios to States far and wide as diplomatic representatives and likewise receives corresponding diplomatic officers in his court. He lives alone ever since he was made Pope. He is the most solitary being in the world and yet takes to the conditions of his life not only with a certain sense of resignation but also with a certain faith and devotion.

The Pope is not wanting in humour, as the following report shows: "In a television report relating to the world war II, Joseph Stalin (at Teheran) said, 'How many divisions has the Pope?' to which the Pope replied, later speaking to Sir Winston Churchill, 'Tell my son Joseph, he will meet my divisions in heaven.'"

III. THE VATICAN

The Vatican is the official residence of the Pope, situated upon the Vatican Hill in the city of Rome which has a low eminence on the right bank of the Tiber. It came into prominence on the death of Apostle Peter. It was in the principal building here that in 64 AD and 65 AD the great multitude of Christians mentioned by Tacitus in his *Annals* who were accused by Nero of having caused the burning of Rome, were martyred by cruel tortures. The first successors of St. Peter desired to be buried near his tomb. It was only in the third century that it began to be the custom of the Popes to be buried in the catacombs. The Emperor Constantine I gave freedom to the Church in 313 and showed all marks of favour. The Palace which he presented to the Pope became imperial property as a result of its confiscation by Nero. Constantine also built the Basilica which became the Cathedral of the Pope and the Mother Church and the Head of all the Churches of the City and the world. According to tradition, it was in 324 that he began the construction of a splendid Basilica on the Vatican Hill over St. Peter's Tomb.

During the renaissance period from the 15th to the 17th centuries, the Vatican became the centre of art and culture. Sixtus V had a great palace built and this is the palace in which the Popes reside at the present day.

The Vatican Gardens are the gardens in which the Popes were accustomed to take their walks following the decision not to leave the Vatican after the entry of the Italian troops into Rome in 1870. The Vatican Observatory became important in the astronomical world and in 1889 was entrusted with part of the great work of photographing the heavens.

The Tomb of St. Peter is the only structure which was respected when the old Basilica was demolished and the new one built. The Vatican Library is a veritable treasure trove. The Sistine Chapel founded by Sixtus IV in the 15th century is a master-piece of the art of Michael Angelo whose wonderful mural paintings adorn the walls and ceilings, the most famous being the centre piece depicting Heaven and Hell. Then there are the other Basilicas—St. Paul's with its portraits of all the Popes that had ever ruled from the Vatican, St. John in Lateran with its Scala Santa or Holy Stairway supposedly brought to Rome from the House of Pontius Pilate in Palestine, its steps sanctified, according to legend, by the blood of Christ as he carried the Cross down the stairway up which no worshipper today climbs to the altar on top save on knees, and the Basilica of Mary and the Church of St. Peter in Vinaculis with its massive sculpture of Moses by Michael Angelo.

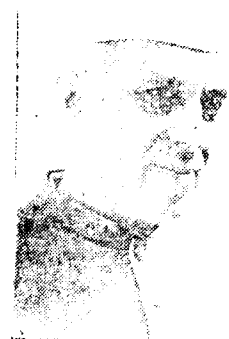
The ancient glory of Rome confronts you in awe inspiring majesty as you gaze at the architectural grandeur of the Pantheon, the ruins of the Temple of Saturn, and of the world-famed Collysium, the Marcellus Theatre, the Trojan Forum and the Temple of the Vestal Virgins and the Fortuna Verile. The arches of Titus, Constantine and James are constant reminders of the bye-gone martial glory of Rome.

Then there is the modern Rome of Mussolini with its famous sports stadium in marble, once known as the Mussolini Forum but now called the Fero Italica, with the Ball Fountain nearby and the Monolite, also the monument of Victor Emanuel II and other interesting sights. Rome with its past traditions and its modern developments will ever live up to its name of THE ETERNAL CITY.

Jawaharlal, the Idol of India

By "R. D."

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru will step into the sixty-sixth year of his life on the 14th November, 1954. As the whole nation is



Jawaharlal

looking forward to that great Day of Remembrance, some questions naturally arise in mind: What is the secret of the unique popularity of this Idol of India? He is supposed to be a "mixture of the East and West" but is it a healthy mixture or a balanced mixture or is it more Eastern than Western or vice versa?

In his early boyhood, he was brought in touch with the Eastern culture in a Kashmiri home and the Western culture through Mr. Brooks, his resident tutor, recommended by no less a person than Mrs. Annie Besant. Outside home and the country, he had education at Harrow where, to quote his own words, "he was never an exact fit", at Cambridge for Natural Sciences Tripos & at Inner Temple for Bar-at-Law.

He always recognized "the strength of his family bonds". His mother, like most Indian mothers, was always Indian. His great father, Pandit Motilal Nehru, was said to be "more and more Westernised", yet inwardly he was the typical Indian head of a family: During his trial, he held his granddaughter "in his arms throughout"; he was trying to sleep on the floor to find out what it was like as his son would soon have to do that in prison; even a hint that any one in the family was a burden on him would have pained him and when his son once "gently and indirectly" mentioned to him about his financial dependence, he would simply not listen to it. He might acquire Western ways externally but intrinsically he was a bold, liberal and large-hearted Indian thinking of India till the last breath of his life. "I am going soon, Mahatmaji", he said to Mahatma Gandhi shortly before his death in 1931, "and I shall not be here to see Swaraj. But I know

that you have won it and will soon have it," —prophetic words which India can never forget. So were more or less the other members of his family. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's poignant reference to her brother's absence on "Bhaya Duj" days, many such touching references in Mrs. Krishna Hathisingh's sparkling book on family reminiscences —particularly the one about Mrs. Indira Nehru Gandhi's choosing and wearing as her bridal dress a Khaddar Sari which was spun and woven by her father in prison and Mrs. Kamala Nehru—that "essentially Indian and more particularly Kashmiri" lady—feeling, in her self-abnegating life, "happy and proud to follow in the footsteps of her husband" in the midst of "all the tricks that life played upon them"—all these struck familiar reverberating notes in the minds of fellow-Indians as they left their marks on Jawaharlalji.

The education, association and residence of Indians in foreign countries, particularly in Great Britain, have had their blessings as well as blemishes. There have been quite a number of maladjustments, separations and even metamorphoses. Yet after a long stay in England and Europe, Jawaharlalji not only had not allowed himself to be metamorphosed but he had also a great share in metamorphosing the country to freedom and recently in metamorphosing Delhi. Mr. Tom Driberg M.P. in his article—"Delhi Metamorphosed by Independence"—spoke of "the real transfer of power that has taken place", of a reception at the (no longer Imperial) Delhi Gymkhana Club, "once one of the most exclusive British social establishments in the Viceregal capital", in which "the orchestra played the Indian National Anthem 'Jana Gana Mana' and Pandit Nehru came greeting 'in a peaceful Indian way' and wearing his customary white Gandhi cap and handspan white achkan", of the lunch he had with the Prime Minister in which there was "a proper Indian meal" taken in right Indian style and of "the strongest impression, that any Briton visiting India for the first time since its independence must form, of an extraordinary warm and general friendliness unknown and impossible in the old days".

NOVEMBER 1954]

JAWAHARLAL THE IDOL OF INDIA

485

Not only Jawaharlalji continued as before till the death of his father but, at Mrs. Krishna Hathisingh mentioned, he wrote to her after the death of their father telling her and their mother that they were entitled to all that was left by their father and that he was merely managing things. As is common, almost proverbial, in Indian society, his wish and ambition in life were to be like his father and incidentally he broke all previous records by succeeding his father as Congress President. His parents wanted him near them and "so the die was cast in favour of the paternal profession, the Bar". He spent the best part of his youth in what may be called the centres of selected Western sports and yet it was left to him to practice *asanas* and breathing exercises of yoga system—particularly his "favourite remedy, the *shirshasana*—standing on the head". All these small and big things in life, which breathe so much of India, indicate where the moorings mainly lay.

But we have yet to deal with the deeper things of his inmost being which were waiting for right opportunities and the MASTER'S call. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, said in the prefatory remarks of his edition of *Bhagavad Gita* that behind his interpretation of *Gita* lay the claim of an endeavour to practice *Gita* for 38 years and the basic principles of his life and the national struggle, he sponsored and led, were truth, want of hatred, fearlessness, sacrifice and peace which are all fundamental virtues stressed in *Gita*. Truly they are correlative virtues leading to other virtues, equally stressed in *Gita*, like single-minded devotion, firm determination, steady enthusiasm, want of pride, forgiveness, moderation and restraint, sincerity, contentment and a balance of mind in not being unduly elated or depressed and in maintaining the same attitude towards happiness and sorrow, likes and dislikes, credit, criticism and flattery and friends and enemies. When Jawaharlalji first read about Mahatmaji's Satyagraha Movement, he thought and said "here at last was a way out of the tangle" and "was afire with enthusiasm". Though he perhaps did not "feel drawn to the metaphysical part of the *Bhagavad Gita*", the "ideal" of *Gita* "appealed" to him and he evinced by his actions that many of its virtues were deep-seated in him which spontaneously functioned as soon as the proper time

and call came. He threw himself into Mahatmaji's national movement with unique devotion, determination and complete fearlessness, and he himself said in his Autobiography—"I became wholly absorbed and wrapt in the movement. I gave up all my other associations and contacts..." Yet he was perfectly unruffled, serene, content and balanced in mind and as we learnt from Mrs. Krishna Hathisingh, during his repeated incarcerations he asked his people not to worry for him and get afraid of whatever might happen to him and to try to think as if nothing had happened and he would always tell them he was doing fine. This is what Mahatmaji himself said about him—"He is pure as the crystal, truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur sans reproche*." His balanced mind could never make any distinction between one community and another and he therefore always opposed communalism and provincialism in his usual outspoken manner.

His sincerity is as wellknown as his Autobiography and as Edgar Snow put it, "no figure of his international stature has more frankly examined himself in public... He continues to speak to millions on a personal level of candor that should make most western politicians blush". As he himself remarked, "I learnt one thing at least from his (Gandhiji): not to suppress my ideas within me for fear of consequences." In his characteristic out-spoken manner he wrote once, "I am afraid, I am a very weak mortal making mistakes and using harsh words but always my mistakes have been overlooked and harsh words passed over." His real want of pride is reflected in his frank and public self-introspection: "Am I losing myself in the glitter and pomp of high office?"

His actions are usually marked by moderation and restraint. "For his attitude of tolerance, wisdom and restraint in the face of pressing international dangers" he was considered by Mr. Aneurin Bevan sometime ago as "the most popular man in Britain at the present time." In the matter of national dress, for example, it has to be admitted that just as we feel proud of Indian ladies and their *Sarees*, non-Asiatic people, particularly the British, feel pride in sticking to their national dress wherever they go to represent their country with all fastidious of different 'Coats', 'Dress', and 'Jackets' for different

occasions on which Indians had to model themselves during the old British regime but even in this matter of national dress Jawaharlalji seems to develop a tradition gradually more by personal examples than by "Commands" and by strongly reminding our people at times that they should show "by their living and dress that they are not foreigners" and that their mind should not be "conditioned to a different environment; that environment may be very good but it so happens that our environment is different." Those who walk and work with eyes open know and are already doing what they should do.

"We felt that we could afford to be generous" remarked Jawaharlalji in his Autobiography. Yet to ascertain the correct measure of his want of hatred and forgiveness, one has to refresh his memory as to what happened during the national struggle. To quote just a few instances, the "Nabha way" of oppression on the part of the Administrator of Nabha State which ultimately made all three of them "Gidwani, Santanam and I" (Jawaharlalji) suffer from typhoid fever, was deliberately provocative and absolutely unnecessary; all the beating and battering during demonstrations against Simon Commission were more hateful than necessary particularly fierce blows on leaders like Jawaharlalji and Sri G. B. Pant at Lucknow and Lala Lajpat Rai at Lahore; Pandit Motilal Nehru went to Mussorie under medical advice and Jawaharlalji was recently released but was likely to be re-arrested any time apparently to see more of the son the ailing rather denied himself the change and returned to Allahabad the son was returning from a meeting to meet the expectantly waiting father but was arrested "almost in sight of their house" and taken away to Naini prison. The Heavens would not have come down if he had been arrested after he had met his father who was ill and actually left the world about four months after; his frail old mother, from whom no one in his senses could apprehend any violence and danger, was repeatedly caned on the head till she fainted and lay bleeding on the dusty road; then, the classical tragedy of Indian political life about Mrs. Kamala Nehru: "Eighteen years of married life! But how many long years out of them I had spent in prison-cell and Kamala

in hospitals and sanatoria?" "Kamala was again in the grip of her old disease. I knew that my presence by her side would have made a difference". "Kamala's condition was becoming worse and worse and my presence by her side might make all the difference between life and death"—said Jawaharlalji in his Autobiography. Yet while adventizing to the world through Sir Samuel Hoare that he was allowed to visit his wife once or twice a week, he was actually not permitted to visit more frequently than once or twice a month. In May, 1935, she had to go to Europe for further treatment and it was in September next that Jawaharlalji was allowed to go and join her. In February, 1953, she left this cruel world. Normal reaction to such avoidable, needless coercion, violence and shocks in any country in the West would be resentment - even retaliation. But he not only forgave and forgot, he is carrying no feeling in his mind against those who directed or executed such coercive, violent or shocking measures. This only possible from Mahatmaji and his true *satyagrahies* and not from any Westerner or Westernised person.

Yet Jawaharlalji's passionate urge for scientific progress, 'Laboratories', and 'Institutes' is of course entirely Western, so also the drive for big 'Factories', 'River Valley Schemes', 'Industries' and modern machineries for production and building schemes. Similarly, in constitutional and international matters he is influenced by the West and their written and unwritten law and conventions. Yet it will be observed that, like our great country which absorbed and synthesised men and things coming from outside, he adopted and adapted from the west what was most suitable for our environments, requirements and progress and that in constitutional and international matters one does not miss the old Indian emphasis on 'cottage industries', 'prohibition', 'village panchayets', 'international peace' and 'arbitration'. In fact, his international policy which has so much enhanced the reputation of our country "flows from our past history and past thinking", as he said. In this connection, we feel so proud and grateful to remember almost the last and prophetic words, spoken in 1951, of an outstanding commoner, the late Mr. J. B. Chieffy, Ex-Prime Minister of Australia "India will still show the way to peace."

The Cultural Heritage of India

By

Dr. K. C. VARADACHARI, M. A., Ph. D.

—(6)—

It is undoubtedly the proud privilege of India to offer its native contribution to the world, which is primarily in the field of spirituality. The first edition of this work was published in three volumes in 1937. Now the same is published in an enlarged and improved form in five volumes. The first volume in this second enlarged edition would be devoted to the Beginnings of Indian culture, the second to Itihasas, puranas, dharma and other sastras, the third to the Philosophies, the fourth to Religions and the fifth to the arts and science and literature. The Third volume on the Philosophies has been issued first. The idea of presenting the Cultural Heritage of India in a compact form arose on the occasion of the Celebration of the Centenary of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa who is verily the embodiment of the widest synthesis of Religion and Philosophy achieved by any saint of modern times. The aim, undoubtedly as every one yearns to, is the Synthesis which would combine the rich variety of the synoptic whilst offering as the principle of Unity the undying niss towards integral realisation by each of That which bodies forth in all. This has been the sign and aspiration of the Indian Philosophico-religious thought through the ages. The Vedic realisation has not exhausted itself in the morass of the modern scientific age; on the other hand it has shown itself profoundly vigorous after every attempt to stem it. Thus it is with a sense of admiration and gratitude that we welcome this venture after a comprehensive presentation of the manifold points of view developed in the early periods of Indian Thought admiration for the excellence of execution and gratitude for the correctness of presentation. The world has need of such authentic versions by scholars who have faith in their point of view, not like dogmatists, but also sharing to an extent

the point of view which cannot be dismissed as chimerical or illusory or false. There is an inherent claim of every point of view to a truth which cannot be set aside except by a proper appraisal of its claim. Frequently impatience ties most people to dogmatic assertions. Enlightened philosophers have shown themselves to have this quality of charity and tolerance which mark the cultural development of a people.

Philosophies, unlike religions, have a larger and firmer demand made on them in respect of the synoptic (*samanvaya*) point of view. Blindness in the intellectual field is as serious as actual blindness. Religions in India differ by and large from the western in so far as they demand a philosophical justification of their dogmatisms and fanaticisms. That is the reason why the claims of the Philosopher are more seriously taken note of by religious people in India than elsewhere. This undoubtedly makes fundamentalism impossible in India. It is also important to remember that there has been a continuous tradition of philosophy and to this the present volume bears ample witness.

The problems of philosophy are all the same the world over. The patterns of thinking move from the materialistic to the most spiritualistic, and from a radical pluralism to an absolutistic monism. Between these extremes of the dialectical variation fall all types of compromises and adjustments to the demands of the realisation of truth. A difference which most clearly marks out Indian Philosophy is that it is insistently religious or ethical; the reality that one knows is indeed a reality which is related to the individual, which includes the individual and which grants the freedom of itself to him. This characteristic has made Indian Philosophy truly spiritual and ethical rather than unethical or amoral which is the characteristic truly speaking of Western Philosophy.

Thus we find in the Volume under review all kinds of speculation from the Charvaka (materialistic system) to the Absolute Monistic Vedanta are provocatively presented. The Introduction by the wellknown Savant late Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta gives a compre-

* The Cultural Heritage Of India: Volume Three: The Philosophies Published by The Ramakrishna Mission Institute Of Culture 111 Russa Road, Calcutta 26. pp. 720. Rs. 30 India: U. S. A. 7.50 and other countries 50 sh.

hensive survey of the philosophic trends. It is masterly, and by itself it can be studied as giving the cue to other contributions.

There are only thirteen articles of the earlier edition out of the thirty-nine in this collection. They have also been revised for this edition. There are two articles which have been translated into English for this volume, one on Brahmanimamsa by M. Anantakrishna Sastri who is known for his vast erudition in Advaita Vedanta and for his comparative study of all schools of Vedanta and another by Mahamahopadhyaya Yogendranath Bagchi on the Art of Philosophical Disputation which was written in Bengali.

The work is divided into five parts. The first part deals with the Philosophical Systems. The first article is by Dr. T. R. V. Murthi of the Benaras Hindu University on the rise of the philosophical schools. Then follow studies on the different schools such as the Samkhya by Prof. Hirianna, Yoga psychology by the general editor of this volume Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya, Nyaya-Vaisesika by Dr. Satkari Mookherjee, Purva Mimamsa by Pramathanath Tarkabhusan which has been enlarged by Mahamahopadhyaya Chinna-swami Sastri, and Materialists Sceptics and Agnostics. The other avaidic schools have been relegated to volume I. But sufficient indications have been given of their place in the opening article of this part and the general introduction.

Vedanta is studied in the second part. The school of Advaita, consists of six contributions on the general nature of the Brahma Mimamsa, Essentials and philosophy of Advaita and the Philosophy of Sankara and post Sankara and the spiritual significance of Advaita. Advaita as one of the finest appeals to the spiritual consciousness which yearns after that unity and identity which releases the bond of ignorance, is undisputably a challenging doctrine. The Vedanta of the Bhagavata gives a religious direction to the philosophy of Vedanta and incidentally includes the Pancharatra, which has played an important part in the Samkhyan and Advaita Vedanta and Tantra with its concept of the Sakti and Realism and Fivefold manifestation of the divine in creative manifestation. This has been excellently dealt with by Swami Tyagisananda. Professor P. N. Srinivasa-charya contributes two articles on the Visis-

tadvaita and Bhedabheda which are characterised by lucidity and simplicity and scholarship. Madhva's theory is neatly elucidated by Dr. H. N. Raghavendrachar. The school of Nimbaraka, Vallabha and Sri Chaitanyls are dealt with by Dr. Rama Choudari, G. Ha Bhatt and Radha Govinda Nath. They present ably the chief features of these Vedantas. All these are realistic in the sense that they refuse to consider that there is an illusory creation superimposed on the eternal unchanging Brahman.

Other influential religio-philosophical cults have prevailed from immemorial time on this vast continent. The sectarian thinking which really originated from the need to worship the most appropriate Ideal absolutely, (ekanta bhakti), made it necessary for thought to enter the state of fission. Saivism, Vaishnavism and Saktism have each had its own ardent worshippers. But we could philosophically discern that within these sectarian religious rigidity, there are points of semblance and even contributions to general philosophy. The Philosophy of Saivism with its tantric and samkhyan and Vedanta elements, is ably presented by the late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, whereas the Yoga-Vasista Idealism is expounded with distinction by Dr. B. A. Atreya. The Philosophy of the Tantras is excellently expounded by Swami Pratyagatmananda. The literature of the Tantras is vast and there is almost an attempt to bring the high aim of salvation or the gift of release to all excluding none. Philosophy is not perhaps an enterprise for all for it demands the fullest exercise of rationality. With the tantra the practical aim of saving people from the cycle of misery which makes no distinction between the knower and non-knower, the philosopher and non-philosopher becomes of paramount importance. The democratic tendency of tantra is to offer salvation for all. That is the tendency of the Agama, including the Pancharatra and the Saiva. Thus the turn of religion to the common man, had led also to their gaining the treasures of philosophy. Thus popular literature became an important vehicle of philosophy. This is studied by Dr. Atindranath Bose. But the most important paper in this section is really on the Path of Yoga in the Gita by Prof. D. S. Sarma. He shows that the Gita is verily the synoptic and systematic religious book of

the world. Undoubtedly he is right and men are coming to understand now that the Gita is both a synthetic philosophy and synoptic Religion. Mysticism by Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee finds a place in this section. He clearly points out how mysticism can both be theistic and non-theistic. Undoubtedly it is the aim of mysticism to arrive at 'unitive' life with the core of Reality apprehended and experienced as one's own core of being. There is the transcendence over the limitation of existence in the ultimate experience of this 'unitiveness'.

The idea of the General Editor to have a separate section or part to deal with the problems of Philosophy is commendable and invaluable in so far as it gives a comparative estimate of the points of view taken up in respect of each problem. Thus Religion in Nyaya Vaisesika, Soul, Physical World, Mind, and Extra-sensory and superconscious experiences are problems which are interestingly covered by the late Dr. Gangadhar Jha, A. C. Mukerjee, Dr. Umesh Misra, Dr. P. T. Raju, and Swami Akhilananda.

The fifth part is devoted to Philosophical Sciences. In Indian Theism Swami Hiranmayananda summarises the place occupied by God in the early period, in the different darsanas, and in the Vedantas. Dr. D. M. Datta deals with the theory of knowledge or Epistemology; Dr. P. T. Raju deals with Psychology, and Hari Mahan Bhattacharya expounds the Types of Human Nature assumed in the Indian theory of Personality. Indian Ethics gets a fine exposition from the general Editor of this volume Dr. Haridas Bhattacharyya. The last article is by late Professor M. Hirianna on the Indian Philosophy of Values. The Purushartha that Indian Philosophy always upheld was freedom but it was freedom which was enriched by a living sense of values and which modified in turn all the other lower values of artha, kama and even dharma by uplifting them. The concept of the Jivanmukta is verily the ideal of freedom that illumines and offers a living criticism of the lower values. But this freedom is a philosophically determined one, as well as spiritually realised as an experience which is dearer than any thing else. Indian

Philosophy does not yearn towards mystery but to the conquest of it and through knowledge that is full, integral and complete.

The rich fare that is provided by this volume is simply thrilling. This volume would occupy a permanent place in the enterprises of the Institute. The other volumes are bound to be of the same high standard. A World philosophy which could undertake the task of mutual interpretation and integration would take a long time to come. But the volumes would provide handsome material for the philosopher of the World Philosophy.

Here Lies History

By ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

When the last of the old
Rings at Natchez,
Their tones are as beautiful,
They have as much to tell

Here was an empire
Of men bronzed and burning,
Here was a rainbow thing,
Man's deep yearning!

Here was sweat and running
For the children's good,
Honey, hope, and happiness
Wrested from wild wood

Here the bitter wilderness
Where the thin birds fed
On thorns and fear and emptiness
Was broken into bread

Now here lies the holy bread
Worn and weathered crust
Here the hope, the dream
Returned to the dust

Here lies history
In all its world-wide span,
Bones and broken apple trees —
Here lies man

—The Atlantic Monthly

And now France

By "K. S. K."

WITH the signing of the Indo-French Agreement on the question of French Indian Establishments on October 21 at New Delhi, the 250 year old French suzerainty over the tiny specks of land that came to be called French India has finally ended. The symbolic significance to its Indian settlers to France was no more than that of epaulettes to a fallen General. Yet France held on to these tarnished ornaments with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause.

The merchants of France who came to the East in 1670 in search of spice could have little imagined that their trading adventure would lead to their country holding on to Indian territory so long and thereby create conflicts lasting beyond two centuries. Commercial rivalries with their European contemporaries in Eastern waters led the French into political entanglements with the British and the Dutch on the one side and with the conflicting interests of Indian rulers on the other. Events in Europe more than those in India helped them to hold on to these territories under British patronage for such a long time.

The manner in which the controversy has been ultimately solved demonstrates the sagacity of the present leadership in France and India and the prudence that prevails in the foreign policy of both the countries. Never in history has there been such determined adherence to peaceful means and friendly understanding of national principles on the part of two Governments. The Government of India led by Prime Minister Nehru can well take credit for having proved the effectiveness of Gandhian principles in settling international disputes.

The French Indian Settlements now merging with India consist of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe. Pondicherry the Capital comprises eight communes covering an area of 115 square miles and a population of a little over 2 lakhs. The territory is scattered in enclaves consisting of 12 'islands' separated from the main town intervening Indian Union territory. They are in fact a group of detached villages.

Karaikal lies a little further south on the east coast and covers 53 square miles with a population of about 70,000. It was acquired by the French from the Raja of Tanjore for a small consideration as a trading post. The importance of this bit lies in the fact that it is the chief rice producing area and is able to export nearly 5,000 tons of rice every year.

Yanam up north in the east coast, covers but 5.5 square miles and has a population of 6,000.

Mahe on the west coast in North Malabar covers an area of 22.8 square miles with a population of 18,000. The area came into French possession in 1721, ceded by the Raja of Badagara to shelter a French Garrison therein.

The annual revenue of the Settlements, derived chiefly from excise and customs, amounts to a little over Rs. 122 lakhs. About a tenth of this revenue is from income-tax and land revenue. The financial year coincides with the calendar year. The Indian rupee is the ordinary legal tender in all the Settlements, signifying their inevitable economic dependence on the mother country.

The administration of the French Establishment is vested in the Commissioner of the Republic assisted by a Government Council consisting of six members. The Council was created by the French Parliament by a special decree on the eve of India's independence on August 12, 1947 and invested with powers on August 20. Executive work is carried on through *Chefs de Service* (Chiefs of Service) on the different administrative departments.

On January 6, 1947 was created the Representative Assembly of French India. This Assembly consists of 39 members elected by adult franchise. The Representative Assembly has the right of electing three of the six members of the Government Council. The Commissioner has the option to nominate the other three members, but by convention the Commissioner waived his right and left the choice of all the members to the Representative Assembly. The Presidentship of the Government Council can also be delegated by

NOVEMBER 1954]

AND NOW FRANCE

4/1

the Commissioner to one of the Members of the Council.

Reports from heads of Departments approved by the Commissioner are heard by the Council and then submitted to the Representative Assembly for deliberation. The Members of the Council are invested with responsibility for various Departments the entire budget of which is met by the local Finance Department. The Member of Council administers the departments in his portfolio through Chiefs of Service.

The Settlements are divided into communes for purposes of civic administration. Each commune has an elected Municipal Council with a Mayor and two or three Deputy Mayors. Unlike in the Indian Union the Mayor in French Indian Settlements sees to the proper publication of laws and their execution and assists the Departments of the Government in their task. In this respect, the Mayor acts as the representative of the Commissioner of the Republic so far as his Commune is concerned. The Mayor also frames the laws and rules pertaining to public health and the maintenance of law and order in respect of his commune, based on the resolutions of the Municipal Council and the Commissioner's orders.

The Representative Assembly's legislative powers are restricted to laws affecting the Settlements as a whole. The judicial power is vested in the *Procureur General*. The Police Department is directly under the Commissioner with a Commandant as the head. The judicial machinery consists of a *Chef de Service Judiciaire*, two courts of the Justice of the Peace, two Tribunals of First Instance and a *Tribuna Supérieur d' Appel*.

During the days of the British in India the French pockets did not enjoy any autonomous status. Not being viable, they were naturally the economic hangers on of the main country. In fact their political status was to some extent even inferior to that of British India. The Treaty of Paris of 1814 under which the French were permitted to hold on to these Pockets made it clear that in case the conduct of the people in the Settlements rendered them suspect and the,

"British Government should judge it necessary to order them to quit India, they shall be allowed the

period of six months to retire, with their effects and property to France or to any other country they may choose".

The Government of India did not however exploit this provision nor did they strain the meaning of the treaty to the extent of assuming authority under it as the successors of the British Government and asking the French to quit immediately. They waited for the merger to come about as the expression of the spontaneous patriotism of the people of the Pockets.

India's attitude to the question of foreign settlements in this country has been made crystal clear in the famous Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress in 1948. According to that resolution,

"The continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes an anachronism and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for the possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up on these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change over there might take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of these possessions desire, and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, whenever possible, so as to enable the people of these possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India."

In spite of strong representations received from the nationalist leaders in these Settlements to the Government of India for their immediate merger with India and pledging the unanimous support of the population for the cause, India carried on negotiations with the French Government. The Government of France declared on June 8, 1948, the freedom of the people of the Settlement to decide their future political status by means of referendum. But later events in the areas revealed the impracticability of a fair and free referendum being conducted.

Elections were held in Pondicherry, Karaikal and Yanam on October 24, 1948. At this time emerged a powerful and purposeful party known as the French India Socialist Party. The party swept the polls and captured almost all the seats in the Representative Assembly

and Municipal Councils. In Mahe, however, extreme nationalist elements tried to force out the French power, but were scotched in the process. Here too, the French India Socialist Party later captured all the seats in the Municipal Council and began shaping things for a peaceful political metamorphosis in the Settlements. Imbued with the same spirit of nationalism and patriotic fervour that inspired the Indian National Congress to wage the epic struggle for freedom in India, the French India Socialist Party leaders took practical and apparently compromising measures to achieve their end.

The Party throughout played their politics both in the Representative Assembly and Government Council with a pro-merger orientation. In the process its leaders became the target of malicious propaganda. Their unwilling acquiescence in the repressive policy of the alien administration, enforced by practical diplomacy, was characterised as slavish and selfish opportunism. But every one of the leaders of the Party had soul enough to be kindled by that same kindly light that led a great nation to freedom through the path of *ahimsa*. They were undeterred in their aim, however dubious their methods might appear to the uniformed public.

They foiled the attempts of interested colonialists to swerve the public opinion against merger by tantalising offers of autonomy, status of condominium and so on. Members of the Party sent delegations to New Delhi and Paris and represented at both places in the strongest terms the inevitability of merger. They prevailed upon the framers of the Indian Constitution to provide for the eventual addition of new States in their Schedule of States.

The leaders of the Socialist Party simultaneously carried on pourparlers with the top leaders of the Indian National Congress, like Pandit Nehru, Kamaraj Nadar, C.R., and others and urged on them the great need of affiliating their Party with the National Organisation. On receiving a tacit understanding from these leaders that recognition would be given in due time, they carried on their struggle inside the Settlements and with the recalcitrant administration with vigour.

In March this year the Party realised that the time had come to take the final step. They dramatically demonstrated the popular will

for merger by passing resolutions in all the Municipal Councils favouring merger with India without a referendum.

This dramatic *coup* on the part of the Party leaders led three of them being subjected to such intense persecution inside Pondicherry that they had to flee the town. They utilised their opportunity to the fullest by 'liberating' the enclaves of Nettapakkam and Bahour and establishment of a free Government there. A representative conference of the Party was held at Nettapakkam on May 16 where it was unanimously decided to merge the party with the Indian National Congress and adopt the principles and objectives of the great organisation to further their objective.

Meanwhile prudence prevailed with the Government of France and they entered into active negotiations with the Government of India in order to seek a solution to the vexed problem. When the negotiations showed signs of failure in the initial stages in Paris the French India Socialist Party whipped up popular feeling and enabled the 'liberation' of Yanam and Mahe. The French authorities realised that their time had come to quit.

By a series of talks that were resumed in New Delhi in July, it was ultimately agreed to hold a Congress of all members of the Municipal Councils and the Representative Assembly and take a vote on the main question of merger on the basis of the terms of an Agreement reached by the two Governments.

The Congress was accordingly convened at Kizhur on October 18. Members of the French India Socialist Party who formed the main body of the voters at the Congress met at a convention in Nettapakkam the previous day and pledged themselves to the cause of merger and to work as members of the Indian National Congress. The voting at Kizhur revealed the popular will in unmistakable terms. Among the 178 voters who attended 170 signified their support for merger. The eight opposing votes were cast by voters who are not members of the French India Socialist Party and who have their own peculiar personal reasons to indicate their personal loyalty to the local French authorities.

Hailing the agreements from Peking Pandit Nehru stated:

"I am particularly happy that this change is taking place as an expression of the will of the people and in friendly agreement with the Government of France. Thus we have yet another example of settling difficult problems in a peaceful way by negotiated settlements".

The Agreement while vindicating the principles by which the Government of India had all along stood fast, embodies all the assurances given by them to the people of foreign settlements in the country. It deals with every aspect of administration exhaustively. No change in the constitutional set up in the establishments can be made without consulting the wishes of the people. Elaborate provisions are also made for the preservation of French culture in the territories. Scientific and Cultural institutions will be maintained and helped to develop. The Government of France will themselves run the College Francaise at Pondicherry.

Great care has been taken in the Agreement to ensure that there is no interruption in the life of the community. The civil rights of the citizens will continue unimpaired. Similarly freedom of trade and movement are guaranteed as at present, subject only to the customs and excise regulations that may be made by the Government of India.

The *de jure* transfer of the territories will be made after all the constitutional formalities have been gone through by the Governments of France and India. Sticklers of constitutional propriety should now be satisfied with the manner in which the people's representatives have been able to decide freely in favour of merger. All that remains now is to implement the agreement so that the interval between the *de facto* transfer of power and *de jure* ending of French sovereignty in the settlements will be as short as possible.



Elected members of 16 Municipal Communes from the French Settlements in India and members of the French Representative Assembly met at Kizhur near Pondicherry on October 18, and decided by an overwhelming majority in favour of merger of the French Settlements with the Indian Union.

Photo shows Sri Balasubramaniam, President of the French India Representative Assembly, who presided over the proceedings, speaking after the result of the voting was declared. It is melancholy to think that Sri Balasubramaniam should have passed away suddenly on the eve of the liberation day. He died of heart failure on Oct. 31.

Military work and Conscience—A Decision in Moral Rights

By Sri. R. L. WATTAL

Is Military work compatible with the dictates of our higher nature? There are those who would maintain that such work is war work, that war is murder, murder is a deadly sin, and therefore military work should be avoided. Other equally sincere persons would reason the opposite way. Unfortunately, life and human relations are not as simple as we would wish them to be. It is not possible to lay down certain rigid principles of right and to adhere to them regardless of the forces operating at the time, and the exigencies of the situation. Much will, of course, depend on the circumstances prevailing, and on the nature of the military work demanded of us. I will make no attempt to sway the decisions of my readers but will merely expound my own views on the subject.

The conflict between his Conscience and his Military duty, in Arjuna's mind, forms a starting point for the Bhagwad Gita. The battle of Mahabharat is the stage-setting for this dialogue. Arjuna finds himself in a war, in which his dear friends and relatives, his teachers who have taught him all he knows, happen to be on the opposing side. All those whom Arjuna holds in high esteem and to whom he owes a debt of gratitude are now his enemies. How is Arjuna to return his obligations to his benefactors by causing their death? He is overwhelmed with emotion and prostrating himself before Lord Krishna, implores his enlightenment and guidance regarding the course of action conducive to his highest welfare. The reply which Lord Krishna gives Arjuna constitutes the message of the Gita. Very briefly, having due regard to its relevance from our point of view he advises Arjuna as follows:—

The cause for which one is fighting is the primary consideration. Personalities are of no consequence. The feeling of compassion which is most commendable elsewhere is out of place on the field of battle. Kindness towards opponents in battle is misplaced. The action most befitting Arjuna as a soldier, is to take up his arms, and with a firm mind devoid of excitement, to embrace the duty of a warrior.

Let us suppose war was declared, the so-called Third World War and that we are

being drafted into the armed forces. Refusal to serve would render us liable to court martial. Even supposing we are willing to pay the penalty, and to be martyrs of our own convictions, have we the moral right to step aside when our country is fighting for its very existence? We may feel some politicians needlessly brought the war on us. But before the outbreak of war, did we contribute financially, speak in public, or otherwise exercise a restraining influence on these politicians who violate the dignity of man, and the brotherhood of nations? Even if we did, does that free us from the collective Karma of our nation? Have we not benefited from our country's police protection and its educational and cultural institutions? We might petition our members of Parliament and other responsible representatives to maintain unceasing efforts to mediation and conciliation. We may do everything in our power to restore peace. We might even incur the displeasure of our Military superiors and become martyrs in a minor degree. But even so in my view we must continue to perform our military duties to the best of our ability.

In these days of "Cold War" it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between war and peace. The complex life of a modern community is so interwoven and interdependent that it is difficult to tell where war leaves off and peace begins. Even as civilians we may be called upon to perform duties of a military nature. We may be engaged in Atomic Research or industry, which is part of the nation's war effort.

If one has strong convictions about the place of his country under the sun, about his national way of life, if in his view the end is noble, then the means adopted towards the attainment of that end are not ignoble. Let him carry out his military duties with a clear conscience.

Whether to accept military duty or to reject it, this as every other decision in life must be left to the dictates of our own conscience. But in crossing the threshold or stepping aside, let us not be blind to the grave Karmic responsibilities involved. May we make the decision that brings internal and external peace!

The Formosa Issue

BY MR. NORMAN CLIFF

When the guns were silenced in Korea and in Indo-China and the Generals were told to take a long rest, the sigh of relief of a war-sick world was almost audible. The sudden reawakening of the dogs of war and their growling in the vicinity of Formosa need not be taken too tragically. Probably little more than a warning to trespassers to keep off the coast of China is intended and if the warning is heeded and the hotheads are restrained, no one is likely to run the risk of setting off an atomic war in order to settle another dispute by force. The Formosa issue, as every other, is capable of solution in due course, by the civilised method of peaceful negotiation. For the moment, patience and restraint need to be exercised by all the parties concerned.

It is time that it was recognised—on both sides—that the possibility of the Communist regime in China being overthrown as the result of the unaided efforts of the pathetic Chiang Kai-Shek clique in Formosa is nil. Even if the Chinese people wanted a change the last kind of change they would desire would be restoration of the corrupt and discredited Kuomintang. Chiang and the remnants of his followers are rusting and ageing, and not all the injections of American aid can revitalise them into a force of more than nuisance value. Until the future of Formosa can be decided by statesmen in a reasonable way, Chiang should be restrained from provocative military activities and the pretence that this is practically an American island, whose defence is essential to the security of the United States, should be abandoned.

CAIRO DELEGATION

The United States joined with the United Kingdom and China in the Cairo declaration of December, 1943, that "Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China." A few days after the Korea war started, President Truman announced that Formosa would be neutralised. He ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on the island and called Chiang to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. He said the United

States Government would not give Chiang military aid or advice and that the Seventh Fleet would be withdrawn when the Korea war ended. The Eisenhower Administration has given Chiang military aid, sent American forces to Formosa and lifted the ban on offensive activities against the mainland. The Korea war is over and the Seventh Fleet has not been withdrawn. Obviously, a relaxation of tension waits upon a reversal of this policy.

A LOVELY ISLAND

What of the internal situation of Formosa? It is a lovely island, more blessed than burdened by Nature. It owes its name to the Portuguese who, on first sighting it in 1590, exclaimed "Ilha Formosa" (beautiful island). Its Chinese name to Taiwan (terraced bay) derives from the fact that its spiky central spine of mountains drops down over terraces of paddy on the east coast to the blue Pacific. But it is a volcanic range and there is an average of over 300 earthquakes annually. Destructive typhoons sweep across the island at this time of the year. Under the Japanese heel for 50 years, liberty was crushed but the economy flourished, and when the island was handed back to China, Chiang found refuge in a highly developed State. Still liberty was too dangerous an element to be tolerated and the only political organisation allowed to function is the Kuomintang.

According to a recent visitor, Chiang's execution squads remain busy. Every now and then some opponent of the regime is made to kneel in the sand and shot in the back. The one redeeming feature of the island in recent years was efficiency of the provincial administration, headed by K. C. Wu, formerly Mayor in succession of Hankow, Chungking and Shanghai. He used to be embarrassed by being described as "the one honest man in Chiang's entourage." Now he has departed in disgust to the United States and denounced in scathing terms the rottenness of the set-up. Since he left, I am told, he had no successors as provincial Governor.

YOUNG BLOOD FOR VETERAN ARMY

K. C. Wu had the wisdom to give the Formosans a preponderating share in the administration. Now there are reports of the conscription of Formosans to introduce new young blood into the veteran army, which in any case has to be fed and financed by the Formosans. When I asked an intelligent young Formosan whom I knew in the capital, Taipei what the real feelings of people like himself were he answered: "You will never discover, because we are afraid to say what we feel." In all discussions of the

future of Formosa, as has become usual in such cases, no thought is given to the views of the Formosans. Although the descendants of immigrants from the mainland, they have developed over the centuries into a distinctive people, just as emigrants from Britain have become Australians and Canadians. Almost continuously under the rule of others, the Formosans have fought for independence again and again. The ties with the motherland remain and given autonomy they might be content. But they have the same right to self-determination as others.

The Kashmir Dispute

By Sri C. N. BHALERAU

After protracted negotiations with the Government of India over the Kashmir question, Mr. Mohamed Ali, the Pakistan Prime Minister, has come to the conclusion "that there is no scope left for further direct negotiations" with India and expressed his desire to revert the dispute to the Security Council. In the context of the U.S.—Pakistan military pact, such a conclusion on the part of Pakistan was not altogether unexpected. The White Paper recently published in New Delhi and Karachi reveals, in unmistakable terms, the stand taken by India and Pakistan in regard to the Kashmir dispute. It shows that while India has given friendly co-operation for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, Pakistan has always obstructed and deliberately postponed any such settlement and has employed all the diplomatic skill to present the picture in false colours and build up its case against India.

The Kashmir dispute may be viewed in two aspects. Firstly, it has a legal aspect on the basis of which alone any plan for demilitarisation can be carried out. It will be recalled that after the partition of India, the various states were given the option either to join India or Pakistan. The basic principle of accession was that it was vested in the discretion of the ruler. In October 1947, the Pakistan Government headed by the late Mr. Jinnah lost patience and invaded the State of Jammu and Kashmir in total disregard of the principles of partition. There-

after the Ruler of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession and on his request, the Indian army entered the territory of the state. Thus legally Kashmir is to be defended and administered by India and from this point of view the Pakistan Government has no 'locus standi' in Kashmir.

The Kashmir issue has already been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves and now they have willingly become a part of the Republic of India. The only question that really remains to be solved is the withdrawal of Pakistani forces which have illegitimately entered the "Azad Kashmir" territory with claims of a political nature but without any legal title. When the people themselves have made a decision to accede to India it is the duty and responsibility of India to support the people of Kashmir and to defend them in the event of future aggression.

The second aspect of the dispute concerns the stand taken by India and Pakistan in regard to it before the U.N.O. India has shown that she has faith in the U.N.O. and is prepared to act upon its decisions in the larger interests of world peace. When in 1947 the military conflict broke out in Kashmir, India took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. The U.N. called Pakistan as the aggressor but nothing was done to act upon the fact of aggression by Pakistan. It merely appointed the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan and after its failure it appointed two mediators, Sir Owen Dickson and Dr.

Frank Graham. Later when all these attempts failed the U.N. left the termination of the conflict to the initiative of the two governments concerned. India made various proposals to Pakistan and urged her to settle this question by peaceful negotiation. Pakistan turned down all the friendly suggestions made by India. She objected to the 'no war declaration' proposal of India and finally entered into a military pact with the U.S.A. Both Pakistan and America have shown more ingenuity than is necessary, in stressing the point that the military assistance to Pakistan should not be mixed up with the Kashmir issue. That it should not be mixed with the Kashmir issue is a matter of argument. The fact is that such an aggression had taken place and with military aid of this kind and the promises made by Mr. Mohammed Ali to the U.S.A., the possibility of an "extraordinary situation" resulting in aggression increases all the more. It is, therefore, aptly said by our Prime Minister that the military assistance to Pakistan "changes the whole context of the Kashmir issue".

In the context of Mr. Mohammed Ali's declaration that he now wants to take the matter

again to the U.N. and his recent visit to the U.S.A. it is necessary for the Government of India to take strong steps. India must also make it clear to the U.N. that the Kashmir issue should not be affected by the policies of power drunk "weltmacht" maniacs.

There is still a better way for Pakistan. And that is to take all the aspects of the Kashmir question into account and arrive at a negotiated settlement with India. Instead of militarising the country and making false propaganda against India, she will be benefited more by exploring possibilities of a friendly and peaceful approach to Kashmir problem. It will be a happier day when the Nehru—Ali agreement is signed and worked out on the lines of the Nehru—Chou agreement embodying the principles of:—

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) Mutual non-aggression.
- (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit,
- (5) And peaceful co-existence.



NAIROBI SCHOOLBOYS ATTEND CITY COUNCIL MEETING

Legal aid for the Poor

BY SRI P. G. NAIR, M. A., B. L.

OUR Constitution guarantees to every one of her citizens equal protection under the laws. But this guaranteed equality loses much of its meaning and reality to the poor millions of this country, because they have not the means to make that equality felt in their every day lives as real and substantial. To those who cannot afford to have legal aid for them, all the rights thus guaranteed would only appear to be shadowy.

Legal aid for the poor means providing the services of lawyers at the cost of the state or of society, to those who cannot afford to pay for them. Ignorance of law is no excuse in any of the modern countries. But knowledge of law is so costly and no country has any system whereby benefits of the knowledge of law can be obtained by all those in need of it. No doubt from a practical point of view, it would be impossible to provide adequate legal knowledge to all the people. And there never will be a time when all the people in the land will have adequate legal knowledge to defend their rights unaided by a professional lawyer. All that we can hope to accomplish is to make the services of lawyers available to all those who are genuinely incapable of purchasing in the open market. If every one should feel that he is equal to everyone else in the eye of law, he should have some means whereby he can make his equality felt by others through the courts of law.

Just as the rendering of free medical service is recognised to be an essential function of the State so also should legal aid be recognised as an essential item of service to be rendered to the needy at the cost of the State. If it is the duty of the State to appoint public prosecutors to prosecute those who under the law are presumed to be innocent, why should the State abstain from appointing public defenders for defending those innocents? When those presumed to be innocent are prosecuted by the authority of the State, and with all its strength and resources, it is only fair to render to them the aid which the innocents deserve. The presumption of innocence has no substance unless it be recognised that everyone has the right to be defended even at the cost of the State by a lawyer.

Under the Present system the lawyer guards the gates of justice and no one may pass him without paying him the tribute. In effect it is in the hands of the lawyers that the freedom and liberty of the citizen ultimately depend; and that lawyer is on who can be had only for hire. It is even axiomatic that the laws have little reality without the professional service of lawyer who alone could relate them to facts and set in motion the complex machinery of judicial determination. The rights of the accused under the Procedure Code itself, such as the right of cross examination and almost all the other protections under the Evidence Act are shadowy and meaningless to one unprotected by a lawyer.

In our country law is almost like a luxury; only the rich can have the benefits of law to the full advantage. The impression for the poor millions at least, is that only a golden key will unlock the temple of justice. The enormous disadvantages of the poor for obtaining justice is too obvious. Seeds of revolution are hidden in this situation. The guarantees of the Constitution and the protections under the Evidence Act would make no appeal to those who cannot afford to pay the court fees not to speak of the lawyer's fees. What does it profit the poor man to know that he is equal to his richest opponent in the eyes of law, when there is not even the means to knock what the law is?

In the general course of human nature a power over the means of subsistence of a person means a power over the will of that person. As the rich have a power over the means of subsistence of the poor they have as well a power over the wills of the poor. They could hardly have even the will to make their equality felt by the richer classes. Even if some of them have the will they should make themselves visible to the Law and this can be done only through the professional lawyers. So that ultimately it means that the availability of lawyers within the reach of the poorest in the land is a condition precedent to the realisation of real equality among the citizens.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

India and China

The Prime Minister's visit to China and his talks with President Mao Tse-tung, like the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to Delhi in June last are memorable in many respects. They are events of outstanding significance in the context of world affairs today. China and India have much in common—the two great giants waking up after centuries of sleep and submission to foreign yoke. They have just won their freedom from alien domination and they are working for the security and stability of their States in their own ways. Their ways of approach to their respective problems may differ but the resurgent peoples are inspired by kindred hopes and aspirations of democratic life and freedom. With the back-ground of many centuries of contact in culture and civilization and yearning for peace and progress for the future, they seem prepared to march together in friendly cooperation. It is a noble and enthralling prospect—the spectacle of some 900 millions moving with one accord to make the world safe for peace and democracy.

Never before in Chinese history has a foreign statesman been received with such acclamation of joy and enthusiasm as when Nehru landed in Peking. The practical idealism of the Indian leader has evoked the warmest feelings in our Chinese neighbours. It would be strange indeed if Mr. Nehru's visit to China and our neighbour's appreciation of our political idealism should pass away without a definite change for the better in Asian affairs. The visit may have its repercussions in the American attitude to Red China and pave the way for her participation in the United Nations, and herald a new era of world peace and world unity.

That peace should be broad-based on the willing co-operation of Asian countries and the countries of the West.

64

Addressing a public meeting organised by the Mayor of Peking, Prime Minister Nehru said he earnestly trusted that the Five Principles, which laid the foundations for a new approach of coexistence, co-operation and recognition of the right of each country to live its own life, (principles which have been reaffirmed by the President and Prime Minister of China in his talks with them) would be accepted and acted upon not only by the countries and peoples of Asia, but also by other countries and peoples.

"Thus" he said, "we shall enlarge the peace area and remove the fear of war and the tensions that exist today."

There could be no East and West ranged against each other in the future. There could only be one world devoting itself in friendly cooperation between different parts to the advancement of humanity.

The emergence of China and India as free sovereign countries in Asia has changed the face of this ancient continent. The old balance of forces which had resulted in the domination of Asia had gone and a new equilibrium is gradually arising, before our eyes through pain and turmoil.

Prime Minister Nehru left the Chinese shores convinced that new China would work enthusiastically with India to extend the area of peace in Asia. He is happy that his visit to China and his free and frank talks with the Chinese leaders were not without historic significance—they helped the cause of world peace—said the PTI Special Correspondent.

Mr. Nehru, who was homeward bound after his twelve-day "discovery" of China, found from his meetings and discussions with the country's top leaders, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Prime Minister Chou En-lai, and others, that there was complete identity of purpose—that what the Asian countries needed to-day were peace and cooperation, not war or hostility.

Nehru Thinks Aloud

Both in his Autobiography and his other writings Mr. Nehru has indulged in introspection, with a candour and frankness rare among politicians. For all his triumphs as a political leader Mr. Nehru is at heart a scholar and man of letters and the instinct to share his thoughts with his readers or listeners has been insistent. It was in one of such moods that he wrote to the Presidents of Pradesh Committees that he would like to be relieved of the tremendous responsibilities of Prime Minister, at least for a time.

Addressing a press Conference at Calcutta Mr. Nehru said that letter was entirely "a personal document."

"I had, in fact, mentioned this matter in a particular way to my colleagues previously because this has been in my mind for some little time and then I felt strongly the urge to be frank to the public at large. These are important matters which I think should be placed before the public before the final decision is taken. Decisions on important matters should not be imposed on the public. They should be treated as partners in such questions of importance. I am often in the habit of thinking aloud."

What next, and who will shoulder the burden? Though in the economy of the world no one is indispensable, a man of conscience and a leader with any sense of responsibility is bound to consider the situation arising from his withdrawal and make arrangements for a smooth change over. Gandhi was content with imparting ideas and leaving the execution to his lieutenants. It is one of the marks of true greatness to be able to make heroes of commoner stuff and the men who surrounded Gandhi rose to positions of trust and power in the state. Strangely enough Nehru could not point to any successor, as Mahatmaji with unerring instinct chose the son of Motilal for his heir and successor and the Sardar as his next in command.

Judged by records of contemporary statesmen in office it cannot be said that Nehru is too old for Prime Ministership. There is the classic example of Winston Churchill holding the reins tight in his 80th year and the German Chancellor is a septuagenarian. Prime Ministership in a modern democracy is an exacting occupation and we have known Asquith and Campbell-Bannerman and Baldwin succumbing to the terrific strain of office.

But Nehru is not Prime Minister only. He is also his own Defence Minister, Foreign Minister and Chairman of the National Planning Commission. On top of all this, as President of the Indian National Congress he has also to act as the Chief Public Relations Officer of his party. The surprise, as *Thought* shrewdly observes, is:

that despite traces of strain in his utterances and policy statements occasionally, he has managed to discharge his exacting, manifold, responsibilities with success comparable to that of any responsible statesman in the world. That his compatriots and immediate colleagues should have failed so far to think of ways and means to relieve him of some of his burden is really shocking and suggests incredible lack of courage and inspiration on their part. Adulation sometimes can be frightfully cruel.

The remedy lies in decentralisation, that is, the Prime Minister should lose no time in delegating other offices and duties to other hands. That will give some relief to the overworked Prime Minister and ensure continuance of Nehru in his high office. But sooner or later the question of the successor should be faced as even the tallest of men must go and it is bare prudence to discuss the importance of the question raised by Mr. Nehru. Meanwhile it is comforting that the public is reassured on points on which it would otherwise have felt grave anxiety. "I can assure you", says the Prime Minister, "that I am in good health and as fit as any person at my age is expected to be." He has no intention of "going into the wilderness or retiring to the mountains". He is not of the "retiring type". Above all Mr. Nehru is too conscientious and responsible a statesman to think of quitting office in a hurry or "create an upset".

Transfer of French Settlements

At dawn on November 1, French rule over Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam ceased when the Instruments of Transfer were signed. The signing of the documents marked the final stages of the complete transfer of power into Indian hands. Earlier, shortly after midnight (31st Oct.) armed units of the Indian Police marched into Pondicherry and took charge of the Police Station along with the armoury.

It is indeed a matter of gratification, said the President in his message, that the long cherished desire of the people of the French Settlements to be free and united with their Mother Country should have been fulfilled as a result of our friendly approach and the farsighted statesmanship displayed by France—that great nation whose guiding principles, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," have served as a beacon-light to all democracies of the world. The spirit in which the friendly negotiations for the transfer were carried on would, I hope, serve as a shining example to other nations faced with similar problems of colonialism which is now an anachronism.

Official arrangements for *de facto* transfer of power in the French India Settlements from the French to the Indian Union Government had been completed and every Government department had been fully organised to function under the new set-up from November 1.

The ceremony was symbolic of the withdrawal of the 240-year-old foothold of the French in the sub-continent and was the culmination of protracted negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the issue between India and France. Within an hour of the ceremony leaders of the liberation movement against whom treason charges by the French were pending, entered Pondicherry to participate in the flag salutation and other ceremonies.

The formal ceremony of the *de facto* transfer of power was held simultaneously in Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam.

Reduction in armaments

The Political Committee of the United Nations unanimously adopted a resolution jointly sponsored—for the first time since 1946—by the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and Canada asking the Disarmament Commission to reconvene its Subcommittee, composed of the same Powers for further negotiations on disarmament.

Speaking shortly before the voting, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, described the event as an "epochal turning point" in international affairs. He said:

"We are too near the events to be able to appreciate the distance we are covering or the speed at which we are travelling."

Mr. Krishna Menon regarded the day's events to be as important as the one of a few months ago when the guns of war all over the world were silenced: "Instead of conflict, we are entering on a path of co-operation, on a process of common exploration".

The Crisis In Pakistan

Though neither the government nor the press in Pakistan gave any previous indication of the nature of the crisis that had developed in the absence of the Prime Minister abroad everybody knew it must be some very grave emergency that should have compelled Mr. Mohammed Ali to cut his important American programme and rush back to Pakistan. The attempt to stifle or belittle popular agitation against bureaucratic obstinacy may succeed for a while but it could be no substitute for facing the situation squarely. It needs no prophet to say that something was rotten in a State which permitted the perpetration of Government by a party routed in the elections. Popular verdict went straight against the Muslim League and no amount of casuistry could bolster up a clique long in power. The crisis was precipitated by sharp differences among sections of the ruling Muslim League Party over the provisions of the new constitution which the Prime Minister before his departure to the United States had promised the country before the end of the year.

The Governor General Mr. Ghulam Mohammed acted promptly and with vigour and at one stroke proclaimed a state of emergency throughout Pakistan and ordered fresh elections to the Constituent Assembly. He also called upon Mr. Mohammed Ali to reform his Cabinet which was done at once.

These swift developments came within 24 hours of the arrival of the Prime Minister. The Propriety of the Governor General's dramatic action may be questioned by legal and constitutional pundits but the public has greeted the proclamation as an act of courage and wisdom in an emergency.

Ministers of Pakistan's reshuffled Cabinet assumed charge on October 25 amidst mixed reception from the Press and public leaders to the Governor General's dramatic dissolution of the Constituent Assembly to avert one of the most serious political crises in the country's history.

But the most notable and significant addition to the reconstituted Cabinet is Dr. Khan Saheb, former Premier of the N.W. Province who was released only last year after six years, detention.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

On the eve of Deepavali Delhi was shocked by the news of the sudden and unexpected death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai the 60 year old Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, who had collapsed soon after fulfilling a public engagement. Thus the patriot literally died in harness and the country was plunged in grief. Leaders were unanimous in praising his role in the country's struggle for independence and after. It was Kidwai they said, who, after the political freedom, brought freedom from want of food in the country which had recently to import foodgrains from abroad. To his associates in U.P. and particularly to Nehru then in China the death of an old and tried friend and comrade was nothing short of a personal bereavement. The Prime Minister said in Dairen, as the news was conveyed to him that Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's death "is a loss I can hardly bear, both from personal and public points of view."

In a statement to the Press in that far off town of China Sri Nehru added:

"For 35 years we worked together in the closest comradeship through ups and downs of our struggle for freedom and later as members of Government."

"The passing away of old comrades always brings a wrench and a sense of loneliness. Sri Kidwai's death is even a deeper blow. During the long years of struggle and after freedom came to us he served his country brilliantly and devotedly and none will be missed more than he will be."

For all his pleasant mannered, genial and urbane ways Kidwai was a "stormy petrel" in politics particularly in his home Province. It is said that he used to "go underground" periodically, partly for reasons of health and partly to observe things himself.

While holding the portfolio of Communications, he is known to have gone to post offices to join the queues incognito. He kept up the practice as Food Minister and many wheat merchants discovered too late the gentleman with whom they had been bargaining over food prices was none other than the Food Minister.

Andhra Ministerial Crisis

The fall of the Prakasam Ministry as a sequel to the adoption of a no-confidence motion by the Andhra Assembly will be deeply regretted. The Ministry had been in power for just thirteen months and thirteen days and only few weeks ago the completion of the first year was marked by jubilation and well merited encomiums on its competence and achievements even

during that short period. The no-confidence motion sought to censure the government for not implementing the Ramamurthi Committee's report on prohibition, as decided by the Assembly. Now prohibition is a topic on which there has always been differences of opinion all over the country, and while its virtues were admitted its economic consequences and the difficulties of its enforcement also were well known and recognised. The members all along agreed to differ as they wisely gathered round a leader of outstanding ability and character as the rallying point amidst all factions and groups. They knew that Mr. Prakasam was the one symbol of unity and strength in Andhra. And now that the opposition had won in a snap division and the ministry had resigned the Governor called on Mr. Prakasam to continue pending instructions from the centre.

Governor's rule has since been proclaimed. Now nobody wants Governor's rule in the infant State but the opposition, mostly comprised of miscellaneous groups and unattached independents will have to prove that the conflicting groups have other things in common than mere opposition to the government in power.

The U.S. Elections

As we go to press the results of the U.S. elections are being released. The indications are that the President will find himself faced with a hostile Congress. But that is by no means unusual in American politics. The special correspondent of the *Hindu* cabled from New York the day after the polling started:

"In one of the closest elections in the nation's history, many of the contests producing photo finishes. Democrats regained control over the House of Representatives, strongly shook Republican hold on Senate and wrested power in the majority of the States of the Union, including New York, which elected Mr. Averell Harriman Governor. Though they did not win as decisively as pollsters had forecast they would, Democrats are happy over the results which they see as an indication of the American people's disenchantment with the Republican administration and as a good augury for the more important Presidential elections of 1956."

Since then the democrats have won control of the Senate also. They are now 48 against 47 Republicans. No wonder the President has astutely announced his desire to establish "close, cordial & constructive" relations with the democratic leaders of the Congress.



The WORLD of BOOKS



THE FUTURE POETRY: by Sri Aurobindo
Sri Aurobindo Asram.

The three stages in Wordsworth's love of nature are well known: the sensuous, the intellectual and the spiritual. In the appeal of poetry as a whole something like these three stages is seen by Sri Aurobindo: sound value, thought value and soul value.

Obviously, the first appeal of poetry is through the sound value. When man began first to enjoy poetry it must have been the pleasure of the sweet sounds that attracted him. The definition of poetry, that it is the best words in the best order, implies this. At a more advanced stage the thought in poetry attracts the reader. The spiritual value is realized at a still more advanced stage. Sri Aurobindo is of the view that future poetry is the poetry that has this soul value in a more pronounced way.

At a first view this does not appear to be so. Is modern poetry more spiritual than the poetry of earlier years? It would seem to be almost the other way. Apart from the arguments of materialists that all literature is conditioned by material well-being or ill-being, and apart from the exploded theories like art for art's sake, merely physical and material appeals seem to be more prominent in much of the poetry written these days. It would even appear that the spiritual is receding to the background, and that what forcibly appeal to the senses are the major pre-occupations of modern poets, as of other artists too.

But this is really only on the surface, and poems of this nature have but a temporary vogue. Like many best sellers with immediate physical appeals they have their day and cease to be. What really holds the field and lives to future generations is the work which has the spiritual essence in it. This does not mean that it is didactic; but it means the possession of the appeal to the deepest in man, which is not physical or sensuous or even merely intellectual. That is what Sri Aurobindo refers to as soul value. Being a spiritually aware man and a litterateur too he perceives and brings out this fact in a clear and convincing way.

Of the thirty-two articles that make up this book the most delightful are those in which, like the seer that he is, the author shares with the reader his vision of the higher reaches of poetry. Poetry to him is no pastime. It is vision and prophecy, intensity of emotion, feeling and thought, it is spiritual experience, and a means of exalting man to high levels.

That poetry has been advancing in this direction he shows by a wide survey of literature, especially English poetry. He concentrates on English poetry because he recognises that "of all the modern European languages it has the largest, freest poetic energy and natural power. This does not, however, mean that there has been any steady and consistent advancement in the spiritual urges. That, like most things in human life, has been a going forward and backward, sudden outbursts and long lulls, with, in the final result, a going forward in the soul value. The flowering of the mystical spirit is what gives Sri Aurobindo his satisfaction in the development of the poetic appeal.

But to insist too much upon this may perhaps be to take poetry out of its legitimate sphere. No doubt poetry and mysticism have been often well connected. St. John of the Cross was not only the great mystic of Spain but also a great poet of the land. Even minor mystics express themselves in the poetic way. But to demand of poetry mystic vision is to demand what it is not essentially for. Poetry is one thing, mysticism is another thing. The two may have associations; but the two cannot be identified. This is clear from the poems of Keats, Shelley and Wordsworth. Blake, Whitman, Tagore, Yeats and A. E. no doubt go farther in the mystical line; and it is in them that Sri Aurobindo sees indications of the greater soul value of future poetry.

Future poetry as visioned in this book will be something that exalts the spirit of man, it will give him more than a half-way house in his unending exploration of the highest he can reach.

THE PRIME MINISTER: By Dr. V. Venkata Rao. Foreword by Prof. Mr. Venkata-Rangiah, Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd. Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2.

The infant democracy of India started to function only eight years ago and though we have had our elaborate constitution written down with care and precision there are yet many features that should shape themselves only by convention, and the growth of such convention is a matter of time and experience. The British constitution, which because of its long history and the success that has attended it, has become the model to so many constitutions in the world, is in itself an unwritten constitution and is mainly guided by convention that has grown through decades of trial and error. Dr. Venkata Rao has done a scholarly piece of work, which by its thoroughness and timeliness must prove of great use to those charged with the task of guiding our own infant democracy on right lines.

The idea of this brochure rose out of a discussion of the constitutionality of the action of the Governor General of Pakistan in dismissing Prime Minister Najimuddin in April 1953. This book deals with several aspects of an institution which has become an integral part of all constitutions everywhere. Dr. Venkata Rao has attempted to explain with a cogency and a wealth illustration and authorities that should go far to make the brochure at once interesting and entertaining to the general reader.

Lord Morley described the Prime Minister as "the key stone of the Cabinet arch", but it is even more. The Prime Minister is not merely the first among equals but is "like a peak among the pyramids." In times of emergency, as we have known through the years of war, he may assume powers not inferior to those of a dictator, so long as he commands the confidence of the legislature. He is just like the radiant sun, says the author, around which planets revolve.

It is true that Dr. Venkata Rao gives more details of the history and the process of the evolution of the institution in England than in any other States with Parliamentary government. We, who are more conversant with British Institutions than with those of other countries will appreciate

the meticulous care and comprehensiveness with which the writer has collected factual material bearing on the subject. The office, the appointment, the powers and functions and the dismissal of the Prime Minister are all explained in the light of British experience and the need for India to follow the best traditions of democratic procedure, both in the interest of efficiency and smooth working of the machinery of government. It is a fine, scholarly and valuable treatise on a subject of paramount importance to a democracy in the making.

OSCAR WILDE: By James Laner, Writers and their Work series, Orient Longmans, Madras 2. Price 2 sh.

Oscar Wilde still continues to be the most controversial figure in Europe though Englishmen are apt to think his reputation rather exaggerated. But the fact remains that more books have been written about Wilde since his death, than about writers with thrice and four times his output. Of course this is partly due to the scandal associated with his name, yet he remains probably the best known figure in English literature since Byron. James Laner has waded through a stream of comment and criticism and found his way to a sober and final judgment of Wilde, the man and writer. He summarises Wilde's background and achievements and spotlights what is most significant in his work. "As a literary—historical figure, Wilde is unique" he concludes. "Without him neither the Aesthetic Movement of the Eighties, nor the Decadent Movement of the Nineties, can be understood." Indeed Wilde has his permanent niche in English literature apart from his influence on the history of that literature.

INDIA AND MALAYA: A Study—by Nedyam Raghavan, Barrister-at-Law, Formerly President, Central India Association of Malaya, published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs by Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay—Calcutta—Madras. Price: Rs. 2 12-0.

This is another useful booklet from the Indian Council of World Affairs. It is a timely reminder that in the modern world, you cannot remain in isolation. It is both a historical and statistical study and deserves sympathetic perusal.

KANGAROO HOLLOW: By Thomas Hal Phillips. W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 43, Essex Street, Strand, London W.C. 2. (Rupa & Co., 15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12).

Phillip's fourth novel is a mature work—a long and absorbing family saga the central figure of which—Rufus Frost—comes to work at the Hollow and marries the inheritor of an Estate. To avoid financial dependence on his wife he goes into corrupt politics and the story describes his struggle to retain his self-respect and the love of his numerous children. The period covered by the story includes the two wars and the years between and we have a full and detailed picture of American life at home and abroad. The pageant of American life at all levels, the home, school, the playing field, politics, the hopes and ambitions of the young and the adolescent and the devious ways of arriving at eminence are all told with engaging frankness.

SELECTED PROSE: T. S. Elliot: Edited by John Hayward. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England.

This prose collection of Essays in Criticism is designed to be a companion volume to the selected poems of T. S. Elliot issued in the series of Penguin Poets, Edited with an introduction by John Hayward the volume provides a comprehensive selection of essays and addresses by one of the finest and most original minds of our time. Elliot's distinction as a poet and his abundant output in verse have somewhat overshadowed his reputation as a critic. But a perusal of these fragmentary pieces will show that in his critical judgments no less than in his power of exposition he should be classed with Dryden and Johnson and Coleridge and Arnold who in their own time and generation represented the highest standard of literary criticism. We need such man to guide us from time to time to review the past and evaluate the poets and their works in a new order. This task is done with great learning and competence by one who is himself a craftsman of no mean order.

NEW WORLD WRITING: 5th Mentor Selection. Published by The New American Library, New York, Price 50 cents.

The fifth Mentor Selection of New World writing is as rich and varied as any of its predecessors, offering to its countless readers all over the English speaking world a new adventure in modern reading. It is a challenging responsibility to select the best of the abundant crop of literature that is in the making, particularly to search out work of promising writers yet unknown. This task is done with sympathy and discernment by the Editors; and specimens of the highest talent in contemporary writing—in fiction, drama, poetry and criticism—are brought together under one cover. It must be remembered that the first four volumes dealt with no less than 174 writers of whom only 34 had appeared in print for the first time and they represented 25 countries. The present volume is equally comprehensive containing specimens of work by English, Welsh, Irish and American writers and selected pieces of modern Arabic poems. A selection of Lehman's *Autobiography* and Tom Keogh's pen and ink drawings—Literary Haunts of New York—add distinction to the usual features of such collections of recent writings.

CASEMENT BOOKLETS. Casement Publications Ltd. Oak Chambers, 11, Oak Lane, Bombay.

We have received yet another batch of these very useful, handy brochures which, like the Oxford pamphlets of war times, are bright and authoritatively written comments on current affairs. There is a charming variety in the topics dealt with by writers competent to deal with them with special knowledge and aptitude. Among such pamphlets are "The Ethics of Atomic Research" by John Langdon-Davies, "The Genius of Chinese Art" by Maurice Collis, "Land Reform and Soviet Agriculture" by David Mitrany and "Food: A Family Problem" by S. Ranganathan. Each copy is priced 6 As. only so as to be within reach of all classes of readers.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1 Anniversary of Andhra State inauguration.
- Oct. 2 Nehru inaugurates Naval Tactical School at Cochin.
Nation celebrates Gandhi Jayanti.
- Oct. 3 Nine nations sign a pact in London to rearm W. Germany for Western defence.
- Oct. 4 Nehru - Mohammed Ali correspondence touching Indo-Pakistan differences released.
- Oct. 5 Commonwealth Ministers and economic experts confer in London to hammer out a family agreement.
- Oct. 6 Nehru inaugurates Employees' State Insurance Scheme in Bombay.
- Oct. 7 Tory Party Session at Blackpool endorses Eden's Foreign policy.
- Oct. 8 Dudley Senanayake and Bandaranayake meet Nehru in Delhi on the eve of official talks.
- Oct. 9 Talks open at Delhi between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon on the subject of "Stateless persons".
- Oct. 10 Indo-Ceylon agreement signed at Delhi.
—President presents State Awards for best feature documentary films.
- Oct. 11 Indo-Ceylon pact, released to day, leaves open basic differences
—Dr. A. L. Mudallal to lead State body on Secondary education.
- Oct. 12 Nehru in his letter to P. C. C. says he won't contest Congress Presidentship and feels like retiring temporarily from Prime Ministership.
—Dr. Malan, S. African Premier to retire on November 30th.
- Oct. 13 Nehru inaugurates Board of Co-ordination of River Valley Projects at Delhi.
—Agreement on merger of French India signed; transfer of power to take effect from Nov. 1.
- Oct. 14 Trade Agreement for two years between China and India - the first of its kind—signed at New Delhi.
- Oct. 15 Prime Minister Nehru leaves for Peking.
Ceylon Cabinet approves joint statement of the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon.
- Oct. 16 Indian Embassy office opened in Mexico City.
India and East Germany sign one year Trade agreement in Delhi.
- Oct. 17 Nehru reaching Honoi this afternoon dines with President Dr. Ho Chi Minh of Viet Nam.
—Churchill reshuffles his Cabinet.
- Oct. 18 French India votes for merger at Kizhur Congress of representations of the French India settlements.
- Oct. 19 Prime Minister Nehru in China.
—Talks with Moa Tse-tung in Peking.
—Franco - German agreement on Saar announced.
- Oct. 20 Pak Premier Md. Ali cancels trip to Canada to return home owing to "emergency" in Pakistan.
—Chinese Premier Chou pledges support to India's policy at Banquet at Peking.
- Oct. 21 Big Three and West German Chancellor meeting at Paris approve treaties to end occupation.
—France and India sign agreement on the *de facto* transfer of French settlements to Govt. of India on Nov. 1.
- Oct. 22 Income Tax Commission ceases to function following Supreme Court judgment.
—Seven power resolution in U. N. Committee suggests direct talks on S. A. Indian issue.
- Oct. 23 Mr. Mohammed Ali back in Karachi.
- Oct. 24 Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Union Minister for Food, dead at New Delhi.
—State of Emergency proclaimed in Pakistan and the Cabinet reshuffled.
- Oct. 25 Russia calls for four power talks.
—Nehru visits Dairen, former Japanese Sea port liberated six years ago.
- Oct. 26 Nehru bids farewell to Peking.
—India suggests interim arms truce in U. N.
- Oct. 27 Chinese Trade Mission in Madras.
—Adm. Mountbatten made First Sea Lord.
U. K. Press Council defends Editors' Rights.
- Oct. 28 Dr. Khan Saheb sworn in as new Minister in Pak Cabinet.
—Mr. Ernest Hemingway awarded Nobel Prize for Literature.
- Oct. 29 India and Pakistan accept Latin American proposals in U. N. re S. A. Settlement.
- Oct. 30 Nehru leaves Canton after his 12 days historic tour of China.
- Oct. 31 Indian Acts and Ordinances extended to former French areas.

◆ READERS' DIGEST ◆

NEHRU'S VISIT TO CHINA

The *Peking People's Daily*, official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, expressed the hope that India's Prime Minister Nehru, would help China overcome her "many shortcomings" in the course of his visit to China.

The newspaper quoted by Peking Radio (on Oct. 19) said Mr. Nehru's visit was "a major event in the relations of Asian nations and an important development of friendly relations between China and India".

The newspapers said that since the founding of the Indian Republic and the people's Republic of China, relations between the two countries have seen a marked "new development". "In modern history, China and India have suffered, similarly, aggressions and oppressions of foreign colonialists. Now each has founded its own State and our common desire is to build up our own countries in a peaceful environment", it said,

The newspaper said:

"In recent years India's efforts for peace have assumed more and more undeniable importance in the world. India made valuable contributions to the bringing of an armistice in Korea. India has also been concerned with the efforts for ending the Indo-China war and assumed the leadership of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Indo-China, thereby taking up important responsibility for safeguarding the fulfilment of the Indo-China armistice. It has been working effectively in this capacity".

India's Prime Minister also has been "active" in advocating co-operation between nations in order to "expand the peace area in Asia" the editorial said.

India, the *Peking Peoples Daily* continued, was

"playing an important part in promoting peace in Asia and the whole world. The achievements of the armistice in Korea and the Geneva agreement on restoration of peace in Indo-China are not only great victories of the forces of peace but have also created friendly conditions for the establishment of collective peace in Asia".

The situation in Asia is now developing along the road favourable to collective peace.

THE "POLITICAL COMPLEXION" OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Christianity took its roots in India in the earliest times, says *The Sunday Standard*. It has flourished through all the vicissitudes of our history, although it received an artificial impetus as an indirect result of colonial rule.

The British Government of India was professedly neutral in religion, but it maintained an Ecclesiastical Department which looked after the welfare if not growth of Christianity in India. Foreign Christian missions were given every encouragement not only for the propagation of the faith, but in a subtle way, as a prop of British rule.

No student of history can deny this political complexion of Christianity in India during the last few centuries as he cannot deny the great humanitarian work done by foreign missionaries in India. They served as pioneers in education and health, and we owe them a great deal. And names like that of Charlie Andrews, who came here originally as a foreign missionary, will always be gratefully remembered.

It was inevitable that the end of the British rule should affect the privileged position of foreign missions in India. The secular character of the Indian Republic assures scrupulous religious freedom for all, but it does not mean a continuation of the superior "status quo" of foreign missions.

The Churches and foreign missions in India should have realised the signs of the times and adapted themselves accordingly. Unfortunately they have not done so, and the activities of the latter in border areas have become increasingly suspect of late.

An indigenous Church would be the best safeguard of Christianity in India. The present outcry is purely against some foreign missionaries, who have abused their cloth and the hospitality of this country by indulging in anti Indian political activities.

It is as futile to plead the supra-national character of the Church in their defence as to invoke the Republic's Constitution. The policy of the Government of India is admirably summed in the letter written by Mr. Nehru to the Primate of Sweden. No fair-minded person can quarrel with that policy.

The Committees appointed by the two States should further help to clarify the situation, although it would have been better if the Central Government itself had taken the initiative in this matter. And because religion touches the innermost being of a community, the whole issue must be resolved in a spirit of understanding. Missionaries, no less than the laity, must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

INDIAN ECONOMY IN 1953-54

"The distinguishing feature of the Indian economy during 1953-54 was its overall stability. This represented to a certain extent the culmination of the disinflationary process initiated towards the close of 1951," thus observe the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India in their annual Report, for the year ended June 30, 1954, which has just been published.

"Economic policy during the year further strengthened the forces making for stability and flexibility of the system. As the year progressed, it was therefore, possible to envisage substantial acceleration of development outlay without undue fears of generating a rolling inflation," they added.

Highlights of observations made in the Report on the state of economy and the developments in the banking field during 1953-54 are:

1. Substantial progress was achieved in the production of both agricultural and industrial commodities. These increase facilitated an enlargement of development expenditure and adoption of measures to stimulate private trade and industry.

2. Several positive measures were taken for stimulating domestic economic activity, which include reduction or adjustment of excise and export duties on certain commodities, appointment of the Shroff Committee on finance for private sector, support extend to the setting up of a private corporation with the assistance of the World Bank and a move to establish a Government-owned industrial development corporation.

3. There was considerable easing of money supply during the year. The expansion of money supply during the busy season of 1953-54 (Sept. 26, 1953, to May 7, 1954) was more than twice the 1952-53 busy season expansion and at the end of June 1954, money supply was Rs. 66 crores higher than at the end of June 1953.

4. Besides the budget deficit and the balance of payments surplus, an increase in the lending operations of the Reserve Bank also contributed to the easing of money supply. The Reserve Bank's gross advances under the Bill Market Scheme in the period January-June 1954 amounted to Rs. 122 crores as against Rs. 61 crores during the corresponding period of 1953. The Bill Market Scheme has since been extended, on the recommendation of the Shroff Committee, to all licensed scheduled banks and the minimum limits in regard to individual advances and individual bills have been reduced.

5. The greater measure of balance between aggregate supply and aggregate demand achieved both in the market for goods and in the market for money during 1953-54 led to a general stability of the price level.

As regards the rather "marked" decline in the prices since mid-April 1954 the Report says: "The general lowering of the price level is a factor likely to be favourable for intensification of development effort in the coming years."

EDITOR'S RIGHTS

Britain's Press Council, which pronounces on newspaper ethics, upholds in its latest report the right of an Editor not to disclose his sources of information unless ordered to do so by Parliament or a court of law.

The Council, a voluntary organisation formed by the newspapers themselves, has no disciplinary powers, but investigates complaints relating to newspaper practices. Its other findings were:

(1) A newspaper has a right to publish a document on a subject of general importance even if it is marked "private and confidential."

(2) An Editor has an absolute right to refuse any advertisement at his own discretion.

(3) An Editor has the undoubted right to close a correspondence at any moment he considers suitable.

These decisions arose from complaints received from the Town Clerk of the small Dorset market town of Poole that a local paper had published a report regarded as confidential and that its Editor had declined to say where the information came from: from the Typographical Association that a Warrington (Lancashire) newspaper had refused to accept an advertisement; and from the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union that the London Times has closed a correspondence without publishing a reply from the Union which had been attacked.

U. S. AID TO PAKISTAN

The United States will make available to Pakistan in the current fiscal year about 105 million dollars in economic aid. The figure is five times that of last year's aid. Britain may be asked to supply arms to Pakistan under American military assistance arrangements.

LIBERATION OF FRENCH INDIA
IMPORTANT DATES

1674: Factory founded in Pondicherry by Caron on behalf of the French East-India Company.

1693: Pondicherry taken by the Dutch.

1699: Pondicherry restored to France under the Peace of Ryswick.

1761: Pondicherry taken by the English under Eyre Coote.

1765: Pondicherry restored to France by England.

1778: Sir Hector Munro retakes Pondicherry from the English.

1785: Treaty of Versailles restores Pondicherry to France.

1793: Pondicherry again captured by Col. Braithwaite for the English.

Fed. 2, 1941: Customs Union Agreement signed by Government of India and French-Indian authorities.

Aug. 15, 1947: India becomes independent. Citizens of French-India unanimously declare for reunion with India. Indian National Flag hoisted in jubilation all over the Settlements.

June, 1948: Indo-French Agreement whereby France declares freedom of French-India population to choose their political status in India.

Oct. 21-23, 1948: Revolution in Mahe, consequent on conduct of elections. Town held by pro-merger population.

Oct. 29, 1948: Mahe re-occupied by French Army.

Dec 1948: Jaipur Session of Congress passes resolution urging political incorporation of foreign possessions with mother country.

Mar. 1949: Municipalities in French Settlements fix date and modalities for referendum (11-12-1949).

Apr. 1, 1949. Expiry of Customs Union Agreement. Permit system regulating movement between French-India and surrounding Indian territory introduced.

June 19, 1949: Chandernagore declares for merger with India.

July 27, 1949: French-India delegation consisting of members of the French-India Socialist Party, meet Sri Nehru and urge for the provision of a separate State for the French-India Settlements under the Indian Constitution.

Oct. 17-18, 1949: Municipal Councils in French-India urge union with India even without referendum.

May 2, 1950: The Government of India takes over *de facto* administration of Chandranagore.

Feb. 2, 1951: Indo-French Treaty for cession of Chandranagore signed in Paris.

Mar.-Apr. 1951: Neutral Observers study conditions in French-India, and note serious difficulties which prevented free popular consultation.

Oct. 9, 1952: Sri Nehru denounces at public meeting in Madras the violence prevailing in the Settlements.

Mar. 1954: All French-India Councillors and Mayors of Communes unanimously demand merger of the possessions with India without referendum.

Mar. 23, 1954: Three members of the Council of the Government of French-India liberate the Nettapakkam and Madukkarai Communes.

May 16, 1954: Conference of representatives of Liberated Areas at Madukkarai set up French-India Liberation Government.

May 7, 1954: Mahe liberated.

June 1954: Indo-French negotiations in Paris fail.

June 13, 1954: Yanam liberated.

Oct. 13, 1954: Joint declaration by Governments of France and India on merger of the Settlements.

Oct. 17, 1954: Convention of Municipal Councillors and Members of French-India Assembly at Madukkarai.

"INTERNAL PRESSURE ON IKE
FOR WAR"

Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour M. P., declared that the U.S. was a greater obstacle to peace at the moment than Russia.

Answering questions put by the *Sunday Pictorial*, Mr. Crossman, who returned from the U.S. recently, said the American President or the people did not want war, but internal political pressures prevented the President from negotiating with the Communists and might force him into a "preventive war," such as dropping atom bombs on the Chinese mainland—which could precipitate a general war.

THE FUSS ABOUT FORMOSA

Formosa has become a focal point of the current international cold war and superficially has all the makings of a new Danzig, says *Thought*.

Peking's concern at Formosa is natural. Formosa is a standing challenge and a threat to its prestige at home. Having succeeded in driving the Chinese Nationalists from the mainland after a sanguine war, its present rulers cannot easily forget that so long as Formosa remains with the enemy their victory will ever ring hollow to many of their subjects, which a dictatorial regime with its marked propensity to claim infallibility cannot ignore. Besides in the dynamic of present day international politics, Formosa can any day become a base of massive military operations against them.

It would, however be more than unjust to ignore the vital significance of Formosa to the Chinese Nationalists and by implication to all threatened with a civil war in Asia and Europe.

The rulers of the mainland may survive without Formosa but the Nationalists' very existence depends on it. To them Formosa is the only hope not only for a comeback to the mainland but of physical survival. Like the shipwrecked on a raft, they are unwilling to part with what may look like a precarious perch even if that spells a drift to disaster. To them, as to the Communists, the war that began in 1927 is not yet over. It is civil war in which attrition is the predestined end. The sense of urgency and even desperation that they display is understandable. To them Formosa is not a tiny speck in space but a decisive point in time. It may well be now or never for them.

Hitler staked his claim to Danzig and brought about in that process the Second World War. It would indeed be strange logic, says *thought*, to oppose Hitler in his demand for Danzig and support Mao Tse-tung in his claim on Formosa.

Surely every attempt should be made to prevent Formosa's becoming a fuse to touch off a third world war.

Any attempt by the mainland Chinese to conquer it by force will provoke a third world war no later than perhaps an adventure by the Formosan Chinese to reconquer the Chinese mainland. The task of the peacemakers is really difficult. But they can surely do without illusions. They have to realize that just as Chiang Kai-shek cannot be wished into authority in Peking, Formosa cannot as a Nationalist stronghold be wished out of existence. If they cannot help taking interest in its future, they should begin where they can best hope to succeed. Condemnation of the Chinese Nationalists or of the Americans who continue to remain their loyal friends is not the way to avert the catastrophe they fear. To ask the Americans to withdraw their support to the Chinese Nationalists is as futile as it would be to suggest to the

Russians to withdraw from Port Arthur and Port Dairen. It is this juxtaposition of international forces that renders all this fuss about Formosa futile. The question of Formosa cannot be settled without an overall world settlement embodying foolproof guarantees of non-interference in each other's affairs by the different nations. Once that is achieved the United Nations should have no difficulty in according separate recognition to Peking and Taipei. The most immediate step in the direction of a general settlement would seem to be assurance of security to the weaker nations of Asia. It is Peking that will have to set an example. For it is from Peking that countries like Siam, Burma, Nepal and Indonesia fear aggression, whether or not at the moment they show courage to say so publicly. For the independent nations of Asia to get excited over Formosa without adequate assurance of their own security would be suicidal. The Peking regime still remains wedded to the doctrine of war and peace by instalments in its own discretion.

PORTUGUESE POCKETS

"I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government." These words written by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan* in 1946, have been prominently featured in the *Economic Review*, a fortnightly journal of the All India Congress Committee.

Gandhiji wrote:

The little Portuguese settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill-afford to ape bad manners. In free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa, I will say that they should shed the fear of Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

How prophetic! These words are as true to day as when they were written.

"RIGHT TO LOVE"

Thousands of young men and women employed by the Omi Silk Mills won their three-month-old strike for "the right to love". On Sept. 16 when Mr. Kakuji Matsukawa, President of the Company, and Textile Union representatives signed an agreement in Tokyo ending the strike.

Thousands of employees at the Matsukawa factories went on strike in June against "feudalistic conditions". They alleged, among other things, that they had been denied the right to marry or have sweethearts, had their mail tampered with by Company officials, had been forced to participate in Buddhist hymn-singing parades in the morning, and compelled to obtain permission to leave factory areas after working hours. Girls had also been forbidden to use lipstick.

During the dispute affecting 13,000 workers, many young girls were injured in clashes with the Police and there was one suicide.

The girls complained to Parliament that when they went on strike, their fathers and brothers beat them and sent them back to the Mills.

The President denied he was being feudal, saying he meant only to "be like a father to the girls," and had kept them apart from the thousands of teen-aged boys at the factory, because the girls' parents had asked him to "protect their morals."

***Mr Harry Ernschaw, British Textile Workers' representative, who toured the mill area, said labour conditions were 'very bad.' He was a member of the British Labour Party Delegations which visited Japan after their tour of the Soviet Union and China.

British textile workers contributed £1,000 (Rs 1,33,00) to support the 'right to love' strike last month.

FRENCH RULE IN MOROCCO

Mr. William Douglas, United States Supreme Court Justice, accuse the French of ruling Morocco as "a police State."

In an article in *Look* magazine, Mr. Douglas described scenes in which French police were alleged to have machine-gunned innocent Moors in a market place after a murder. He further alleged that hundreds were killed when Moorish leaders tried to hold a union meeting.

"United French rule Morocco is a police State. It is a crime for three or more Moors to hold a meeting," Mr. Douglas claimed. "A press that criticises the French is suppressed....."

Mr. Douglas, who recently visited the area, forecast that the Protectorate was "another Indo-China in the making." Unless French policy is reversed and drastic reforms introduced Morocco will explode with a violence that only Africa knows," he said.

Justice Douglas described Morocco as a hotbed of French economic exploitation, political oppression and terror.

Jails were filled with political prisoners and torture of prisoners was common practice.

He said that the "struggle for independence" was now led by nationalists but if the situation was allowed to fester into violent revolution the Communists might take control.

"French military might can keep Morocco from exploding in the immediate future but no amount of guns and bombs can hold Morocco under control for long."

Education was reserved for the French. "Child labour appears in a vicious form," Mr. Douglas said. He reported watching a French foreman using a long leather lash to drive a group of child workers six to 12 years old.

Justice Douglas said that the French Premier Mendes-France was anxious to improve the Moroccan situation but the opposition to him in the French colonial service was great.

"SUPER" H-BOMB

The United States has a "super" hydrogen bomb so much more powerful than any yet exploded that scientists were "scared" to test it last spring at Eniwetok.

This claim is made in a sensational book "The H-Bomb" by co-authors James R. Shepley and Clay Blair.

They claim the giant bomb is equal to 45,000,000 tons of TNT and has 2,400 times the destructive capacity of the Hiroshima atom bomb.

MONAZITE ON ANDHRA COAST

Several tens of thousands of tons of monazite occur within a depth of three to five feet in black sand patches all along the beaches of Andhra State from Kalingapatnam to Kakinada, according to Prof. C. Mahadevan, head of the Geology Department, Andhra University.

The radioactive element of great atomic war and atomic peace potential, thorium, occurs as an oxide in monazite. Sodo cerium is used in medicine, and mesothorium used as a substitute for radium in the treatment of cancer.

In a paper scheduled for publication in the "Transactions of the National Institute of Science in India", Delhi, Prof. Mahadevan says the black sand concentrates contain two to eight per cent monazite and extraction of the heavy mineral could be done economically and would be "profitable and remunerative". "The sands can easily supplement the resources of the Travancore beach", he adds.

Prof. Mahadevan estimates that at least eight thousand tons of monazite is present in the beach sands between Bimilipatnam to Polavaram in Vizakhapatnam district where detailed investigations have been done during the last eight years. Besides monazite, these sands contain "workable" quantities of important minerals like ilmenite, iron, varnet, silimanite and maonetite.

ART AND FILM ART

Writing in *The Calcutta Review* under the caption "A Study of Film Art from the Psychological Standpoint" Dr. Arunkumar Raychaudhury has taken a very good review of the film art from almost all the sides. Explaining the two categories of films viz. (1) Intellectual, and (2) Emotional, he has discussed 'Art And Film Art.' He writes:—

Man's life is not so bald as that of other animals. Though fully conscious of his limitations, and that all paths of glory lead but to the grave, yet he has attempted to bring beauty, balance and harmony in his short-spanned and sorrowful life and surroundings. Man's power of creation, thanks to nature, is not limited within the physical sphere alone, but fortunately for him, his mind is also capable of creation. This power of mental creation has possibly placed man above all the other objects of nature.

When in these mental creations of man, his hand, his head, and heart work together in harmony, he creates something which is called an art, which gives him and his associates an intense pleasure and satisfaction.

Man's life is neither a bed of roses, nor his ways are strewn with roses; on the contrary, the destiny of man is such that he must fall on the thorns of life and must bleed; but out of this life of limitations, sorrow, uncertainties and mishaps, he has built up something which is pleasing and soothing, at least for the time being and which carries him away in a blissful realm of the unknown.

Being disgusted and pained by the disorganized and hostile realistic world, the artist in us craves for an escape, from this undesirable realistic situation, to a realm of eternal beauty and balance. He attempts "to establish another world of perceptual values, placed above the shifting world of appearance, and free from all arbitrariness of life. He had, therefore, remodelled what was living and arbitrary, in his ceaselessly fluctuating visual impression; into invariable symbols of an intuitive and abstract kind."

Humanity, from time immemorial, has immortalized or eternalised some beauty, in natural or human form, or some intense feeling, passion, or emotion or some experience of vividness and depth either in paint, picture, marble, music, and dance or in drama or literature. These products of art have served him as "an escape from the chaos of the internal psyche, the tormented or crucified spirit of the neurotic, or from the wide-spread social neuroses of a disorganised society, from complexes in the self and anarchy in the world. In the systematized spaces and volumes of a painting, in the clarified procession of sounds in music, in cadenced joy of poetry, we have order, we have harmony, we have peace."

The fountain-head of all real artistic production which may have some lasting influence on the mass mind must be from the instinctive source. Intellect, after all, is a mental prerogative, which is not shared equally, by all. The community appeal of art can only be present, if its source of inspiration is from the primitive instincts and emotions.

THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

One of the most significant recommendations of the Press Commission is regarding the pay scales and conditions of service of working journalists, says Mr. V. B. Karnik in *Freedom First*.

A free press cannot be developed in the country without securing the services of men of talent and integrity. If such men are to be attracted to the profession of journalism they must be assured a fair income and a reasonable amount of security. Criticism has been levelled against the recommendation that, if accepted, it will drive out of business many newspapers. There does not appear to be much force in the criticism. The press is a growing industry and from the figures collected by the Commission it does not appear that newspapers are not making profits. In any case, a concern that cannot pay a minimum wage to its employees does not deserve to remain in business. It is to be hoped that the scales and conditions recommended by the Commission will be treated only as the minimum and that more prosperous newspapers will be persuaded to treat their employees more generously.

The newspaper industry in the country is still in its initial stage. According to the Report of the Commission, there are only 320 daily newspapers with a total circulation of little over 25 lakhs for a population of 36 crores.

That gives an indication of the vast scope that exists for the expansion of the newspaper industry. Literacy is growing in the country and with the growth of literacy the demand for newspapers is also bound to grow. The press could therefore confidently look forward to a very rapid growth of its circulation and influence. Such development of the press will not, however, be facilitated if certain recommendations of the Commission are implemented.

35 LAKHS FOR BHOODAN

A total of 34,50,000 acres from 3,33,385 persons have been collected under the Bhoodan movement upto Aug. 5, 1954 from all over India.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

—R. H. S. Crossman writing in *The New Statesman & Nation*, says:

The truth is that, in the modern managerial society, the rights of the small man, and indeed the liberties of the subject will always be threatened by a number of potential despots—including those of Whitehall. Since we cannot prevent these accumulations of power, the only alternative is to subject them to democratic control. Unfortunately, the 1945 Labour Government completely failed to do this. Instead, it substituted irresponsible public monopolies for irresponsible free enterprise. Beguiled by the idea that the nationalised industries should be "taken out of politics" it first left the old managerial structure intact and then freed the Boards from effective public control. No wonder that both the workers in the industries and the educated public outside were disillusioned when they were told that this change, combined with a continuance of war-time Controls, constituted democratic Socialism.

If Socialism is to regain its appeal, it must be clearly concerned not to create a new managerial despotism, but to make these concentrations of power responsible to the nation. To use Mr. Fairlie's historical analogy, what we need today is not a Magna Carta, extorted by the feudal barons from a weak monarchy, but a period of strong central government, in which new feudalism can be broken as the old feudalism was broken by the Tudors. This is the only kind of government which I would call Socialist. But to say this, still leaves us with the central dilemma unresolved. Granted that the irresponsible power of the new barons must be broken, how can we trust the State to do this? After the experience of Crichton Down, to call in aid a strong central government looks very like inviting the mighty Beelzebub to cast out a host of lesser devils. This seems to me the central problem of Socialism.

—(o)—

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP CLAIMS FOR INDIANS

In spite of the sentiments of goodwill and co-operation expressed by Premier Kotelawala, soon after his return to Colombo from Delhi, how Ceylon citizenship claims of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon continue to be summarily rejected on the "flimsiest possible grounds" was made known by the Joint Secretary of the Ceylon Democratic Congress, Mr. K. G. S. Nair, in a Press statement in Colombo on October 20.

Mr. Nair who quoted specific instances from the enquiries conducted by the Deputy Commissioner of the Citizenship Department on the 18th instant at Kegalle, expressed deep disappointment at the officials' persistence, despite assurances to the contrary, in rejecting the citizenship applications on flimsy and purely technical grounds.

South West Africa

ADMINISTRATION OF S. W. AFRICA

India replied to the statement made by the South African delegate in the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly when the debate on the problem of South-West Africa was resumed.

Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, the Indian Delegate, told the committee:

"We have no overseas possessions in Africa and we therefore cannot apply to this problem the higher knowledge which is apparently claimed for colonial powers."

"All we can bring to these discussions is common sense, sympathy and a firm belief in the dignity and rights of the individual person as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations."

The Indian delegate continued:

"We have found facts both to commend and criticise, but we have not found elsewhere an administration based as that of South-West Africa plainly as on segregation and discrimination."

"We have found the indigenous population in various stages of self-Government but their right to office is admitted in principle even where it had not been established in practice."

"We have not found, as we find in South-West Africa, population disfranchised because of its race and colour prohibited from choosing those who claim to rule in its interests. 'If African problems have anything in common, surely their solutions should have something in common also. The solution can only be a society based on self-Government and racial equality.'"

South Africa

7-NATION PLAN FOR INDIAN PROBLEM

The United States gave its support to a 7-nation proposal for direct negotiations between India, Pakistan, and South Africa on the treatment of Indians in the Union.

Mr. Alexander Smith, U. S. delegate, told the United Nations Special Political Committee on October 26 that South Africa had made it plain it was willing to negotiate, but only outside the United Nations.

"We believe the time has come to this avowal" he declared.

The failure of the previous attempts to solve the problem underlined the difficulty of finding a satisfactory solution to "a complex and deep-rooted political and social problem," Mr. Smith said.

"It is one which involved the serious complaint that persons are being discriminated against because of race and colour. However, we have not lost hope that a mutually satisfactory settlement may ultimately be achieved."

Mr. Smith said he thought the resolution before the Committee could help to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations between the parties.

The resolution urges the three countries to designate "a Government agency or person to facilitate contacts between them."

East Africa

INDIANS IN E. AFRICA

India had demanded an assurance from Portugal that all measures to ensure full protection to Indian nationals and properties in Portuguese Africa were being taken, the Deputy Ministry for External Affairs, Mr. A. K. Chanda told the Lok Sabha.

During the recent demonstrations against Indian nationals in Portuguese East Africa, Mr. Chanda added miscreants had stoned Indian shops and shop-windows of about 30 shops were smashed, doors and windows of an Indian school were broken and some furniture was damaged. Photographs of Indian leaders were smashed and trampled upon.

Mr. Chanda added that Government had lodged a strong protest against these incidents. The Portuguese Government had been warned that they would be held responsible for any loss or damage to Indians there.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

○

DEPARTMENTAL

○

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

RACIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

A renewed warning that the policy of *Apartheid* (racial segregation) constituted a grave threat to the internal situation and foreign relations of the Union of South Africa is contained in the second unanimous Report presented on Oct. 20 to the General Assembly of the United Nations by the special Three-Member United Nations Commission on the racial situation in the Union of South Africa.

In its first report, presented to the last session of the General Assembly, the Commission drew attention to the serious dangers to South Africa internally and externally, of its racial segregation policies.

The Commission was re-appointed in December last year and given the two-fold task of continuing its study of the racial situation in South Africa and of suggesting measures to help "alleviate the situation and promote a peaceful settlement."

The members of the Commission are Mr. Herman Santa Cruz of Chile (Chairman), Mr. Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti and M. Henri Laugier of France.

The Commission stresses several times in its report that

"it naturally realises that any measures to reduce racial conflicts must be the result of efforts initiated within the Union itself."

Its broad conclusion is that despite all the difficulties inherited from the past and still acute to-day "Europeans, Bantus and Coloureds most necessarily wend their way together" and adds

"we might almost go so far as to say that they are doomed to live together and together to build an organic community."

"the road of gradual integration is the only one that seems to be open and it alone is likely to lead to a peaceful future acceptable to all parties."

To travel that road successfully, says the Commission

"one side will have to jettison theories of racial superiority which give a semblance of legality to political supremacy. The other will have to realise that the idea of fraternal equality and collaboration enshrined in the United Nations Charter and deep in the hearts of men, cannot become a reality at the stroke of a magic wand without passing through many successive stages."

66

TRANSFER OF FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

The agreement for the *de facto* transfer of the French Settlements of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam to the Indian Union, was signed at New Delhi on Oct. 21, by the Government of India and the Government of the French Republic.

Mr. R. K. Nehru, Secretary to the External Affairs Ministry and Count Ostrorog, the French Ambassador in India signed the document on behalf of their respective Governments in the Committee.

The 35-article agreement provides for the transfer of the French pockets from November 1, 1954.

The Agreement deals exhaustively with every aspect of administration. The existing municipal and legislative set-up will be maintained and no change in the constitutional status of the establishments can be made without ascertaining the wishes of the people. The interests of civil servants are fully protected while the commercial and trade interests of French nationals are adequately safeguarded.

There are elaborate provisions dealing with the preservation of French culture. French institutions of a scientific and cultural character will be maintained while the *Francais College* in Pondicherry will continue to be run by the French Government itself.

The Agreement gives France the right to create new educational institutions for the spread of French language and culture. A joint Educational Committee to be set up by the two Governments will examine a number of problems relating to educational institutions in the Settlements and also consider the possibility of establishing a Medical College in Pondicherry.

Any dispute arising from the implementation of the Agreement will be settled by a Joint Commission.

The *de jure* transfer can take place only after all the constitutional formalities have been gone through by France as well as India.

NEHRU AND CHOU AT SINO-INDIAN
CO-OPERATION*Mr. Nehru's Speech*

In his speech at the State banquet, in Peking on Oct. 20, Mr. Nehru said when the Chinese Prime Minister paid a brief visit to India some months ago, the people of India sensed the importance and historical significance of it and gave him a warm welcome.

"So also, when they knew that I was coming to this great, ancient land, they attached significance to this visit and saw in it an event of importance to both India and China. The magnificent welcome which the people of Peking gave me yesterday—and for which I shall ever remain grateful—also indicated that the people of this country has realised that there was something more in this visit than that of an individual coming here. That welcome was not to me, but to the country I have the honour and high privilege to represent.

"That sense of the people is a surer test of those forces and currents that make history, than even the visits of statesmen and politicians.

"And so, apart from any merit that I might or might not possess, it has so come about that in this context my visit here has attained some historic significance in the relationship of our two great countries. At any time, relationship between China and India would be a matter of great importance. In the present confused and difficult world, it may be of even greater significance. Ultimately, human beings count more than anything else and the nearly thousand million human beings who live in China and India must count."

"In our past history we have had different experiences and often chosen different paths. Even in the present, we may not agree about some things. But this does not hide the basic fact that we have shared many experiences, have much in common and that essentially there is goodwill and friendship between our two countries and their peoples. In a world full of strife that is a great gain.

"The greatest need of the world today is peace, and I am convinced that the people of China, as the people of India, are devoted to the cause of peace."

Mr. Nehru then referred to the joint statement issued by Mr. Chou En-lai and himself embodying the five principles which should govern the relationship between two countries.

"Those principles laid down sovereign rule of each country, having freedom and independence and living its own life in friendship with others, but without any interference from any other country. If those principles are acted upon in the world today, then many of the troubles that afflict nations would fade away."

"China is a great and vast country with a great variety of people. And so is India. In India, while strengthening our basic unity, we also recognise this variety which gives richness to our national life.

"We do not wish to impose any way of living on those accustomed to another.

"This, even in the sphere of our national life, we recognise and maintain this variety, because we feel that only thus will the nation and the people develop fully.

"If this is so within a nation, how much more so must it be as between different nations? Any attempt to impose the will of one nation on another must necessarily produce conflict and endanger peace. That is why we have always been opposed to the domination of one country by another. Thus, the only right and practical way for nations, as for groups, is to recognise co-existence between them even though they differ in their outlook or way of life. Any other way or any interference with this means conflict.

"We have had more than enough of conflict, hatred and destruction in the world and the people of every country hunger for peace and a chance to develop themselves. Neither any individual nor a nation will grow through hatred and violence which not only bring destruction in their train but also stunt the growth of humanity.

"It is in this earnest belief, which our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us, that we have laboured to the best of our ability for peace. But this is not merely absence of war. It is something positive. It is a way of life and a way of thinking and action. Thus only can we create a real climate of peace. It will lead to co-operation among nations.

"I earnestly trust that the peoples of China and India will devote themselves and their labour for this great objective, without which there is little hope for the world.

Mr. Chou's Support

Proposing the toast to President Prasad and Mr. Nehru, Mr. Chou En-lai said the Indian Premier's statement that

"many of the troubles that afflict the nations will fade away" if the five principles of peaceful co-existence were acted upon, was of "historic significance."

China and India, being initiators of the five principles,

"have an obligation to carry through these principles in our mutual relations and to prove by act that these principles are beneficial and not harmful to both parties."

"We believe that peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation between China and India will certainly facilitate the gradual realisation of peaceful co-existence among other Asian countries and countries of the whole world."

Echoing Mr. Nehru's sentiment regarding the centuries-old ties between India and China, Mr. Chou said:

"Friendly co-operation of 960 million people of China and India constitute an important factor in safeguarding peace in Asia and the world. We hope that the established friendship between China and India will be further strengthened and developed so that Sino-Indian relations will be a model for the whole world of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems and ideologies."

M.P.S.' DELEGATION TO TURKEY

At the invitation of the Turkish Parliament, an Indian Parliamentary delegation composed as follows is visiting Turkey, as guests of the Turkish Parliament for a period of twenty days:

Srimati Sucheta Kripalani (Leader), Pandit S. N. Fotedar, Messrs. Joachim Alva, Bhagwat Jha Azad, S. V. Ramaswamy, K. C. Kasilwal, Syed Ahmed, C. D. Pande, P. N. Rajbhoj, D. C. Sharma, H. C. Dasappa and P. S. Rajagopal Naidu, Begum Aziaz Rasul, Mr. R. N. Deshmuk and Mr. N. C. Nandi, Deputy Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat.

The delegation left Delhi for Istanbul on November 1.

LAND ASSESSMENT IN ANDHRA

The decision to exempt all landholders paying land assessment of Rs. 10 and below from payment of any assessment to Government, announced on October at a public meeting by Mr. T. Prakasam, caused much satisfaction among all classes. The short fall in revenue from land assessment consequent upon this decision of the Andhra Cabinet is variously computed at not less than between Re. 1 crore and Rs. 60 lakhs. The beneficiaries of this decision of Government are roughly estimated at 75 to 80 per cent of the landholders. Even some small holders of wet-lands paying for less than one acre would be benefited by this measure.

Proposals are now being examined how best and to what extent this shortfall of land revenue could be made up from other sources.

U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN

The United States would give about 105,000,000 Dollars (about Rs. 50 crores) to Pakistan in the current financial year, State Department announced.

The increased economic aid programme for Pakistan—the present programme totals about 22,000,000 Dollars—Rs. 10.4 crores—as announced in a communique at the end of the talks which Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mahomed Ali had in America.

The communique also said the United States would try to accelerate substantial military aid programmes for Pakistan which were beginning this year. The communique did not mention the amount of military aid involved.

THOUSAND MILLION ASIANS

The weight of a thousand million Chinese and Indians was together cast on the side of peace, cabled on Indian Press Correspondent from Peking, when premiers Chou En-lai and Nehru stressed the need for peace and co-existence at a brilliant banquet in Mr. Nehru's honour in the palatial banquet hall of Peking Hotel. Both leaders held out the Five Principles as model to Asian and other countries of the world for ensuring peaceful co-existence.

Mr. Chou En-lai pledged his country's support to India's policy "to try to develop the area of peace in Asia and elsewhere if possible."

Mr. Chou, proposing a toast of the President of India, said:

"We welcome this proposition of Prime Minister Nehru, and we are ready to work together with India in a common effort to overcome the difficulties and to establish and extend the area of peace in Asia."

Mr. Chou spoke in Chinese, and his speech was translated into Hindi, English and Russian.



Mr. R. A. KIDWAI
who died last month.

MIRZA ISMAIL'S APPEAL

Sir. Mirza Ismail, who delivered the convocation address of the Poona University made a fervent plea for the retention of English in the curricula of schools and universities.

He said that in urging the great need for the preservation of English, he was thinking mainly of the great future of India, "as it progresses in education, in more widely spread prosperity and in influence in both Asian and world affairs.

"We are seeking to revive and unify the culture of the different races of India. We must be ourselves firmly rooted in our own soil. But isolationism in culture is contrary to our own best traditions. We need have no fear of becoming less vitally Indian if we absorb what the West has to give."

Sir Mirza described the basic education scheme as a "retreat from civilisation." The essence of the scheme was wrong and fatal. It was time the reaction against "Western" education was reduced to rational limits. He characterised the view of the planners of the basic education scheme that a craft (or crafts) was to be the core of the system and the chief means of learning other things as "a fad".



A JOINT EFFORT AT THE "PLEASURE" SCHOOL

Britain's most exciting school—the Hailfield Primary School, Paddington—recently opened its doors to 700 pupils, who are finding it a real pleasure to learn in the attractive surroundings of this new building. Throughout the school emphasis has been laid on light and space and everything has been specially planned to attract children. Two five year-olds set to work on a joint painting effort at the School.

ANNAMALAI 'VARSITY

"It is quite impossible to expect a student to attain real proficiency in English in Roman script, if he is also expected to attain similar proficiency in his regional language in yet another script," declared Mr. Justice Mack, speaking at the Founder's Day celebration of the Annamalai University on October 22.

Mr. Mack said that the barrier of script has long appeared to him as the greatest obstacle to the evolution of the millions of people of this great nation and he was dismayed to see that these barriers were now sought to be strengthened, with no serious attempt made to remove them. He appealed to the Universities to grapple with this problem of emancipation in the domain of script and to bring the weight of their collective influence to bear on a practical solution.

Mr. Mack also sounded a note of warning against weakening the hands of steel forged by English language in building up the unity of India, before they are replaced by equally strong bands which can unite and hold together this great democracy.

COMMISSION NOT TO FUNCTION

The Income-tax Investigation Commission has ceased to function with effect from Oct. 22, consequent on the judgment of the Supreme Court delivered the previous day, declaring Section 5 (1) of the Income-tax Investigation Commission Act as *ultra vires* of the Constitution. A formal announcement of the winding up of the Commission was not made immediately as the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister were out of India at that time.

It is clear from the Supreme Court's decision that after Section 34 of the Income-tax Act has been amended by Parliament during the last session, the Investigation Commission cannot deal with any case of tax evasion pending before it. The judgment makes no comment as to what would happen to the cases which have already been settled before the amendment of Section 34. The position would probably be clear if some one takes the matter up to the court. The cases now pending before the Commission will be taken over by the Income-tax Department for further investigation.

TAX EVASION ENQUIRY

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court, unanimously held on Oct. 21, that Section 5 (1) of the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act 1947, under which the Central Government had referred a number of cases of tax evasions for investigation by the Commission in 1948, was *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

The Court gave its decision on four petitions presented under Article 32 of the Constitution by Sree Meenakshi Mills, Limited, Madurai, Sree Rajendra Mills, Limited, Saroja Mills, Limited, Singanallur, and Mr. K. R. M. T. T. Thiagarajan Chettiar whose cases had been referred to the Commission by the Central Government, challenging the validity of Section 5 (1) of the Act.

The Chief Justice of India delivered the unanimous judgment of the Court, in which Their Lordships S. R. Das, Ghulam Hasan, N. H. Bhagwati and Venkatarama Aiyar concurred.

The Indian Income-Tax (Amendment) Act 1954, which came into force with effect from July 17, 1954, and which replaced Ordinance VIII of 1954 on the same subject, amended Section 34 of the Indian Income-tax Act, bringing within the scope of the Act cases of the type dealt with under the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act 1947. One of the grounds of attack by the petitioners on Section 5 (1) of the 1947 Act was that, by reason of the fact that, now under Section 34 of the Act, the class of cases to which theirs belonged could be dealt with. They could no longer be subjected to the discriminatory procedure under the Investigation Commission Act.

CINEMATOGRAPH ACT

A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on Oct. 1 held that certain conditions laid down by the Madras Government under the Cinematograph Act of 1918 compelling a licensee of a cinema theatre to exhibit at each performance one or more approved films of such length and for such length of time as the Provincial Government or the Central Government might direct, as an unreasonable restriction on the right of the licensee to carry on his business and thus void under Article 19 (1) (g) of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court also held the Special Condition 3 of the Act which required the licensee to exhibit at the commencement of each performance, not less than 2,000 feet of one or more of the approved films was open to similar objection and hence void.

Dr. KATJU'S TEST FOR A REFORMED CRIMINAL

When can a criminal be said to have been reformed? India's Home Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju, has laid down the following tests:

A murderer must be prepared to look after the widow and children of the man whom he killed; and a thief should be prepared to return the stolen property to its rightful owner.

The Minister announced these tests when talking to prisoners at the Sabarmati Jail.

DEFICIT FINANCING OF 5 YEAR PLAN

In the first Five-year Plan, for the period ending March, 1954, the estimated expenditure was about Rs. 885 crores out of Rs. 2249 crores or 40 per cent of the proposed outlay of the plan, according to a review published by the Planning Commission, which was placed before both Houses of Parliament. The report estimates that in this year Rs. 250 crores will have to be found by deficit financing and Rs. 400 crores in the last year.

The Centre's share of the spending so far was Rs. 444.9 crores, while that of the States was Rs. 439.9 crores.

The overall rate of spending has been behind schedule. While five States—Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bihar—have spent 50 per cent or more of the total plan expenditure, Hyderabad, Saurashtra, Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Travancore-Cochin have expended 40

per cent, or little more. Others are lagging behind. Among these States are those which had to set up new administrations after Independence.

The rate of expenditure, and budget allocations in the first two years were limited, says the report, but the amounts were enlarged in 1953-54 when the "recessionary conditions, and the worsening of the employment situation" required increased outlay in the public sector.

The Centre budgeted Rs 237 crores and the States Rs. 176 crores. The revised estimates, however, indicate lower spending—the shortfall in the Centre being Rs. 49 crores and in the States Rs. 9 crores.

According to the Commission "a rapid and substantial stepping up of expenditures both at the Centre and in the States is called for from now on, and indeed this must be regarded as a matter of top priority."



INDIAN PRODUCTS AT HANDICRAFTS EXHIBITION IN LONDON

Some fine examples of the products of the cottage industries of India were on view at the second international Handicrafts, Homecrafts and Hobbies Exhibition held in London recently. Displayed on the Indian stand were: Sarees, Banarasi saris, Jaipur-print cloth, shoes and handbags, brassware from Moradabad, carved ivory, and woven mats. The popularity of this exhibition is an indication of the rapid growth of the "do it yourself" movement in Britain. This picture shows Indian handicrafts on display at the exhibition.

THE LATE MRS. NATESAN.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the passing away of Srimathi Mangalambal, wife of the late Mr. G.A. Natesan on the morning of the 25th Oct. Mrs. Natesan had been ailing for some



sufficient for human nature's daily food. She was loved and respected by a huge circle of relations and friends who somehow felt that with her came fortune to the house of Natesans. Friends of the family who had shared the hospitality of the house have feelingly expressed their sense of bereavement in the death of the "mother". Death at 70 however came as a relief to her suffering but it will be deeply moaned by all who have come in touch with her gracious character and good sense.

DR KATJU'S ASSURANCE TO WOMEN
M.Ps.

A battle of the sexes raged in the Lok Sabha on Sept. 28. An indication of the coming storm was available since the Rajya Sabha discussed the position of married women in the Indian Administrative Service rules. The Home Minister Dr. Katju's friendly suggestion in the Rajya Sabha that a woman's right place was, perhaps, in the home, unexpectedly touched off a controversy and women's organisations in Delhi were preparing for an onslaught on the Home Minister.

On the 28th morning more than 150 young women led by women members of Parliament both Congress and Communist suddenly surrounded the Home Minister in the Central Hall of Parliament and demanded an assurance that the clause in the Rules which offended against the rights and privileges of women would be repealed. For a while, says the Press correspondent, the Home Minister tried to reason with the besiegers but the weight of numbers obliged him to retreat to the safety of the Chamber.

The offending clause merely said that women who got married while in Government service may be asked to resign if the maintenance of efficiency so required. The Prime Minister, who intervened in the debate, said that the rule was only permissive in character and did not impose any ban as such on the continued employment of married women.

Mrs. Natesan, like her husband, was rich in saving common sense and her authority and respect in the house was quiet and pervasive. She wore the old fashioned 18 cubic silk saree, visited the temple on Fridays, fed the holy Brahmins and kept the home fires burning. Her conversation had no pretensions to learning but was

Brought up in the tradition of the age old Brahmin orthodoxy she knew no English and none of the ways of modern women, who are at home in mixed societies and tennis clubs, nor was she a social or political worker. Her influence was confined to the household and the few friends who came to love her for her character and sweetness of disposition. She was a typical Hindu woman, modest, self-effacing and motherly.

Mr. N.V. Gadgil (Congress) in an effort to smoothen the ruffled feelings of the women members observed that women should accept the interpretation of the rules as given by the Prime Minister and content themselves with ruling over men's hearts and not ruling over the affairs of the country.

NOBEL PRIZE

Three American scientists have jointly been awarded the 1954 Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology for their development of a virus to combat poliomyelitis. They are Dr. John F. Enders, Harvard Medical School, Dr. Thomas H. Weller, Harvard School of Public Health, and Dr. Frederick C. Robbins, Western Reserve Medical School, Cleveland, Ohio.

King Gustav Ad. If will present the award to the scientists at the traditional ceremony on December 10.

Dr. Hemingway, the well known American novelist has been awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

-()-

THE LATE NADIMUTHU PILLAI

We regret to report the death of Mr. V. Nadimuthu Pillai, M.L.A., at his residence at Pattukkottai on Oct. 26. He was 53.

Mr. Nadimuthu Pillai was among the richest mirasdars in Tanjore. He was a staunch Congressman. He was first elected as an Independent to the Legislative Council in 1931. He joined the Congress in 1936. In 1946, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. He continued as a member of Parliament till he was elected to the Madras Assembly in 1952.

Mr. Pillai was a pillar of the Congress organisation in the district.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

WITH THE TEXT IN SANSKRIT DEVNAGARI AND

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY DR. ANNIE BESANT

SOME SELECT OPINIONS

THE PRABUDDHA BHARATA.—“Messrs. Natesan have the happy knack of reducing important books to compact and handy dimensions. . . . In clearness of type, in size and shape, the book leaves nothing to be desired. We can heartily recommend it to all who want a trustworthy pocket-edition of the Gita.”

THE MODERN REVIEW.—“Messrs. Natesan are bidding fair to be the Indian Routledge. This finely printed edition of a well known and excellent translation has been here offered at an impossibly cheap price, and it should make its way to every Indian home and heart.”

LEADER.—“The price is only eight annas, the get-up excellent and the size and bulk very handy.”

THE THEOSOPHIST.—“A handy little volume, the cheapness of which is a surprise.”

PHOENIX.—“This great scripture of the Hindus needs to be read and studied in thousands of homes both in India and elsewhere.”

Price per copy Annas Eight.

POSTAGE EXTRA.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.



CONFERENCE OF COMMONWEALTH AUDITORS-GENERAL

This picture taken at the Conference of Commonwealth Auditors General, held at the Commonwealth Relations Office, London, recently, shows: (LEFT TO RIGHT) Mr. Rye (Australia); Major Bowen Davies M. G. (Comptroller and Auditor-General, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland); Mr. Srinivasan (India); Mr. Jain (India); Mr. Chanda (Comptroller and Auditor-General, India); Mr. Millar (Canada); Mr. Watson Seilar, C. M. G. (Auditor-General, Canada); Mr. Currie (United Kingdom); Sir Frank Tribe, K. C. B., K. B. E. (Comptroller and Auditor-General, United Kingdom); Mr. Martin (United Kingdom); Mr. Blanks (United Kingdom); Mr. Flewman (Comptroller and Auditor-General, South Africa); Mr. Simpson (South Africa); Mr. Ghulam Abbas (Auditor-General, Pakistan); Mr. Vetrasinghe (Auditor-General); Mr. Scharaengulvel (Ceylon).

Brajkishore Shastri

Candid picture of 'New' China

FROM MY CHINA DIARY

"The people of South Asia sometimes feel that China may have more to offer them than other countries because her starting point in her economic problems is the same as theirs—Mr. Shastri's conclusion is that China is a terrible warning. . . . [It is] an unusually interesting diary of a visit to Communist China . . ."

Manchester Guardian

Mr. Brajkishore Shastri, an outstanding figure in the Praja Socialist Party and the trade union movement in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, was one of the members of the Indian Workers' Delegation that visited China recently. His book is a penetrating analysis of the complex pattern of Chinese life under Communism.

Price Rupee One

**SIDDHARTHA PUBLICATIONS
LTD.,**

35, FAIZ BAZAR, DELHI - 7.

You should read and advertise in

THE MAHA BODHI

**A Journal of International Buddhist
Brotherhood.**

It is now in its 6th year of publication, and has subscribers all over the globe. At a conservative estimate it is read by 25,000 persons of all classes and creeds. A high class magazine or thinking people, catering to those who value Art, Philosophy, Archaeology, and all aspect of Buddhism as well as Culture in general.

Annual Subs:

India, Ceylon	Rs. 5
Burma	" 6
Other Eastern Countries	" 8
U. S. A.	\$ 3
United Kingdom & Europe	10 Sh.

THE MAHA BODHI

4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street,
CALCUTTA-12.

LEXIN

The Famous
Snake-Bite Cure

Also used very successfully in all
cases of cholera.

Ask for Free Booklet.

P. BANERJI,
MIRIJAM E.I.R.

Representatives:

Messrs. SARMA BROTHERS,
P. O. Akbarabad, Madras.

Messrs. M. BHATTACHARYA & CO.,
Clive St., Calcutta.

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi, vastly learned in the Astrology of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna Jyotish-Shiromani Raj Jyotish M.R.A.S. (Lord.) has won unique fame not only in India, but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day—2nd September, 1939—of the declaration of last world war, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd September, 1946 and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Shiromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Atgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Mammatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sri Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. R. Roy of Orissa High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with supernatural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raitok says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantric activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U.S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Muni Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C. & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasions", etc. etc. and many others.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS tested by thousands all over the Globe..

DHANA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN:—"Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all round prosperity in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special for Speedy action Rs. 29-11. Super powerful with extraordinary effects Rs. 129-11.

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—"To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. Price Rs. 9-2. Special for Speedy action Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case wore this Kavacha). Super powerful Rs. 184-4.

SARASWATAI KAVACHA.—"For success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9, Special Rs. 38-9.

MOHINI KAVACHA.—"Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super powerful Rs. 387-14.

Detailed and descriptive Catalogue with testimonials free on request.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

Head Office & Residence 50/2, Dharamtala Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Wellington Square Junction South). Calcutta—8, Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours: 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.
Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas", Calcutta-5, 5.9 A.M. to 11 A.M.
Phone B. B. 3685.

Central Branch Office: 47, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Consultation Hours 5-30 P.M. to 7-30 P.M.
LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A. Westway, London.

CURZON & CO.

The FIFTY-FIVE year old Firm
famous for faultless furniture

“DOOD-SAGAR” (Regd.) Spring-centre overlay mattresses,
cushions and upholstery.

“CURZONDEX” (Regd.) Filing system and Library Index
Cards.

FLUSH-DOORS for modern buildings strong and decorative.

TEAK PARQUETTE Flooring—Ideal for air-conditioned rooms.

PVC Plastic Leathercloth—attractive colours, long-lasting quality
at competitive prices.

“PLIOFOAM” Luxury latex-foam Rubber Mattresses and
cushioning.

“MASONITE” Presdwoods.

“UNALIT” Tempered Super-hardboards.

“FORMICA” Laminated decorative plastic sheets.

STEEL Racks, Shelves and Cash Boxes.

“SUNUMINIUM” Venetian Blinds (in metal),

“FLATPAK” Folding Furniture and Chairs.

“VONO” Spring mattresses.

CURZON & CO.

EST. 1898

MOUNT ROAD,

MADRAS 2.

Wonderful Talisman

IF FAILS MONEY REFUNDED.

LAKSHMI KAVACHA. It gives sound health, immense wealth, vast learning, son, high fame, good friends, respect everywhere, success in lottery, race, examinations, trade, business, recovery from fatal diseases. It has miraculous power in bringing all kinds of luck and prosperity. Price Rs. 13-10 Specially prepared for giving immediate effects, Rs. 47-5.

MOHINI KAVACHA. Enable arch foes to become friends more friends more friendly Rs. 19-10 Special Rs. 51.

OPINION: MR. V. D. JACOB, Electrical Storekeeper, Power House, Achampet, Hyderabad. (Deccan):—“One Lakshmi Kavacha I bought from you, within 6 months it worked wonder of wonders, it raised me in wealth like rocket..... Foreign orders will be booked with full advance. Detailed Catalogue Free.

DAIBABAL ASHRAM, (1) Hatkhola Calcutta.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The March issue of the Prabuddha Bharata is a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It contains a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number.

Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukherji, Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintoharan Chakravarty, M.A., Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Rifa, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C.T.K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C.C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A., and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

PRINTED ON IMITATION ART PAPER

Pages 160

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 5

Will be sent to subscribers of Prabuddha Bharata without extra charge

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh; U. S. A. \$ 4.00

(Only Annual Subscription Accepted.)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA : : 4, Wellington Lane : : CALCUTTA - 13

GUARDIANSHIP OF INDIA

(A MOCK TRIAL)

BY R. JAVANTHINATHAN

FOREWORD BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

“The Guardianship of India” is a well-drawn cartoon in the sense of the term. It shows the author is capable of a fine grip over politics and their influence at large on the various sections of the country. . . . Our young author has dealt with the tragedy of isms in a comical way—but behind the laughter there are tears. The technique of the court trial fits the theme as a glove and the clever twisting of the names of celebrities, men of power and of leaders of movements is sometimes uncannily clever.

Rupee One.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS G. T., MADRAS.

The United India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Madras

Commend to you
THE LIFE INCOME POLICY
 which is tailored to suit your individual needs.

Steady and certain monthly income from age 55

And the sum assured to heirs on death

At age 30, a monthly premium of Rs. 21-7 payable till age 55 or earlier death, secures the following benefits:

- (a) On death before age 55: Rs. 5,000 with bonus declared.
- (b) On survival: (i) The bonus declared in cash; (ii) A monthly pension of Rs. 25/- as long as the assured is alive and (iii) Rs. 5000/- to the dependents on the death of the Life Assured.

The monthly pension may also be commuted after at age 55.

Branch Manager:

THE UNITED INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Post Box No. 281:

MADRAS-1

Indian Judges

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES WITH PORTRAITS
 WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR B. L. MITTER, K.C.S.I.

This is a collection of famous Indian Judges who have adorned our courts during the last half a century. Indians have distinguished themselves in various professions under British rule but nowhere have their talents risen to such heights as in our law courts, where it is indisputably recognised that they have held their own with singular distinction on the Bench as on the Bar. The sketches of Indian Judges are designed to present not only a record of individual achievements in law, but also to throw light on the evolution of Hindu and Muslim Law under British administration, and with them the growth of social and political institutions and the modernisation of an ancient and deep-rooted civilisation.

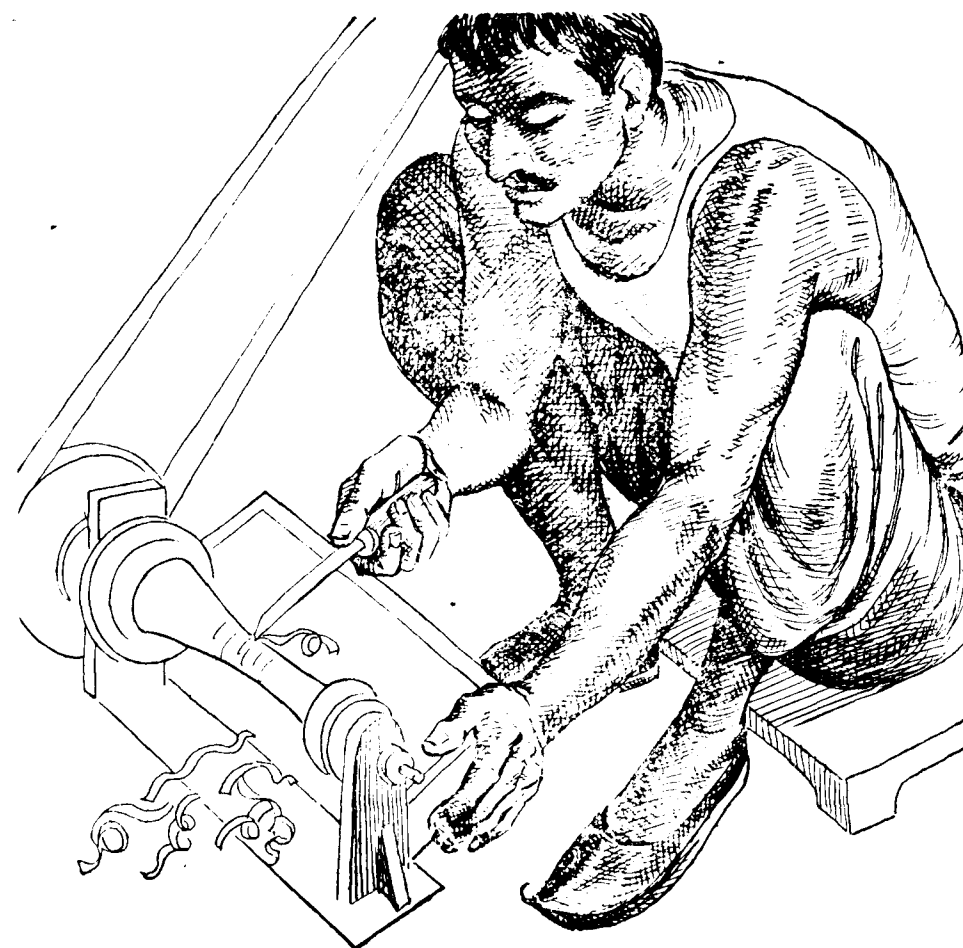
CONTENTS:—Sir T. Mathuswami Iyer; Nanabhai Haridas; Dwarknath Mitter; Mahadev Ranade; Sir Subramania Aiyar; Sri Bashyam Ivengar; Badruddin Tyabji; Sir Gurudas Bannerjee; Sir P. C. Bannerjee; Sarada Charan Mitra; Rt. Hon. Amir Ali; Kashinath T. Telang; Justice Mahmood; Sir Romesh Ch. Mitter; Sir N. G. Chandavarkar; Sri C. Sankaran Nair; V. Krishnaswami Aiyar; Justice Shah Din; Sir Shadi Lal; Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, and Sir Abdur Rahim.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

INDIAN SCIENTISTS
INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Price Rs. 5 (Five) each.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOK-SELLERS, GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS



yes, it is my plan!

Lights will be switched on in a thousand villages. Handlooms, lathes will hum and spin. Every small community will become the hub of a growing village industry. There will be work for everyone. The Five Year Plan provides for Rs. 127 crores to be spent on developing and adding to our power resources. Multi-purpose hydro-electric schemes will supply cheap power to industry. Here is proof of a nation's determination to take its place amongst the leaders of the world.

Lakhs of tons of Steel will be used to implement the many diverse projects of the Plan. And so, in numerous significant ways Steel will provide the foundations for a richer, more rewarding future for our nation and our people.

THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY LIMITED

T-1002

NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Price Rs. 5 each.

Ram Mohun Roy Lord Sinha
Sir D. E. Wacha Sir W. Wedderburn

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

Indian Judges. Sketches of 21 famous Judges.
Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.
Indian Scientists. Sketches with an account of their Researches.

POLITICS

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. "It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet is receiving wide attention. It is a book which can be put into the hands of a child."
—Gandhi. As. Eight.

Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

Congress Presidential Addresses. (1911-1934.) Containing full text of Presidential Addresses. Rs. 8.

Indian National Evolution. By A. C. Mazumdar. Rs. 5.

The Governance of India. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 5.

INDIAN TALES

The Gaurlanship of India: A Mock Trial. By R. Javanthinathan. Rupee One.

Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttaramacharitra. Nagananda and Mudrarakashasa. Re. One.

The Idiot's Wife. By Dr. Naresh Chunder Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L. As. 8.

Sakuntala. By Kamala Sathianadhan. As. 6.

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S WORKS

Freedom and Culture. Rs. 2.

The Heart of Hindustan. Rs. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings. By A. R. Sampathkumaran, M.A.

Jesus Christ: By Mr. S. K. George.

Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampathkumaran. 2nd Edn.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. R. Wadia.

Buddha. By D. Dharmapala. 4th Edn.

Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Akub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

Valmiki Ramayana. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari & English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

The Srimad Bhagavata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sri P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

Sankara's Select Works. Text in Devanagari and English translation.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Saiva Religion. By S. Katiereu. Rs. 2-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2.
Bhagavad Gita. Text and English Translation. By Dr. Annie Besant. As. 8.

Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.

The First Four Galls. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.

Three Great Acharyas: Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa. Rs. 3.

North Indian Saints. (Ramanad to Ram Tirath). Rs. 2.

Chaitanya to Vivekananda. Lives of the saints of Bengal. Rs. Two.

GENERAL

Indian Review Golden Jubilee Number 1900-1950 Over 150 Illustrations. Price Rs. 3.

50 Years in the Service of the Nation: A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan & Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by His Excellency C. Rajagopalachariar. Rs. Two.

Books That Have Influenced Me: A symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice, M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. Re. 1-8.

Famous Battles in Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.

Malabar and its Folk. By Mr. T. K. Gopala Panikkar, B.A. Rs. 5.

Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. William Miller. Rs. 1-8.

A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS

Selections from

THE VEDAS, UPANISHADS, EPICS, GITA, PURANAS,
AGAMAS, TANTRAS, KAVYAS AND THE WRITINGS
OF THE GREAT ACHARYAS AND OTHERS

TEXT IN DEVANAGARI AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

FOREWORD BY

MAHATMA GANDHI

The selection covers the entire field of Sanskrit Literature from the Vedas down to the latest writers of devotional poetry. No sect has been ignored; no religious bias has prejudiced the selection and the differing needs of persons on various levels of spiritual and religious development have been kept in view. Effort has been taken to avoid repetition of ideas and to present to the scholars the richness of expression in devotional poetry. Indeed, no effort has been spared to render this book representative, comprehensive, and up-to-date.

Mahatma Gandhi says in his Foreword:—"The collection presented in this volume does enable.....one like me to know how our ancestors prayed to the One Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph. May this collection help the reader to dispel his unbelief or strengthen his belief."

Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor of Philosophy, Madras University:—"It is at once grand in conception and grand in execution. I trust that it will serve as a sure and unfailing guide-book to all those that are heavily-laden and cry out to the Infinite for succour and light."

Illustrated Weekly of India:—"This handy volume, Prayers, Praises and Psalms in Sanskrit with reliable English renderings forms a comprehensive collection of devotional lyrics."

Price Rs. 3.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

UPAKHYANAMALA
UPANISHADS
SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55.]

DECEMBER 1954 :—DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 12]

	Page		Page
CO-EXISTENCE OR CO-DESTRUCTION? By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph. D.	529	THE THREE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS By SRI B. C. TANDON	550
THE PYRAMIDS, (A ROEM) By MR. WILLIAM, E. PHELAN	531	CHURCHILL, THE PARLIAMENTARIAN By EARL WINTERTON	552
THE PRESIDENT By "R. D."	532	HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"	554
BURMA OUR NEIGHBOUR By PROF. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.	533	THE WORLD OF BOOKS	558
INDIA AND CHINA By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL	537	DIARY OF THE MONTH	560
THE HOLY MOTHER By SWAMI OJASANANDA	539	READERS' DIGEST	561
RELIGION AND REVOLUTION IN ASIA By "T. S. R."	541	INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA	568
ERNEST HEMINGWAY By SRI. T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN	543	QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE	569
SOME BEAUTIFUL ART-MOTIFS OF INDIA By MR. B. C. CHAUDHURI	546	UTTERANCES OF THE DAY	570
MARRIAGE IN INDIA By SRI S. D. VISHINANI	548	POLITICAL & PERSONAL	571
		EDUCATIONAL	572
		LEGAL	573
		TRADE AND FINANCE	574
		WOMEN'S PAGE	575
		GENERAL	576

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS IN THE "INDIAN REVIEW"

	PAGE		PAGE
Advaita Ashrama	5	Madras Services	F. 6
African & Colonial Review	7	Mysindia	F. 10
All-India Astrological Society	8	Ramtirth Brahmi Oil	F. 5
B. O. A. C.	F. 16	Sri Ramakrishna Math	F. 16
Curzon & Co.	4	Siddhartha Publications Ltd.	2
Dalda	F. 13	Southern Railway	F. 3
Daibabal Ashram	5	Sunday Times	F. 14
Free India	F. 11	Spunpipe Co.	4TH COVER
Government of India	F. 1	Shaik Md. Rowther & Co., K.P.V.	F. 15
Indian Librarian	6	Travancore Cements Ltd.	F. 12
Lexin	2	Travancore Rayons Ltd.	F. 9
Maha Bodhi	2	The Maha Bodhi	2
		The United India Life Assurance Co.	7

WHY NOT SEE INDIA

DURING THE XMAS & NEW YEAR HOLIDAYS?



YOU CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
CONCESSIONAL
STANDARD TOUR TICKETS



FIVE SPECIFIED INTINERARIES
COVERING PLACES OF RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL
& SIGHT-SETTING INTEREST



ALSO

TOURS OF YOUR OWN CHOICE
APPROVED BY THE RAILWAY



For further particulars apply to:—

CHIEF COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT,
SOUTHERN RAILWAY,
PARK TOWN, MADRAS.

OR

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER,
18-A, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

Sankara's Select Works

Sanskrit Text and English Translation

By MR. S. VENKATARAMANAN, B.A.

Contents:—Hymn to Hari; The Ten Versed Hymn; Hymn to Dakshinamurti; Direct Realisation; The Century of Verses; Knowledge of Self; Commentary on the Text; Definition of one's own self.

The main object of this invaluable publication is to present, in simple English, some of the works of Sri Sankaracharya in which he tried to expound in a popular style, the philosophy of the non-dualistic Vedanta of which he was the well-known founder. With this view, the present translation has been rendered free of technical words and phrases, and, in some instances, literal and technical accuracy has been purposely sacrificed in order to make the translation readable and comprehensive by itself independently of the text. It is, however hoped that the juxtaposition of the Sanskrit text and the English translation will serve the double object of enabling the student of Sanskrit to understand the text better and to correct by a reference to the text, any defect of expression in the translation as an inevitable result of the attempt to grab it in a popular style. A publication of this kind should be specially helpful for a proper understanding of the broad outline of Sankara's Philosophy of non-dualism.

Price Rs. 3.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

UPAKHYANAMALA
UPANISHADS
PRAYERS, PRAISES & PSALMS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.

RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL

AYURVEDIC MEDICINE (Regd.)

HAIR & BRAIN TONIC

- Stops falling hair,
- Increases growth of hair,
- Turns grey hair into natural black



(SPECIAL No. 1)

- Removes dandruff and baldness
- Induces sound sleep
- Greatly increases memory

PRICE : BIG BOTTLE—Rs. 3/8/-, SMALL BOTTLE—Rs. 2/-
SOLD EVERYWHERE

Send M. O. for Rs. 5/13/- for Big Bottle & Rs. 3/13/- for small Bottle
(Including Postage & Packing charges as no V.P. is sent.)

YOGIC Classes are regularly conducted from 7-30 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. and evening 6 to 7-30 p.m.
at the above address. (Sundays closed).

TO BE HEALTHY AND TO KEEP FIT ask for our attractive CHART (Map) showing YOGIC Asanas, which will be sent on receipt of Rs. 1/12. These Asanas can be easily performed at home.

SHRI RAMTIRTH YOGASHRAM

"DADAR (Central Rly.)"

Gram: "PRANAYAM" BOMBAY No. 14

Tel.—62899

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

Publishers, "Indian Review".

ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

DEAR SIRs,

Please enrol me as a subscriber to the INDIAN REVIEW from

M. O. for Rs. 6 (Six)

I am sending an _____ Foreign 15sh. (U. S. A. 4 Dollars)

Cheque for Rs. 6-4

one year's subscription.

Name

Designation

Address

Yours faithfully,

EMMESS

AIR CONDITIONERS

*Remote & Portable Types
for
Dependability, Efficiency & Economy*



MAKERS OF "EMMESS" PRODUCTS:

THE MADRAS SERVICES

Refrigeration, Air Conditioning
and

Electrical Engineers

DINROZE ESTATE 1-17-G,
Mount Road, MADRAS-2

Phone : 86597

*Servicing of:—Refrigerators, Air Conditioners & Electrical
Equipments and Machinery of every description.*

SRIMAD BHAGAVATA

CONDENSED IN THE POET'S OWN WORDS

Text in Devanagari and English Translation.

COMPILED BY

Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Dr. Sir P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

This edition contains an account of the Avatars of the Lord and the Stories of Dhruva, Priyavrata, Jadabharata, Vritrasura, Ajamila, Gajendra-moksha, etc., etc. Also all the important episodes in the life of the Lord Krishna—the killing of Kamsa, the marriage of Rukmini, the story of Kuchela, the famous discourse to Uddhava, the passing of the Lord and the salvation of King Parikshit.

Dr. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer says in the Foreword:—"We find in the Bhagavata the highest truths of religion and philosophy and the highest principles of ethics. The lilt of the verse in the Bhagavata has a peculiar charm of its own. There is a solemnity and grandeur in the devotional songs which attunes the mind to the high theme.....No other work in the Hindu religious literature has made a more careful study of the psychology of Bhakti."

Price Rs. 3.

VALMIKI RAMAYANA
THE MAHABHARATA
UPAKHYANAMALA

PUANISHADS
PRAYER'S PRAISES & PSALMS
SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

Price Rs. 3. (Three) each.

POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., BOOKSELLERS, & PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

Notice to Subscribers

Subscribers are requested to give their numbers printed on the wrapper of the Review sent to them, either when intimating their change of address to this office or when remitting their subscriptions, to facilitate prompt action on their communications.

The Circulation Manager

"INDIAN REVIEW"

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1

HINDU ETHICS

Principles of Religio-Social Regeneration

By BABU GOVINDA DAS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BABU BHAGAVAN DAS

AND A FOREWORD BY DR. GANGANATHA JAH, M.A., D.Litt.

It is critical of current Hindu beliefs and lays down lines along which reform should proceed.

PRICE Rs. 2/-

THE WORLD TEACHERS

Life and Teachings of Sri Rama
By M. R. SAMPATKUMARAN, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Sri Krishna
By M. R. SAMPATKUMARAN, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ
By S. K. GEORGE, M.A., B.D.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster
By PROF. A. R. WADIA, M.A.

Life and Teachings of Buddha
By DEVAMITTA DHARMAPALA

Life and Teachings of Muhammad
By
AHMAD SHAFI & YAKUB BHASAN

Life and Teachings of Sri Sankara
By
S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A.

Price Rs. 1 (One) each.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

TRAYONS

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED

Rayonpuram, P. O.

Travancore - Cochin State.

INDIAN PIONEER PRODUCERS

OF

RAYON YARN

AND

TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM.

MANAGING AGENTS:—

EMCETE & SONS (Travancore) Ltd

MYSINDIA

The National Weekly with an International Outlook



EACH WEEK PROVIDES A RICH BILL OF FARE

- Authoritative and thought-provoking articles on politics, philosophy, the sciences, art and current topics . . .
- Short stories, humorous skits and cartoons, illustrated articles; feminine fancies . . .
- Reviews of the latest books and survey of world literature . . .
- Sport, etc.

*The Weekly that enriches your mind
and at the same time entertains you*

Annual Subscription
Rs. 10/8 (Post free)

Single Copy
Annas THREE

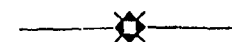
Editorial and Publication Offices
38-A, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
BANGALORE - 1

Grams: "MYSINDIA"

Phone: 300

FREE INDIA

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY



PRINCIPAL FEATURES:

Beautiful Front Cover	Opinions of the Week
Full Page Pictures	Plan with Planets
Film & Fun Pages	Cartoons
Bombay Letter	Up-to-the-Minute Photos
Delbi Dispatch	Short Story
Pakistan X-rayed	and
Snappy Leaders	Hindi Lessons

Besides

STRAIGHTWORDS

the straight and simple contest giving away Rs. 4,500 in prizes.

SINGLE COPY: 3 As. 6 MONTHS Rs. 4-8-0 ONE YEAR Rs.9.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further Particulars From

FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road : MADRAS - 2.

From Travancore-Cochin State, THE VEMBANAD BRAND CEMENT is the best material of its kind. You get this Brand: you help Indian Industry in the various stages of production. You can depend on VEMBANAD BRAND PORTLAND CEMENT. Insist on it for all your building programmes

VEMBANAD BRAND

TRAVANCORE CEMENTS LTD
REGISTERED OFFICE KOTTAYAM

FACTORY: NATTAKOM, KOTTAYAM

CEMENT



Here's one family you don't have to ask to 'smile please!'

Portrait of a happy family!

Every smile has a history. Particularly the beaming smiles on my family's faces. But it wasn't always the same healthy family that I am photographing today.

Only a few months ago my husband was continually falling ill. And that meant less money coming in. On top of that my three children started to lose weight and never seemed to enjoy life.

It was only a chance conversation with their school teacher which gave me the clue to the whole trouble. 'Excuse me being personal,' she said after I had told her my worries, 'but I wonder if the cooking fat you use has anything to do with the problem?'

When I told her I bought the best and most expensive loose fats I thought that would answer the question. 'Loose fats, however good they may be, are constantly exposed to dirty hands and flies,' she quickly replied, 'and that means contamination followed by sickness.'

She advised me to buy Dalda Vanaspati at once. Because first and foremost, Dalda

safeguards health. Germs can't get into that sealed tin. And the makers of Dalda Vanaspati

don't let a tin out of their hands until it is up to the highest standard.

I was convinced she was right! And my family were converted to Dalda cooking in no time. They love the natural flavours which Dalda brings out in food. Bought in airtight sealed tins, Dalda Vanaspati can always be relied on to be pure, fresh and wholesome.

I shall keep this photograph as living proof of the way Dalda Vanaspati keeps my family happy, healthy and contented the whole day. If you want a photograph like mine cook all your food with Dalda Vanaspati. Get a tin today.

Available in 10 lb., 5 lb., 2 lb., 1 lb. and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tins. Dalda now contains vitamins A and D.

How to choose a good cooking fat

For free advice write today to:

THE DALDA ADVISORY SERVICE

P.O. Box No. 353, Bombay, 1.

DALDA VANASPATI
COOKS BETTER—COSTS LESS



Look for the tin with the Palm tree

HVM. 330-X48

SUNDAY TIMES

26th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Inland.	Foreign.
One Year	Rs. 9 8 0	10 8 0
6 Months	„ 4 12 0	5 8 0

Subscriptions are not accepted for less than 6 months.

THE BRIGHTEST NEWS
AND VIEWS ILLUSTRATED
WEEK-END NEWSPAPER
— IN INDIA —

IT GIVES YOU THE
NEWS BEHIND THE
NEWS!

SUNDAY'S BEST

Wanted Agents in unrepresented areas.

MY MOTHERLAND PAMPHLETS

In appreciation of these, Acharya P. C. Ray writes:—

“One can gain much useful information and will derive much benefit by going through these pamphlets.”

Only the following are now available:

2. Sri Ramana Maharshi
14. Gandhism in Action
20. The Way of Prosperity
22. Dayananda Saraswathi
30. The Dope Plague
35. Mrs. Annie Besant and Her Fight for India
36. Chanakya
37. Guru Nanak
38. Guru Govind Singh.
39. Asoka the Great.
40. Vikramaditya
41. Sri Krishna Chaitanya
42. Emperor Harsha
44. Sri M. Visweswarayya
45. Sirdar Patel

For all the 15 Pamphlets send Rs. 1-9-0
(Inclusive of registered postage.)

Price 1 anna each

● Postage 1 anna for any four

Aspects of SRI AUROBINDO

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Foreword by

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

Price: Rs. 1-4-0 Postage Extra

YOGASANS FOR HEALTH

(ILLUSTRATED)

By V. MUTHUSWAMY

Being a reprint of articles which
appeared in “Sunday Times”

Price Rs. 0-12-0 Postage 0-1-0

THE SUNDAY TIMES BOOKSHOP, MADRAS - 6

K. P. V. Shaik Mohamed Rowther & Co.,

POST BOX NO. 1264

41, LINGHI CHETTY STREET, G. T. MADRAS

Branches at

MASULIPATAM, KAKINADA, NEGAPATAM and KARAİKAL

Telegraphic Address:

General: “SHAİK”

Coastal Service: “JALANATH”

U. K. America Service: “SAMUDRAPAR”

Singapore-Australia Service: “EASTSHIPCO”

Agents For:

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., BOMBAY.
THE EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY.
THE UNITED STATES NAVIGATION CO., Inc., NEW YORK.
THE ALEXANDRIA NAVIGATION CO., S. A. E., ALEXANDRIA,
THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO., MADRAS.

Steamer Service:

Regular Cargo and Passenger Service to Coastal
Ports of India, Burma and Ceylon: India/U. K. and
Continent: India/America: India/Australia & Far East:
Madras/Rangoon: Madras/Singapore.

TELEPHONE No. { 4972 (2 Lines) Office.
3677 (After Office Hours.)

FLY TO LONDON



BY FIRST CLASS ARGONAUT

Alternative routings serve Karachi, Bahrain, Basra, Cairo, Beirut, Rome, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt and Zurich. Good connections are available for other European destinations.

Complimentary meals, and drinks. Hotel accommodation, meals and surface transport are provided at scheduled night-stops.

30 kgs. free baggage allowance.

SINGLE FARE - Rs. 2415

RETURN FARE - Rs. 4361

Consult your Travel Agent or B.O.A.C., 33/4, Mount Road, Madras 2. Phone: 85394.

FLY → B.O.A.C.

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 55]

DECEMBER 1954

[No. 12]

Co-existence or Co-destruction?

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph D., D. LITT.

University of Lucknow.

—o—

THOSE who talk glibly about a Third World War belittle and underestimate what modern warfare means. They ignore reality, and are the victims of their own fancy. They forget that the last World War cost mankind about four trillion dollars in money and forty million in human casualties. It is needless to say that a Third World War, with atom and hydrogen bombs, will be many times more destructive and costly in terms of money and human life. No matter which side finally wins the war, both the belligerent blocs will surely and essentially be losers in the end. If there is a prolonged and fearful holocaust, human civilization would be set back for centuries. And, more problem will be created than would be solved by the war.

It is often lightly imagined that the Soviet Union can be easily knocked out by the Americans in a quick atom bomb war. That this idea is nothing more than wishful thinking needs little elaboration. Russia is much better armed and organised today than she was when Hitler attacked her. She has now both the atom bomb and jet planes. And, what is more important is that a ring of buffer state allies would reinforce her European and Asian borders. Besides, the Communist-trained troops are formidable fighters, and this fact has been established in the Korean conflict. It is also problematical whether American-led troops would have greater success in marching through Russia than Hitler's mechanized legions had. It should also be remembered that

the Nazis could not capture Moscow. But, even if Russia loses Moscow, Gorky and Stalingrad, she would still possess the industrially advanced Siberian hinterland and Soviet Central Asia which is an area twice as extensive as the United States.

A quick military victory over Russia is hardly feasible. Firstly, there is no indication of a likelihood of an internal collapse. After the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45, as the Russians love to call it, the Soviet Government is so firmly entrenched that an effective counter-revolutionary movement is scarcely likely. Secondly, a quick and deep land penetration of Russia is also impracticable because of the very immensity of the Russian tableland, the rigours of the Russian winter and the dogged tenacity of the Russian masses. Thirdly, in any conflict with Russia, America and its allies will have to reckon with the People's Republic of China. If a first-rate power like Japan could not crush an inefficient and disorganised China in ten years, it is hardly conceivable that America will subdue a China stronger and better organised than she was in the corrupt and inefficient regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Thirdly so far as atomic war is concerned, America is more vulnerable than Russia, for the continental United States is no more than a fraction of the combined area of China and Russia. Russia will therefore not need as many bombs as the United States will require. Fourthly, in case of war, Russia and China will hardly remain passive, and they will push so far

inside Europe and Asia that the American bloc, with far less manpower, will find it hard to keep the enemy confined within its own borders. Lastly, intensive attack on heartland of Russia is not a practicable proposition even by air, and no modern power will capitulate without an overwhelming invasion by ground forces.

If America cannot normally look forward to a quick victory, Russia's chances to knock down America are still more slender. The economic resources and armaments of the American coalition are truly staggering. The United States possesses not only atom bombs in all calibres, but she will have the cataclysmic H-bomb as well. Russia will also not be able to invade America, for she does not own an adequate sea power which is necessary for transportation of armies across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Besides, Russia and China lack the traditions of aggressive war outside their own areas. So, it will be senseless, if Russia and China contemplate an offensive war against America.

It is not unlikely that the next total war might end more or less in a military stalemate. Both sides might have victories here and there, but neither could look to a clearcut victory. Whosoever wins, Western Europe in any case will sink into utter chaos, and America and its allies would be as exhausted and impoverished as Russia and its allies. There will be an unknown and confused disorder all over the world. Most great cities will be bombed out of existence. Vast populations will be killed and uprooted. Industrial areas and communication centres will be destroyed. Orderly governments might collapse in many countries. Even if America wins, her victory will be empty and valueless in the midst of universal poverty and confusion.

Recent American foreign policy is based on the apprehension that if it were allowed an opportunity, communism will engulf Europe and Asia, and penetrate into the American continent. The Americans therefore wish to contain communism at all costs and by force of arms, if necessary. They look upon any attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Government as unwise appeasement. So the cold war and the prodigious armaments programme go on

unchecked in the United States and elsewhere, and the Red hunt is continuing there with relentless vigour. In Europe and Asia, the United States is at present busy creating a network of allied states and a ring of air and military bases to counteract the Communist menace. This mighty round-the-world crusade against communism is understandably a source of alarm to Soviet Russia. And, Soviet Russia too has embarked upon a parallel campaign of arms production to catch up with the West. Thus, what to the West seems to be an imminent danger is, from the East's point of view, nothing more than military security. In the midst of the furious armaments race, a fatalistic idea is bound to grow that a Third World War is perhaps inevitable. History shows that there can not be an armaments race without leading into the war it was meant to avert.

But, is a Third World War really inevitable? Do not war and fear constitute a vicious circle of cause and effect? If both the blocs realise that neither will be real gainer in the long run, the conception of co-existence is still likely to be acceptable. After all, the economic condition of the world after the last war is not such as would justify another global conflict. The hard-pressed Western Europe wants peace no less than Russia and China to raise the present living standards. World trade needs peace for future advancement, for the pre-set armaments programme is bound to hamper the post-War economic reconstruction. Even America is visibly suffering from the effects of inflation resulting from rearmament programme. Crushing taxes and soaring prices have considerably reduced the purchasing power of money, and the American people are finding it hard to stand the strain of the bloated military budgets. Europe, particularly, is afflicted with poverty, unemployment, depression, currency crises and general social dislocation. It is necessary to add that the main weapons in the possession of Russia are not so much military as social and economic. It is easy to prepare a military front against communism, but it is far more difficult to put forward an economic or ideological answer to it. Mutual self-interest therefore demands that the East-West wrangles should come to an end.

The co-existence of capitalism and communism is not only desirable, but is definitely possible. But, we must agree on certain postulates. No way of life should be regarded as superior to others. No political system should be regarded as good or bad in itself. And, imperialism should be treated now as an outmoded policy. If, therefore, the principles of national self-determination and equality are agreed upon, all international questions and disputes can be solved by peaceful methods. Disarmament and international atomic control can be secured, only if there is goodwill on both sides. The drift towards war must in any case be immediately stopped, and a workable and over-all agreement should be reached. Whatever the shortcomings of the Soviet and American systems, and whatever the errors of the respective governments, they can still arrive at an equitable understanding.

What is, in fact, needed is not a perfect agreement, for a perfect agreement is impossible, but only a sincere desire to co-exist peacefully. Besides, there is no short cut to a speedy solution of international disputes. The gulf has to be bridged slowly step by step, and even partial agreements will lead to a better state of affairs. It is through partial agreements in small matters that gradually a wider agreement to live and let live might eventually emerge. At any rate, it is good to remember that there is no magic wand which could produce perfect agreement all at once.

War, let us not forget, solves no problems. Only reason, understanding, negotiation and compromise can liquidate the present day crises. If only both sides agree to sit down and talk things over with the intention of relieving the current tensions, a satisfactory settlement cannot be beyond reach. War has never paid in history, and aggressors have always come to grief in the long run. Let the world statesmen decide whether mankind should face a co destruction through war, or whether they should usher in a new era of peace and welfare for the common man.

It is indeed heartening to find that the Asian Powers in general, and India in particular, despite the ominous SEATO bloc, have been playing an historic role in focusing world opinion on the need for an East-West understanding. India has always cherished the ideal of unity in diversity throughout her long history, and this is why India is peculiarly fitted to throw all her weight on the side of peace. The five Principles of co-existence enunciated in June last by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai afford the necessary basis for the settlement of a climate of peace in the world. If India succeeds in exerting her influence in favour of unity, a new era of peace may yet ensue. India today is the greatest single compelling factor of peace, and it is well-known that neither East nor West will lightly disregard, much less defy, her advocacy of peace.

THE PYRAMIDS

BY

MR. WILLIAM E. PHELAN

Here now, the thousand years are with us still,
And sky and sand and wind engraven stone,
Conjures the ancient to the present will,
A spectral image on a spectral throne;

Here kings entombed are now subjects of death,

Their royal prerogative held confiscate,
Long since exhausted of their living breath;
A mold of ashes, that was once a state.

Here in the shroud of ageless silence lies
All that was once great pomp and power of place,

Here the dark dynasty holds court's assize,
And outrules old decrees of birth and race,
Their mortal grandeur now is dust and grime,
And these vast monuments do but mark time.

—New York Times.

The President

By "R. D."

—0—

IN 1911 while I was reading in the Presidency College, Calcutta, and staying in the attached Eden Hindu Hostel, I met an ex-boarder visiting a common friend in the hostel and I could not help noticing at once how sincerity and humility were writ large on his countenance and how in course of a few minutes he made himself entirely at home there, attracting a number of old and new boarders around him. That day we,



Dr. Rajendra Prasad

some younger boarders, felt in our heart of hearts that there was a darling who would always be more loved than dreaded and who would rule more by sympathy, sincerity and humility. That ex-boarder is none other than Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President of our great Republic. Since then that picture of him was imprinted on my mind and, with the lapse of time, was more and more confirmed. Years after, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his Autobiography about "his keen, frank eyes and his earnest look. One does not forget that look or those eyes for through them truth looks at you and there is no doubting them...His outstanding ability, his perfect straightness, his energy and his devotion to the cause of Indian freedom are qualities which have made him loved not only in his own province but throughout India". So he was rightly described by some as the "heart" of the Congress.

With that picture before us, it was no wonder that even in 1904 as a simple

junior student, coming from not a very known part of Behar, he was found very popular in the Presidency College and was elected Secretary to the College Union by overwhelming majority defeating a senior student of Calcutta. Nor was it a wonder that, later in life, on an appeal from this darling of India after that fatal earthquake of Bihar in 1934, there was a great response and more than 3 lacs were subscribed to his Relief Fund, while the fund started by the Viceroy, with all the awe attached to high Office, did not receive so much.

He had a unique academic career. He topped the list of candidates in the Entrance Examination of 1902 of the Calcutta University with much wider jurisdiction than at present. He also stood first in the F. A. Examination in 1904 securing the Duff Scholarship in Languages. In 1906, he passed the B. A. Examination with Honours in both English and History and obtained the Eshan Scholarship and the Presidency College Foundation Scholarship. In 1908 he passed his M. A. Examination and served as a professor for a time till later he passed his B. L. Examination and joined the Calcutta High Court. He wound up his brilliant academic career by obtaining a First Class in M.L. Examination and Kedarnath Banerjee Gold Medal and by combining his practice in the Calcutta High Court with teaching as Professor of the University Law College, Calcutta. In 1916, he left Calcutta and joined the Patna High Court where he rose high in his legal profession and reputation. Yet he always maintained his interest in academic matters not only by his association with the Patna University but also by organising a National University called Bihar Vidyapith.

"Ambitions I have none except to be of some service to the motherland"—wrote he even before he started life and soon he dedicated his life to the national cause. Ever since 1917 when Mahatma Gandhi sponsored the Champaran Campaign, he worked with him and became one of his closest followers. "Few others, if any, can be said to have imbibed more thoroughly the real message of Gandhiji"—wrote Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in the Autobiography.

After the attainment of freedom, he has always insisted upon our adherence to truth and non-violence and "the ideal of the world above self, service above gratification, love above violence and creation above destruction". In a message from Sevagram he said "Mahatma Gandhi saw the futility of ending war by war...He tried to tackle it at its root by making the individual as the fit instrument for peace—simplifying his life, reducing his individual needs, spreading and securing confidence and love all round". Following the principle of 'Do what you preach', he has practised them in his life as a true exponent of peace, simplicity and love.

All these particularly his utter selflessness, his complete disregard of physical and monetary sufferings during the national struggle, his extreme devotion to the people's cause and his refusal to accept any favours denied to his co-workers and co-prisoners made him the loving leader of the people who chose him as the President of the Congress more than once and ultimately as the Permanent President of the Constituent Assembly and the First President of Free India. He never sought office—it was the office which sought him.

All these again arise in mind on his birth anniversary—3rd December, 1954. As in 1911, he is still the same darling—more loved than dreaded and ruling more by sympathy, sincerity and humility.

Burma Our Neighbour

BY: PROF. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

—0—

Burma (262000 sq. miles), as big as Indo-China, inhabited by 19 million Burmese, including nearly 2 million Karens and 120 other racial and tribal groups (Kachins, Chins, Mons, Arakanese etc.) and 3 Lakh Chinese, 7 Lakh Indians and a small number of Europeans (mostly British), speaking over 110 languages, has a 1000-mile frontier with Red China in the north and touches India, Pakistan and the Bay of Bengal in the west, Laos and Thailand in the East and South. Easily Burma can be divided into four zones green forest-clad borderlands, high and hilly; the dry zone around the royal Capital, Mandalay; the rice-rich low-lying Irrawady plains; the 1500-mile jungly coastland where 200 inches of rains beat down every year. The British, masters in the art of imperialistic exploitation, imported British gold to develop 14,500-mile of rails and roads and 12 million acres of riceland; the epidemic death-rate was well-nigh halved. Then Burma stood first in the British empire in teakwood production, second in tungsten, fifth in tin, sixth in lead. Though elephants and tigers roam about Burma's jungles, rebels and guerillas use them equally well as hide outs in their battle against the

government. U. Nu's government claims control over 233 out of 280 constituencies; but the figure is, no doubt, an exaggerated one, because the powers controlling the outlying districts didn't contest the elections at all. The communists are retreating northwards from their Myingyan base; the Karen rebels are still strong in their hilly tracts behind Moulmein; Chiang's nationalists are almost irremediably lodged in Shan states, plundering and terrorizing the people.

RAINBOW OF DISSIDENT FORCES

Muang Mong is a Karen himself. "In the first quarter of 1954, the Karen state was formally inaugurated by the Burmese President. Why not the Karen rebels stop fighting?" I asked him. "The Karens are nearly 2 million strong. One big group lives in the Salween valley, another in the fertile delta raising rice; Karens are there in South Burma too. They aren't satisfied with the area forming the Karen state at present. For a long time, the rebel capital was Toungoo; now, Kawthoolay. The late Karen leader London-educated bearded Saw Ba U Gyi (with his blonde English wife) and Premier U. Nu talked and talked to iron out their differences. Saw Ba U Gyi,

a minister in Aung San's cabinet, was an efficient and good administrator. The talks failed, and fighting flared up. They complain that the Burmans (majority) oppress them (a national minority). No doubt, the Karens then held high positions; the C-in-C of Burmese forces, the Chief of Air staff and the police chief were Karens, the sizable Karen bloc in parliament aside. Further, the Karens formed the cream of Burma's fighting forces. They all left off their jobs when the Karen rebellion gathered momentum. These simple honest hard-working men, Buddhists mostly, led by educated (educated in Mission schools and Judson Memorial College, Rangoon) Christian minority felt close to Britain and the West than resurgent Burmese nationalism would let them. The Pro-Jap Burmese excesses over pro-West Karens still rankled in their minds. This among other things raised mutual suspicion and distrust. Some pious superstitious Karens even thought that, true to Karen tradition Taw-Me-Pha, the Karen hero would lead them to glory and nationhood. The Burmese and the Karens are yet to lift the shadows of their past, mixing and mingling with each other, eliminating mutual suspicion".

"Do the Mons claim statehood? If so, on what grounds?" I enquired, wanting to find out the similarity between the two movements. "The Mons rebelled against the government for years on end; now, not. They have accepted a separate state within the Burmese Union. The United Mon Association supported their claim to nationhood by digging up historical documents. These ancient documents proved that the last Mon King Binnaya Dala (1747-1774) ruled as sovereign over the Mon Kingdom. Except few irregular Mon guerilla bands, the Mons have laid down arms, content with a state of their own".

"Any other reasons for the discontent of Karens?"

"Yes. The Karen rebels say that the hills marked out for them are unproductive, while a large group of them live in the fertile lowlands around Moulmein and Irrawady delta. Lastly, the areas allotted to them, they say, are in their hands already".

The Karens and Mons aside, a rainbow of dissident forces challenge the authority of government. They are: 1. Red Flag Trotskyites — 8000-strong, led by 48-year old Thakin Soe, onetime clerk of Burma Oil Co; he shared Jail life with Premier U Nu. 2. White Flag Stalinites — 14000-strong, led by Thakin Than Tun who boasted in 1918, "Give us three years. Burma will be ours". However, their plans miscarried. 3. Burmese Army Deserters — 8500-strong, led by rebel-monk U Sneider; they broke away from the government against U Nu's decision to fight the communists, their erstwhile comrades in the freedom struggle. 4. Mujahids — led by self-styled Major-General Kassim, wanting a theocratic state of their own: "perhaps accession to Pakistan also remained in the field" comments Bertie Reginald Pearn, professor of History in Rangoon University. 5. Chinese nationalists — only half of Chiang's guerillas (120,000) are packed off yet, thanks to U. S. Rumour has it that more are pouring in via Siam.

In the Shan states, where the country wears a parched, faded, thirsty look, full of sharp ups and downs, terrorism began as early as December 1930; rebels under Saya San murdered Forest officer, Fields Clark. The Chiang's nationalists in this area had made confusion much more confounded.

The amount spent by Burma on defence is a staggering one. The 1952-53 deficit budget reveals a gap of Rs. 30 crores. Defence alone consumes over 50% of total government receipts. "Annually they (rebels) destroy property worth Rs. 50 million. We spent Rs. 150 million every year fighting the rebellion, while the loss in national income, mainly in rice exports, comes up to Rs. 200 million. Altogether, the rebellion costs the country a total of Rs. 400 million a year" says U Nu. Stop the rebels, Burma must. Hence, the defence expenditure.

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

Burma is living in a moment of upheaval—greater perhaps than at any other time in her history. About 2000 years back, in search of a new homeland, the forefathers of the Burmese poured down on the river valleys from mountainous Tibet and West Yunnan.

They set up the 'Pagan' State, 16 sq. miles of pagodas with innumerable inscriptions that expose their past glory. Pagan is not only a historical monument, but a tribute to the inspiration of Buddhism. It was Anahwratha (1044-1077) who popularised pure Buddhism (Hinayana) through the Mon missionary monk, Shin Araham. The ancient Pagan kingdom is forgotten; but the present form of Buddhism has been Burma's ruling creed for the last 900 years. Burma's isolation was so rude that Burmans called the spire of the Mandalay royal palace, the centre of the universe. Before the war, one million Indians, 20 lakh Chinese and 10,000 Britains invested their precious capital to develop Burma, despite the lethargy, thriftlessness and philo- his indifference of Burmans.

The British captured Burma in three stages—in 1826, 1852, and 1886. With that, revolutionary, social, political, economic and educational ideas slipped into Burma. In course of time, it had two ill-effects: One, having lost respect for customs and traditions, lawlessness poisoned the Burmese mental soil; Two, the educational institutions mass-manufactured too many lawyers who turned themselves into politicians and rebels.

Under the British, constitutional development was snail-slow. In 1897, a legislative council was set up, filled with government nominees, and enlarged in 1909 and 1915. In 1919, a 103-member council with a nominated majority was formed, with two executive members responsible to the legislature. Even the 1935 Government of India Act didn't satisfy the people's thirst for freedom. As John L. Christian put it, the Burman was at one with Tagore in requesting the British: "With your administrative machinery, send, I pray you, a little humanity". The British refused to budge an inch. British premier Churchill hit back: "I have not become His Majesty's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British empire". Heartless words, indeed.

The Second World war exploded. The Japs goose-stepped into Burma. On September 9, 1943 Yasua Yamada, in a Tokyo Radio broadcast, boasted: "The entire people of Burma have now come to realise that they are

liberated from the British yoke...through the assistance of their Asiatic neighbour, Japan". No doubt, they roused Burmese nationalism, gave Burmans 'nominal independence'. And in Burmese eyes, 'Pax Britannica', to borrow George Orwell's phrase, turned into 'Pox Britannica'. "When the Japanese Bombers came" said U Nu "the people would not take cover. They tore their shirts, sang, danced, clapped their hands, shouted and turned somersaults as if they didn't care a curse what happened". And what happened? The Japs trampled underfoot the hopes of the Burmese. Hence, the Burmese organised their own anti-Jap pro-West resistance movement.

War over, in 1946, Britain offered Burma self-government, and 31-year old Aung San, the famous anti-jap freedom fighter, headed the provisional government, while U. Nu became speaker of the new Constituent Assembly. But on July 19, 1947, three assassins walked into the Council chamber, shot Aung San and his six colleagues dead. A fall of tragedy fell over the nation. Thakin Nu was compelled to head the new government.

January 4, 1948, 4.20 A.M. Like Eire and the 13 American colonies, Burma's six-starred flag went up the flag-mast in total independence of Britain. The British governor drove up to the harbour and boarded 'H. M. S. Birmingham'. That night Rangoon celebrated the birth of freedom. And the Burmese national anthem sprang from millions of throats. It began: "Until the end of time, this is our Land".

PREMIER U. NU

"I am a dreamer, a writer" says U. Nu. "Framing rules and so on make my head ache". He aspired to become Burma's Bernard Shaw, but remained Burma's Premier for the last 6½ years. A devout Buddhist, he refused to kill a cobra once. Cool moon-lit nights, fragrant romantic surroundings, the curls and curves of 'chic' Burmese blondes and hedonistic pleasures, he loved. Liquor held the magic wand over him. He read avidly Shakespeare, Shaw, Havelock Ellis, Wells, wrote Freudian plays, eloped with Mya Yi, the School Board Presi-

dent's daughter, his would-be wife, whom his numerous sonnets praised. Rangoon Editor, U. Bacho, interested him in freedom fight, a romance by itself. Learning philosophy and law in Rangoon University, he joined 'We Burmans' Society; each member called the other 'Thakin,—the name reserved for 'White Sahibs'. The chiefs of Trotskyites were his comrades then. In 1936, the 'Thakins' burned the Union Jack before the Rangoon High Court, a symbolic riddance of 'Pox Britannica'. U. Nu. drank deep of Marx; the drink was heady and he veered left. But today, despite his Brahmacharya (sexual abstinence) in wedded life, zeal for Buddhism, his vegetarianism, his frequent visits to the 'prayer house' on stilts, his dropping the pre-war title 'Thakin', he quotes Marx against the Trotskyites and Stalinists and fights them with his 60,000-strong modern army. U. Nu's Marxism watered down with parliamentary democracy resembles Tito's at best. He calls the Reds, in polite language 'Kwema-tha' or dog-bitch-sons. Asked 'Is not yours a one-party government?', he replied: 'It is no dictatorship. The people prefer one party alone. That is all. No danger there is as long as that party believes in democracy'.

Recently in a BBC broadcast, Philips, an authority on South East Asian affairs, said: "Whereas Nehru revels in the role of a dynamic statesman, Thakin Nu is perplexed with doubts: Ought he to be a monk rather than a man of affairs, a playwright rather than a politician? He has...lived in a monastery, and even today always seems on the verge of retiring again to become a monk. Nehru impatiently goes out to meet problems; Thakin Nu waits for them to come to him." Nevertheless, U. Nu, full of pep and vigour, is fighting half a dozen internal rebellions to safeguard the integrity of Burma.

Three things mark out the Thakin Nu regime—1. Strength to oppose insurrections inside the country; 2. ability to put to work an ambitious plan of land redistribution, industrialisation and social welfare to usher in 'the Welfare state'; 3. revival of dynamic Buddhism. And he is loins girt to stamp out the 'cult of the gun'. U. Nu hopes to become a monk, after establishing peace in his country, for "Karl Marx...isn't equivalent to one-tenth of a particle of dust beneath the feet of Lord Buddha". How can he get away now?



BBC EASTERN SERVICE: INDIAN SECTION
Prem Nath (Right), a well-known Indian actor, producer and director, is interviewed by Alek Hasan for a broadcast in the BBC Hindi Service.

INDIA AND CHINA

BY

Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

—0—

THE recent visit of the Prime Minister to China has proved to be of great historical and political significance. Replying to a short-notice question in the Lok Sabha, Sri Nehru observed that "the mere fact of a closer understanding between India and China is a factor of vital importance not only to those countries but to others also." In the course of his talk to a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Prime Minister stated that his visit "had helped in bringing the two great nations of Asia nearer." In an interview with a British journalist who met him on behalf of the B. B. C., Sri Nehru laid great stress on the method of "friendly cooperation and understanding" as against "threats and an aggressive approach" to the solution of major problems confronting different nations of the world. The same note of a friendly approach was sounded by the Prime Minister in the course of his speech in Peking. "The essential thing between two nations," said Sri Nehru, "is tolerance and friendly feeling." He continued: "If these are present, other things follow. I am convinced these are present in India and China."

Although Sri Nehru has welcomed this friendly cooperation between India and China for the establishment of peace in Asia and the world, he has made it quite clear that there are basic differences in the political and economic structures of the two countries. "We found that such differences as existed in our political or economic structures need not come in the way of our cooperation in many fields and, more especially, in our working for peace in Asia and the world." Sri Nehru, in the course of his interview to the B.B.C. described the enthusiasm of the people in both the countries and stated that, perhaps, in China, it is much more. But he made it quite clear that he did not like the methods of regimentation. "It may be, we may not be able to do it to the same extent: but we prefer to do it in our own way." Of course, Sri Nehru did not think it worth-while to discuss the ideological differences theoretically. "We knew that we were functioning with different political and economic structures, and we left it at that."

The two Prime Ministers discussed, from a practical point of view, a number of problems like those of industrialisation, unemployment, flood control, population control and financial resources. The "Five Principles" or the "Panch Shila" provided the basis for all these friendly discussions on common problems from the stand-point of world peace and prosperity. The Chinese leaders assured Sri Nehru that they had no intention of interfering with Indian conditions "internally or externally." "For my part," observed Sri Nehru, "I accept their word because that word fits in with objective conditions in Asia and their country and in the world." Both India and China are today engaged in the "great adventure" of raising the material and cultural standards of their people as speedily as possible. Both can learn from each other in many ways, though our economic and political ideologies differ basically and fundamentally.

In his address to the Congress workers at Darjeeling, Sri Nehru pointed out in details how social and political conditions in India and China differed a great deal. "In China," said Sri Nehru, "there is hardly any freedom of press for expression." There is also no independence of the Judiciary as in India. There political or constitutional structure is also quite different: they need not devote hours, days, and months on almost endless discussions in Parliament. In India, freedom of speech and expression was fully utilised and even misused. The Judiciary made the working of the legislation rather difficult and prolonged. And yet India had achieved considerable success in improving the social and economic conditions of her people during the last seven years of freedom. We can surely learn several things from China: China, in turn, can learn other things from India. "But," remarked the Congress President, "we like to do things in our own way, and will not brook any interference from outside." "Nor will I like to interfere with the ways of others." Speaking at a largely-attended public meeting in Darjeeling, Sri Nehru observed: "It is no use imitating other countries

and peoples. It never pays to imitate because imitation leads to weakness and dependence on others." India is wedded to a democratic constitution: she has chosen the Gandhian path of freedom, peace and democracy. China is following a different path. And yet the two great Asian countries can learn from each other to the definite advantage of both. The principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference can go a long way in bringing about better and happier relations between different nations and peoples for the ultimate aim of establishing a more prosperous, progressive and peaceful world to live in.

Some of us are under the wrong impression that the pace of progress under a democratic set-up is slower than that of a totalitarian regime. It is true that the democratic method appears to be slower to begin with; it entails long discussions and requires the willing cooperation of the people through a process of persuasion and popular education. The authoritarian may appear to be quicker in the beginning but shows signs of resistance and conflict as time passes on. The democratic procedure is, thus, slow but steady while the totalitarian method is seemingly fast but ultimately more jerky, risky and bloody. A small country like Ireland took about 800 years to achieve its political freedom, while India, under the glorious leadership of Gandhiji, succeeded in attaining Independence through peaceful and non-violent methods in about a quarter of a century. Even after Independence, India has been able to register remarkable progress in different sectors of national planning under a democratic set-up. It can be claimed without any hesitation that what India has been able to achieve during the last seven years compares very favourably with the progress made by any other country in the world during the same period of time. We should never forget that the U.S.S.R. took full 11 years to prepare the blue-print of her first Five Year plan after the Revolution of 1917. These eleven years in Russia were the years of bitter conflict, class war and severe famine.

In China also the present edifice of unity, discipline and material progress is largely founded on fear, regimentation and authoritarian rule. Nothing has been achieved there as if by magic. Chairman Mao and the Chinese Prime Minister have openly admitted

that their country would take about 15 to 20 years to be able to lay the foundations of a Socialist State. There is considerable unemployment in China and the population problem in relation of food and other material goods presents stupendous difficulties. There is still a tendency towards inflation; one Indian rupee is, at present equal to about 5.00 dollars. There is, even now, plenty of private property in land and industry. Attempts are being made to narrow down the gulf between small and big incomes. But even in Russia there is easily a difference of 1:80 between different income-groups. In both China and the U.S.S.R. although there has been substantial increase in production of different commodities, the quality of these goods is, in general, quite poor as compared with other countries of the world.

We in India, therefore, need not suffer from any kind of "complex" in gauging our economic advancement after the achievement of political freedom. During a comparatively brief span of seven years, we have considerably solved our problems of food, rehabilitation and inflation. We have succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Indian Union. We have established a number of basic industries with a chain of magnificent National Research Laboratories. Our targets for food and several industrial products have been more than achieved. We hope to cover the whole country with Community Projects by the end of the second Five Year Plan. These are no mean achievements for a country which suffered from great handicaps during centuries of political serfdom. But we need not rest on our oars. There is still much to be achieved through long and arduous labour. We should always be willing to learn from other nations. Self-complacency is always unhealthy and harmful. But to try to imitate other countries without developing one's innate strength is always suicidal. We must, therefore, march ahead with full faith in our ideals and objectives. Destiny has endowed us with a heavy but sublime responsibility. India has to show to the world that the path of peace, non-violence and democracy is quicker and nobler than the path of conflict, violence and authoritarianism. Let us try our very best to discharge this great responsibility with faith and missionary zeal.

THE HOLY MOTHER

BY SWAMI OJASANANDA

THE year 1953-54 marks the Centenary of the Birth of Sri Sarada Devi—commonly known as the Holy Mother. It is appropriate to give here a brief account of her simple and unique life. She was born in

Jayarambati Village, in the District of Bankura, West Bengal. The poor but kind hearted Ramachandra Mukherjee was her father and her mother was a very simple village woman—Shyama Sundari Devi.



The Holy Mother

Sri Sarada Devi was got married to Sri Ramakrishna, at the age of six—an extraordinary instance of the bridegroom choosing his bride. She had little literary education but could read printed books such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. In childhood and early youth she had to help

her parents in various household duties. The character of her parents had influenced her in a direct manner.

At the age of fourteen she was taken for the fourth time to Kamarpukur village where Sri Ramakrishna also happened to be at the

time - after his long period of intense Sadhana at Dakshineswar Temple. Sri Ramakrishna availed himself of the occasion to teach Sri Sarada Devi at various levels: how to do household duties, how to behave with people and how to obtain the object of human birth in the realization of God by self-surrender. Sri Ramakrishna himself was a living example of what he taught. His spirit of renunciation, his yearning for God-realization and genuine concern for her all round well-being drew Sarada Devi to her 'Sannyasi' husband in a singular manner inspiring her to cast her own life in the mould and pattern of his, every way. Opportunities came to her to serve her lord abundantly as a 'Sahadharmini' par excellence. After a seven months' stay at Kamarpukur Sri Ramakrishna returned to Dakshineswar and Sarada Devi spent three years in her village home at Jayarambati.

In the plunge and abandon to spiritual realizations at Dakshineswar Sri Ramakrishna was viewed by many (who lacked the vision of his spiritual endeavours and moods) as having gone insane. The 'coloured' news reached Sarada Devi's ears in exaggerated tones, much to her grief and discomfiture. She felt her duty was to serve her husband in person. She went over to Dakshineswar with a party of pilgrims. Sri Ramakrishna welcomed her most affectionately. He allowed her to serve him. One day he asked her in his frank manner, 'Have you any idea to drag me to worldliness?' Quick came her reply, 'I have just come to lovingly serve you and thereby deserve and share your spiritual vision as a true "Sati"'. Sri Ramakrishna was immensely pleased with the answer and in his turn expressed his view of her thus, 'The Mother who is in the Temple, the mother who gave birth to this body—it is she again, I see, who is massaging my feet now.' The culmination of this realization of Sri Ramakrishna regarding Holy Mother - hereafter we shall refer to Sri Saradamani Devi by that accepted term rich with holy significance - we find expressed in that great event of 'Shodasi Puja' at the end of his sadhana. Here it is that Sri Ramakrishna worshipped the Holy Mother in all orthodox manner as the incarnate person of the Divine Mother of the universe. Dull would he be of soul who

cannot experience a sublime uplifting sense of spiritual values while reading the scrupulous account of the Shodasi Puja in the lives of Sri Ramakrishna and the Holy Mother.

The Holy Mother happens to be the first and foremost disciple of the Master. The training which she got at his hands covered both the secular and the spiritual. The teacher was wonderful. So was the pupil. Her life at Dakshineswar was one of intense Tapasya in the service of the Master and his devotees. The daily domestic work took up the major portion of her time while Japam and meditation absorbed all her mind. She used to stand for hours in her small room to see the happenings in the Master's room, which was away at distance. The master's concern for her physical and spiritual well being can give us an inkling of his evaluation of the Mother.

Her heart was full of the milk of human kindness and divine charity. It expressed itself in serving not only the group of devotees and the young aspirants who had gathered about the Mother, but all those who sought her help and guidance irrespective of high and low. In that incident connected with the dacoit on one of her journeys from her village to Dakshineswar is expressed all together the Mother's presence of mind, innate courage and abounding love and trust, which could convert the evil intentions of even a freebooter to such an extent as to make him feel that she was his own daughter.

No full account can be had of the all day long service which the Mother rendered to the Master, in the last days of his mortal existence at Shyampukur and at Cossipur. After the passing away of the Master, she had gone on a pilgrimage to Brindavan; on her return to Kamarpukur a life of great hardship and penury confronted her. On occasions there was not the cash to buy even salt! The devotees at Calcutta came to know about this. They arranged for her stay at Calcutta. The rest of her life was spent between Calcutta and Jayarambati, during which period, in her pilgrimage to Rameswaram, she had blessed by her visit the Ramakrishna Maths at Madras and Bangalore.

As a daughter she served her parents. As a sister she did everything possible for her brothers and their children with no reward sense from them at all. As a wife, she was a typical Sahadharmini. As Mother She is the Supreme one. "You know, my son, the Master looked upon every woman as Mother - He has left me behind to preach this ideal of Motherhood—" So said she to a disciple. Her spiritual ministry continues to the Brotherhood. To remember Her is an act of consecration and to observe in the last any of her teachings constitutes an ennobling self-dedication.

'If you want peace, don't find fault with others. Rather see your own faults. Learn to make the whole world your own. No one is a stranger, my child; this whole world is your own.'

'Fix your mind on Him. The great ones realize that in working for the happiness and solace of the millions stricken with grief their own happiness lies. Think of such selfless ones and your sufferings great and terrible though they apparently seem to be, will vanish, leaving you chastened and comforted'—The Holy Mother.

Religion And Revolution In Asia

By "T. S. R."

LORD Hobart was once told that by promoting higher education in India, the British were sowing the seeds of discontent and rebellion. Sir John Malcolm in his famous Minute to his assistants dated 28th June 1921 said "Men have forgotten in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoyed under strangers their feelings of patriotism, but these are feelings which that very knowledge that it is our duty to impart must gradually revive and bring into action. The people of India must, by a recurring senses of benefits, have amends made to them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters." Mr. Manikam's book* reminds us that general education which started with the Honourable East India Company's Minute "Something must be done to educate the blackguard boys of Black Town (now George Town, Madras)" was complemented by the efforts of Christian missionaries of all denominations and sects from the time of St. Francis Xavier.

The gap between aspiration and hope is well illustrated by the following story:—

According to one account, even the great St. Francis Xavier was so full of national

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ASIAN REVOLUTION edited by Rajan B. Manikam, published by The Joint East Asia Secretariat of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches—Price Rs. 3.—Pages 291.

prejudice that he said: "Though we will be admitting the natives to our religion, I can never contemplate any time when a European by race and birth would have to demean himself by receiving the sacrament from a native, howsoever sound in doctrine and conduct." Probably a more correct account is that he said: "I may be considered a visionary, but in spite of the aristocratic pride and prejudice of my nation, I see a far day when my countrymen will not be ashamed to receive the Sacrament from the benighted natives and they will respect the natives risen to high episcopal offices." The explosive nature of the preaching of the Nazarene was such that, as this book shows, he was able to pull down the mighty from their seat and exalt the humble and the low. Sir Winston Churchill, who in 1943, said he would not preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, is content now to preside as *primus inter pares* over the combined Commonwealth Conferences. It is not without significance that in India the Rev. R. R. Keithahn was externed by the British Government and Dr. Paton of the Tirupathur Ashram was severely thrashed with lathis for merely witnessing the beating of picketeers in Madras. All Christians in one sense are martyrs or witnesses as one Liberal said in the nineties. "You cannot argue a man into slavery in English language. "You cannot keep a nation in subjection after spreading amongst

them the Gospel or good news of the Lord Jesus, who was as much a social and economic revolutionary as the Reddest Marxist."

In Section I about the social revolution in East Asia, Mr. Manikam traces the confused approaches from different sides which led to the upheaval. As he says, Birla, the Indian industrialist gave monetary help to Gandhi, the Indian Ebonist, so that one was not certain whether it was a revolt of Brown and Yellow against White Capitalism or of oppressed and exploited Eastern nationalities against Western.

In Section II, naturally as a person with missionary zeal, the author analyses the resurgence of Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism and other new religions. He traces how they owe their original beginning to the provocative ideology of the gospels. He concludes by saying that as the individuals have been baptised with either sprinkling of holy water or total immersion, "More systematic and organized efforts should be made to baptize the precious elements of non-Christian religions and cultures for the use of the Christian Church. The treasures of all nations should be brought to the feet of Christ, and this is one way of bringing Christ to all nations. There is no valid excuse for rejecting all ingenuous forms of worship as unsuitable for Christian devotion." This reminds one of the old Catholic Fathers like Veeramaha Muniver who abjured flesh, wore a sacred thread, dressed in silk, and behaved in many respects like the Brahmin priests from whose rule they were rescuing the people for Christ.

The whole book is naturally full of propaganda in its analysis of hope to win the 125 crores of human-beings representing one-half of the world population living in the 16 countries, viz (1) Pakistan, (2) India, (3) Nepal, (4) Ceylon, (5) Burma, (6) Federation of Malaya & Singapore, (7) Thailand, (8) Indo-China, (9) Indonesia, (10) British Borneo, (11) China, (12) Taiwan (Formosa), (13) Hong Kong, (14) Philippines, (15) Korea and (16) Japan to the Protestant Churches. According to the tables, only 4 crores belong to the Churches and only 1.27 crores belong to the Protestant and Orthodox

Christian population. It has always been noticed that the dissidents of the Dissident, the Protestantism of the Protestant religion and Catholicity of the Holy Roman Church are so peculiar that sometimes a non-Christian is considered by the follower of one branch of Christianity as sounder in conduct and doctrine and faith in God than the member of another sect of Christianity.

The real object of the book is given in pages 220 to the end and especially at page 229. "Only 2 out of 100 persons in India are Christians, There are many unreached classes, such as the high castes of Hinduism, the Parsis, Jains, Sikhs and Muslims. One must not forget the vast dimensions of the unfinished task still before the Church in India." An uncharitable wag once said that Dr. Stanley Jones and the Buchman Movement were meant to win high caste pagans into the fold of Christianity. The aspiration was almost justified when on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, one said, "It is a pity that he did not formally get baptized though he was full of the Spirit of Christ." As the author admits at page 207, "The criticism of 'imperialism', 'arrogance', 'superior airs' and the like levelled against Christian missionaries may be ill-founded in some cases, but *not always*." As a foreigner, he is incorrectly judged as being composed of either the worst specimens or the best specimens. The Union Government of India have had naturally to take precautions based on the improper acts of some foreign missionaries. But the author and the Churches can always rest assured that no Government, which continues to pay at least lip-service to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, will put any hindrance in the path of medical, educational and spiritual work by foreign missionaries or local Churchmen.

FOR TORIES

Winston Churchill tells this one: A man went to his doctor with a complaint that the sleeping tablets he had prescribed did not cure his insomnia. "Can't I have some of that twilight sleep they talk about?" he asked.

The doctor sorted, "Twilight sleep! Why, that is only for Labour."

His patient came back in a disguised tone, "Isn't there anything for us Tories?"

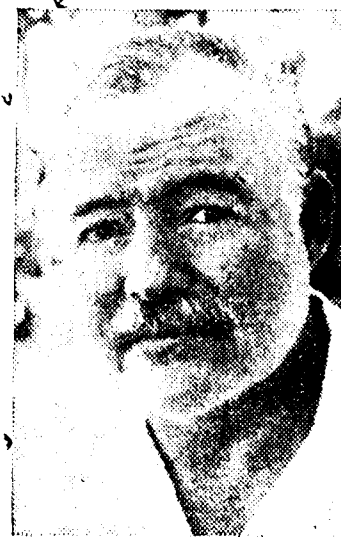
Ernest Hemingway

His Life and Works

By Sri T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

—(o)—

FIFTY six-year-old Hemingway is the fourth American to win a Nobel Award this year. He is also the fifth American in the 53-year-old history of the Nobel Prize for literature to receive this high honour. Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill, Pearl Buck and William Faulkner had won it before him. The prize awarded by the Swedish Academy of Literature for works with "idealistic vision," carries with it a gold medal and Rs. 1,65,000. It may be recalled here that



this coveted prize was once awarded to Rabindranath Tagore for his inspiring *Gitanjali*.

The inspiring theme of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* is the lone three-day fight of a noble old fisherman to haul in an enormous blue marlin fish which to his despair, is eaten by sharks. He returns to port bearing only the shredded skeleton, mute testimony to the dimensions of the fish and the climatic struggle of the fisherman. It is a simple tale. What distinguishes it is the remarkable clarity and force of expression.

But *The Old Man and the Sea* is more than the story of an old man who catches and loses a great fish; it is multi-faceted sym-

bolism. What Hemingway is defending is the individual (the old man) who braves great odds (sharks) to realize himself as a man, (the catching of the great blue marlin). *The Old Man and the Sea* insists—in story, feeling, mood—on the urgent need for maintaining individual strength in the face of collective fury. It is, in an extended sense, microcosmic picture of the ideological struggle prevailing today between the partisans of individual liberties and the advocates of a collective norm.

The man of strength and courage, who lives (and dies) for conviction, snatching at the elusive butterfly of self-realization, is a rarity in this age of conformity, restraint and group identification. It remains for a Hemingway to remind us that such a man is a creature of raw beauty of a breed that is all too scarce and only too necessary.

A MIRROR UP TO NATURE

The facts of Hemingway's life have profoundly influenced his language and his themes. His life and works have merged into a synthesis; if art does indeed mean "holding a mirror up to nature," it is the nature of Ernest Hemingway that is reflected as art. We will examine how.

His father who practised medicine in Oak Park, a suburb of Chicago, Illinois, took little Ernest with him on his country visits. When he was two he gave Ernest a fishing rod, and when he was ten, a gun. Most of his stories have something to do with a gun or a fishing rod.

Ernest ran away from home when he was fifteen, but returned to pursue his studies at the Oak Park High School from where he passed the school final examination in 1917 at the age of 19. While at school, aside from his athletic activities, he edited and contributed to the weekly school magazine.

When the United States entered World War I, he tried to enlist without success. He did not go to college, but joined the Kansas City newspaper *Star*. That paper's lengthy style-book contains, among other things, the admonition: "Use short senten-

ces. Use short paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive not negative." These instructions were native to young Hemingway, but he tempered them with the teaching which emphasised the importance of "transitional sentences as against these choppy, bastard, journalese paragraphs."

After a year with the newspaper he began his career with foreign armies. He reached the war as an ambulance driver in Italy for the American Field Service. Later he joined the Italian army as a combatant and saw fighting in trenches. During the seventh day of his life on the front line, he "was struck by the exploding fragments of a trench mortar...He received 227 Separate wounds from the mortar and was hit simultaneously in the leg by the machine-gun round." He still wears today an aluminium kneecap. The hero in his *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, it may be noted here, has a diseased knee. Hemingway's brief, violent experience of the first world war was the personal background for his famous novel *A Farewell to Arms*.

After the war, on his return to the United States, he wrote human-interest stories for the Toronto newspaper, *Star*. Concurrently he did some literary writing, and learned something of the bitterness of receiving literary rejection slips. The *Stars* sent him to Europe as its roving correspondent. He was then 23; Paris was his headquarters. He covered the fierce struggle between Turkey and Greece and the Geneva Economic Conference in 1922. His reports contained acute comments on European politics. On Mussolini he said in 1923 at the age of 25: "Mussolini is the biggest bluff in Europe... Study his past record... Study his genius for clothing small ideas in big words. Study his propensity for duelling... And look at his black shirt and his white spats. There is something wrong, even histrionically with a man who wears white spats with a black shirt."

In Europe he soon began to be convinced that this vocation was literature, not journalism. He wrote to Sherwood Anderson, then absorbed in the "Chicago group" of writers; "This newspaper stuff is gradually ruining me." He said: "The only reason for writing journalism" is to be well paid.

CREATIVE WRITER

At this period Hemingway was showing signs of his now well-known powers of "selectivity, precision, uncompromising economy, deep emotional clarification." In Paris, he came into contact with Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound. These two were of enormous assistance in making Hemingway known to the reading public and influencing his outlook. Stein once rebuked Hemingway: "There is a great deal of description in this, and not particularly good description. Begin over again and concentrate." Hemingway did. At the age of 24 he published a collection of short fiction and scenes called *Three Stories and Ten Poems* and *In Our Time*. By then he was firmly formed as a creative writer, a drastic editor and meticulous re-examiner of his own work.

His first successful book was *The Sun Also Rises*, published when he was 28. The first print run was only 5,090 copies. The novel deals with disillusioned expatriates, and its tone is one of dismal frustration. The main character is Lady Brett Ashley, "charming and completely unmoral." While awaiting a divorce in order to marry Michael Campbell she has love affairs with an American reporter, a Jewish novelist and a Spanish bullfighter. The story ends as it began with Lady Brett deciding to marry Campbell. This was the beginning of a series of Hemingway characters, all of whom "met in bars, comment on how awful life is, take another drink, and still another."

The following year a collection of short stories appeared, entitled *Men Without Women*. But it was only with the publication of *Farewell to Arms* in 1929 that he achieved universal acclaim. In this powerful story idyllic love is contrasted with the horror and disgust of war. Henry, a member of the ambulance corps of the Italian army, meets Catherine, an English nurse. They have a pleasant association. Henry is wounded. Catherine is his nurse and he sees something new and wonderful in their relationship. With the retreat of the army, Henry is bitterly disillusioned. He deserts and escapes to Switzerland to join Catherine. They live a few months of idyllic life awaiting their baby. But both Catherine and the child die. Henry is faced with ultimate

personal disaster. A few autobiographical streaks are woven into this story by Hemingway.

From 1928 to 1938 Hemingway lived - for him - a quiet life. He took active interest in fishing, big-game hunting, boxing and other sports. To this day he is an enthusiastic fisherman and proud that a variety fish has been named after him. He has contributed rare specimens to museums.

Meanwhile, more and more popular short stories and novels flowed from his typewriter. Between writing books he found time to report minor wars in the Near East. He was also a correspondent in the Spanish civil war. He had a personal interest in that war because he had lived in Spain for about twelve years.

His vast knowledge of bullfighters and bullfighting is reflected in his novel *Death in the Afternoon*, published in 1932. In 1934 he went to Africa on a hunting expedition which resulted in the lengthy narrative, titled *Green Hills of Africa*. About the worth of his next novel, *To Have and Have Not*, the critics violently disagreed.

During the Spanish civil war he met Martha Gelhorn, the American novelist and journalist, who is supposed to have been the original of the girl in Hemingway's only full length play, *The Fifth Column*. After his second wife obtained her divorce, Hemingway and Martha were married.

He dedicated to Martha his next novel, *For whom the Bell Tolls*, published in 1940. The first print run of the title was 75,000 copies. This story about the Spanish civil war, the best known of all Hemingway's books, made a popular film. It is an epic of "courage and compassion, of cruelty and ferocity and of every type of heroism and cowardice." Robert Jordan, the hero, is an American fighting in the International Brigade for the Spanish loyalists. Jordan is a departure from the usual nihilistic heroes of Hemingway. His devotion to principles and idealism are refreshing. This love story expresses, fleetingly at least, a new optimism and sense of joy of living unexpected in Hemingway.

World War found him a correspondent in Europe again. As before, he became a combatant. Still convalescing from a car accident, he went to France with the Allied invasion. He joined a French partisan group, became a captain and fought his way into Paris at the head of the group. For his services in World War II, he received the U. S. War Department Bronze Medal for meritorious service.

In 1946, after a brief marriage to Miss Gelhorn, he married another journalist, Mary Welsh, by whom he has two sons.

Hemingway is a massively-proportioned man. At 56 he is still robust and virile. Legends about his masculine personality and his toughness have woven around him a strange aura. He is a genuinely courageous man. A few years ago when he emerged from a hotel he found the yard in front in a state of excitement over the savage fighting of two huge dogs. Hemingway went straight at the warring dogs, pulled out one of the dogs, a ferocious Alsatian, and hurled it over a wall.

In a recent adventure he and his wife twice encountered and escaped death in Africa. Flying over the Nile they dodged a flock of giant ibis, which could have smashed their plane, and crash-landed near a herd of elephants. A passenger plane reported the wreck and newspapers all over the world printed the famous writer's obituary. But the Hemingways escaped. Soon after, another plane which took ground-looped on take-off and crashed in flames. They escaped death again. When finally, they reached safety by car, Hemingway jokingly remarked: "Please don't think I am doing anything to sell books."

He has now settled down in a farm near Havana, (Cuba, off the southern coast of the U. S.) where he keeps fifty cats and makes great fishing expeditions in his specially built boat. When pressmen approached him at the farm, he said: "I am very pleased and very proud to receive the Nobel Prize." But he indicated that he would be unable to go to Stockholm in December to receive the prize in person from King Gustav of Sweden, because of medical treatment he is still receiving for injuries suffered in the African air crashes.

Some Beautiful Art-Motifs Of India

By Sri BHABESH CHANDRA CHAUDHURI.

—o—

IF we just peep into the realm of ancient Indian art and archaeology what seems at once to strike us most is the symbolic ideals embossed therein as representative of the particular epoch to which the art belonged. These ideals, after a certain time and process of assimilation, are embodied in the peoples' art, and become the art motifs for that age. Ancient Egypt brings back to the imagination the colossal pyramids and mysterious sphinx; Renaissance Europe glorified that symbol of love and sacrifice—the Crucifix; Japan revelled in the mighty conception of the Dragon. These symbols of representations recall the common race experiences and ideals that gave them birth. The ideals of life of any particular age are infused both in the layman and the artist, but the imagination of the latter is kindled by them until they result in mental images. The mental images are then transcribed into concrete form through the medium of art. But it is not every creation of an artist's imagination that becomes an art motif. It is only the rarer visions which when transcribed answer to the vague desires and unformed longings of a whole people that may aptly be termed art motifs. For the people recognise in and through them an embodiment of the racial consciousness and ideals. This collective race experience which gives birth to an art motif, is not the creation of one mind, even though it finds expression through an individual but rather a multiplicity of minds or imaginations working themselves out over a number of generations. In each successive generation the experience thus at work affects the gifted individuals of that generation through its laws, institutions and educational systems. The process continues till suddenly a genius comes upon the scene, grasps the hidden meaning and ultimate purpose of such ideals, and by his vivid imagination the whole process gives birth to a new idea, or perhaps an old ideal in a new form. So changed are these ideals and so novel the form as they emerge out of the crucible of the artists' imagination, that the world hails them as new and original. The new then is verily

nothing more than a slight ripple on the deep foundation of the old and the established! So with Art motifs; though they are the fruits ultimately of an individual genius, accurately speaking they must be regarded as a unique expression of a historic process working itself out through generations. If we turn to ancient Indian Art, we come across its prolific remains several art expressions which may be also regarded as distinct Art motifs. Admittedly however, the ideal of life ceaselessly pursued by Indian Artists and philosophers appears to be an earnest search for the Ultimate Reality that exists behind all form. Indian Idealism regards all that we see in nature and the material world as transitory and illusive, and declares that the only Reality is the Essence or Spirit behind illusion or 'Maya'. The power, the beauty, the infinite sympathy of that essence the people of Aryavarta felt all around them, hence a glimpse of that Reality was the aim of their life, and its interpretation the object of all Indian Art. The second ideal as assiduously pursued by Indian Art, appears to be the essential unity of all existence, animate and inanimate, being itself a manifestation of the Divine Essence. In his infinite sympathy the 'Buddha' unfolded in his creed of love for all manifestations of the spirit, however humble. 'Mahavira' taught the same doctrine and 'Vaishnavism' carried on the same idea under the guise of 'Ahimsa'. The 'Vedanta' has taught of the Universal Self manifesting itself into various aspects which needs must be equal and inviolate inter-see. Hence the ultimate aim of life or existence is to realise and achieve once again that Unity, be it 'Nirvana', 'Siddhi' or 'Moksha'. The Vedic and the Epic ages were the formative periods of Indian Art, Philosophy and idealism. First, the Aryans, the Dravidians and the Aborigines had to mix, then their cultures had to fuse, and finally a new philosophy developed. This process commenced and progressed during the Vedic and Epic periods. The first generic embodiment of the fused racial genius is seen in the peoples of Aryavarta

DECEMBER 1954]

SOME BEAUTIFUL ART - MOTIFS OF INDIA

547

who appear to have recognised a synthesis of their varied cultures and experiences. When Buddhism preached a new universal creed and impressed the people they readily took it to their hearts. Philosophers thought upon it and the ritualists amplified it. The monks spread it, the artists drank in its inspiration, and the people attempted to live it. What attracted all, in fact magnetised all, is the majestic pose of the Prince of self-abnegation who left the world to save it from all pangs and suffering to which the flesh is heir. The love and devotion with which his disciples and artists were filled, found their expression in a new way to salvation, the "Bhakti Marga". Amidst this atmosphere full of spirituality, love, tenderness and devotion, emerges the first distinct motif of the Buddhist age, just as 'Laxmi' or Venus emerged from the Cosmic Ocean to gladden the hearts of the Gods and demons alike. What External form did this motif assume? The form of the Buddha at the most crucial moment of enlightenment as he sat as a 'Yogi' meditating under the sheltering shade of a spreading pipal at 'Gaya' seeking to be in tune with the unknown and the Infinite Cosmic Consciousness in 'Samadhi'. This immutably serene attitude of the 'Yogi', had been known to spiritual aspirants ever since Aryan consciousness found concrete expression in the plains of the 'Sapta Sindhu'. Being so indissolubly woven in their spiritual context it easily and universally became the outstanding motif of the post-Buddhist age. So completely did it embody the ideals of the people that the Jains, Brahmins, and all other non-Buddhists also appear to have adopted it. Then the pilgrims and missionaries carried it with them to the Far East Ceylon, Java, China, and Japan, where also it was adopted and nationalised as all the images of the Buddha in Tibet, China and Japan show. But curiously Buddhism as we know it in India by the end of the 17th. Century and Brahminism revived under the new cult of the 'Shaivism' from the south, militant and aggressive, a reaction against the Buddhist doctrine of 'Ahimsa' and mercy, and 'Vaishnavism': a latter development, designed perhaps, unconsciously by its

author to reconcile the Buddhist creed by absorbing its essential tenets without offending its resurgent faith. The Buddha then becomes one of the 'Avatars of Vishnu,' the preserver and Redeemer of mankind. What art Motif this traditional period gave us and what aspect or idea of the divine Essence did it convey in realms of historical art? Among themselves, the several forms of the Brahmanic renaissance had very little essential difference in their ideals or philosophy. They all found a common expression in this age in the motif of what is known as "Trimurti". 'Ishwara' as it is recognised is the first manifestation of the Universal Spirit or 'Brahma'—not unknown even in the earliest Vedic hymns and the Hindu Cosmogony through the principles of 'Parusha' and its divine consort 'Shakti' or the negative counterpart, makes nature a living phenomenon. Hence in the matter of 'Prakriti' it is supposed that there are the triple aspect of Creation, Preservation and Destruction symbolised by 'Brahma', 'Vishnu' and 'Shiva' which form the Hindu Trinity and are metamorphosed into a three-headed male divinity in the sculptured 'Trimurti', which seems to be therefore, the cardinal motif of that age.

This motif initiates us into the era of thought when the conception of Reality or the Divine Essence, had become transcendental and all-embracing. And, in process of time when people found it almost difficult to carry that ideal into practice they sought to recast it rather ingeniously by exceeding human limitations. The result is the image of 'Trimurti' with one body and triple-face! This as the ideal appears to be therefore, the salient motif of this particular age.

Its artistic representation, obviously seeks to make this an all-pervading aspect of the Deity. Following the epoch of the 'Trimurti' we have the classical period of Indian art, under what may be called the complete Brahmanic supremacy. Instead of the omnipotence and omnipotence of the Divine Essence being embodied in such triple Divinities, we have all three activities congealed together into one of the gods of the 'Trimurti'; and 'Shiva' is as such, transformed from the Destroyer into the

Creator, for does not the former according to the principle of conservation of cosmic energy merely begin where the latter ends?

It is interesting to note here that as in the process of time the practice of fashioning durable images became increasingly popular more handy bronzes of them were cast typifying these motifs in a variety of attractive designs, of which to wit a few among many, the figures of 'Nata-Raj,' 'Kala-Samhara' etc. etc. came to be gradually recognised as models of contemporary art motifs. Of them again, the culmination of 'Shaivaite' art specially lies in the inventive formulation as well as the visualisation of 'Nata-Raj'-the Dancing Lord of Creation. It is the indwelling spirit of this image which made the name

and fame of Indian art in Europe and America and drew the admiration of the connoisseur to the beautiful appeal of its motif. Hence, the French Sculptor Auguste Rodin remarked: "The Indian 'Nata Raj' can well contest for superiority in gracefulness with the gesture of the 'Venus de Medicis.'" Thus the 'Buddha in Samadhi' viz, "Bodhisattva" pose; the 'Trimurti'.... the triune of the Indian pantheon and the "Nata-Raj" amongst other lots of ancient treasures so far popularised in commemoration stamps of the new REPUBLIC OF INDIA constitute unique art motifs symbolising the eternal quest of the Indian soul to go into the depth of the inscrutable mysteries surrounding Life, Creation and Death and to achieve lasting triumph over matter by its dauntless spirit.

Marriage in India

By SRI S. D. VISHINANI

—(o)—

India is one of those countries where marriages of boys and girls are arranged by the parents. This arrangement, though not a satisfactory one from the point of view of girls and boys of today, is the best possible as has been found from experience. Every parent regards the marriage of his son or daughter as a sacred duty and a responsibility which he cannot shirk. For, on this depends the future welfare of his son or daughter.

A parent has to encounter a chain of obstacles in trying to find a suitable match for his son or daughter. In cases where the parents are poor and cannot afford the expenses involved in an Indian marriage, there is every possibility of their sons and daughters not getting married at all. On the other hand, well-to-do parents whose sons and daughters are well educated and even hold good positions in life, are unable to get their sons and daughters suitably married on account of a keen competition in securing ideal brides and bridegrooms. Some parents, in their anxiety to secure the best boy for their girl offer huge sums of money as dowry. This temptation, on the one hand, encourages the boys' parents, to demand more and more dowry from the

girls' parents and on the other hand, gives rise to a keen competition among the parents of girls to secure the best boy. The richer a girl's father, the better boy he is likely to get for his daughter. For in the matrimonial market, it is the amount of dowry that fetches a suitable boy. If a girl's father is poor he cannot get a suitable boy unless he is able to pay a handsome dowry. It is money, therefore, that counts in marriage these days as in every other walk of life.

So long as the marriages of our boys and girls continue to be arranged by the parents, the system of dowry, and keen competition for securing suitable boys by paying large sums of money, are bound to continue.

THE NECESSITY OF MARRIAGE

Every young man, as soon as he has secured a job and earns a living, thinks of getting married and settle down in life. Since, according to Indian traditions it is his parents who have to arrange for his marriage, he has to wait till his parents are able to find a suitable bride for him.

His parents have to strive hard to get a girl for him. The girl must be suitable for him. She should have the minimum educational

standard. She should be good looking, preferably of fair complexion. She should have good temperament and must be well-versed in household affairs. She should also be lower in age than the boy.

Then, there are many other considerations. She should belong to a family of equal social status, preferably of the same town and of the same class of society to which the boy belongs. Sometimes, this search continues for years and the boy has to wait patiently till his parents find him a suitable wife.

If the boy is well-employed and earns a tidy income, he receives numerous offers of marriage. Some parties offer him large sums of dowry as temptation to marry their daughter. It is, therefore, not surprising that his parents are often prompted to accept an offer which brings the highest amount of dowry, little realizing that it is the girl and her suitability that is of paramount importance and not the money that she may bring with her. The result is that girls of exceptional qualities, if not backed by an equal amount of money, have lesser chances of getting married than those girls—however unworthy or unsuitable they might be—whose parents are able to give a handsome dowry.

On the other hand, when a girl reaches the age of eighteen, her parents start looking out for a suitable boy. Since marriages are arranged by the parents, they have to contact a suitable party who are on the lookout for a suitable girl for their boy. Since the boy's parents receive offers from a number of girls' parents, a keen competition starts between the girls' parents to secure a particular boy. The richest among them who offers the highest dowry is likely to get a boy of his choice. The less richer parents try for what they can get, according to the amount of dowry they are able to give and the amount of dowry a boy's parents are willing to accept.

THE DILEMMA

This state of affairs in Indian society, so far as marriage of boys and girls is concerned, leads to very unhappy results. If a boy is not earning enough and his parents are also not well off, financially, then the boy is not likely to get married nor are his parents likely to receive any offer of marriage from any of the girls' parents. In that case, is the boy going to remain unmarried all his life? Is it possible for him to do so?

Similarly, if a girl has reached the age of eighteen and her parents want to get her married, but being poor are unable to afford any dowry, their daughter is likely to remain unmarried all her life!

The question now arises, what are the boys and girls, whose parents are poor and therefore, cannot afford to arrange for their marriage, going to do? Either they should be content with remaining unmarried or if they cannot afford to do so, arrange for their own marriage themselves.

THE PROBLEM

Can a boy, belonging to a poor family, whose parents are unable to arrange for his own marriage? In the face of a universal practice where it is the parents who arrange marriages, a boy finds it impossible to arrange for his own marriage through the normal channel.

On the other hand, if a girl belongs to a poor family and her parents are unable to arrange for her marriage, is it possible for her to arrange for her own marriage?

Cases of this kind have become very common these days. Boys and girls in large numbers are striving to arrange for their own marriages. Whether they are successful in this venture or not, their struggle continues unabated.

THE REMEDY

One way of arranging for one's own marriage is to advertise in the columns of a newspaper. Fortunately, this mode of advertisement is becoming popular and one can see full columns of matrimonial advertisements in a newspaper these days.

Like Employment Exchanges, the Government can open Marriage Bureaus. All persons desirous of getting married will register their names, along with their photographs and other particulars. A nominal fee may be charged for registration and only those persons should be registered whose income is adequate to support a small family.

If the Government is unwilling to undertake this humanitarian work—then some people with good social standing should come forward and tackle this most important social problem.

Or is there any other way of doing this?

The Three Economic Systems

By Sri B. C. TANDON,
Lecturer in Commerce, University of Allahabad.

It is interesting to study and analyse various economic systems that operate in the world of to-day. American capitalism, and British economy are the main systems that dominate the world.

The American capitalism is a "price and profit system". "Capitalism is a system of production for profit under which instruments and materials of production are privately owned and the work is done mainly by hired labour, the product belonging to the capitalist owner or owners". Capitalism allows private individuals almost complete freedom in production. It is an organisation of competition and freedom. In this system workers who make excessive wage demand will lose their jobs to others who accept lower wages; producers who offer goods of poor quality are eliminated by those who produce goods of superior quality. In the same way sellers who try to overcharge will be ousted by those who charge moderate price. Here economic decisions are highly decentralised. Businessmen individually and independently decide what to produce.

American economy primarily stresses the economic interests of the individual. Standards of living and material progress are mostly evaluated from the individual's stand-point. The individual is given freedom to pursue his own economic interests. There is private ownership of the means of production. Economic activity is motivated by a desire to obtain maximum profit. The basic economic decisions about quality and quantity to be produced and methods to be employed are made through a "price system". There is rivalry amongst buyers and sellers. The Government do not interfere to a large extent in business activity. Output is distributed on the basis of productive contribution.

The economy of the Soviet Union differs fundamentally from that of America. The birth of the Soviet economy is said to have taken place owing to patent paradoxes prevailing in a capitalist society. The Soviet economy directed towards socially prescribed goals. The fundamental principles under which the

Soviet economy started functioning provide equal opportunities to all, abolition of private property and competition, and a system of just distribution.

In the Soviet Union the bulk of industrial output is controlled by the State. Business institutions there are not much different in their form and structure from the Post offices and public concerns in capitalist countries. In agriculture, the Soviet Union has evolved a unique arrangement known as "Collective farms". They are a combination of simple cooperative and private enterprise. Each family on a collective farm is given a plot of land for its personal use but most of efforts must be devoted to working the lands belonging to all members of the collective farm in common. There are State farms which produce over eight per cent of total agricultural output, while the collective farms account for ninety one per cent of the total cultivated area of the Soviet Union. State farms are like State-owned industrial establishments. In U.S.S.R. quantity and quality to be produced, and the methods employed in production are decided by a "Central Agency". This Agency draws up a General Plan to knit up together the entire economy. On the other hand, in America the quantity of goods to be produced, the quality to be turned out, and the methods to be employed in production are left to individuals who set up everything on the "price and profit system" through the technique of "trial and error."

The economic systems of the United States and the Soviet Union represent two different extremes. The Government's participation in America is slight, while it dominates in the U.S.S.R. The United Kingdom tried an experiment in between these two extremes. The Labour Party came to power in 1945. The economy of Great Britain was considered to be "socialistic". Even after the defeat of the Labour Party in 1951, the economy continues to retain certain aspects of the "mid-way" between the two extreme patterns of the American and Russian systems. The economy of Great Britain is widely different from socialism as prevalent in Russia and it may be well

DECEMBER 1954]

THE THREE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

551

described as "controlled or welfare economy". The Labour Party got its political support from a number of organised bodies like Trade Unions and co-operative societies. Besides, there are advocates of socialistic planning, who have convinced the Party that planning can go far to solve both war time and peace time economic problems.

The British system of economy is the result of particular economic circumstances. After the war was over, Great Britain was converted from a creditor to a debtor country. There was a wide gap between exports and imports and the resulting deficit in balance of payments led to serious economic crisis. It was a time when all the industries had suffered a serious set back. The Labour Government was keen to retain political power and therefore, seriously devoted itself to immediate economic recovery and took drastic methods.

The objectives of the Labour Party included (A) A programme of defence (B) a reduction of inequality of income by means of taxes and welfare expenditure (C) stability in employment (D) increase in productive efficiency and (E) nationalisation of Bank of England, and Coal, Gas, Transport, Electricity, Civil Aviation, and Overseas Cable Communication Industries.

In Great Britain the range of choice open to consumer is limited in a variety of ways. A long list of items are rationed. The Government regulate the supply of many imported products also through their foreign exchange controls though they are not very rigid now.

Planning in Great Britain differs greatly from Socialist Planning. Economic control as initiated by the Labour Government was directed towards stabilisation of full employment and industrial development. A Minister for Economic Affairs was in charge of it and was assisted by others. The individual under such economy learns to believe in social order and economic discipline. He realises that unlimited freedom can be a source of great evil. He regards his Government as the guardian of ordered and regulated freedom. When economic disturbances begin Governmental intervention appears to him the only way out. He willingly sacrifices substantial parts of his economic freedom. He expects his Government to save him from periodic depressions, monopolistic exploitation and such other crises. An industrial worker under such

an economy continues to make steady progress with regard to his working conditions and standards of living within the economic framework of 'opportunistic competition'. He is aware of the prominent role which industrial workers have played in the Soviet Union but he refuses to take violent action to seize power, because he feels that the risk involved is too great. Trade Unions have reached their highest development under such an economy. They have brought about remarkable developments in progressive labour legislation for bringing about improvement with regard to minimum wages, maximum hours and working conditions. Institutions of social insurance are making headway towards comprehensive schemes of social security. The aim of the social security laws is to control want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. These measures guarantee to the whole population sickness-benefit, family allowances, retirement pension, death grants, free medical, surgical, dental, optical and hospital treatment and free rehabilitation services as well as free legal aid and advice.

The American system indicates the private and entrepreneurial nature of economic activities. The enterprisers represent the firm, which may be an individual proprietorship, a partnership, or a business corporation. It is based on the institution of income incentives and on profit maximisation. Considerable differences in the distribution of income are inevitable. The price mechanism allocates the distribution of consumer and producer goods resulting from the interplay of demand and supply. The market may be competitive or monopolistic. Under collective economic planning economic decisions are made by representative agencies of the community. Their planning is aimed at raising the level of social welfare. In the distribution of income and wealth equalitarian and just distribution principles are strongly emphasised.

The intermediate economic system is characterised by overlappings between activities of the private enterprise and collective economic planning. The three economic systems are fundamentally different both in their rationale and structure and function. The American economy represents a first class capitalist system. The Russian method is a clear case of socialism and the English system is a synthesis of both.

Churchill, the Parliamentarian

Few men are in a better position to write of Sir Winston Churchill's parliamentary career than Earl Winterton, who himself was a member of the House of Commons for nearly 50 years. He was "Father" of the House of Commons when he retired in 1951. The following is condensed from an article contributed by Earl Winterton to 'Churchill-By His Contemporaries', edited by Charles Eade and published by Hutchinson and Company.

SIR Winston Churchill's parliamentary career has presented a remarkable picture of rises and falls throughout its existence which has by no means always coincided with the changes of fortune of the Parties to which he has belonged. After he had

over the Commons. The old, ill-natured criticisms and comments about his personality and character, which were so prominent in the 1900 Parliament, began to recur in the Lobbies and smoking-room of the House and in Fleet Street. He was an erratic

genius; he was utterly unreliable, he had caused unnecessary trouble to the Prime Minister and to all his colleagues in every Cabinet in which he had served except his own; so ran the tale carefully fostered, I may say by most of the leaders of the National Government.

By the mid-thirties, as a result of the delivery of a series of some of the greatest speeches ever made in Parliament in peace time on defence and foreign affairs, he had again reached a position of great power and influence in the Commons. Indeed, only Baldwin and Lloyd George could equal him in the attention which his speeches attracted.

Much has been written about Churchill's tremendous achievements as a statesman after he became Prime Minister in the darkest hour of Britain's

chequered history in 1940. Less has been said about his influence in Parliament and the joint contribution which he and the House of Commons made to national morale.

The fact that the House of Commons in World War II was far more helpful to the national war effort than its predecessor of the 1914-18 war was due to a happy combination of circumstances in which Churchill's personality played a great part.



been defeated in 1922 and he was unable to obtain another seat for some time, it looked as if it might have ended; from 1924 to 1929 he not only occupied, as Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most powerful offices in the State, but completely re-established his parliamentary position.

In the early thirties, after the formation of the National Government, of which he was not a member, there was a distinct decline in Churchill's prestige and influence

Unlike Lloyd George, he had great knowledge and practical experience of national defence. He had warned Parliament and the country again and again before the war about the perils of the international situation and Britain's inadequate preparations for defending herself. He did not suffer the disadvantage, under which Lloyd George suffered in his wartime premiership, of

office. In that speech he clearly indicated that both Houses of Parliament had their part to play in the supreme test of the nation's willpower.

The general relationship between Churchill and parliament during World War II was a credit to both. It played no small or unworthy part in the nation's war effort. After the crushing defeat of his Government

in 1945, Churchill's parliamentary position might easily have suffered permanent, or at least temporary, eclipse. That this did not occur is striking evidence of his foremost place in world statesmanship. Indeed, it was as a world statesman, and not as the Leader of the Opposition, that he excelled in the 1945 and 1950 Parliaments.

Not even in the period of his wartime premiership did he do more to lead and inform public opinion, through his speeches in Parliament, on defence and foreign policy, than he did while Leader of the Opposition. He, more than any statesmen at home and abroad in the years from 1945 to 1951 prepared the ground plan for defence—in a military, moral and psychological sense—of Western Democracy against the menace of Russian Communist imperialism.

One of the greatest of his achievements was that in the 1945 Parliament, though suffering from the disadvantage of having sustained as a Party leader a great electoral defeat, he nevertheless persuaded

the House of Commons as a whole that his views on external affairs were right, despite the furious resentment with which they were met at first by the Labour Party. In fact by the end of that Parliament, the Government were following the policy which he had advocated a few years earlier.



The commemorative book which the members of the House of Commons presented to Sir Winston Churchill on his eightieth birthday

having always to confront a considerable number of pacifists in the Commons, for the opponents of the war in 1940 were a mere handful of M.Ps. Above all, he established his supremacy not only as leader of the national will but as a great parliamentarian by his magnificent first speech after taking

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Marshal Tito

Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia was given a magnificent welcome when he arrived at Bombay on Dec. 16. The visit is of more than usual importance; for one thing this is the first time the head of a foreign Power visits India after India's attainment of freedom.

Yugoslavia, like India, has struggled long and patiently to free herself from alien domination and is now making great efforts to preserve her hard won freedom. This is no easy task, placed as she is between the two formidable blocs. It needed all the courage and tenacity of a man like the Marshal to steer the state safely through perilous waters. It was difficult enough to throw off the Nazi yoke but then she fell from the frying pan of Nazism into the fire of Soviet Communism. Tito's main endeavour has been to free his country from the clutches of either and chalk out an independent path of his own. This was, of course, a dangerous and formidable task. But Tito dared it and played his card so dexterously that his country is now safe enough to give him freedom to move out of its borders and travel abroad. Tito has expressed warm admiration for Nehru's neutrality and it is just possible that he believes, that in company with the Indian Prime Minister and Chou-En-lai he could make a definite contribution to world peace. Tito has cut away from Moscow but remains a Communist. He jettisons all friendly aid from the western bloc.

Thus he has stood for peaceful co-existence and is determined to play a constructive role in world politics. No wonder that India's policy of "dynamic neutrality" has met with warm appreciation from the Yugoslavian President.

Sir Winston Churchill

It is sad to think that an occasion so rare as the 80th birthday of a nation's hero should have been marred by a controversy that could have been so easily avoided. Yet it was Sir Winston Churchill himself who started it with a flippancy and gusto almost school-boyish. Indeed there has always been a streak of the school boy in Sir Winston Churchill, which is at once his strength and his weakness. And when in his Woodford speech, in acknowledging the plaudits of his long and meritorious life, he referred to his telegram ordering F. M. Montgomery to stock surrendered arms in case they had to be handed back to the Nazis to stop a Russian advance, the listeners could hardly believe their own ears. Was it a calculated indiscretion or the frothy exuberance of an old man who had lost his balance? The fact is it was neither: it was just the expression of a mind addicted to such tactics and grown habitual with the growth of his uncanny talents. It was obviously rooted on the prudential maxim—trust in God but keep the powder dry. Who was of that made the cynical remark that you must so treat your friend as though one day he might become your enemy and so treat an enemy that one day he might become your friend? It was one of his own countrymen who commented:

The callous revelation of Churchill will fill every decent man and woman in this country with deep horror and disgust. It reveals something more—the traditionally instinctive hatred of Toryism and its variants in the Commons for the peoples of the Soviet Union and peoples of the democracies who have thrown away the oppressors who were British Tories' friends.

If the *Pravda* cried "perfidious Albion" at such unashamed avowal we cannot blame it for calling a spade a spade.

No wonder with so perverse an attitude to Russia even when she was an ally working in close co-operation with England, it is becoming so difficult to bridge the gulf.

DECEMBER 1954]

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

555

Russia has every reason to suspect a country led by people with such ingrained prejudice against her.

Now this is not by any means the first of his indiscretions in the long and exciting career of Winston Churchill. Strangely enough there are people who do not deplore the exposure quite so much for the thing itself as for the time chosen to publicise it. Churchill, for all his greatness, might have been prompted by the almost childish vanity of showing off his prescience. But what would one expect of any rapprochement with Russia with men who say one thing and mean another? If Churchill and his ilk should be credited with foresight so should the Soviet leaders who have never had faith in the *bona fides* of such men.

Is it surprising that at the instant that the revelation was made almost the entire British press, Tory and Labour, should have pounced upon the respected leader, forgetting for the moment that it was an occasion for world wide rejoicing in honour of the one man who, for a time, stood between civilization and savagery? The world can hardly forget what the great island hero stood for in the terrible years of war. For once Churchill excelled his own great ancestor Marlborough whom he has immortalised in his biography no less than by his emulation. For when all is said, Churchill, for all his indiscretions, is preeminently one of the very few great men of these times, and as Prof. Gilbert Murray said with true historic perspective:

"There have been few men ever like him, but I suspect that when he and Julius Caesar meet among the shades, they will have many common subjects to talk over, from war and statesmanship to the writing of history and the use of personal pronouns, and their respective problems as prisoners of war and their different methods of escape."

IN OTHER WORDS

The judge was perturbed by the witness. "Don't use that word, lie. It has horrid connotations."

"What should I say?" asked the witness.

"As Robert Browning phrased it," suggested the judge, "you might say that he fell from truth while climbing towards it."

Girja Shanker Bajpai

Soon after Independence we were faced with a situation not far removed from anarchy because of the sudden withdrawal of tried men of the services—who were mostly Europeans. Of course those who wished to continue were at perfect liberty to do so but many civil servants preferred to leave India. The new government, under the guidance of Sardar Patel quickly came to the decision that no consideration of cost should deter us from getting rid of those who wanted to quit. Depleted of able members of the services and lacking experience we were hard put to it to manage our affairs with anything like efficiency. At such a time it was men like Girja Shankar Bajpai who, with their undoubted talents and experience, proved a bulwark of strength to the infant state. It is true they had served the foreign rulers with great intrepidity and would serve with equal ardour and devotion any other rule that might have been set up. But that does not by any means detract from the nature and value of their services. They were there to do what the ruling authority decided to uphold. Their duty was confirmed to the carrying out of the orders of superior authority with promptness, efficiency and impartiality. And this they did with an ability born of experience in the execution of their allotted tasks, and their sense of duty and rectitude stood us in good stead in those troublous times when trained men were few while work was waiting to be done. Of such men Girja Shankar was foremost in ability and experience. But he was more than an efficient civil service man. He was a diplomat to the finger tips. Bajpai entered the civil service in 1915 and had since been administrator, diplomat, India's representative in various world Conferences and Secretary-General of External affairs and State Governor.

Polished in manners and genial by temperament Mr. Bajpai was considered the confidant of the British raj and when freedom came in 1947, he succeeded in winning the confidence of Prime Minister Nehru also.

As the first Secretary-General of free India's External Affairs Ministry for five years, he was the main exponent of India's foreign policy formulated by Mr. Nehru. In this capacity he was responsible for creating the nucleus of India's diplomatic corps.

Amending the Constitution

Addressing the Convocation of the Delhi University Mr. Patanjali Sastri, Retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court uttered a word of warning against too hasty attempts to tamper with the Constitution light heartedly. Now, the Constitution was framed after long and anxious thought and discussion among some of the ablest brains of the country drawn from different schools of thought. It was a deliberate compromise between different view points and it would be folly for the majority at the moment to take advantage of a clause which, with due safeguards, permits the right to amend the Constitution. It would of course be preposterous to tie up the future by laying down unalterable laws for all time. But it would be equally wrong to rush into making changes on the slightest provocation. Such frequent and light hearted dealing with the Constitution will deprive it of any sanctity attached to a great document. Mr. Sastri therefore calls for more stringent and effective procedure as a brake on hasty legislation, so that no party with a brute majority can get away with its own pet schemes.

Mr. Sastri rightly says that any attempt to override such opposition by relying on the support of a docile parliamentary majority must create bitterness and produce the impression that minority interests are not given due consideration.

A convention might be established, he says, whereby constitutional amendments of great importance to the community should be specifically placed before the People, and their verdict obtained, at the next following general election before the amending Bill is introduced in Parliament. No great harm could result from such procedure, he added, because the delay involved would not be much.

Chinese Cultural Mission in India

The Indian Mission to China has been quickly followed by a similar mission to India from China. A rousing reception was accorded to the Chinese cultural delegation, consisting of 67 noted authors, poets, actors, musicians, dancers, and opera singers, when they arrived at Delhi last month from Peking.

The delegation is headed by Mr. Cheng Chen-to, Vice-Minister for Cultural Affairs, who is a leading Chinese author and litterateur. He is a member of the Presidium of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and also a member of the Board of the Union of Chinese Writers.

Members of the delegation will stay in India for about six weeks and visit several places including Agra, Ajanta caves, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. They will give several dance and music recitals.

Welcomed at the airport by a representative Committee of hosts the leader of the delegation made the following statement:

We are very happy to have this opportunity of visiting India, our great neighbour, and of conveying to the Indian Government and the people the friendship and greetings from the Chinese Government and the people. For more than 2,000 years the peoples of China and India have maintained friendly relations and cultural exchange.

The friendship between these two peoples is now playing an important role in the solemn cause of defending peace in Asia and throughout the world. The reciprocal visits and the joint statement of Mr. Chou En-lai, representing the People's Republic of China, and Mr. Nehru, representing the Republic of India, are the best manifestation of this important role.

We believe that the present visit of our cultural delegation to India will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendship and cultural relations between our two countries.

Our heartfelt thanks to the Indian Government for its kind invitation and to you all for your welcome. We wish still greater successes of the Indian people in the cause of culture and peace.

"Kalki"

T. K. C., then Kavimani, and now "Kalki"—death has taken a terrible toll in Tamil Nad. The late R. Krishnamurthi, better known as "Kalki," was author, critic and journalist, and he distinguished himself no less as patriot and publicist. *Kalki*, his Tamil weekly and its incomparable Editor proved that a journal to be popular need not go out of its way to cater to the vulgar tastes of the crowd, but that the crowd could be cultivated to go in for serious and elevating standard of writing. "Kalki", like all professionals with a principle, would not countenance methods and tactics inconsistent with his role as Editor and Journalist. He disdained to entertain crossword puzzles to make quick and easy money. His writings were so clean and unexceptionable that Rajaji, no mean writer of popular prose him-

self, invariably chose *Kalki* for his periodical writings. No wonder that on the death of "Kalki" he felt so smitten with sorrow that he said his grief was too poignant for anything to be said. And "Kalki" was barely 55.

Indeed "Kalki" lived under an habitual subjection to the predominating genius of Rajaji whose politics he espoused with unflinching courage even when Rajaji himself thought fit to swerve from the Gandhian discipline. And "Kalki" became the authentic *bhashyakara* of Rajaji even as Rajaji himself so long continued to be the Mahatma's interpreter.

"Kalki" worked with Rajaji in the Tiruvengode Ashram where he was editing the prohibition journal *Vimochanam*. But it was the *Ananda Vikatan* with which he was connected for over ten years that made alike for his own fame as a writer and made that weekly the home journal of Tamil Nad. Mr. Vasani, who later made such a resounding success in the film world publicly acknowledged his indebtedness to "Kalki".

Associated with Congress activities ever since his school days at Mayuram in the Tanjore District, Mr. Krishnamurthi strove hard to popularise the Congress principles through his writings. He wrote fearlessly but without bitterness.

Kalki will also be remembered by the supporters of Tamil Isai. For apart from his reputation as a novelist and writer he made a name for himself as a connoisseur of art and as a critic of music, drama and dance.

It will be long before we can have a popular writer who is at once a scholar and critic of versatile talents. For "Kalki" was master of a style, which as Johnson said of Addison's "is familiar but not coarse and elegant but not ostentatious."

The Next Congress President

Some time ago the Prime Minister expressed a desire to relinquish the Congress Presidentship and suggested the name of Mr. N. N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurashtra for his successor. The suggestion was widely approved, and at the recent meeting of the working committee Mr. Dhebar was unanimously chosen for the office. Follow-

ing the approval Mr. Dhebar has now been declared elected President of the forthcoming session at Madras. He will hold office for two years.

In a statement from Rajkot, Mr. Dhebar said the people of India were engaged in one of the biggest tasks in the history of humanity—that of building up a nation.

This was in a sense the continuation of the struggle for independence by the Congress. The difference was that the struggle for political emancipation had ended and the struggle for economic and social emancipation had commenced. The Congress had been destined to bear the brunt of this responsibility.

As a humble servant of the country and the organisation, I have accepted the responsibility and in all humility I rededicate myself to the service of the organisation and the country and pray that God may give me strength to discharge my duties."

Mr. Dhebar has not been very much in the public eye outside his State, though he has been a marked figure in Saurashtra distinguished alike for his ability and his continued work for the Congress cause. As Chief Minister of Saurashtra, Mr. Dhebar has played a leading role in the transformation of the State.

Vyshinsky

By all accounts Vyshinsky who died at his post in the U. N. was the ablest of the Soviet diplomats abroad. His brilliant advocacy and biting wit weighed heavily against the subtle intrigues and downright opposition of the Western bloc. Division in the U. N. ranks was acute and pronounced and he retaliated by exercising the inevitable veto, so handy in the hands of the Soviet bloc. That was all, of course, in the earlier phases of Vyshinsky's advent in New York. The later phase of the diplomat was more in tune with the suave atmosphere of the gathering of statesmen. For all the massive resistance of the American bloc everybody admired the intellectual calibre and debating skill of the Russian diplomat. When the old acerbities were replaced by a more conciliatory atmosphere, Vyshinsky rose to the occasion and blossomed into a social figure of undoubted personal charm. It is just possible that with the growing sense of international goodwill and cordiality in the U. N. he might yet have played a more fruitful part if fate had not cut him off in his finest hour of promise.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: Pustak Mahal, Patna. Price Rs. 10/

This is a selection of the papers read at the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth sessions of the Indian Political Science Association. It leads off with the text of Sardar Panikkar's Presidential address to its Hyderabad session in which Panikkar discusses provocatively the problems arising out of the vastly enlarged field of State action in the modern world and the need to maintain the highest standard of efficiency and integrity in the administrative services of India and the need to preserve correct relation between the political and executive branches of the Government in democratic state. Other papers included in the book deal with problems of public corporations, organisation of the executive, judicial, ministerial and local administration. Some of the papers betray a rather unrealistic and academic appreciation of the issues involved and all are far more descriptive than critical or constructive. Professor Venkatarangaya's comments on the Gorwala report are an instance of the more critical approach. But when he asks for production of the evidence underlying Gorwala's generalization that there has been a startling decline of integrity in the country, he betrays the fatal weakness of the academic approach, on which Mr. Gorwala fastens in his reply. Mr. Gorwala was not a Court of Enquiry into administrative corruption in the country and could not convert himself into one. General comments based on knowledge were all he could give and while one is free to discount them altogether, one would be scarcely wise to fail to draw the correct lesson however one takes the generalization. Some of the papers, as for example on Central-Local Relations by Dr. K.K. Pillay look like "indifferent" chapters in elementary text books on the subject rather than serious, thoughtful discussions. The Editors should, in our view, have sifted the papers more rigorously and avoid repetition of topics and views, verbosity and the most venial kind of discussion of matters so rare.

MEN I HAVE SEEN: By Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Sadharan Brahma Samaj. 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The Pandit's reminiscences of seven great Bengalis originally appeared in the pages of the *Modern Review*. Who would not be interested in the life and activities of men like Vidyasagar and Ananda Mohan Bose, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and Dr. Mohendralal Sircar and the like? The Pandit who knew these illustrious men well and rather intimately too, did not attempt a complete or connected account of any life. He merely recorded some observations and reminiscences and confined himself only to such incidents and episodes that came within his personal knowledge. And therein lies all the charm of this book. It has therefore a homely ring that is at once personal and attractive. The late Editor of the *Modern Review* recognising the value of the articles put them together in book form as long ago as 1919. But the work was soon out of print and the Birth Centenary Committee did well in reprinting it in this handy form so as to bring it within reach of a wider public. It is certainly a welcome addition to the biographical literature of the years when Bengal was prolific of men of outstanding character in different walks of life.

THE TWO GREAT INDIANS IN JAPAN. Sri Rash Behari Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by J.G. Ohsawa, published by Sri K.C. Das for Kusa Publications, 123/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6.

This account of Rash Behari Bose with the beginnings of the story of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by a Japanese is most interesting. The war of Independence of India started in 1857 and we are to commemorate the Centenary three years hence in 1937. History is a continuity and not a series of catastrophic explosions. As Rash Behari cried out "For Heaven's sake, let us have a positive, concrete and actually useful plan." For such a plan, the material in this book will be most helpful.

DECEMBER 1934]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

559

THE VALUE OF CLASSICAL TRADITION by T. W. Melluish

THE CLASSICS IN INDIA TODAY by G. C. Bannerjee, K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar, K. Anantharamiah, S. Ramachandra Rao. The Indian Institute of Culture, Basavanagudi, Bangalore - Price Annas 12-Pages 14.

These reprints may in a sense be called Classical because they follow the first-class, restrained, brief, untentious style of European and Eastern antiquity. As Mr. Melluish says, "it will be suicidal to exhibit independence by sawing off the branch of the mother tree on which you are sitting." Mr. Bannerjee rightly says, "Classics help us to become clear-sighted, mature, and wise." Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar pleads at least for a second hand knowledge of our Classical heritage. Mr. Anantharamiah emphasizes the necessity of Classics in the interests of womanhood and art. Mr. Ramachandra Rao closes with a prayer that the people of the country should accept the utility of Classical studies.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN INDIA: A Short History By M. R. Masani (Derek Verchoyle,) Casement Publications, Bombay.

Mr. Masani, the author of that very popular and entertaining book—Our India—has devoted considerable time and study to a phase of present political trends that needs careful scrutiny viz the communist role in India. The result is an exhaustive study of the devious ways in which communism has begun to infect the country, that is to say our people and even those charged with the governance of the country. It is a critical analysis of communist practices and propaganda and a down-right exposure of its more questionable ways. The exposure is authenticated with documentary evidence mainly culled from the official records of the Communist Party in India. Communist activities in India including its relation to other parties at home and abroad are laid bare with a wealth of facts and figures that can hardly fail to impress even those sympathetic to Communist aims. Altogether it is a devastating exposure of Communist tactics which if allowed to grow and infect the minds of men, and of the men who count, is bound to have disastrous results to the country. The warning is timely for,

though a Socialist with a broad output and wide sympathies Mr. Masani has no illusions as to the practical results of Communism in India. Hence his rigorous and timely plea to stop the rot that may set in by undue indulgence or neglect on the part of those in authority.

Mr. Masani feels that with the tradition and habitual aptitude of the people for non-violence and peace and with our natural preference for Gandhian technique and Bhoodan we may yet escape the tragedy of Communist ridden countries. But it must not be forgotten that Communism makes an insidious appeal to the masses by its large promises and utopian aspirations, and its organisational technique is so efficient and on such a wide scale that it is difficult for people to escape its tentacles. Mr. Masani warns Government and people alike to beware of this most unwelcome monster that takes many shapes before it drags the whole country down. Any neglect or indulgence, will in his opinion, pave the way for revolution and the end of all things in free India.

It is a thoughtful and provocative book which deserves to be carefully read by students, intellectuals and legislators who have anything to do with the shaping of future India.

MEN, WAGES and EMPLOYMENT in the Modern U. S. Economy by George Soule - A Mentor Book published by the New American Library, New York-Price 35c pages: 144.

This is a Mentor Book explaining Men, Wages and Employment from a common sense point of view as it exists in the United States of America. It is charming, with flourishes like the following:—"Some people find it harder to get jobs and to keep them than do others. Some are usually the last to be hired and the first to be fired. The young have the less important jobs."

As the author concludes "Democracy cannot be served by suppressing the power to bargain and reach voluntary agreements. Labour and management must place more emphasis on seeking their joint interest and that of the people as a whole. If they do so, the outlook is bright for continued gains to labour."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

—(o)—

- Nov. 1 *De facto* merger of French settlements: Instruments of transfer signed.
- Nov. 2 Congressional elections in U. S. A.
- Nov. 3 Dr. Radhakrishnan leading Indian delegation to the 8th session of Unesco at Motevideo, S. America.
- A. D. Mani, K. Rama Rao and A. R. Bhat to attend world conference of Newspaper entities at Sao Paulo, Brazil.
- Nov. 4 Himalaya mountaineering Institution inaugurated at Darjeeling by Prime Minister.
- Nov. 5 Prime Minister Nehru back in Delhi after his visit to China.
- U. N. calls for direct talks on S.A. Indians.
- Nov. 6 Fall of Prakasam Ministry following motion of no confidence carried by one vote.
- Nov. 7 Governor Trivedi asks the Prakasam Ministry to continue pending further instructions.
- Nov. 8 Congress executive appeals to Nehru not to give up Premiership and proposes U. N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Sourashtra, for Congress presidentship.
- Nov. 9 India to get 25 million dollars loan from World Bank.
- 49 candidates awarded Government of India cultural scholarships.
- Nov. 10 Ceylon Prime Minister Sir John Kotelavala leaves Colombo on his 45-day world tour.
- Nov. 11 Dr. Radhakrishnan opens 8th conference of Unesco at Monte Video.
- Financial experts from 19 Asian and non-Asian countries meet in Bangkok under the auspices of the Ecafe.
- Nov. 12 B. R. Sen, I. C. S. Indian ambassador to Italy is appointed ambassador to Japan.
- Mendes-France carries out third reshuffle of his Cabinet in five months.
- Nov. 13 World leaders greet Nehru on his 65th birthday.
- President Naguib removed from office after allegations of plotting with outlawed Muslim Brotherhood.
- Nov. 14 President's Rule for Andhra announced by Governor Trivedi.
- Nov. 15 U. S. Senate debating censure motion on McCarthy's.
- Nov. 16 Home Minister explains committee changes in Bill for amending Cr. P.C.
- Speaker rules out adjournment motion re Proclamation on Andhra.
- Nov. 17 Prime Minister's appeal for Kidwai memorial issued.
- French team claims conquest of Makalu Peak (27,790 ft)
- Nov. 18 Dr. Radhakrishnan, on behalf of India, presents Ivory gavel to U. S. Senate.
- U. S. aid scheme for purchase of Railway Wagons signed at New Delhi.
- Nov. 19 Home Ministry's resolution on President's Rule in Andhra approved by Lok Sabha.
- Nehru in BBC talk reiterates appeal for peaceful coexistence.
- Nov. 20 France and U.S. stress need for ratification of Paris agreement on German rearmament.
- Nov. 21 Mr. T. Prakasam rejoins Congress as an effective member.
- Air attacks in Formosa area.
- Nov. 22 Andrei Vyshinsky, Chief Russian delegate to U.N., dies of heart attack.
- Pak Prime Minister announces abolition of all provinces and states: West Pakistan is made a single unit.
- Nov. 23 U.N. Political Committee approves Western resolution on Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" plan.
- Mendes-France, speaking in New York, welcomes regional agreements in Eastern European defence.
- Pakistan gets first ship load of U.S. arms.
- Nov. 24 First World Congress of Press Societies concludes its session at Sao Paulo.
- Nov. 25 Ajit Prasad Jain appointed Food Minister in place of Rabi Ahmed Kidwai.
- Jacob Malik succeeds Vyshinsky as Soviet Leader in U.N.
- Nov. 26 P.S.P. Party Convention at Nagpur.
- Nehru inaugurates Delhi Conference on Atomic Power for Peace.
- Nov. 27 Acharya Kripalani resigns chairmanship of P. S. P. at Special Convention held at Nagpur.
- Nov. 28 Acharya Narendra Dev elected chairman of P.S.P.
- T.C. Police firing "justified by Commission as "within limits of lawful authority".
- Nov. 29 Britain, U. S. and France reject Russian invitation to the all European Security Conference opened in Moscow.
- Nov. 30 Sir Winston Churchill's 80th birthday made an occasion for world wide tributes.
- Johannes Strijdom elected party leader to succeed Dr. Malan.

READERS' DIGEST

THE CASE FOR DEMOCRACY

The case for democracy, says *Public Affairs*, the organ of the Gokhale Institute, Bangalore, stands or falls according as we agree or not that the instinct for the good and the right is inherent in man and that he therefore is morally educable. It was in recognition of the inheritance of the seed of moral sensibility in the mass of mankind,—in the unsophisticated and disinterested "general public",—that Yudhishtira declared:

"Reason is unstable; scriptures are various; there is not a sage whose word may be taken as authoritative; the most principle of Dharma is hidden in the cavity of man's heart, that path therefore is the right path by which the public at large has thought fit to travel." —The *Mahabhaarata*, III. 313-117

But the optimum condition of democracy's functioning well is that it willingly makes certain self-renunciations:—

- (1) To correct the aberrations introduced by party-play, it must bring into the parliament, by all-party co-optation, a certain effective proportion of nonparty citizens of proved ability and public spirit.
- (2) All matters requiring technical knowledge or specialist study, it must refer to selected bodies of experts and respect their recommendations.
- (3) It must keep a watch for that rare combination of triple merit which makes a statesman,—ideas and put him in the seat of power; allowing him ample elbow room and restraining his own impulses to interfere and alter.
- (4) Except under the pressure of the most certain and the most unavoidable necessity, it should abstain from meddling in fields of life belonging to the individual.—remembering that to make the spontaneous blossoming of the individual's life possible is the highest justification for the existence of the State.

What power would remain for parliament after it makes these subtractions is, in the words of the writer, the power of general direction and general supervision.

The main care would be about the moral rather than the intellectual side of the business of the State. It must make it clear to itself that the best it could hope to accomplish is just the minimizing of bad government. The maximizing of good government is of course an ideal to be striven after. But to which mortal man or to which human institution is it ever given to claim that the ideal has been achieved? For modest men, it is as much as to be thankful for that the minimum is achieved.

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* Mr. P.S. Gorgey says that last year he had the opportunity of touring the Telengana district in Hyderabad—where Vinobha Bhave first conceived the idea—with J. P. Narayan his principal lieutenant.

It was amazing to observe, he says, how the spirit of voluntary donation, the basic principle of Bhoodan, manifested itself among rich and poor alike.

And because the poor gave their mite in response to Narayan's appeal—I saw simple village women give their wedding bangles—the movement is singularly free of any taint of condescending charity.

I was particularly interested in the arguments used to persuade the rich landlords to part with their acres. Briefly they ran like this: the present system of land ownership is going to change and this change will be brought about in three ways. First, either by Communist violence, as in the case of the Telengana area four years ago, when the landlord stands to lose all, including his life, or secondly, by Government legislation, when the landlord will receive little or no compensation, or thirdly, by the voluntary effort of the landlord himself, when he can retain the land required for him and his family and, most important, the goodwill of the peasants to assist him to cultivate the land. The fundamental common sense of these arguments, which correspond with the realities of the situation commends itself to the landlord.

He asked Narayan about the ultimate realisation or end-result of Bhoodan. Mr. Narayan, he says, envisaged the establishment of co-operative or communal agricultural settlements based on each village as a working unit, calling this state of affairs "villagisation," wherein the other related problems of fragmentation of holdings, rural indebtedness, obsolete farming methods, &c., would also be eliminated.

That Bhoodan could well become the most effective answer to the Communist challenge in Asia is borne out by the visits of leaders from Japan and other Asian countries to India to study its techniques and principles.

HE WINS THE THISTLE

"What became of that clerk you had here?"
"I had to fire him. A man came with his bride to buy a book for reading on honeymoon and the stupid assistant offered her *Travels With a Donkey*."

THE ACHARYA PEETHA THROUGH THE AGES

Mr. M. Subramania Ayyar points out in a pamphlet how Muslim rulers endowed Hindu shrines—and how particularly the Sankaracharya Mutt had been receiving favoured treatment at the hands of alien rulers.

The famous Meckenzie manuscripts, Gopinatha Rao's epigraphical publications and other similar public records throw some light on the state of the Acharya Pitha of Kanchi in the past centuries, he says:

From the publications of the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, the Archaeologist of Travancore Government, it is seen that a Chola King of Kanchi of the 13th century endowed a whole village to this Mutt.

In the Vijayanagar period Krishnadeva Raya and his father Narasimhadeva Raya granted six whole villages in Chingleput and North Arcot Districts, during the spiritual sway of the Acharyas Mahadeva Saraswati, Chandrachuda Saraswati and Sadasisa Saraswati, all represented as residing at Kanchi.

In the 17th century Akkanna and Madanna the material uncles of the famous Ramadas of Badrachalam and ministers of Golkonda, are referred to as having granted a village to the Sarada Mutt at Kanchi.

In 1708 Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Naik, the grandson of Rani Mangammal, the famous philanthropist of Mathurai granted lands to Loka Guru Srimath Sankaracharya Swamuluvaru in six villages in Trichinopoly District.

In 1710 the Muslim imperial Court granted to Sri Sankaracharya of Sarada Mutt at Kanchi an inam, deed of 115 varahas of a village in the Chingleput District.

Thus it is seen from the records available that the Mutt has been granted seven whole villages and portions in seven other villages and monetary inam in a village.

From these records it is also evident that the Mutt was situated in Kanchi till 1710 A. D.

It is said that the Mutt left Kanchi during the insecure times of the Carnatic Wars and that after residing in several places under the protection of various poligars of the southern districts the Mutt finally settled at Kumbakonam in Tanjore district about 1730 A. D.

The temporal state of the Mutt before this period should have been at least ten times better than that which prevails now.

Of the lands in the grants referred to by Gopinatha Rao some fragmentary portions in three villages, one in the Chingleput District and two in Trichinopoly District are all that remain now.

But these existing grants are only a small part of the copper plate grants which were in possession of the Mutt in the early part of the last century.

The Mackenzie manuscripts throw more light on this matter.

The visit of Sri Sankara to Kanchi, his installation of Sri Kamakshi and his attaining Paramapada or Siddhi there are recounted in the Guruparampara stotra of Bharathi Sanyasis of the Thungabhadra Thira listed as MS 21491 in the third report of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India by Hultzsch.

In the Archaeological field we find the Murthis of the great Acharya installed in many towns and villages in the Chingleput District.

The Sivasthannam temple in the south-east of Kanchi has in the stone back-wall of its sanctum sanctorum a relief-sculpture of the great Acharya worshipping with his Danda-Siva, Parvathi and Skanda.

The common sculptor of Kanchipuram was so familiar with and so much devoted to Sankara that he engraved his Murthi in all the prominent temples of the city without regard to the sect to which they belonged.

An important fact which emerges out of the above review is that the Monastery of Sankara at Kanchi was a prominent institution in the olden days as an establishment for teaching Advaita there and that it was honoured by successive dynasties, the rulers of which endowed it with considerable properties.

Thus it became one of the richest monasteries in the country.

As late as 1792, a communication from the East India Company to all the District authorities from Krishna to Tinnevely regarding the tour of the Mutt shows that the staff of the institution consisted of 500 persons together with all the necessary conveyances and retinue of the day.

Report also shows that the Mutt authorities at that time were confident that they were in possession of enough materials for compiling a history of the Chola Chera, Pandya and Vijayangara dynasties.

This is not improbable, says the writer, as the Mutt was in possession of 125 copper-plate grants at that time.

Further his report that they had requested his services in getting back their discontinued villages also shows that the Mutt authorities were aware that the Mutt once was in possession of a number of villages which had been subsequently lost during the Carnatic Wars.

Though the properties of the Mutt have dwindled into a very small fraction of what they were three centuries back

the continued devotion, not only of its disciples but also of other well-wishers have helped the institution to carry on the all prevailing teachings of the great Acharya and to maintain the glow of the ultimate truth conserved in the rich treasures of learning left by him.

THE LAST FRONTIERS OF CIVILIZATION

To the average citizen of the age of the atom and the jet turbine, it would probably come as a shock to learn that millions of his contemporaries are apparently living in the age of stone.

And yet, in South America, in Asia, in Oceania and in Africa, tribesmen, aborigines, "savages", "primitives" ...or whatever euphemism conscience-stricken "civilized" nations apply to them—are warring the last defenses of their way of life break down.

Whether we like it or not, there is not a single tribe on the face of the earth today which can hope to escape the effects of our civilization," writes Dr. Alfred Metraux, Swiss-born American anthropologist, in the current (No. 8-9) issue of the monthly *UNESCO COURIER*. Dr. Metraux retraces the bloody history of contacts between civilization and "primitives" in the past—and warns that it cannot be allowed to repeat itself.

Dr. Metraux concludes: "The problem consists in finding an intelligent way of integrating them into modern life without destroying what is valuable in their way of life and, above all, without destroying their self-respect."

The classical method of "integration" is vividly described in an article on the Ona Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who numbered 4,000 in 180 and whose population today does not amount to two dozen. They were simply hunted down, with a bonus for every pair of ears brought in by professional killers.

There are other ways, fortunately. Brazilian author Darcy Ribeiro relates the story of General Rondon, founder of Brazil's Indian Protection Bureau, who gained fame when he marched his troops through the most hostile Indian country in Brazil with orders to "Die if you must, but never kill an Indian." Margaret Mead, leading American anthropologist, writes of the adaptation of the Melanesians of the Southwest Pacific to new ways, while India's policy towards her 30,000,000 tribesmen is described by Dr. Verrier Elwin, who has spent two decades among Indian aborigines. This policy was laid down by Prime Minister Nehru who flatly told his administrators: "There is no point in trying to make of them a second rate copy of ourselves."

In other articles on the Special Report, "The Last Frontiers of Civilization," the *Courier* describes Denmark's policy towards Eskimos of Greenland and the flourishing of Eskimo art in Canada. Professor Claude Levi-Strauss, a noted French anthropologist, tears apart certain popular conceptions and misconceptions in his article, "What is a 'Primitive'."

SOME STARTLING STATISTICS ON SYPHILIS

According to estimates published by the World Health Organization, there are about 20 million persons in the world suffering from venereal syphilis at the present time.

The number of persons infected varies widely from one region to another and from one place to another in the same country. In some few areas of certain countries up to 80% of the population may be affected.

Among the peoples of S. E. Asia the proportion of infected persons ranges between 0.6% and 31% of the total population. In Africa the percentages vary from 14.1 to 32.9; but in Africa as well as in Asia there are areas where more than one half of the entire population is infected.

Most cases of syphilis occur during the productive period of life—more among young women, who are affected at an earlier age than men.

The disease can be cured in its early stages by a single injection of penicillin costing on an average, under favourable conditions, between 0.93 and 1.40 (Indian Rs. 4/7-Rs. 6/11).

A study carried out by the World Health Organization, covering 55 countries, shows that most countries throughout the world are using penicillin almost exclusively in the treatment of syphilis.

The first plant in S. E. Asia for the production of penicillin is being built at Poona (near Bombay, India) with assistance from UNICEF and the UN Technical Assistance Administration and with the technical advice of WHO.

DAWN OF ATOMIC AGE

The first nuclear chain reaction, regarded by many scientists throughout the world as the dawn of the atomic age, was achieved in Chicago, Illinois just twelve years ago, on December 2, 1942.

The atomic reactor in which this pioneer experiment was carried out was designed and constructed under the direction of the late Dr. Enrico Fermi, Italian-born nuclear physicist of outstanding achievement, who is sometimes called the "architect of the atomic age."

It was in recognition of his success in achieving "the controlled nuclear chain reaction" that Dr. Fermi was the first scientist to receive (November 16, 1951) the Special Award of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for "especially meritorious contributions" in the field of atomic energy.

Shortly before his death, Dr. Fermi spoke of the atomic future. He said:

"I believe truthfully that the conquest of atomic energy may be widely used to produce not destruction but an age of plenty for the human race."

Atomic reactors, which were pioneered by Dr. Fermi and his associates, are one of the most important factors in the peacetime use of atomic energy. They are atomic furnaces in which uranium or other fissionable material is used to create heat energy. This is done by splitting or fissioning uranium atoms. The splitting of one atom produces tiny particles called neutrons, which in turn split other atoms. The process, which generates intense heat, can be continued as long as desired.

In applying atomic energy to peaceful uses, atomic reactors are now used for the large-scale production of radioactive isotopes or radio-isotopes. These are ordinary chemical elements that have been made radioactive by bombarding them with neutrons in an atomic reactor. They are extremely valuable and peaceful products of atomic energy.

Radio-isotopes have given science a tool comparable to the invention of the microscope. They have already enabled scientists to make outstanding advances in the diagnosis and treatment of disease, including some forms of cancer; in agricultural research to improve food plants and increase crop yields; in improving industrial quality-control and cost-reducing instruments; and in extending the scope of scientific research in many fields.

Large atomic reactors for the production of electricity are now being built in the United States and Great Britain, and it is expected that additional reactors for this purpose will be built in other countries in the course of the next few years.

In these reactors heat is generated by splitting the atom. The heat is then used to make fine steam, which operates turbines and electrical generators. Atomic-electric power plants are the same as conventional power plants, except for the fact that uranium replaces coal or oil as fuel.

Discussing this use of atomic energy recently in commenting on the "constructive applications of atomic science that may come to fruition" when President Eisenhower's atom-for-peace plan is carried out, Dr. Fermi said:

"Probably the most important development will be the production of atomic power for industry. The small weight of nuclear fuel will be especially valuable in areas of the world far removed from deposits of natural fuels, where the long distance transportation weighs heavily on the final cost of the power."

Of atomic reactors construction will be aided, it is expected, by the uranium contributed by the United States and Great Britain to the International Atomic Agency now being organized.

Such small reactors will be of great value, scientists say, for the production of radioisotopes and also for experimental research work to advance man's knowledge of atom and its peaceful applications.

During the 12 years that have passed since Dr. Fermi's experiments the historic world has seen the atom become a powerful instrument of destruction and an increasingly valuable contributor of peaceful benefits. Every possible effort is now being made by the United States, Great Britain, and other free world nations to convert the atom into the peaceful and invaluable servant of mankind. India has already offered to contribute quantities of Thorium to the International Agency.

In all the free world there is no responsible leader today who does not fervently echo the late Dr. Fermi's deep-seated conviction that "the conquest of atomic energy may be widely used to produce...an age of plenty for the human race."

THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF MEN

Women should remember they're merely ribs, not roosters. Men should rule the roost, says Gean Pearson in an article extracted in *Reader's Digest*.

"The natural superiority of men is easily recognized by every woman who has spent the best years of her life chasing, snaring, trapping and guarding one of these prize specimens of humanity. She can see it in a thousand ways (and if she can't, he'll cheerfully point them out).

Men are tougher. They can overcome incredible weariness to play golf or go fishing or install a new carburettor.

Men are braver. They do not wince when their women empty mouse-traps or spray against cockroaches. They do not fear losing an ear to a fish hook, getting shot while they are out rabbiting or getting hit on the head by a golf ball.

Men are more frugal. They save money by wearing the same hat for ten years, by not squandering on insurance and by not stamping Christmas cards.

Men are more objective. They can see your faults better than you can.

Men are more careful of their health. They don't risk respiratory diseases by cleaning out dusty attics or court colds by washing cement floors in damp basements. When they have a cold they go to bed and never risk a chill by getting up for meals. And when they're in a hospital they don't risk unattended death but try to see that nurse is always nearby.

Men are more ingenious. They think of dozens of reasons why the carpets should not be beaten, why washing the car hurts the finish and how the lawn is improved by not mowing it.

Men are more honest. When asked to give their honest opinion about a new hat they give it. They also generously give it when not asked.

Men have sharper senses. They can spot a trim ankle at 100 yards.

Men are cleverer. They know how to delegate authority. They let women decide what should be on the grocer's list, how the meals should be cooked, how the house should be cleaned, how the children should be disciplined—and then let them do it."

RELIGION IN A SECULAR STATE

In the *Aryan Path* for November Prof. A. R. Wadia dispassionately surveys the condition of religious life and work in modern India which has been constitutionally declared a secular state.

Any state attempting to have an established religion may today be looked upon as anachronistic and not truly religious, says the Professor. Pakistan has already experienced the effects of being an Islamic state. It has made aliens of some millions of Hindus who still cling to their homes in East Bengal as they can look forward to nothing but being helots. Worse still, Muslim fanaticism has begun to turn even against fellow Muslims like the influential and highly educated Ahmediyas. Religious persecution and fanaticism savour of mediaevalism and are thoroughly irreconcilable with democracy."

On both logical and historical grounds we would be justified in asserting that a secular state certainly does not imply irreligiosity but only implies neutrality in matters religious, a desire to accept all religions and the right of the individual to accept any of them.

"At the higher level, as in the cases of Gandhiji and Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan, secularity implies the right of religion to have its play above the din and dust of politics. Since it is impossible to prove any one religion the best of all and, more important, since the forcing of any religion upon people is intrinsically and unconditionally an evil, the height and depth of wisdom lies in recognizing the right of all religions to exist and even to propagate themselves by peaceful and constitutional means. In this perspective a secular state may be looked upon not as an irreligious but as a highly religious state."

"PUGREE" SYSTEM IN SCHOOLS

The "Pugree" system, which was hitherto prevalent in India for renting a house or a shop has now entered the educational field.

The highest offer as a "Pugree" for securing admission into a school this year was Rs. 8,000, says a Ludhiana report. Two hundred and fifteen students were called for interview for 35 seats. It is stated that parents of candidates were asked what donation they would pay to the institution if their relations were admitted to the school. It is reported that the offers ranged between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 8,000.

THE NEW REGIME IN PAKISTAN

The American *Time* has a graphic story to tell about the recent events in Pakistan, and it is as follows:—

"Bloodlessly, Pakistan changed from an unstable pro-Western democracy to a more stable, pro-Western military dictatorship.

"The crucial decision took place the night Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, alarmed by threats to his power, returned from Washington with \$ 105 million in U. S. economic aid. Ali's plane touched down at Karachi airfield, where soldiers in battledress were drawn up, ostensibly to honour him.

"Ali strolled past the soldiers to his Cadillac, his wife at his side. He got into the car, but was astonished when a couple of Pakistani generals shouldered his wife aside and got in behind him.

"There is no room for you," the generals told Mrs Ali. "You go straight home in another car and wait for your husband. We are taking him to the Governor General's palace."

"At the palace Ali was hustled protesting into an ante-room and was brusquely told: "Wait here."

"Twenty minutes later Mohammed Ali stood before the Governor General, 59 years old Ghulam Mohammed, a big rugged man who derives his powers in the absence of a Pakistan constitution — from the British Crown, which appointed him. Beside the Governor General stood the strong man of the Pakistan army, Major-General Iskander Mirza. "I am dissolving the Constituent Assembly tomorrow" announced Ghulam to the Prime Minister. "You will remain Prime Minister but you will reform your Cabinet. Major General Mirza will be your Minister of the Interior. General Ayub Khan will become Defence Minister as well as Commander-in-Chief...."

Angrily, Ali turned on General Mirza and accused him of plotting behind his back. Mirza indifferently shrugged his big shoulders. Desperately, Ali wheeled back on the seated Ghulam. "Suppose I refuse!" Ghulam was inexorable and cold: Refusal is out of the question. You seem to forget I am head of the State."

"Ali got to his home, exhausted, at 2-10 a.m. and poured out the story to his friends. "Now I know how Farouk felt when the

British put tanks around his palace," he said. "I've been insulted. I've been humiliated. I'll have my revenge one day."

But Ali was beaten, and he knew it. Thus a new regime was established in Asia.

"Pakistan,—proclaimed General Mirza, needs "controlled democracy" for sometime, with "one good strong man like our Governor-General at the helm."

"Pakistan's new rulers were as strongly pro-U. S. as Ali, so Washington seemed as calm as Karachi. And as for Ali, now a figurehead Prime Minister, he finally called in reporters and said he was loyal to Ghulam. What would he do next? "I must gaze into a crystal I brought back from the U. S.", said Mohammed Ali, producing a miniature weight ball."

CURE FOR CANCER

A "complete cure" for cancer was claimed by Dr H. Smalpage, President of the International Cancer Research Institute, Australia, and a former Head of the Cancer Research Section of the world Health Organisation.

Dr Smalpage, who arrived in Calcutta on Oct. 19 from Sydney, said the new antidote was "Cancinino-Mycin", a saturated solution of sun-vitalised phosphorous in oil, containing no free or poisonous phosphorous." It can be injected or taken in the form of pills.

"After a thorough investigation, we have got the complete cure," he said.

Dr. Smalpage said that as cancer is not a mechanical disease, it can only be cured by chemical means. As cancer is an abnormal chemical condition of the tissues of the body and can only be produced by an abnormal chemical such as carbon, it can only be cured chemically by an antidote to its cause.

"There is only one antidote for carbon which is the cause of cancer, and that is phosphorous," he asserted.

He stated that anything which by burning produced carbon soots could become the cause of cancer.

"Cigarette helps to develop cancer. Its tobacco content is not the cause of this disease. The paper, which wrapped the tobacco, when it burns, forms the carbon soot, which is the cause of cancer."

Dr. Smalpage added that this new cure had already been demonstrated in the United States.

HOUSES FOR LOW INCOME GROUP

Loans for low income group housing and facilities to acquire and develop land for the purpose are envisaged in a scheme approved by the Government of India.

The Scheme has been formulated by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply in the hope that together with the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme, operating since October 1952, it will go some way in relieving the housing shortage throughout the country.

This Low Income Group Housing scheme will be forwarded soon to the State Governments for implementation.

Under the schemes, the Central Government will give to the State Governments loans at an interest of 4½ per cent, recoverable in 30 annual equal instalments. This amount will then be loaned against suitable securities by the State Governments to individuals, co-operative housing societies and housing finance corporations who are anxious to build houses for themselves or their members.

EFFECTS OF NEW WAR

Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, suggested the other day that two impartial nations such as India and Sweden should draw up a report, especially for would-be neutrals, demonstrating the effects on them of another world war.

Earl Russell said he was convinced such a report would quickly convince them how extricably bound up they were today with the nations likely to be belligerent, and this would encourage them to persuade both the Communist and anti-Communist Powers to abandon the threat of war as an instrument of policy.

Lord Russell was explaining a new "plan for peace" in "*Britain Today*", a monthly journal issued by the British Council.

Copies containing his article have been sent to the King of Sweden, and to the Prime Ministers of Sweden and India.

"The supreme fact that Governments cannot bring themselves to face is that their aims can no longer be achieved by war, he declared. "This applies equally to Communist and anti-Communist Powers."

A neutral Commission of one or more neutral Governments, set up to prepare this report, should invite all Governments likely to be involved in World War to express their opinions.

Mutual suspicion could be much diminished if both sides simultaneously expressed agreement with the Commission's findings. The author believed it would be very difficult for them not to concur in them.

"Passive politeness leads straight to death," he said. "Courage for war is common to the great part of mankind. Is it Utopian to hope that some neutral nation or nations may show a much smaller degree of courage in the interests of peace?"

This would only be a first step even if successful, but it would provide hope.

"The Communist and non-Communist worlds can live together or die together. There is no other possibility."

TALKING TO STRANGERS

Talking to strangers in public places is often supposed to lead to trouble, says Michael Thomas in *The Queen* "but not many people see so far into its dangers as a man I heard of the other day."

A stranger sitting opposite to him on the train happened to ask him the time. The man made no reply. The stranger, thinking he had not heard, asked him again—and again there was no reply. The stranger then made a third attempt, and once more got no answer. Then he gave it up.

Just as the train was drawing into its destination, the man spoke. "I am sorry," he said, "that I didn't answer when you asked me the time. But if I had answered we would certainly have been drawn into conversation. When the train stopped we'd have got out together, still talking, and as I live near the station I'd probably have asked you in for a drink. You'd have met my wife—no harm in that—and also my daughter. Now my daughter is a pretty girl, and no doubt you'd have felt attracted by her. You'd have made a note of our telephone number before leaving, and presently you'd have asked my daughter out to the cinema. Then you'd have asked her to a dance. Finally, in a month or so, you'd have come along to me and asked if you could marry her. And I'm damned", said the man, "if I'm going to have for a son-in-law a down-at-heel so-and-so who can't afford a watch."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

NEW DIFFICULTIES IN S AFRICA

Reports have reached Delhi of fresh difficulties caused to Indians by the Government of South Africa in their implementation of the Group Areas Act.

The Act empowers the South African Government to establish group areas by compulsion for the different racial communities.

The reports state that the municipalities of Nelspruit and White River have recommended to the Land Tenure Advisory Board, which is to advise the Minister on the proclamation of group areas, the uprooting of existing Indian residents and placing them on undeveloped areas.

Malaya

NEW ENVOYS ADVICE

Mr. R. K. Tandon, India's Representative in Malaya, advised Indians who had decided to make the Federation of Malaya their home to completely identify themselves with their country of adoption and go all out for its economic, social and political development.

Speaking at a reception in Kuala Lumpur given by the Chettiar community, Mr. Tandon asked the Indians to develop a Malayan outlook and look to the Government of Malaya for solution of their problems, instead of turning to India.

Mr. Tandon hoped that Indians with their ancient traditions, heritage and adaptability, would have no difficulty in following his advice and joining the main current in Malaya. If they resisted that current, he said, they would only come to grief.

He said the Chettiar community had built up a positive place for itself wherever it had gone in Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia or Malaya. The community had contributed a lot towards the development and prosperity of Malaya, but at the same time owed a debt of gratitude to that country for the prospects afforded.

Australia

GANDHI MEMORIAL IN AUSTRALIA

The Australian Government are prepared to examine a proposal to establish a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi in Canberra to work for closer Indian-Australian relations, Premier Robert Menzies told Parliament at Canberra.

Mauritius

ANDHRA CULTURE IN MAURITIUS

Speaking of Andhras in Mauritius, under the auspices of the Chennapuri Andhra Mahila Sabha, Mr. Narayanaswami Laxminarayudu, founder-member of the Mauritius Andhra Sabha, appealed to Andhras to help them to preserve their culture and language, which were slowly dying in the island.

After explaining the origin and history of the settlers in Mauritius Mr. Lakshminarayudu suggested ways to revive Andhra culture in the island. The Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha could send some poor candidates to receive education in India on the specific understanding that they would return to the island to spread Telugu language and culture. He also suggested that Universities should bear the expenses for imparting education for some Mauritius Andhra students in India.

South America

INDIA AND S. AMERICA

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, said that recent research in South American art showed that there had been a close contact between India and several South American countries.

Dr. Aiyer, who was presiding over the presentation ceremony of "Hindu America," a film showing influence of Hindu culture in South American countries, said that imprints of Hindu Gods on stone carvings in South America established congruity of Indian and South American cultures. It also showed that navigation in India was so much developed in the distant past that people from India could sail across the high seas the distant countries.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Chaman Lal, who spent several years in Mexico conducting research on the subject, said that he had found images of Shiva, Ganesh and other Hindu Gods on the stone carvings of South America. Mr. Chaman Lal who is also the author of "Who discovered America," claimed that in the course of his research, he had found definite proofs that people from India had been to America long before Columbus discovered it.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

○

DEPARTMENTAL

○

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

—(o)—

PLANNING COMMISSION'S NOTE

The Planning Commission has warned the States that external resources available for the Second Five-Year Plan may turn out to be smaller and has stressed the need for maximum effort to raise domestic resources.

"On the one hand," it says in a letter addressed to all State Governments, "the claims of development are pressing and the investment programmes envisaged for the economy, as a whole, will have to be raised so as to enable the country to double its *per capita* income over a period of 25 years or so as envisaged in the report on the first Five-Year Plan. On the other hand, external resources available may turn out to be smaller. The present Five-Year Plan envisages that at the end of the Plan period, sterling balances will have fallen more or less to the level required by way of external backing to the currency, and therefore, in the second Five-Year Plan period, the country will have to earn currently the foreign exchange needed to support its investment programme."

The letter recalls that various suggestions made by the Commission from time to time were briefly as follows:

1. (a) Land revenue settlements in areas where they have been overdue; (b) surcharges on land revenue, especially in higher ranges; (c) special cesses on commercial crops; (d) special assessments or ground rents in urban areas.
2. Raising water rates to economic levels.
3. Betterment contribution.
4. Additions to district or local cesses for financing expenditure on development schemes in the areas concerned.
5. Agricultural income-tax.

The Commission has asked for an account of the measures taken so far and the consequential increases in revenues. "This may be supplemented," it suggests, "by a close examination of the possibilities of further action along these lines, together with estimates of the likely increases that can be secured in this manner during the period of the second Plan."

UNTOUCHABILITY BILL

The Joint Select Committee, which reviewed the Untouchability (Offences) Bill, has recommended that the Central Government and the State Governments should appoint committees to ensure proper implementation of this enactment.

The Bill provides punishment for the practice of untouchability or the enforcement of any disability arising thereon.

The report of the Joint Committee, which was presented to the Lok Sabha by its Chairman, Mr. Upendranath Barman, further recommended that "adequate steps should be taken by the Central Government and the State Governments on the administration side of the Act to see that the spirit of the Act is fully implemented."

The Committee has suggested that the measure should apply to Jammu and Kashmir also and stated that the Constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, made in May last provided for such extension.

Referring to entry into temples by untouchables, the Committee has said that both the right of entry to a place of public worship as well as the right to offer worship therein should be secured. It has accordingly amended the Bill.

An explanation has also been added making it clear that if a section temple is open to other Hindus then no person professing the same religion should be prevented from enjoying similar rights on the ground only of untouchability.

The Committee has suggested stricter punishment and provided that a court must impose a sentence of both imprisonment and fine in the case of a person being convicted for a second or a subsequent offence under the measure.

The Committee has added a new clause to the Bill in order to shift the burden of proof from the prosecution to the accused where any act constituting an offence under this Bill is committed in relation to a member of the scheduled caste.

Offences under the measure are made compoundable with the court's permission.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

—0—

THE PRESIDENT ON THE WELFARE STATE

President Rajendra Prasad, inaugurated the first conference of the Chairmen of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards, organised by Central Social Welfare Board. The conference considered Social Welfare problems within the framework of the First and Second Five-Year Plans.

"The idea of a Welfare State," said, the President "is good and is, no doubt, being pursued by the Government of India. But just, as in the field of economics, more so in the field of welfare, it is necessary to pursue a mixed welfare policy. The wisdom of pursuing a mixed policy lies in knowing where to draw the line. Some welfare services touch and influence aspects of personal and family life. Here, there is a danger of the State encroaching upon and monopolising the entire range of the wide variety of welfare problems ranging from personal and family problems to widespread socio-economic problems. The Governmental machinery, even if it be of a Welfare State, is by virtue of its very constitution, impersonal, whereas the welfare service requires a human touch which the voluntary social workers alone can bring to bear upon them.

"A highly specialised autonomous body like the Central Social Welfare Board can therefore, demarcate the respective fields of operation for voluntary and State agencies."

The President referred to the Directive Principles of the Constitution and said it was the sacred duty of the State to apply them in making laws. "It is," he said, "a matter for serious thought as to how far we have discharged that responsibility of securing social and economic justice which is the ideal placed before us in the Preamble of our Constitution. Have we made any Progress towards the objective laid down in Articles 38 and 41 of the Constitution? Has the State, within the limit of its capacity, made any effective provision for securing the right to work, to education, and to assist the unemployed, the old and sick? The Constitution prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 in factories, mines and in such hazardous undertakings. We might search our hearts and ask ourselves whether we have done everything possible to implement this directive.

Dr. RADAKRISHNAN'S ADDRESS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Columbia's charter, setting a course for the then King's College, was approved by the Governor and Council of the Province of New York on Oct. 31, 1754. Dr. Radakrishnan, Vice President, representing India at the charter Day Dinner of Columbia University at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York on Oct. 30, spoke as follows:

"May I, on behalf of the Universities of India, express to you on this auspicious occasion our deep gratitude for the outstanding services to science and scholarship which this great university has rendered in the last 200 years?

The contemporary world situation brings to my mind a significant short story, "Christ came from a white plain to a purple city and as He passed through the first street, He heard voices overhead, and saw a young man lying drunk on a window-sill, 'Why do you waste your time in drunkenness?' He said: 'Lord, I was a leper and You healed me, what else can I do?' A little further through the town He saw a young man following a harlot, and said: 'Why do you dissolve your soul in debauchery?' and the young man answered: 'Lord, I was blind and You healed me, what else can I do?' At last in the middle of the city He saw an old man crouching upon the ground, and when He asked why he wept, the old man answered: 'Lord, I was dead, and You raised me unto life, what else can I do but weep?'

Health, wealth, leisure and life itself which science can further are the opportunities for a higher life. Our distressed generation is obscurely aware that the present crisis is a spiritual one and what we need is a healing of the discord between the outward resources of power which are assuming frightful proportions and the inward resources of spirit which seem to be steadily declining.

To redeem and re-create our civilization we need a recovery of spiritual awareness, a new and transforming contact with the inner springs of life, a sense of value. It is my earnest hope and prayer that this great university may send forth in the years to come men and women of skill and ability, of vision and courage, of wisdom and virtue, who are incapable of fear and impatient of injustice."

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

—(o)—

CONGRESS WITHDRAWAL IN T.-C.

The Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin decided on December 12 to withdraw its support and cooperation to the minority P. S. P. Government in the State.

This decision was taken at a joint meeting of the Legislators, members of the 'old and new P. C. Cs and delegates to the Sixtieth Session of the Indian National Congress.

The decision of the Congress, the largest single party in the 118-members T.-C. Assembly to discontinue its support to the P. S. P. Ministry, leaves the Ministry without a majority in the Assembly.

Interest now centres on whether the Congress would seek to form a Government. This question had not yet been considered by the Congress Party, it is stated.

It is authoritatively learnt that the T.T.N.C. would co-operate with the Congress if the latter formed a Ministry.

The Congress has a voting strength of 46 in the Assembly, the Communists K. S. P. and Independents supporting the Communists, are together 31 strong, Revolutionary Socialist Party 9, Travancore Tamilnad Congress 12 and Praja Socialist Party excluding the Speaker 18. There is also an unattached independent member.

THE NEW CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The uncontested election of Mr. U. N. Dhebar, Chief Minister of Saurashtra, as President of the Indian National Congress for the next two years was announced by Mr. S. N. Aggarwal, the Returning Officer, 21 valid nominations proposing Mr. Dhebar were received from various States.

Mr. Dhebar will preside over the 60th session of the Congress to be held at Avadi, near Madras, from January 17 to 23 next.

PANT MADE UNION MINISTER

The President, on the advice of the Prime Minister, has appointed Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant to be a Cabinet Minister.

A press note from the Cabinet Secretariat said that Pandit Pant was expected to assume charge of his office at the end of the month.

Although it is generally believed that Mr. Pant may be given the portfolio of Home Affairs and States, it is stated in the lobby that his main role will be that of adviser to the Prime Minister on administrative, financial and economic matters.

A. P. C. C. EXECUTION DECISION

The Andhra Pradesh Congress Working Committee, which met at Elura on December 12 carefully considered the explanations offered by Mr. N. Sankara Reddi and Mr. A. Subramaniaswara Rao, two Congress M. L. As. who voted for the no-confidence motion against the Congress Ministry, and decided to take disciplinary action against the gentlemen mentioned and debar them for five years from the Congress.

The Committee also recommended to the A.I.C.C. to remove the name of Mr. N. Sankara Reddi from the A.I.C.C. membership roll.

Mr. SAMPURNANAND

Congress President Nehru congratulated the U. P. Legislature Congress Party on unanimously electing Mr. Sampurnanand as its Leader to succeed Pandit Pant, who is joining the Central Cabinet.

Addressing Congress legislators, Mr. Nehru said, "You are well acquainted with Mr. Sampurnanand. Now what is more needed is the team spirit and mutual understanding for smooth work."

Referring to Pandit Pant, Mr. Nehru said, "I will not offer any apology to you for taking away Mr. Pant for the Union Cabinet, for you are quite strong and united."

P. S. P. EXECUTIVE

The Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, tendered his and the National Executive's resignation to the Special Convention of the Party at Nagpur on November 27 shortly after the convention had passed a resolution on the police firing in Travancore-Cochin (in August last).

Members of the Executive had already submitted their resignations to Mr. Kripalani. The convention elected new office-bearers, including the chairman, at its morning sitting the next day.

Acharya Narendra Deva was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party by the special convention which concluded its three day session on the 28.

The special convention also empowered Acharya Narendra Deva to nominate the 23-member National Executive and the General Secretary, taking his own time.

DR. BHATNAGAR'S CALL TO YOUTH

The Twenty-Eighth Convocation of the Andhra University was held at Waltair Mr. C. M. Trivedi, Chancellor, presiding, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, delivered the address to the new graduates.

Dr. Bhatnagar said that with the implementation of schemes for the development of industry, they had many opportunities for service to the people and the country. Every educated person should be ultimately employed in State or private enterprise and enabled to contribute his share for the economic development of the nation.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-six graduates belonging to all faculties received their degrees in person and 1,000 *in absentia*, including 131 women in person and over 100 *in absentia*. Fifty-five research degrees were awarded.

Dr. V. S. Krishna, Vice-Chancellor, in his address, after extending a welcome to the new members of the Senate and the Academic Council expressed his gratification at the enlightened policy pursued by the State and Central Governments with regard to University education. Referring to two significant changes which had taken place recently in the administrative machinery of the country, he said that the formation of the Andhra State had brought Waltair much nearer the State capital. The constitution of the University Grants Commission was a good solution of the problem of relating the freedom and autonomy of the Universities with the aid and guidance of the Government.

PLAN FOR RURAL UNIVERSITIES

Mr. K. G. Saiyadin, Joint Secretary to the Union Ministry of Education, said at Agra that the Central Government was against centralisation of education. Government, he added, desired the greatest measure of decentralisation possible.

Mr. Saiyadin, who was delivering the Convocation address at the first Convocation of the Balwant Rajput College of Education Mr. Saiyadin said that the Government of India proposed to set up a committee to examine the question of setting up rural universities. He also emphasised the need for what he called the non-communal approach to the problem of education.

HINDI IN S. INDIA

Of the 221,30,000 literates in South India, 43,35,000—one in five—have learnt Hindi through the efforts of the 36-year-old Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha.

Under the auspices of the Sabha, 4,500 trained teachers are propagating Hindi among the 1,00,00,000 inhabitants of the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada areas.

Most of the people learning Hindi are from villages and 30 per cent of them are women.

The Sabha holds three preliminary examinations and four higher grade examinations in Hindi. So far, 7,50,000 persons have sat for the Sabha's examinations, of whom two-thirds, 5,00,000 sat for examinations during the last five years.

For those learning Hindi by their own individual efforts, there are 1,000 examination centres.

There are 4,500 institutions for the propagation of Hindi, besides 2,900 high schools. Hindi is also taught in 150 colleges. In Madras City, 10,000 students are learning the language. The Sabha is spending Rs. 10,00,000 every year for propagation of Hindi.

TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITIES CONVOCATION

Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon, addressing the 20th Convocation of the Travancore University, sounded a note of warning against the excessive importance given in the matter of languages in certain quarters, to make language the basis for the administration and redistribution of States in India.

Their national unity, he said, could not withstand such aggressive fissiparous tendencies. In this connection, he pleaded for the introduction of Devanagari as the common script for all the regional languages of India. This, he said, would solve the language problem satisfactorily, without any conflict.

At the Convocation, 1,827 candidates took their degrees, 647 of them in person and the remaining *in absentia*.

His Highness the Rajpramukh, Chancellor, presided.

DETENTION ACT

By an overwhelming majority, the Lok Sabha, agreed to the extension of the life of Preventive Detention Act, by another three years.

The highlight of the debate was a vigorous denunciation of the measure by the Praja Socialist leader Acharya Kripalani, and an equally stout defence by the Home Minister. Mr. Kripalani called the measure, 'a lawless law', 'a black Act' and a 'duplicate of Rowlatt Act'. The Communist leader, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, charged the Government with having directed the Act against legitimate and peaceful agitations of workers and trade unionists.

The Home Minister, Dr. Katju, reiterated that the prevailing situation in the country demanded the continuation of the Act. Although normally he would have approached the House for an extension of the measure for two years only, the fact in the third year they would be busy with the general elections in the country made him feel that extension for three years was quite justified. He assured the House that review of the working of the Act would be annually debated and full statistics would be placed before the House.

The Home Minister's motion for consideration of the bill, which was pressed to a division, was adopted by 135 votes to 38.

AGE-LIMIT FOR MARRIAGES

The Rajya Sabha fixed the age-limit for boys and girls at 18 and 15 respectively, under the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, thus restoring the original limit fixed in the Bill. It may be recalled that the Joint Select Committee on the bill had raised the age to 21 and 18. The House on Dec. 13 accepted a joint amendment moved by several Congress and Communist members to this effect after two hours' discussion of the clause.

The general trend of the discussion in regard to age-limit for marriage was in favour of lowering the limit fixed by the Joint Select Committee.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, the Minister for Commerce, who was piloting the bill, accepted the amendment stating that he was of the opinion that a higher age-limit would cause a lot of difficulties especially in rural areas.

PARAISIA MINE DISASTER ENQUIRY

Sympathy for the victims of Newton Chikhali colliery disaster in Madhya Pradesh was expressed in both Houses of Parliament on Dec. 13. Identical statements were placed by Mr. Khandubhai Desai, Labour Minister and Mr. Abid Ali, Deputy Labour Minister in the Lok Sabha respectively.

The Government of India have set up a Court of Inquiry under Section 24 of the Mines Act, presided over by Sri Justice V. R. Sen of the Nagpur High Court. Dr. W. S. Barlingay, M. P., and Sri M. L. Shome, Chief Mining Engineer, Coal Board, who is unconnected with the administration of the Mines Act which regulates safety, in mines, have been appointed as Assessors as laid down in the Mines Act.

The Court of Inquiry has been requested to complete its inquiry as early as possible.

"SPEEDIER & CHEAPER" JUSTICE

The Lok Sabha on Dec. 8 passed by 133 votes to 31 the Home Minister's Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to making justice "speedier and cheaper."

Home Minister Katju, in his reply to the debate, declared that Parliament was not interested in protecting the complainant or the accused. It wanted justice to be rendered. The Minister maintained that the accused had not been treated unfairly at any stage of the Bill.

The strongest criticism from the Deputy Leader of the Communist Group, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, who said that the present Home Minister's tenure of office had been "besmeared by a sequence of ugly and paddy anti-people legislations and his latest performance is something of which, perhaps, in his less complacent moments he will have reason to be ashamed."

The Home Minister, Dr. Katju, retorted that he found nothing in the Bill about which he need feel ashamed. On the other hand, he said, "I am very proud of the Bill."

The Deputy Speaker, Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, took part in the debate to compliment Dr. Katju on his "good humour and sweet reasonableness" at every stage of the discussion.

ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS MEETING

Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister, said at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Calcutta on Dec. 13 that the second Five-Year Plan would have to provide for considerably larger outlays in both public and private sectors—outlays which might necessitate investment of the order of 10 to 12 per cent of the national income annually.

Dr. Deshmukh said that the only solution to the unemployment problem in the country was more capital formation and a judicious choice of our investment pattern. The first Five-Year Plan had increased employment opportunities, but we were still in a situation in which while employment was increasing, unemployment was increasing too.

Mr. Deshmukh added "I do not see why the simple proposition that the State, in the public interest may have to take over for development certain types of industry, which may well be beyond the scope of the private sector, should be construed as involving any reflection upon the private sector."

"We want to double the *per capita* income in about a generation. We want to eliminate unemployment within, say, ten years, and we must make a sizable impression on the problems in the next five years. We want, at the same time, to move in the direction of a more even distribution of incomes, of wealth and of economic power," said the Finance Minister.

STATE BANK FOR INDIA

Finance Minister Deshmukh announced in the Lok Sabha on December 20 that the Government had in principle decided to assume effective State control of the Imperial Bank of India. The interests of the shareholders would be safeguarded, he added.

The Government had also decided to set up a State Bank of India, into which would be fitted by amalgamation, the Imperial Bank of India and certain other Banks.

TOOLS FACTORY FOR INDIA

Mr. G. D. Birla, Indian industrialist, has concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union for setting up a machine tools factory in India, according to the English fortnightly, the *News* published, from the Soviet Union.

The report states that the agreement, first of its kind, provides for the services of Soviet technical experts in setting up the factory.

BANK EMPLOYEES STRIKE CALLED OFF

The threatened country-wide bank strike on Dec. 10, affecting 65,000 bank employees, has been deferred, the Central Strike Committee of the All-India Bank Employees' Association announced on Dec. 8.

A special session of the Association, to be convened shortly, will finally decide the strike issue. Sources close to the Strike Committee indicated that a special session would be convened within six weeks.

It is understood that by that time, the main lines of the one-man Rajadhyaksha Committee report would have been indicated.

The Five-man Action Committee requested all bank employees to report for work on Dec. 10.

The Strike Committee's decision followed an assurance by the Prime Minister on the floor of the Lok Sabha two days earlier that the Government would come down heavily on any bank management violating the Government order protecting the totality of the current remuneration of bank employees pending the Rajadhyaksha report.

INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRIES

Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman of the newly formed Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, said in Calcutta on December 9 that the most unique and most outstanding example of the manner in which foreign private capital could be attracted for the development of a country without any embarrassing ties of any kind was the new Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

Dr. Mudaliar said that through the good offices of International Bank and particularly of its Director-General Mr. Black, both British and American investors had been encouraged to participate in this Corporation which was intended solely to help Indian private industries to start new industries and strengthen industrial units in the country.

Dr. Mudaliar expressed the hope that the International Finance Corporation (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) would take an interest in such Finance Corporations and partly through this source and partly through greater and more assured co-operation of private investors from abroad the scope of the Credit and Investment Corporation would be greatly enlarged.

VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT

According to a Press Correspondent, Mrs. Pandit is planning to have a quiet villa, with a garden and of little farm, in Dehra Dun where she proposes to settle for the rest of her life after she returns from her diplomatic assignment in London.

"I am now 54 and feel too tired to be long away from home," she is reputed to have said in an interview. "I have enough to do on my own, and I want to get away from places of old memory," she said a little sadly. She looks forward to engaging herself more actively in "the home sphere."

Mrs. Pandit has just finished writing her biography which will be shortly published in London. The book will run into about 350 pages.

The former U. N. President is at work on another book, to be titled "The New Design." It will be a work on Asia, a picture of the social, political and cultural life of Asian nations. She intends to take a month's holiday during her term as High Commissioner in London. During this time she will go to Indonesia, Malaya and some other South Asian countries to take time off to complete "The New Design."

Mrs. Pandit left Delhi for London on December 18. On December 21, the Queen received her credentials as India's High Commissioner in the U. K.

She said she expected to be in London for "even less than two years."

MUSLIM WOMEN'S WAR ON POLYGAMY

The Women's Branch of the Karachi Provincial Muslim League has taken up its cudgels against polygamy among Muslims.

The working committee of the League is understood to have sent a representation to Prime Minister, Mr. Ali, demanding imposition of certain restrictions on those Muslims, who wanted to marry a second time when their first wife was alive.

A resolution passed by the Committee said that persons desirous of marrying a second time should be asked to prove in a court of law that their second wife was according to "Shariat" Islamic Law.

Muslim Law permits its followers to have four wives under "certain conditions."

WOMAN MOUNTAINEER'S RECORD

Miss Claude Kogan climbed 7,700 metres (nearly 25,000 feet) of the world's seventh highest mountain Chou Oyu (26,750 feet) in the Himalayas establishing the world record for high mountain climbing by any woman. Thirty-six-year-old Miss Kogan was the only woman member in the seven-member Swiss Gaurishankar Expedition. She joined the final assault which was abandoned as it was "impossible to climb."

Abandoning Gaurishankar, Miss Kogan joined the final assault party on Cho Oyu with Raymond Lambert and reached a point which no woman climber could have yet reached.

Dr. Herbert Ticky, leader of the three-man successful Austrian Chou Oyu expedition, congratulated Miss Kogan on her success.

WOMEN DELEGATES OF U. N. ENTERTAINED

Women representatives of 26 United Nations countries were welcomed at the White House by Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, wife of the President.

Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, U.S. Representative on the U. N. Commission on Human Rights led the group of more than 30 representatives from Europe, the Near East and the American Republics on their visit to Washington.

Mrs. Eisenhower entertained the women, most of whom were delegates or alternates to the United Nations, at a special Thanksgiving luncheon, and then led them on a tour of the White House. This was the first time a First Lady of the White House had invited all the U. N. women representatives.

EGYPTIAN GIRL CHOSEN MISS WORLD

Miss Egypt, a vivacious 20 year old mannequin, won the title of "Miss World" and £500 prize in an international beauty competition.

She was chosen from 16 of the world's most beautiful girls aged from 17 to 24.

The victor, a Costanda, is Greek born but lives in Alexandria, Egypt.

TEXTILES EXHIBITION IN MADRAS

A handprinted textiles exhibition, sponsored by the All-India Handicrafts Board was inaugurated on December 7 at Rajaji Hall, Madras by the Chief Minister, Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, Mr. M. Bakthavatsalam, Minister for Agriculture, presided.

Mr. Manian Natesan, on behalf of the managing committee, welcoming the Chief Minister and others said the mobile exhibition had been on the road for over three months. It had already visited important industrial cities of Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places and it proved to be an eye-opener to our people to the richness of our heritage in textile craft. He was sure the exhibition would give an idea of not only the know-how but the "show-how" of their cultural life.

Mr. M. Bakthavatsalam, requesting the Minister to declare the exhibition open referred to the important place the handicrafts occupied in our country formerly and said the task that faced this industry and the artisans engaged in this field, was mainly to organise the existing production and to afford all facilities for popularising and marketing them in India and abroad.

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar, declaring the exhibition open, said dyeing and printing were very ancient industries in our country. People engaged in this industry showed remarkable skill which was appreciated throughout the world. However, the hand-printed textiles were costly compared to mill goods and consequently our people were not buying them. To give encouragement and protection to this industry, the Government had constituted the All-India Handicrafts Board and they were doing everything possible in that direction.

Even America, which was to-day an industrially advanced nation, was giving protection to their handicrafts by organising exhibitions in other countries. He would, therefore, request the well-to-do people to buy as far as possible hand-printed textiles.

The Chief Minister and the Minister for Agriculture were then taken round the exhibition which included textiles and printed fabrics collected from different States in the country. The exhibition was kept open till December 14.

KESKAR'S ASSURANCE ON CENSORSHIP

The Rajya Sabha on December 10 unanimously passed a non-official resolution recommending to Government legislative or other steps "to prohibit the exhibition of undesirable films, whether foreign or Indian."

The Sabha after debating Mrs. Lilavati Munshi's resolution on the subject for the whole day, adopted a substitute resolution moved by Mr V. K. Dhage, expressing the view that the moral standards in the country were affected "to a considerable extent as result of exhibition of undesirable films."

The Sabha also recommended that production of "such films as are instructive as well as entertaining should be encouraged and assisted."

Mr. VASAN'S PLEA FOR UNITY

A bid for greater unity within the ranks of members of the film industry was made the other day by Mr. S. S. Vasan, president of the Film Federation of India.

Soon after his arrival in Bombay he contacted Mr. V. Shantaram, president, and some members of the Film Producers' Guild of India and held talks to clear differences existing between the Guild and the Federation.

At a dinner party hosted by Mehboob Khan, a Guild member, at his studios in Bandra and which was attended by Guild members, Mr. Vasan renewed his unity move. He made a passionate appeal for forging strong links between members so that the industry may be able to present a common front to the Government.

He urged the Guild to affiliate itself with the Federation, which is an Association of Associations and represents more than a score of trade organisations in the country.

DEVELOPMENT OF HANDICRAFTS

The Government of India have, on the recommendation of the All India Handicrafts Board, further sanctioned over Rs. 1 lakh as grants and loans to various States for the development of the handicrafts in the country. Grants and loans amounting to Rs. 18 lakhs have been sanctioned additionally for the development of cottage industry.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

WITH THE TEXT IN SANSKRIT DEVANAGARI AND

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY DR. ANNIE BESANT

SOME SELECT OPINIONS

THE PRABUDDHA BHARATA.—"Messrs. Natesan have the happy knack of reducing important books to compact and handy dimensions. . . . In clearness of type, in size and shape, the book leaves nothing to be desired. We can heartily recommend it to all who want a trustworthy pocket-edition of the Gita."

THE MODERN REVIEW.—"Messrs. Natesan are bidding fair to be the Indian Routledge. This finely printed edition of a well known and excellent translation has been here offered at an impossibly cheap price, and it should make its way to every Indian home and heart."

LEADER.—"The price is only eight annas, the get-up excellent and the size and bulk very handy."

THE THEOSOPHIST.—"A handy little volume, the cheapness of which is a surprise."

PHOENIX.—"This great scripture of the Hindus needs to be read and studied in thousands of homes both in India and elsewhere."

Price per copy Annas Eight.

POSTAGE EXTRA.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS.

SOME OPINIONS ON

FROM MY

CHINA DIARY

C. Rajagopalachari

I hope...arrangements are afoot to bring this out in some other principal language of North and South India.

Godavaris Misra, M.L.A., Orissa.

(The Pamphlet) gives a graphic report of the state of things obtaining in the vast country at our next door.

Fr. F. Coelho, St. Joseph's College, Bangalore.

We have been pleasantly surprised at the candid way in which Brajkishore Sastri expresses facts and figures about China which are nowadays coloured or covered by many.

S. N. Agarwal, M.L.A., Bihar.

The disappointment of many progressive friends would on reading Mr. Brajkishore Shastri's excellent observations be like that of the American matron when she was told that tigers do not roam the streets of India. I hope (the pamphlet) would create and/or restore the belief of our compatriots in our own country

V. S. Sarwate, Member, Council of States.

When only one-sided accounts of Red China's doings and 'achievements' are publicized and loudly proclaimed in India you have done real service by publishing the other side of the case.

RUPEE ONE

SIDDHARTHA PUBLICATIONS LTD.,

35, FAIZ BAZAAR : DELHI 7.

You should read and advertise in

THE MAHA BODHI

A Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

It is now in its 61st year of publication, and has subscribers all over the globe. At a conservative estimate it is read by 25,000 persons of all classes and creeds. A high class magazine or thinking people, catering to those who value Art, Philosophy, Archaeology, and all aspect of Buddhism as well as Culture in general.

Annual Subs:

India, Ceylon	Rs. 5
Burma	6
Other Eastern Countries	8
U. S. A.	\$ 3
United Kingdom & Europe	10 Sh.

THE MAHA BODHI

4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street,
CALCUTTA-12.

LEXIN

The Famous

Snake-Bite Cure

Also used very successfully in all
cases of cholera.

Ask for Free Booklet.

P. BANERJI,

MINIJAM E.I.R.

Representatives:

Messrs. SARMA BROTHERS,

P. O. Akbarabad, Madras.

Messrs. M. BHATTACHARYA & CO

Clive St., Calcutta.

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yog, vastly learned in the Astrology of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares



RAJ-JYOTISHI

and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta, Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna Jyotish-Shiromani Raj Jyotish M.R.A.S. (Lond.) has won unique fame not only in India, but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day -2nd September, 1939-of the declaration of last world war, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd September, 1946 and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newpapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Shiromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Benares—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Mamnatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"on seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Honourable Chief Justice Mr. B.R. Roy of Orissa High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot, says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantric activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U.S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Muni Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deshang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C. & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasions", etc. etc. and many others.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS tested by thousands all over the Globe..

DHANA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN:—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all round prosperity in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special for Speedy action Rs. 29-11. Super powerful with extraordinary effects Rs. 129-11.

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. Price Rs. 9-2. Special for Speedy action Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case wore this Kavacha). Super powerful Rs. 184-4.

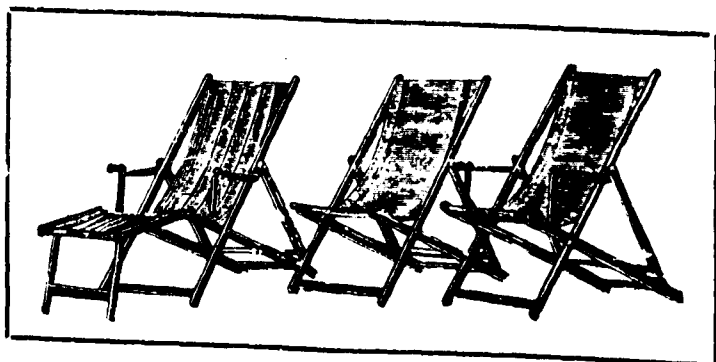
SARASWATAI KAVACHA.—For success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super powerful Rs. 387-14.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

Head Office & Residence 50/2, Dharamtala Street, "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Wellington Square Junction South). Calcutta-18, Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours: 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas", Calcutta-5, 5.9 A.M. to 11 A.M. Phone B. B. 3685.

Central Branch Office: 47, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Consultation Hours 5-30 P.M. to 7-30 P.M. LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. GURJIS, 7-A, Westway, London.



Curzon's "FLATPAK" Easy Chairs, of accurate machine-made construction are light but strong. In three styles; plain: with arms: with arms and footrest—all made to "FLATPAK" for easy storage and safe transport. A guaranteed product of CURZON SAWMILLS.

Telegrams: "CURZONCO"

Telephone: 86896

CURZON & CO
EST. 1898
MOUNT ROAD MADRAS.

The FIFTY-SEVEN Years old firm
famous for faultless furniture.

Wonderful Talisman

IF FAILS MONEY REFUNDED.

LAKSHMI KAVACHA. It gives sound health, immense wealth, vast learning, son, high fame, good friends, respect everywhere, success in lottery, race, examinations, trade, business, recovery from fatal diseases. It has miraculous power in bringing all kinds of luck and prosperity. Price Rs. 13-10. Specially prepared for giving immediate effects, Rs. 47-5.

MOHINI KAVACHA. Enable arch foes to become friends more friendly Rs. 19-10. Special Rs. 51.

OPINION: Mr. V. D. JACOB, Electrical Storekeeper, Power House, Achampet, Hyderabad. (Deccan):—"One Lakshmi Kavacha I bought from you, within 6 months it worked wonder of wonders, it raised me in wealth like rocket..... Foreign orders will be booked with full advance. Detailed Catalogue Free.

DAIBABAL ASHRAM, (1) Hatkhola Calcutta.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The March issue of the Prabuddha Bharata is a special Number to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna. It contains a good number of interesting and learned articles on the several aspects of the Life and Teachings of the Holy Mother and on the ideals and role of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

Among the Contributors to the Number.

Hon'ble Justice P. B. Mukherji, Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. Chintoharan Chakravarty, M.A., Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.L.C.; Dr. C. Kunhan Raza, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar; Srimati Lila Majumdar; Sri G. Sivaramamurti, M.A.; St. Nihal Singh; Swami Gambhirananda; Swami Paramatmananda; Prof. P. S. Naidu, M.A.; Sri C.T.K. Chari, M.A.; Sri C.C. Biswas; Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M.A., and many other distinguished writers from all over India.

PRINTED ON IMITATION ART PAPER

Pages 160

Profusely Illustrated

Price Rs. 5

Will be sent to subscribers of Prabuddha Bharata without extra charge

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh; U. S. A. \$ 4.00
(Only Annual Subscription Accepted.)

ADVAITA ASHRAMA : : 4, Wellington Lane : : CALCUTTA - 13

GUARDIANSHIP OF INDIA

(A MOCK TRIAL)

BY R. JAVANTHINATHAN

FOREWORD BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

"The Guardianship of India" is a well-drawn cartoon in the sense of the term. It shows the author is capable of a fine grip over politics and their influence at large on the various sections of the country. . . . Our young author has dealt with the tragedy of isms in a comical way—but behind the laughter there are tears. The technique of the court trial fits the theme as a glove in a hand the clever twisting of the names of celebrities, men of power and of leaders of movements is sometimes uncannily clever.

Rupee One.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS G. T., MADRAS.

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN

A Bookish-Library Quarterly of India

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN is measurably a specialist library quarterly, we can make no aim to a fantastic circulation, but its range may be indicated by the fact that it has a circulation to libraries, universities, colleges and other institutions in fifty six countries. Feature articles by outstanding authorities in their subject areas appear in each issue. Included also are papers on various aspects of library work, offering hard-to-get and valuable information unobtainable elsewhere.

THE INDIAN LIBRARIAN is published in MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER. Year's subscription costs Rs. 8-8-0 in India. (\$3 50 or 10sh elsewhere).

If you would like to see a copy we would be glad to send to any librarian interested, in the hope that we might widen even more our range of subscribers.

The Indian Librarian

233, MODEL TOWN, JULUNDUR CITY, (INDIA).

Indian Judges

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES WITH PORTRAITS
WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR B. L. MITTER, K.C.S.I.

This is a collection of famous Indian Judges who have adorned our courts during the last half century. Indians have distinguished themselves in various professions under British rule but nowhere have their talents risen to such heights as in our law courts, where it is indisputably recognised that they have held their own with singular distinction on the Bench as on the Bar. The sketches of Indian Judges are designed to present not only a record of individual achievements in law, but also to throw light on the evolution of Hindu and Muslim Law under British administration, and with them the growth of social and political institutions and the modernisation of an ancient and deep-rooted civilisation.

CONTENTS:—Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer; Nanabhai Haridas; Dwarknath Mitter; Mahadev Prasad; Sir Subramania Aiyar; Sri Bashyam Iyengar; Badruddin Tyabji; Sir Gurudas Bannerjee; Sir P. C. Bannerjee; Sarada Charan Mitra; Rt. Hon. Amir Ali; Kashinath P. Telang; Justice Mahmood; Romesh Ch. Mitter; Sir N. G. Chandavarkar; Sri C. Sankaran Nair; V. Krishnaswami Aiyar; Justice Shah Din; Sir Shadi Lal; Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, and Sir Abdur Rahim.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE

INDIAN SCIENTISTS

INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Price Rs. 5 (Five) each.

A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOK-SELLERS, GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS

The United India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Madras

Commend to you

THE LIFE INCOME POLICY

which is tailored to suit your individual needs.

Steady and certain monthly income from age 55

And the sum assured to heirs on death

At age 30, a monthly premium of Rs. 21-7 payable till age 55 or earlier death, secures the following benefits:

(a) On death before age 55: Rs. 5,000 with bonus declared.

(b) On survival: (i) The bonus declared in cash: (ii) A monthly pension of Rs. 25/- as long as the assured is alive and (iii) Rs. 5000/- to the dependents on the death of the Life Assured.

The monthly pension may also be commuted after age 55.

Branch Manager:

THE UNITED INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Post Box No. 281:

MADRAS-1

A new monthly journal published in London. The only paper of its kind.

THE AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD

Incorporating **THE INDIAN** at Home Overseas

Managing Editor: Dr. K. D. Kumria

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND TRADE REVIEW

AFRICAN AND COLONIAL SECTION

History is in the making in Africa and the colonial world, and the job of the new magazine is to give you the facts.

It will tell you not only what is happening, but the significance of it.

Edited and produced in London—one of the world's keenest news centres, "African & Colonial World" will attempt to reflect the opinions and aspirations of the African and colonial peoples themselves.

There is no more dynamic factor in present-day politics than the struggle of these peoples for equality and self Government.

INDIAN SECTION

Promotes the political and cultural welfare of the four million Indians overseas.

Provides means of closer contact, through its new service, between Indians in various parts of the world. Ventilates problems and disabilities of Indians domiciled in other lands and brings them to the attention of metropolitan governments.

Presents Indians in overseas lands to the people of India, and presents Indians at home their problems and progress to their fellow countrymen in other lands. Publishes regular articles affecting Indians everywhere with special cultural and trade sections.

Annual Subscription 14 Shillings.

The ideal medium for manufacturers and exporters to reach Colonial and Indian merchants in the overseas territories.

Specimen copy and all particulars from:

The Manager, 12, Kennington Park Road, London, S.E. 11.

NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Price Rs. 5 each

Ram Mohun Roy Lord Sinha
Sir D. E. Wacha Sir W. Wedderburn

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

Indian Judges. Sketches of 21 famous Judges.
Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.
Indian Scientists. Sketches with an account of their Researches.

POLITICS

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. "It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet is receiving wide attention. It is a book which can be put into the hands of a child."
—Gandhi. As. Eight.

Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

Congress Presidential Addresses. (1911-1934.) Containing full text of Presidential Addresses. Rs. 8.

Indian National Evolution. By A. C. Mazumdar. Rs. 5.

The Governance of India. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 5.

INDIAN TALES

The Guardianship of India: A Mock Trial. By R. Javanthinathan. Rupee One.

Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttaramacharita, Nagananda and Mudrarakshasa. Re. One.

The Idiot's Wife. By Dr. Naresh Chunder Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L. As. 8.

Sakuntala. By Kamala Sathianadhan. As. 6.

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S WORKS

Freedom and Culture. Rs. 2.

The Heart of Hindustan. Rs. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings. By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M.A.

Jesus Christ: By Mr. S. K. George.

Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampatkumaran. 2nd Edn.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. A. R. Wadia.

Buddha. By D. Dharmapala. 4th Edn.

Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Yakub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

Valmiki Ramayana. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari & English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

The Srimad Bhagavata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sri P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

Sankara's Select Works. Text in Devanagari and English translation.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Saiva Religion By S. Katiresu. Rs. 2-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2
Bhagavad Gita. Text and English Translation. By Dr. Annie Besant. As. 8.

Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.

The First Four Galleys. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.

Three Great Acharyas: Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa. Rs. 3.

North Indian Saints. (Ramanad to Ram Tirath). Rs. 2.

Chaitanya to Vivekananda. Lives of the saints of Bengal. Rs. Two.

GENERAL

Indian Review Golden Jubilee Number 1900-1950 Over 150 Illustrations. Price Rs. 3.

50 Years in the Service of the Nation: A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan & Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by His Excellency C. Rajagopalachariar. Rs. Two.

Books That Have Influenced Me: A symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Ramaswami, Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice, M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. Re. 1-8.

Famous Battles in Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.

Malabar and its Folk. By Mr. T. K. Gopala Panikkar, S.A. Rs. 5.

Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. William Miller. Rs. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS, ESPLANADE, MADRAS.