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NOVEMBER 1954

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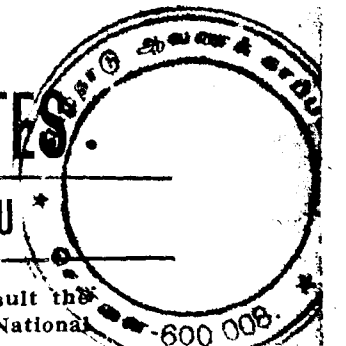
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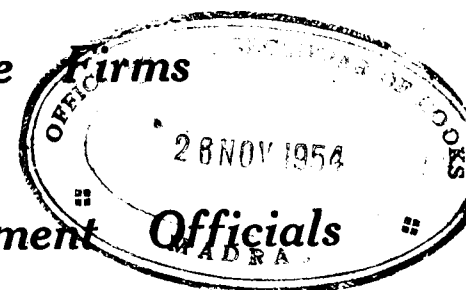
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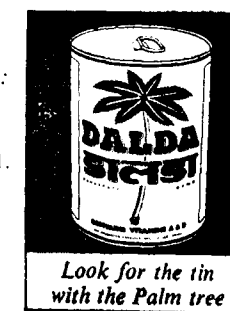
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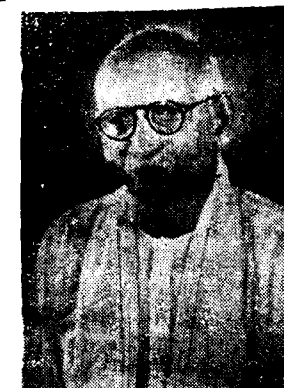
By DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA,

Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

—0—

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.



Dr. Pattabhi

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 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* तिलक 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 centenarian 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 offices 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 6 AD and 65 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 Vinculis 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 handspun 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".

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 advertizing 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 *satyagrahis* 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. Chifley, 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.

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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 nisus 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. Srinivasacharya 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 Chaitany are dealt with by Dr. Rama Choudari, G. H. 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 cult 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, (ekant 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-Vaisista 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. Ganganath 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 Mohan 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 Bhattacharya. 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

APPLE trees are as sorrowful
Ruins as Nineveh,
Their bones are as beautiful,
They have as much to say.

Here was an empire
Of men bronzed and burning,
Here was a rainbow thing,
Man's deep yearning!

Here was sweat and cunning
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
Wormed and weathered crust,
Here lies hope, the heart
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 settlements 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

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 anomalous 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, 1943, 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 pourparlours 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.

Mills, Handloom and Khadi

BY PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

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THE much-awaited Report of the Textile Enquiry Committee was placed "on the table of the House" towards the end of the last session of the Parliament. An authorized version of the recommendations of the Committee has already been released to the press. We have had the opportunity of studying the whole Report in the Parliament Library in some detail. The salient features of the Report are that there should be no further expansion of mill industry on the weaving side. It is expected that by 1960, at a per capita consumption of 18 yards, the cotton textile requirements of the country would amount to 7,200 million yards. Allowing 1000 million yards for export, an extra 1600 million yards will be required to satisfy the internal demand. In order to maintain employment and "in order to save on our demands for capital", the Committee suggests that "this extra production should be achieved through the decentralised form of the textile industry." In order to rationalise the handloom industry, the committee opines that the handlooms should gradually be converted into powerlooms. The ultimate idea is that "at the end of 15 to 20 years, barring, say, 5,000 handlooms ... manufacturing special fabrics with an intricate body design, the entire handloom sector will have been converted into the improved (semi-automatic) handloom or the decentralised power-loom industry." It is estimated that as a result of this conversion, the displacement of workers will be of the order of 20,00 per year. In order to produce additional yarn for the improved type of power-looms for manufacturing extra 1600 million yards per year by 1960, the Committee recommends an extra spindleage of 1.75 million by setting up 88 units of 20,000 spindles each or 35 units of 50,000 spindles each. It is also suggested that a few "co-operatively-owned spinning mills" on the Pattern of the mill recently started at Guntakal may be established in the country. The Committee is of the definite view that the reservation of the coloured sari for the handloom "certainly seems justified" not only on technical grounds but also "to keep weaker sector alive". As regards the suggestion of equating mill and handloom prices by the levy of a

heavy excise duty or cess on the mill sector, the Committee recommends categorically that "such a device is not feasible." The Committee, however, have come to the conclusion that "the existing reservations in favour of the handloom (or improved handloom) and the domestic powerloom industry must continue for the time being." It is also contended that "there should be no prohibition on handloom from producing plain cloths like mulls, voiles etc."

As regards the textile mill industry, the Committee is of the opinion that replacement of plain looms with automatic looms must be permitted at the rate of about 5,000 looms a year "so that one half of the existing loomage may be converted into automatic looms over a period of 20 years." The Committee has computed that this will result in the unemployment of nearly 4,000 weavers per year, assuming that one weaver would operate 16 automatic looms on an average. It is also recommended that the mill production of cloth may be frozen round about 5,000 million yards and that "no addition to weaving machinery whether in the form of plain looms or in the form of automatics should be permitted during the plan period envisaged in the Report." The Committee further suggest "the integration of spinning mills with the handloom industry." Discussing the question of decentralisation of the spinning part of the industry, the Committee feels that "all the small-scale spinning unit inventions have to be technically still further developed before an opinion one way or the other can be expressed." For the time being the Committee "would suggest new spinning units on a decentralised basis from the point of view only of location and of reasonably small economic units." Regarding Khadi, the Committee feels that "it cannot with propriety make any recommendations" and suggests the appointment of "a special enquiry." Towards the concluding portions of the Report, the Committee observe that "after the initial period of sacrifice during the process of construction ... no one should be compelled by economic or other necessity to spend the best part of his time on the preoccupation of earning his daily bread." For this

purpose, "the Report states, "the production of the largest volume of goods in the smallest possible time will have to be ensured after the initial phase." "This will be possible only with the use of power and machinery. The ultimate replacement of the handloom by the powerloom is, therefore, inescapable." The Report concludes by saying that "decentralised industry organised on a cooperative basis affords the best insurance of the continuance of life according to the highest principles of democracy."

The Report of the Textile Enquiry Committee evokes both a feeling of satisfaction as well as that of disappointment. It is satisfying to find that the Committee does not visualise any further expansion of the textile mill industry specially in regard to the weaving side. It is also good to know that the Committee desires that the existing reservation of spheres of production for the handloom industry should continue and that the additional production of cloth at the rate of 13 yards per head should be left to the decentralised sector. In regard to the rationalisation of both the handloom and mill production, the Committee has advocated "a phased conversion programme" spreading over a period of 15 to 20 years "with a view to maintaining employment and avoiding sudden or large social or economic upheavals." But the Report is disappointing in the sense that it appears to have failed to face the whole problem boldly and in a realistic manner. The latest progress report of the Five Year Plan clearly indicates the seriousness of the unemployment problem in the country; the situation in this respect, instead of improving, has been deteriorating steadily. The immediate need is to provide gainful employment to an increasing number of people in India. Cotton textile is one of our major organised industries which produces a necessary commodity of life having a universal demand. We had expected that the Committee would present a plan which would enable a larger number of workers to be absorbed by this industry through a better and more wide-spread organisation of handloom and Khadi sectors. Instead, the Report visualises a displacement of about 24,000 workers per year and that too at the cost of Rs. 50 crores of the public exchequer spread over six years. The Committee is of the opinion that there are only 12 lakh active handlooms in the country. We are rather

doubtful about the correctness of this figure. The Committee also holds that no further expansion of the handloom industry is desirable. Instead, the demands of greater production should be met by converting the handlooms into powerlooms. We had also expected that the Report would deal with the problems of hand-spinning and Khadi in a specific manner in order to point out the way for the solution of the question of under-employment both in the rural and urban areas. But the Committee, which took about 22 months to produce a brief report of about 40 cyclo-styled pages, has now recommended the appointment of another committee for Khadi with the remark that "the retention of hand-spinning is necessary for temporarily maintaining employment in regard to certain special classes of indigent persons." This is, indeed, adding insult to injury.

It must be remembered that the basic problem facing our country today is essentially the human problem. Every able-bodied citizen of India has the inherent right of earning his or her livelihood through productive work. Our Constitution also guarantees such a fundamental right. In all the progressive countries of the West as well as the East, the State regards it as its sacred duty to provide gainful employment to all its citizens and, failing that, to grant them adequate monthly allowances. It is surely much better to provide work rather than "doles". He who eats without work suffers from not only moral but also physical and mental degradation. The basic objective of modern economic planning is full employment. It is, therefore, the duty of our planners to reorganise our economic and industrial pattern in such a manner that an increasingly larger number of workers are absorbed by our large-scale, village and cottage industries. We are not against rationalisation as such. But all rationalisation must be rational in the sense that it should be suited to the specific conditions prevailing in a particular country. From this standpoint, the Textile Committee has not succeeded in viewing the whole problem against a larger background of ensuring fuller employment to the masses of this great sub-continent. As the Ajmer session of the A.I. C.C. pointed out, the aim of industrialisation should be maximum production, full employment and social and economic justice.

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, Taipeh 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. BHALERAO

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 citizens ultimately depend; and that lawyer is one who can be had only for hire. It is even axiomatic that the laws have little reality without the professional service of lawyers 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.

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But how are we to make it? How can we make justice within the easy reach of the poor? Obviously the problem is of stupendous magnitude. But it is clear that if democracy is to survive we will have to make provision for the protection of its poor millions, irrespective of their financial resources. Legal aid should form part of the administration of the State in a democracy. We will have to devise some ways of making legal aid available to all who need it.

It may be remembered here that a fundamental tenet of Marxian Communism is that the Law is a weapon of the bourgeoisie to oppress the poor, that it is the most effective weapon of oppression whereby the poor are perpetually kept down by the simple device of making law too expensive and beyond their reach. According to them lawyers are merely the mercenaries of the propertied class. This attack evokes a ready response in all those who suffer because of their inability to pay, the price of justice. Nothing rankles in the human heart as a brooding sense of injustice and revolution has its birth in this frustrated sense of equality.

Because of the peculiar circumstances prevailing in our country, the establishment of some means of providing legal aid for the needy and poor, is all the more a necessity. The ignorance and illiteracy of the vast masses lead them to think of the law as something darkly mysterious and forbidding; something to be feared if not altogether shunned. Hence the problem is of more than ordinary difficulty in this country. The state as well as the legal profession has an obligation towards those in need of legal aid. The American Bar Association recognised by its resolution dated 21st September 1950, that it is the primary duty and responsibility of the profession as part of its high tradition of service to the public, and as an expression of its devotion to the ideal of equal justice, to establish legal aid societies in all parts of the country. It can be hoped that the profession in this country also will recognise their supreme duty to the public and make some arrangements for furnishing their aid to the needy and poor. This would only help to enhance their prestige

and position in the society. People will begin to regard law as a positive and constructive instrument of social service for regulating the affairs of society in a way that would contribute to the happiness of the largest number. Then alone will people develop a truer insight into the purpose of law in a democracy.

It is time for us to attempt to start some sort of legal aid organisations throughout the country to help these thousands who are prosecuted under some law or the other and who are too poor to pay for a lawyer. In the U. S. A. the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure guarantee a right to be heard through counsel. Rule 44 states, "If the defendant appears in court the court shall advise him of his right to counsel and assign counsel to represent him at every stage of proceeding unless he elects to proceed without counsel or is able to obtain counsel."

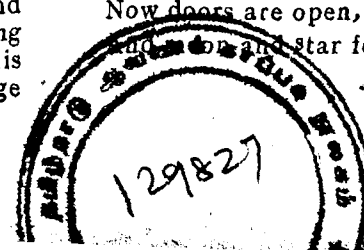
A somewhat similar provision needs to be introduced in our Code of Criminal Procedure as well. Is it too much to hope that without too much delay some attempts would be made to extend similar protection to the deserving in our country also? The bar associations of the country have a duty to make some efforts in the matter.

GODIVA

BY ANNE GOODWIN WINSLOW

Where he fell there Thomas lies,
Eternal darkness on his eyes;
No bolt from heaven struck him down,
But beauty riding through the town,
Down from the castle high and grim
The message came to all, to him—
Stir not abroad lest you should meet
The morning star upon the street;
Let every house be closed and still,
The crescent moon slips down the hill;
Let time on every steeple wait
Till she re-enter at the gate!
—Should he not risk one mortal eye
To see the lights of heaven go by?
Now doors are open, clocks tick on,
The morning star for him are gone.

—Harper's Magazines



The Influence of the Radio

By Sri V. R. NATARAJAN, M.A.

THE great instrument of Electronics is radio. Radio will help our people grow more grain, raise more cotton, produce more raw materials and manufactured articles, rear healthier families, live in better happier homes. In India during the next few years, radio will outstrip many predictions made for it to-day. The art of broadcasting in India will be a service co-ordinated with every branch of progressive government, assisting our farmers, our schools, our factories, our families. Based on our already sound foundations the service of Indian radio broadcasting will grow, with State and nation wide services especially created for our social, religious and economic life. Like the cinema, radio will be a powerful system of education and information, tuned to the modern needs of modern India. Culturally, as well as economically, radio is a great basic need of India. Radio is not a luxury, it is a fundamental tool and necessity. In Europe and in the U. S. A. radio reached a high standard of development and it was extremely helpful in promoting social welfare. Radio in India is a great potential source of employment. Already, several radio manufacturing and assembling factories have been started for the total or partial manufacture of radio sets. This, in itself, represents a pool of employment. We must make radio sets at price levels to insure a wide distribution throughout India. At the same time we must recognise that our climatic conditions make stern demands in all types of radio equipment and that we cannot sacrifice performance for price.

Broadcasting has a big role to play in instructional propaganda which in turn is closely linked up with plans for social and economic development. There is another aspect of radio in India, and that is the international aspect. The modern nation is articulate. It speaks by radio to the other nations of the world. Powerful short-wave transmitters are part of the new technique of information, together with the re-broadcast of programmes in other lands.

Just as we must show the beauties of India, its products and its people by films to the other countries of the world, so we must give the world through radio, an understanding of

our plans and our hopes. Foreign relations, as our leaders well understand, are not static but fluid and dynamic and they require the use of radio on a sustained basis.

India lives in her hundreds of villages and so the planning of radio in this country must envisage an extensive net-work of transmitting stations from one end of the country to the other. It is unfortunate that the radio receiver industry in India does not manufacture the components which go to make a radio set. The industry is primarily engaged in the assembly of radio sets. The quality of the indigenous sets, however, is considered as good as that of imported sets, as some of the organised factories have developed in technical collaboration with foreign firms.

Under what category should radios be classified—luxuries or necessities? The answer to this question necessarily differs with different countries. In India and other under-developed countries, where the standard of life is now low and the people do not have the wherewithal to purchase these goods, the growth of this industry is bound to be rather slow and retarded for some time to come. While it is true that radio is necessary as it improves the cultural, social and educational standards, it is nevertheless important to remember that many an Indian has more often to go without it. Under such conditions, it is small wonder that the radio industry in India was started only in 1946, and the production of dry battery receivers at the beginning of 1948. And undoubtedly, the future development of the industry will depend, to a large extent, on the extension in demand for radio receivers, and increased availability of electric power and of cheaper sets.

The indigenous radio receiver industry imports 90 per cent of the principal components and raw materials mostly from the U.K., U. S. and Holland. The main components and raw materials are radio valves, insulating materials, condensers, enamelled copper wires, loud speakers, litz wires, resistors etc. Some components such as wooden cabinets, metal parts, knobs, transformers and valve holders are manufactured on a small scale in the country. Moreover, indigenous sources supply steel for fabrication of metal parts, such as chassis, plates, screws and spindles.

The demand for radio sets depends on several factors such as the cost of sets, the availability of cheap electric power and the extension of broadcasting services in the country. Though it is difficult to predict the likely increase in demand during the next few years, it can roughly be said, on the basis of the current rate of increase of licensing (100,585 per annum), that the total number of licences may increase to about 1.25 million by 1955-56. This likely increase in the number of sets should not, however, blind us to the problems of the industry in the country. For, in the first place, the prices of its products are comparatively high as the increase in import values enters into the price structure of the firm. It is, therefore, imperative that the manufacturers in order to reduce prices should be able to purchase their requirements of necessary components from specialists in the line. But, unfortunately, in view of the meagre demand for radio receivers in India there is at present very little scope for the manufacture of the components on a larger scale.

Secondly, the multiplication of small and unorganized assemblers of radio sets has been a handicap in the development of the industry in India. Radio assembling demands the services of competent personnel and when the industry is in its embryonic stage due consideration should be given to this aspect of the problem. It would certainly be in the interest of the industry if a system of licensing of radio assemblers is introduced and licences issued only to those factories which have elaborate and adequate plant and equipment.

It is also necessary equally to so formulate the import policy of complete radio sets that the indigenous industry will be encouraged rather than hamstrung.

The achievements of some of the companies such as the H.M.V. in this field are indeed remarkable considering the difficulties in their way. The range of H.M.V. products is quite impressive and their radios and radiograms are famous. The expansion of the industry in the past few years has been very rapid. The present production of the radio wing is estimated at 1,000 units a month. The industry employs more than 1,400 workers in addition to the clerical staff and the personnel in other branches. Five other existing units viz., Messrs. The

Philips Elect. Co. of India, Murphy Radio of India, National Ekco. G.E.C., Radio Electrical Manufacturing and Tesla have plans to expand the existing capacity of their plants and to start the manufacture of certain radio components, hitherto not produced in the country. There is also a proposal to establish an industry with a rated production of 5,000 radio sets in the Government Precision Instrument Factory in U.P.

The Planning Commission in India have made certain important recommendations for the development of the industry. In the first place they have pointed to the necessity of giving necessary facilities to the existing units to expand their capacity. Secondly, the cost of raw materials should be reduced and the disparity in the existing rates of duty on imports of radio components and on complete radio sets will have to be examined so as to remove anomalies. Further, imports of radio sets will have to be regulated and licensing of radio assemblers introduced in the light of production programme of the indigenous industry. The programme of development of the organised radio receiver industry during the period of the plan is indicated in the following table:

	1950-51	1955-56
Number of Factories...	11	15
Annual rated capacity (Sets) ...	77,200	380,000
Actual production (Sets) ...	49,053	350,000

In this connection, it is useful to know why large scale assembling in the U.K. and the U.S. which are producing sets at the rate of 100 to 1,000 per day, proves more profitable. The proximity of the component factories and the steady flow of components are conducive to the high rate of production of sets. The existence of large internal and colonial markets also facilitates easy marketing. Besides, the value of Government requirements for radio spares and equipment in these countries is three to four times the cost of sets produced and sold to civilian market.

Judging by the quality of Indian-made radios, the scope for this industry in India is doubtless great. Should there be proper encouragement, the industry can very well attain exportable surpluses.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

THE CALL OF THE SEA

The call of the sea has never been more triumphantly voiced than in the opening lines of Masefield's "Sea-Fever" which cannot be too often quoted:

I must go down to the seas again, to the lovely sea and the sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by,
And the wheel's kick and the wind's song and the white sail's shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea's face and a grey dawn breaking.

LINCOLN'S WAY WITH THE MALIGNERS

Lincoln refused to defend himself against malicious attacks. He had no malice against his traducers. He simply let them rave and thought it waste of time and breath to go about refuting unfounded and ill-natured allegations of his enemies. He simply let them stew in their own juice.

If I were to try and read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business.

I do the very best I know how—the very best I can, and I mean to keep doing so until the end.

If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything.

If the end brings me out wrong, then ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

LIFE AND DEATH

Who knows if this that we call 'death' be life,
And 'life' in deed be death? We only know
That sick are all men living; but the dead
Are whole at last and freed from all our ills.

—Euripides: *Phrixus*.

Wiser it were together and lament
For every babe that enters this sad world;
But when man dies and all his troubles over,
Bear him with joy and blessings from his home.

—Euripides: *Cresphontes*.

DESPERATE FAITH

The old Hecuba in The Trojan Women of Euripides catches at a desperate faith that somehow, after all, defeat may be nobler than conquest.

Had not God
Turned upside-down the happiness of Troy,
We should have lain forgot instead of giving
Songs to the poets of the after-time.

THE LEADER

I have to follow them, because I am their leader.

—Agamemnon.

This is from that unfinished play of Euripides—"Iphigenia at Aulis." Agamemnon, bidden by Calchas to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis if he would have a fair wind for Troy, had reluctantly written to Clytemnestra the queen to bring the girl as bride to Achilles. But now his mind has altered—the old servant is to take a letter warning Clytemnestra to come. But at once the messenger is waylaid by the suspecting Menelaus, who attacks his brother for his double-dealing. In mid-quarrel Clytemnestra and Iphigenia arrive. Agamemnon bursts into tears that soften even Menelaus. But too late. The army demands the sacrifice and Agamemnon here is no king of kings but rather, as Prof Lucas says, in the plight of many a popular politician: "I have to follow them, because I am their leader."

EPITAPHS

Remember me, as you pass by:

As you are now, so once I was;

As I am now, so will you be!

Prepare yourself to follow me.

These lines carried on the monument over the grave of a Welshman were quoted by the columnist of The Statesman (Calcutta) some thirty years ago. Somewhere, he said, there was to be seen this other epitaph also:

Here lies the mother of children five;

Three are dead and two are alive.

Those who are dead preferring rather

To die with their mother than live with their father.

And happy has been my life, but I would not live it again.

—Tennyson's *Grandmother*.

THE LONDON BEGGAR

I like much the story of the London beggar, to whom an old lady approached and handed a penny, with the charming words: "I won't give you this, my good man, because I think you deserve it; I don't give it to you because I think it would do you good; I just give it to you because it makes me very happy to give it to you." And the beggar replied "Oh, make it a tanner mum, and thoroughly enjoy yourself."

—Ernest Raymond in

"Through Literature to Life" (Cassell).

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.

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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 imagination 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, Mabe and Yenam 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.

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 jubilations 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 envisioned 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 persusal 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 Hanoi 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 increases 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.

Feb. 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, 1947: 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 dynamics 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 Taipeh. 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. G. 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 film 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.

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. "It 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 sociological 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

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DEPARTMENTAL

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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 Bellegrade, 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".

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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 Joint Commission.

The *de jure* transfer can take place only after all the constitutional formalities have been gone through by France as well India.

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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—was 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 lessence 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".



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.

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.

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 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.

CINEMATOGRAH 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.

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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, brasswork 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.

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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.

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.

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.

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

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 III 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.



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.C. (Comptroller and Auditor-General, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland); Mr. Srinivasan (India); Mr. Jain (India); Mr. Chanda (Comptroller and Auditor-General, India); Mr. Miller (Canada); Mr. Watson Sellar, C.M.G. (Auditor-General, Canada); Mr. Curtis (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. Plewman (Comptroller and Auditor-General, South Africa); Mr. Simpson (South Africa); Mr. Ghulam Abbas (Auditor-General, Pakistan); Mr. Veerasinghe (Auditor-General); Mr. Scharanguivel (Ceylon).

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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.

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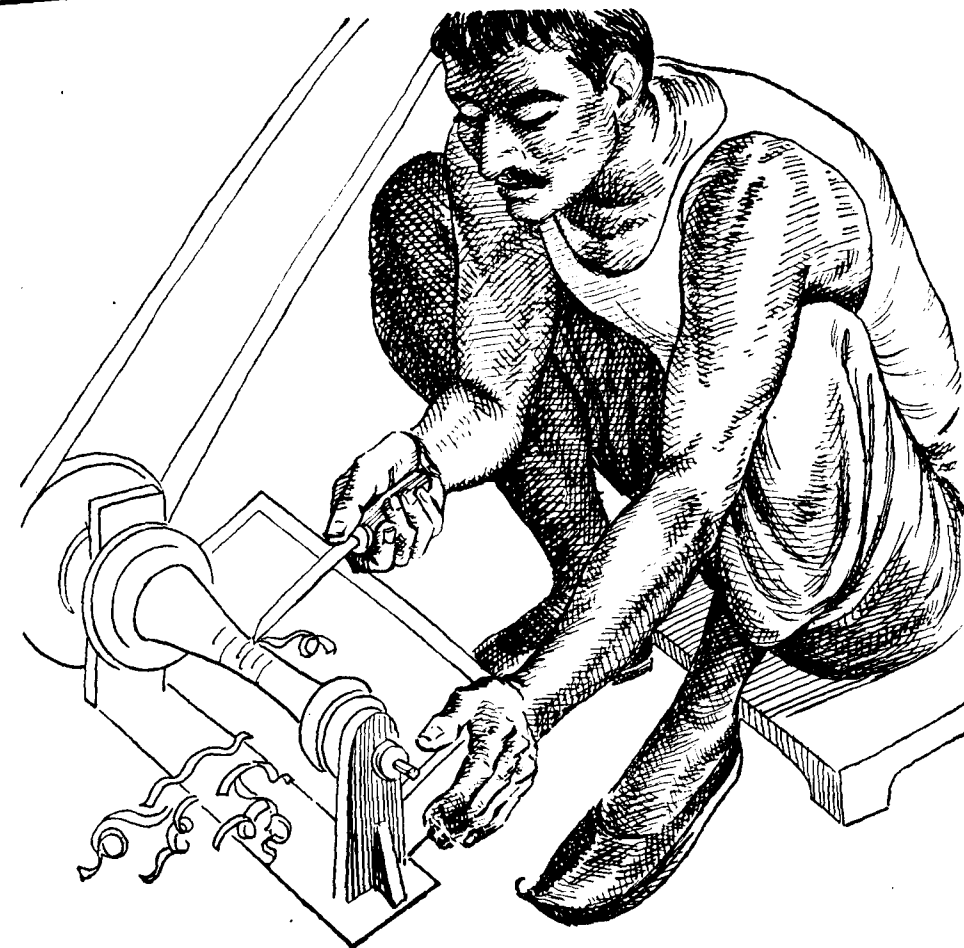
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