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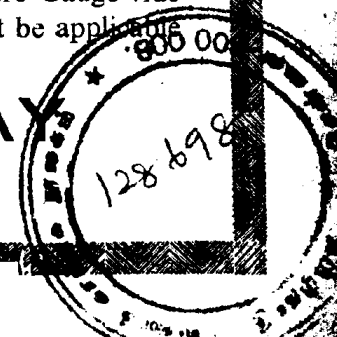
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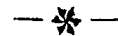
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[No. 2

What India Disbelieves

BY MR. BENEDITO R. DA COSTA

— * —

OF late there has been growing misconception regarding India's aims and policies in her dealings with other Nations. Most of the Western countries looked with a crooked eye at the developments taking place in India after its Independence.

This was partly caused by the refusal on the part of India to align herself with either of the power blocks and instead try to re-shape an 'area of peace' as a paving-stone between the two clashing ideologies.

Our Prime Minister's intentions are clear and well defined. May be sometime ago he had leanings towards a Socialistic Democracy but his rule over the country clearly demonstrates how far its Utopian concepts are practicable.

That Communism is not favoured by the masses is judged from the fact that it suffered a shameful defeat in the latest large-scale elections held in our country. And the poor and underfed millions of India have not yet had an opportunity to enjoy the promised blessings of a democratic government. It is to these millions of undernourished human beings that America should extend its helping hand. At least they will appreciate the timely aid and strive to know more about the generous country.

Though uneducated, they cannot easily fall prey to the Communist way of thinking because, barring a few flagrant exceptions, Indians are very religious minded and the

ideals of Communism are not consonant with the basic principles of Hindu Thought and Life.

The slight anti-Western attitude should not be mistaken as pro-communist. Still burning with the zeal to bring freedom to the unfreed peoples of the world oppressed by the repugnant racialism and colonialism which has left a life-long, deep and bitter impress upon our minds, India looks up to America (and mind well, not to Russia) being the most leading democratic country in the world to pave the way for shattering the shackles of slavery binding these unfortunate peoples of the world. Courtesy from one party will always be reciprocated by the other. If America takes up whole-heartedly the cause of emancipation of the dependent countries there are very good chances of winning the confidence of good many friends who have not overtly displayed their unity and absolute solidarity.

One thing India views with suspicion and concern is the unnecessary intervention of America in Asian matters. This may be due to many causes.

Firstly, because only recently the Asiatic countries have seen the light of self-government and, naturally, they want to experience the sensation of deciding for themselves the controversies and issues which arise in this part of the world; secondly, India is afraid that the principles of neutrality which she

has so dearly adhered to may not be improved upon by foreign incursion; and, thirdly, the colonialist rule of centuries made backward Indians have parochial and narrow-minded views about the progress of the Western World.

Nevertheless, let me here point out that India is embittered by the military aid given to Pakistan. India is not preparing, nor does it intend to wage war against any other country. The grave dangers of unemployment, over-population and undernourishment facing India today are enough headaches that have all the time occupied our attention. Although Pakistan is today regarded as a Sovereign Nation, India still recognises it as her brother and, undoubtedly, it is a cause for apprehension if somebody offers a gun to shoot down one of his kith and kin.

Eastern military defence pacts will not much help to better the cordial relations between the various countries.

Co-existence is a word which has lost its meaning and purpose. However, the phrase "Cooperation and Understanding" might take its place. What India is hankering after is that America should not try to distrust India's view points; secondly, that America should at least sometimes cooperate with India; and, thirdly, that it should not bluntly dismiss the good intentions and objectives of India as those sponsored by a Communist country.

This is the right hour, India will never turn Communist if the supposed complex of superiority of the Whites which has been inculcated upon the minds of the dark peoples is dispelled by treating them as equal and freely mixing up with them and, what is more important, offering them adequate instruction and guidance. Otherwise, perhaps the doom of the world is near.

Why Internationalism?

BY DR. H. HUKKU, M. A., D. Litt.

ADDRESSING the human race, Dante said, "Oh, race of mankind! what storms must toss thee, what losses must thou endure, what shipwrecks must buffet thee..... Thou art sick in both thy faculties of understanding!" Unhappiness appears to be co-extensive with the human race partly because man originally made of the earth continues to be essentially earthy. His first thoughts are of himself because the 'self' is his and he knows it; other people may be his or may not be, that depends on occasions and circumstances. A man has his home, his family and his country, which are different—for his purposes at any rate—from other people's homes and their families and their countries. Thus man has divided, as Tagore said, what God had made One.

Life in the past had made it possible to glorify this selfishness. The needs were few and were easily satisfied. The division of society was clear and well-marked. The slaves knew their task, the women knew their work, the men knew why they were men. The wheels of life were rough but

they worked smoothly. In India life was divided in *ashrams*, men were divided in castes, and women were divided from men. The classes were well-marked, the duties were fixed and there were few problems. With their simple wants being satisfied locally, the thoughts of our people could turn inwards only. They thought of soul and death and the gods. They had little to see outwards because as far as the eye went rules had bound a diversity into a unity. They did not care to think of life and its problems or of men. To them the gods were important. Now we live in the age of men—of what the Greeks called "*demos*". Changed circumstances of life are today forcing us to see in other directions—notably beyond the self at other men and women who live across the national frontiers. The democratic age has brought thoughts from gods to men, and from death and hereafter to life and the present. The economic necessity of modern life has affected political thought. The glorified selfishness of a narrowly nationalistic patriotism is

giving way. In LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME Lord Macaulay told us that the brave Horatius could not imagine

How can a man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?

But we know that now it is possible, and even sometimes necessary, to die for the lands of others to protect our own, and to preserve freedom in a world which the facts of life have made one. Wars have created states and human narrowness has created classes, but in spite of this today we have created a number of institutions which have a supra-state authority, like the NATO, the SEATO and, greatest of all, the UNO. Some liberty has been sacrificed to make more liberty possible and practicable.

But the existence of these institutions is no guarantee of a healthy international life. Bertrand Russell says, "The existing evils in international relations spring at bottom from psychological causes, from motives forming part of human nature as it is at present. Among these the chief are competitiveness, love of power, and envy, using envy in that broad sense in which it includes the instinctive dislike of any gain to others not accompanied by an at least equal gain to ourselves."

The three evils which Russell points out have their roots in man's selfishness. "Self" said Henry Van Dyke, "is the only prison that can ever bind the soul". And if it is civilization's purpose to unfetter the soul from the chain which bind it down to the grossness of earth, it must be a poor type of civilization which produces a culture that cannot inspire its votaries with the spirit of non-self which is the truly international spirit. Conditions of life are teaching us internationalism. Science knows no frontiers; music has broken geographic boundaries, and literature, thanks to the fertility of the printing press, has become truly international. Man's thoughts are breaking boundaries which history made with the blood of men and the tears of women. The manner of our present-day life teaches us to think in terms of inter-nationalism.

The researches of science have given us power which we are not morally competent to handle because although progress has been tremendously fast in the domain of the physical sciences, progress has been extremely slow in the morale of mankind, and in spite of centuries of civilization and scores of saints, man still is what Nature had made him, i.e. the human animal. James Hilton in LOST HORIZON tells us "Men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two millenniums, the small, the delicate, the defenceless—all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed..... There will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage until every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are levelled in a vast chaos." If man is given, as he is being given, vast forces which he has not the moral strength to keep in restraint or use wisely, the future picture of mankind cannot be very different, from what Hilton Young presents us. Therefore it is our duty to revise our point of view as we have revised our standard of life, and look as much about the welfare of others as our own.

Today we live in a world of conflicts. We are not equally agreed even over the meaning of democracy. While some people define democracy as being essentially of the people and for the people, others define democracy as a dictatorship—the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is much conflict of thought and outlook. In the USA and South Africa there is the colour bar; there are conflicts of labour and capital, "the feud of rich and poor" as Tennyson put it; what is good for Europe is not considered good for Asia; a small minority in the island of Formosa is considered bigger than the large majority on the Chinese continent; blocs, and pacts, and treaties and defence organisations and associations of nations for "mutual help and security" are creating problems for the present and fears for the future. The independent individualism of the nations especially of those in Asia will not yield to

an imposition. Says Bertrand Russell, "India has an ancient tradition very different from that of Western Europe, a tradition highly valued by educated Hindoos, but not loved by our schools and colleges. The Hindu Nationalist feels that his country has a type of culture containing elements of value that are absent, or much less marked, in the West; he wishes to be free to preserve this, and desires political freedom for such reasons rather than for those that would most naturally appeal to an Englishman in the same subject position. The belief of the European in his own Culture tends to be fanatical and ruthless and for this reason as much as for any other the independence of extra-European civilization is of real importance to the world, for it is not by a dead uniformity that the world as a whole is most enriched."

This realization of a diversity which in spite of its being fundamental is yet good for mankind and basic for its welfare constitutes the right international spirit. The attitude accepts that things elsewhere can be different from things in one's home, it goes further—it accepts that things elsewhere must be different from what they are in one's home: the international spirit goes yet one step further, and accepts that for the happiness of mankind things elsewhere must be different from things at home.

The international spirit has an immense spiritual value. It is the spirit of universal brotherhood and abiding peace and ennobles the individual in whose heart it finds place. A nation cannot look at its foreign relations from a generous stand point and be narrow or vulgar in its outlook on affairs at home. As in the case of an individual the philosophy of a nation's life is made in one pattern. One does not look at life from changing points of view: one is either noble or not; either generous or narrow, pious or impious, and if a people get into the habit of looking at people across the frontiers as brothers they will not look at the people at home as low people or contemptible enemies. Love towards those who are distant will teach them to love those who are nearer and at home. Facts of the present and fears of the future both teach us to develop a spirit of brotherhood, of a peaceful co-existence so that wars may end and peace may reign.

But peace is not a negative idea. Peace does not mean a passive state of "no-war". Our conception of war has undergone much change in recent years. There are now 'cold' wars as well as 'hot' wars and the 'cold' wars have proved themselves hotter than the hot wars in their nerve-racking effects in spite of their peaceful method. Loyalty to an ideal is an active pursuit and if we are sincerely loyal to the ideal of peace we should pursue it in an active manner which may be apparent in our every-day behaviour. Nothing can help positive peace as much as a healthy international spirit.

This spirit of brotherhood and internationalism is not new nor anything specific to our times. History tells us of a pact made between the Egyptian Chief and the Hittite king in 1280 B. C. which ran as follows: "There shall be no hostilities between them, for ever. The great chief of the Hittites shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take any thing there from Rameses, the great chief of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of the Hittites to take anything therefrom, forever." But Man, the animal, has proved stronger than Man, the angel, and Time has been more unkind than kind. With the passing of years such pious sentiments leave man and remain on paper only "words, words, words" on scraps of paper! The universe is full of dead stars, and the story of our world abounds with memories of dead pacts and treaties and organizations and leagues. The ghosts of statesmen stalk the ruins of Time and the very echoes of their noble words lie dead. As one thinks of today—of South Africa, of the Middle East, of Indonesia, of China, of the U.S.A. and the Soviet republics—doubts and fears enter one's mind, but one is reminded of the words of Count Mirandola the fifteenth-century Italian writer ".....Thou shalt 'have the power, out of thy soul's judgment, to be reborn into the higher forms of life, which are divine." We owe it to ourselves to remember our divine origins so that the soul's judgment may uplift us, and the thought of self may give place to the thought of a noble brotherhood of the human race. The hope for a happy mankind lies only in the brotherhood of man and an honest international spirit.

Education for Leisure

BY MR. AUSTIN D'SOUZA

WHAT modern philosophers are apt to describe as the "problem of leisure" has always existed in one form or another. In the past, when working for his living absorbed most of a man's waking time and energy, the problem, for the majority of people, was to find time for leisure; in our modern machine age, with the progressive reduction of work-time, the problem is one of using the large amount of leisure time on our hands in the most beneficial manner possible. The problem of finding a right use for leisure has been aggravated by the very machine which has made leisure for all possible. G. B. S. may have dreamt of an ideal commonwealth in which "work is play and play is life, three in one and one in three", but the average man and woman in the 20th Century makes a very clear distinction between work and leisure: and the former is regarded, to a greater or less extent, as a necessary evil which provides him with the time and the money to enjoy the latter. With the increasing specialization of the age the character of the average man's work is generally unsatisfactory, satisfying only a very small part of his nature; hence he seeks in his leisure time all the joy, excitement and recreation he misses in his work. The tragedy is that he seeks this joy and recreation, generally, in the wrong channels, channels which are neither useful to himself, and often positively harmful—nor beneficial to society. Our robot civilization has tended to produce robot minds; the increasing mechanization of life has led to a mechanization and regimentation of their minds, which has prepared the way for the tremendous standardisation in man's pleasures and the far-reaching commercialization of his leisure time activities. Tied to a desk or confined to performing the same operation in a factory thousands of times a day, using only a fraction of his intelligence or personality, and longing for the hour of his release, the average man's one desire during his leisure is to escape from anything that even savours of physical or intellectual effort. He is out to 'kill time' and deaden his faculties, so as to reconcile himself to the dreary, monotonous and soul-destroying character of his work.

The problem of leisure is largely the problem of work, and can never be completely solved so long as man regards his daily work as a form of drudgery and slavery. The man who takes no pleasure and derives no satisfaction from his work, will seldom derive real pleasure and lasting satisfaction from his leisure time activities. Leisure to be of fullest value must be a complement to one's work, not an escape from it; hence a transformation in the general character of work is necessary before leisure can be made most fruitful. It seems too much, in our increasingly mechanized and specialized age, to hope for such a transformation; work if anything is likely to become more mechanical and automatic in the future than in the past. The problem, therefore, resolves itself into enabling a man to use his leisure in such a manner as to compensate him for the uninteresting character of his work, to enable him to develop, during his leisure time, those aspects of his personality that find no outlet in his work, and which will be in danger of atrophying through disuse and to find that joy of living which he fails to find in his work.

Leisure, like freedom, wealth and so many other things that people covet in life is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, something which can be a boon or a menace to mankind. A man is often forced by circumstances into a particular job, he is free to make of his leisure what he will; and his use—or abuse of it not only reveals what he is but determines, in large measure, what he will be. Wisely used leisure can make us happier, healthier and better individuals, and more useful members of society; abused it can warp our personalities, and make us burdens and parasites on the community. To 'kill time' which is the motive that inspires many, if not most, of our leisure activities is to maim or kill oneself; our aim should rather be to make time live, and to enrich our own lives in the process.

A wise use of leisure can be of immense and many-sided benefit. Leisure can, as Sir Percy Numm points out, be of real 'Re-creative' value by tapping fresh sources of energy and enabling the more complex and well-established patterns of life, to store up

energy for the morrow. By those whose work is of a narrow and monotonous nature, it can be used to exercise those abilities and aptitudes that are starved in their daily work, and to provide a much needed corrective to the excessive specialization that the 20th Century character of work usually demands. This specialization in modern work demands a corresponding specialization during the period of preparation with the result that the old Greek ideal of a Liberal education is fast being lost sight of; only a proper use of leisure will help to correct the lop-sided and unbalanced nature of minds, of minds of modern education and to form 'full men' and not mere experts, whose 'ignorance' is, according to G. K. C., "the ruin of mankind." Special provision can also be made during a man's leisure time for Play in its fullest sense, for the exercise of man's creative and constructive urges, and for enabling man to formulate for himself a satisfying and satisfactory philosophy of life and action, without which he will be like a ship without a rudder, powerless against the complexities and "the weariness, the fever and the fact of life." Finally the leisure can be used to make the man, in theory and practice, a good citizen, ready, willing and able to contribute his mite to the welfare of the Community in which he lives.

These are some of the many and varied uses to which leisure can be put. Whether it is put to such uses, or merely frittered away in time-wasting and soul-killing pastimes depends on the previous education and training of a person. If leisure is to be educative in the wide sense of the term, its use or abuse can no more be left to chance. Specific, well-planned education for leisure on liberal and progressive lines is one of the most urgent educational needs of our day. Education must prepare a man not merely to earn a living but to live a full life, and as leisure occupies a very important place in the life of modern man education for leisure should occupy an equally important place in his total education.

To make a success of education for leisure, wholehearted cooperation between home and school is essential. The drab, ugly, cultureless home, in which the parents and children spend as little of their leisure time as possible will effectively nullify anything the school may be able to do in helping children to a creative use of their leisure time. It is no use teaching a child how to read, how to ride a hobby, or how to engage in other valuable leisure time pursuits, if the home is lacking in the wherewithal and the atmosphere to enable the child to develop his newly-discovered interests, or if the parents own idea of recreation consists of playing cards, or a visit to the local cinema or public house. A creative use of leisure requires effort and activity of mind and body, and without initial encouragement and a suitable milieu, a child is likely to take the line of least resistance and choose those purely passive means of entertainment which are so popular in our day, and which are the greatest single obstacle to a truly educative use of leisure. Psychologists have established that children from cultured homes have a tremendous start over those from homes lacking in culture, they also generally get much further, and derive much more pleasure and profit from life.

In ancient Greek the words for School and Leisure were identical, and Aristotle was of the opinion that education is a means to leisure. This may be a somewhat extreme point of view, taken at its surface meaning conceived broadly it is very largely true. The aim of a liberal education is, in Sir John Adams' words, "to develop in the child a complete personality and many-sided interests." Such an education is the best possible preparation for a creative use of leisure. Education must fit a child to lead a full and many sided life, in work and in play; it should develop not the stuffed mind, and widen and enrich the child's range of experiences and interests. The foundation of a child's leisure time activities are laid in the interests that a school provides him with, not only in the class room, but on the playing fields and in the library, or in the craft rooms,

the school theatre, or the debating room. What are called "extra curricula" activities form the backbone of the education for leisure given by the school. They should not any longer be treated as desirable extras, but be made an integral part of the life and education of the school, and should be as wide and varied as possible to allow for the infinite variety of tastes to be found in any normal school. Freedom of choice is an essential element in true education for leisure; it would be ridiculous to try and force children to like this leisure time pursuit rather than that. Besides games, compulsory and optional, team and individual, every school should have a large number of clubs and societies catering for the varied interests of the children. These should be allowed to spring up spontaneously they should be supervised by teachers who are really interested in their activities, but the main running of them should be in the hands of the children themselves. A wide variety of

leisure-time experiences and activities of this sort will help to bring to light hidden talents and abilities, to develop aspects of personality neglected in the class room, to bring teacher and children together in closer and more informal contact, and to develop in the children life-long interests that will stand them in good stead in adult life when time hangs heavy on their hands. Possible leisure time activities of a creative, constructive or purely recreative type are too numerous to mention; perhaps the most fruitful are a love of playing games not merely watching them, a taste for reading and writing, for the enjoyment or making of music, worthwhile hobbies, and, in India especially, an interest in social service of various types.

Education for leisure is the only alternative to a bored generation. And a bored generation is a dangerous one, for the devil finds work for idle hands.

THE NEW CONGRESS PRESIDENT

U. N. DHEBAR: A PROFILE

WHEN the Congress Working Committee announced in November last its choice of 50-year-old Uchrangarai Navalshankar Dhebar to take over the Congress Presidency from Mr. Nehru, many in the organization and outside must have raised their eyebrows.

True, the name of Mr. Dhebar was associated with Saurashtra and its development, but one of the humblest and quietest men in India, the new Congress President was comparatively a lesser-known figure in the Congress. But years ago Mahatma Gandhi had visualized a bright future for this shy man describing him as a "true and brave reformer."

INDUSTRIOUS

Of thin build and medium height, Mr. Dhebar is good-humoured and industrious. Though handicapped with occasional fits of low blood-pressure he has immense capacity for hard work.

Familiarly known as "Dhebarbhai" throughout Saurashtra, he comes of an average middle-class family of Nagar Brahmins. He was born on September 21, 1905, in Gangajala village, in Halar district (former Jamnagar State). His father, Mr. Navalshanker Vrajala Dhebar, had migrated to Rajkot where he worked for some time on the staff of the *Kathiawar Times*, a bi-weekly newspaper. The Congress President still recalls his early impressions how as a boy he would listen with gusto to random discussions at home on political subjects between his father and his elder brother, Mr. Mahasukhrai Dhebar.

AS A CLERK

Studying in schools at Rajkot and Bombay, he matriculated at the age of 17. His college career in Bombay came to a sudden close after the first year class and the unsatisfactory financial condition of the family forced him to take up a clerical job in

Bombay under Mr Hiralal, solicitor. He, however, continued his study of law while in service.

Mr. Dhebar started practice as a young lawyer at Rajkot in 1929 after passing the Advocates Examination. He soon came to grips with the problems of the people who were under the feudalistic Princely regimes then obtaining in the Kathiawar States. While practising at the Bar he once heard that an innocent person was standing trial in the court and he had no means to get adequate legal advice. Mr Dhebar offered to take up his case in the middle of a hearing and succeeded in getting the person acquitted.

Mr Dhebar went to Ahmedabad and for some time devoted his energies there to studying the social and economic policies of different political parties in the country. His faith in the Gandhian path began to take firm roots. He worked as a volunteer during the Congress election campaign in the then province of Bombay. It was at this time that he came into close contact with Mr Morarji Desai and other Congress leaders from Gujarat.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY

During eight years he was practising in Kathiawar Mr. Dhebar associated himself closely with every type of constructive activity and when he left practice for good in 1936 he had already made a deep study of different socio-economic problems facing the people of the Princely States of Kathiawar. His first success as a fullfledged political worker and organizer was registered with the revival of the activities of the Kathiawar Political Conference on his direct initiative. Activities of the Conference—the only organized political movement in this area then—had remained completely suspended for some years on account of the all-out, ruthless repression of such activities by the Princely States.

Mr. Dhebar got in touch with different groups of political workers and organized a convention in Amreli. He also succeeded in persuading the then Political Agent to the Western India States Agency to permit the holding of a conference of political workers at Rajkot, Darbar Gopal Das Desai who had

relinquished his rights as a talukdar and had volunteered to participate in the national movement, presided over the conference which was attended among others by Sardar Patel. Mr Dhebar had been elected chairman of the reception committee. The conference was a great success. People who had been crushed under exploitation and repression by the Princely regimes got a new lease of life and their enthusiasm was at its peak. The conference had since then been a big force in Kathiawar.

IN THE FIGHT

The satyagraha for responsible government in Rajkot soon found Mr. Dhebar in the thick of the fight. As the organizer of the movement he demonstrated his ability in leadership. He was negotiating with the State administration on behalf of the people covering delicate ground. He could be extremely persuasive but stern when the situation demanded it.

He courted arrest several times during the freedom struggle. In 1944, while he was still in detention, his wife, Shrimati Manuben Dhebar, died after protracted illness. Mr Dhebar did not even take advantage of a release on parole to visit his ailing wife before her death. Their only child now is a boy of 14.

The real test for Mr Dhebar came after the dawn of independence. The State of Saurashtra came into being on February 15, 1948, when the 222 Princely States were integrated into a single unit. Mr Dhebar was called upon to take over as Chief Minister of the new State which in comparison with the rest of the country was very backward in its social and economic set-up. The Princely State which had no uniform economic or administrative machinery had to be fused into a single homogeneous unit. It appeared to be a superhuman task which could be achieved only through a miracle. But Mr Dhebar, who had a natural gift for tackling intriguing situations with a cool head, began to apply himself to solve the gigantic problems with confidence, and made such a success of his new office that he was marked out by Mr. Nehru for leadership in a wider sphere.

PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONGRESS

1885—1955

A



1885
பம்பாய்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி.சி.பி. டி. பானர்ஜி

W. C. BONNERJEE



1886
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
தாதாபாய் நோரோஜி

DADABHAI NAOROJI



1887
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பத்ருதீன் தியாபஜி

BADRUDDIN TYABJI



1888
அலகம்பா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஜார்ஜ் யூல்

GEORGE YULE



1889
பம்பாய்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி.சி.பி. வெட்டர்பர்ன்

Wm. WEDDERBURN



1890
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி. எம். மேதா

P. M. MEHTA

B



1891
மதுரை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி. அனந்தாச்சாரி

P. ANANTACHARLU



1892
அலகம்பா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி.சி.பி. டி. பானர்ஜி

W. C. BONNERJEE



1893
மதுரை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
தாதாபாய் நோரோஜி

DADABHAI NAOROJI



1894
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
அ. வெப்

A. WEBB



1895
மதுரை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
என். என். பானர்ஜி

S. N. BANERJEE



1896
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
எம். ஆர். சாயனி

M. R. SAYANI

C



1897
சங்கரன் நாயர்
வி. சங்கரன் நாயர்

SANKARAN NAIR



1898
அனந்தமோகன் போசே
அனந்தமோகன் போசே

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE



1899
ஆர். சி. டத்தர்
ஆர். சி. டத்தர்

R. C. DUTT



1900
என். சி. சந்தாவர்கர்
என். சி. சந்தாவர்கர்

N. C. CHANDAVARKAR



1901
டி. இ. வாச்சா
டி. இ. வாச்சா

D. E. WACHA



1902
எஸ். என். பன்னர்ஜி
எஸ். என். பன்னர்ஜி

S. N. BANNERJEE

D



1903
லால் மோகன் கோசே
லால் மோகன் கோசே

LAL MOHAN GHOSE



1904
ஹென்ரி கட்டன்
ஹென்ரி கட்டன்

HENRY COTTON



1905
கோகலே
கோகலே

GOKHALE



1906
டாடாபாய் நாரோஜி
டாடாபாய் நாரோஜி

DADABHAI NAOROJI



1907
ராஷ் பஹரி கோஷ்
ராஷ் பஹரி கோஷ்

RASHBEHARI GHOSH



1908
ராஷ் பஹரி கோஷ்
ராஷ் பஹரி கோஷ்

RASH BEHARI GHOSH

E



1909
வகை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பண்டித் மாலவியா
PANDIT MALAVIYA



1910
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
டபிள்யூ வெடடர்ன்
Wm. WEDDERBURN



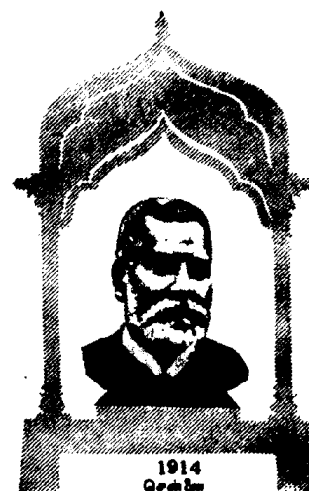
1911
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி. என். டார்
B. N. DHAR



1912
பம்பே
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஆர். என். முதால்கர்
R. N. MUDHOLKAR



1913
அகச்சி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சையத் முகமத்
SYED MOHAMAD



1914
கொழும்பு
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பி. என். பாசு
B. N. BASU

F



1915
பம்பாய்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
லார்டு சின்ஹா
LORD SINHA



1916
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
அ. சி. மசூம்தார்
A. C. MAZUMDAR



1917
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
லீலி பெசன்ட்
ANNIE BESANT



1918 (ஆகஸ்ட்)
பம்பாய்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
எச். ஹசன் இமாம்
S. HASAN IMAM



1918 (செப்டம்பர்)
வகை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பண்டித் மாலவியா
PANDIT MALAVIYA



1919
அமிருதசரஸ்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
மோதிலால் நேரு
MOTILAL NEHRU



1920 (செப்டம்பர்)
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
மணி மஜபதிராய்

LALA LAJPATRAI



1920 (செப்டம்பர்)
மதுரை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
விஜயராகவச்சாரி

C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI



1921
அகமதாபாத்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஹக் அஜ்மல் கான்

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN



1924
கொழும்பு
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
மகாத்மா ஜி

MAHATMA GANDHI



1925
காம்பூர்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சாரோஜினி நாயுடு

SAROJINI NAIDU



1926
கொண்டாத்தி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
எம். ச்ரீநிவாச அய்யங்கார்

S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR



1922
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சுரேந்திர தாஸ்

C. R. DAS



1923
மதுரை
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
எம். முகமது அலி

M. MAHOMED ALI



1923
கூங்கி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
அபுல் கலாம் ஆசாத்

ABDUL KALAM AZAD



1927
கொல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
டாக்டர் எம். ஏ. அன்சாரி

Dr. M. A. ANSARI



1928
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
மோதிலால் நேரு

MOTILAL NEHRU



1929
லாகூர்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஜவாஹர்லால் நேரு

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



1931
கராதி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
வல்லபாய் பட்டேல்

VALLABHAI PATEL



1932
ஆங்கிலி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சேத் ராம்சோத்லால்

SETH RAMCHODLAL



1933
கல்கத்தா
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சுமத் சேன் குப்தா

Mrs. SEN GUPTA



1938
ஹரிப்பூரி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சுபாஷ் சந்த்ர போஸ்

SUBHAS CH. BOSE



1939
ஹரிப்பூரி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
சுபாஷ் சந்த்ர போஸ்

SUBHAS CH. BOSE



1940
ராம்கர்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
அபுல் கலாம் ஆசாத்

ABDUL KALAM AZAD



1934
பம்பாய்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ராஜேந்த் பிரசாத்

RAJENDRA PRASAD



1936
லக்ஷ்ணோபுரி
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஜவாஹர்லால் நேரு

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



1937
பெய்லுபூர்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஜவாஹர்லால் நேரு

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



1946
மீரத்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
ஜே. பி. கிருபாலனி

J. B. KRIPALANI



1948
தேவப்பூர்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
பட்டாபி சிதாராமைய்யா

PATTABHI SITARAMAIYYA



1950
கால்கித்
காங்கிரஸ் தலைவர்
புதுஷோத்தம்தாஸ் தாண்டன்

PURSHOTTAMDAS
TANDON



1952
 Jawaharlal Nehru
 Jawaharlal Nehru



1953
 Jawaharlal Nehru
 Jawaharlal Nehru



1954
 Jawaharlal Nehru
 Jawaharlal Nehru



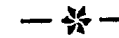
1955
 U. N. Dhebar
 U. N. Dhebar



A. O. HUME
 Founder, Indian National Congress

[Courtesy: Ananda Vikatan.]

The Madras Congress



THE Diamond Jubilee session of the Indian National Congress which met at Avadi near Madras in the third week of January was memorable in many ways. From the point of view of attendance and organisation it was easily the biggest thing yet attempted by the Congress. The site was appropriately named after Satyamurti, a South Indian patriot who had done Yeoman's service to the Congress in its pre-independence days. It was estimated that some three lakhs of people attended the session, among whom were delegates and visitors from different parts of the country. Prime Minister Nehru, the outgoing President, inevitably dominated the session; but many other leaders like Rajaji and Maulana Azad, Dr. Katju and Ballabh Pant were there. The Reception Committee had erected a huge and attractive dais for delegates and V. I. Ps. while the immense amphi-theatre with its picturesque entrance gate in typical South Indian Gopuram style, and portraits in oil of the 60 former Congress Presidents fixed in attractive frames all round the enclosure were deeply impressive. There were also statues of Gandhiji and Satyamurti at the entrance.

The Congress executive met on the 17th and for four days in succession the Steering Committee and the Subjects Committee discussed and debated the resolutions for the open session. And the plenary session of the Congress adopted several resolutions of far-reaching significance including those pledging for establishment of a Socialistic pattern of society in India outlining a new economic policy with "national plan sector" as the key-note for development programmes. Besides, the session had on its opening day the privilege of hearing the address of the Head of a foreign country—President Tito of Yugoslavia—for the first time.

AMBUJAMMAL'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Smt. S. Ambujammal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in her address of welcome, called for a movement, within the country which would bring about a moral and economic regeneration of the people."

"We cannot be content with having one Nehru and one Vinobha: We should have many more such true followers of Bapuji."

Fifty-nine-year old Smt. Ambujammal, the first woman ever elected Chairman of a Congress Reception Committee with becoming modesty said:

"This privilege has been conferred on me mainly, I believe, out of a desire to honour the memory of my father, Sri Srinivasa Iyengar, who did so much to establish the Congress in South India and the ideal of independence in the Congress."

She also saw in her election "a delicate compliment to the women of India," and she was sure the gesture was appreciated by women with gratitude.

Smt. Ambujammal said this was the eighth time the Congress session was being held in Madras. The last session was held in the heart of the City in 1927 under the presidency of Dr. Ansari and it was momentous in every way since the objective of the Congress was then declared to be complete independence. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the session of the Congress at Lahore in 1929 when the resolution on "Purna Swaraj" had the hearty support of Bapuji.

In a tribute to Sri U. N. Dhebar, Congress President, she said he was the "Hero of Rajkot Satyagraha" and he was among the privileged few to have served "a period of tutelage under Bapuji." Bapuji discovered in Sri Dhebar "a true and brave reformer who will survive all the attacks made on him." Sri Dhebar had been from 1948 the Chief Minister of Saurashtra but he never aspired to the front rank of Congress leadership."

She referred to the "great work" already done under the first Five-Year Plan and said that more attention should be paid to villages. The villager should be made "to live a better life and wear a new look." It is very fortunate she said that the President of the Congress is "a man of the people" keen on and good at constructive and organisational work.

SRI DHEBAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The New Congress President Sri U. N. Dhebar in his 8000-word address to the Congress explained the unique role which the

Congress had played in winning India's freedom. "India" he said, "has reached her first milestone in her journey towards her final Goal."

Sri Dhebar briefly traced events abroad since Kalyani and expressed appreciation for Prime Minister Nehru's contribution to world peace and Congress approval of India's foreign policy of non-alignment with power blocs and assured "fullest support in furtherance of that policy."

This policy, he said, was

"the outcome of our cultural background and the principles on which our struggle for independence was based. It is an inseparable part of a broader picture which has always been present in our minds, the picture of a social order based upon truth and non-violence."

The Planning Commission's work and agrarian reforms undertaken in every State in India find mention in the address. Encouragement of small-scale and cottage industries to solve unemployment and full co-operation to the Bhoodan movement were suggested to establish economic equality. He wanted a casteless society for which, he said, "we should make a final determined effort." He said Bhoodan was an experiment at changing of hearts.

Giving a stable Government to the people of India was Congress responsibility and as an instrument of service in the hands of the Indian National Congress "it can be made to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people much better and more efficiently than in the hands of others," Sri Dhebar said.

He said that only a strong organisation could give strength to a popular Government.

There were only two weapons in the non-violent revolution of India, one subjective and the other objective, Sri Dhebar said.

On the subjective side we have to build our inner strength through service and sacrifice. On the objective side we have to win over the masses to a new social order of our conception by identifying ourselves with them through constructive activities."

Khadi and Charka were the media for such identification, and

"if we are satisfied that the organisation must develop its strength to the full we cannot dispense with either Khadi or Charka and similar other items of Bapu's constructive programme."

The President referred to the cardinal message of the Congress to cast off fear of everything and fight with courage for truth with the weapons of non-violence and love. He described this as inner strength.

Sri Dhebar referred to the urgent issue of tackling unemployment and said:

"If we mobilise resources and put our entire organisational strength as well as the strength of others interested in the development of small-scale and cottage industries, not only can we eliminate unemployment within a period of ten years but also we can generate a new spirit of reconstruction which will go a long way towards the progress of our country."

Throughout the address Sri Dhebar emphasised the Gandhian approach to the solution of all problems and he laid before the Congress a programme aimed at revitalizing the Congress through service, sacrifice and constructive work and development of the country through new economic and educational policies.

RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects Committee sent up to its plenary session a broad outline of a "dynamic" economic policy aimed at the "establishment of a socialistic pattern of society" in India.

The Committee gave concrete expression to what has been described as the main purpose of the Session, namely, the blueprinting of an economic policy for India, by adopting two resolutions. One of them was moved by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, saying that economic planning should lead to the "establishment of a socialistic pattern of society," and the other by Prime Minister Nehru setting down the stage of Planning.

The Congress adopted 14 resolutions, in all, of which one was a non-official one.

In international affairs, the Congress, which runs the Government at the Centre and in most States, declared in clear terms that its policy is one of peaceful co-existence, and it urged the total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

Earlier the Subjects Committee had adopted the official resolution.

Sri. C. Rajagopalachari, who gave a lucid exposition of India's foreign policy, refuted the suggestion that it was a policy of neutrality and averred that it was "a definite, positive policy of furthering peace in the world." he appealed to the Big Powers to stop experiments with atom and hydrogen bombs as such weapons could only bring about a cataclysm.

Not the least important resolution adopted by the Congress was the one on unity and integration. It declared:

While preserving the great variety of India and the richness of our cultural life, it is essential that India should be integrated culturally and psychologically. Caste, which is not only separatist, but is opposed to the democratic ideal of equality, should be put an end to."

Striking at the root of provincialism, communalism and separatism in every form, it was, according to a Press correspondent, the direct and overwhelming answer to movements that of late have begun to attract the mass mind. Here in effect, declared the Congress, is the true remedy for our social ills. It has thus put sham movements in varying shades out of court. The charge, not perhaps entirely baseless, that the Congress had of late ceased to care for social reform now falls to the ground.

The nation's determination to fight nature with a view to assuring life and food to millions was manifested in the unspectacular, but economically very important resolution on flood control and protection. It declared that success in the efforts for flood control necessitate urgent action and speed as well as the mobilisation of man-power.

From the organisational point of view, the the resolution on purity and strengthening of the Organisation brings out the desire of the Congress to free itself from undesirable elements and assure its future as the political instrument of the nation.

The 60th session of the Congress, on its concluding day, ratified the resolution setting a ten-year time-limit for the full implementation of the basic education policy. Mr. Nehru who moved the resolution put forward a vigorous plea for a thorough overhaul of our present education system so as to train the coming generation to shoulder the heavy responsibilities that would devolve on them.

Mr. Nehru said that whatever pattern of society they were looking forward to, it must contain trained personnel—not people who had just learnt to read and write, but people whose character was trained, whose mind had elements of culture about it and whose hands could do something. Nothing had done greater harm to the country than the notion that manual labour was degrading.

The only non-official resolution adopted welcomed the proposed changes in the Constitution of India and recommended that Article 31 be so amended that the owners of properties consider themselves as trustees and the public in general as beneficiaries of such properties.

CHILD WITH A CLOCK

BY ALMA ROBERTS GIORDAN

Is time your friend, or your worst enemy?
He fascinates you indeed, that much is certain.

What does it mean, those hands against the face

Pointing to night, or day behind drawn curtain?

Count sixty for a minute. How much breath
Is in a second? How say whether heart's mounting.

Impatient, rapid, or the clock's slow ticking,
Methodical, inhuman, is truer counting?
Cold to the touch, yet living: by what license
Can this thing move the sun, bring out the stars.

Sound school bell, pull noon whistle, begin worship,

Or start the engine throbbing behind its bars?

Who set this monster free to prowl and kill.

To calculate, to stretch an infinite line
Between the heart and what the heart desires,

Indifferent, fearful with New York Times
its smug design?

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

PLEASURE AND PITY

Hazlitt, in his lecture on The Living Poets, speaking of Wordsworth and his lyrical ballads? quotes a whole poem—Hart Leap Well—always a favourite with him—so show what it is that the admirers of the author find to be delighted with in his poetry, and in doing so he adds "that those who do not feel the beauty and the force of it may save themselves the trouble of enquiring further". Towards the close of the poem are this pregnant and moving lines on Nature and Nature's God, which to him, is both beautiful and good.

The Being that is in the clouds and air,
That is in the green leaves among the
groves,
Maintains a deep and reverential care
For the unoffending creatures whom he
loves.
One lesson, shepherd, let us two divide,
Taught both by what she shows, and what
conceals,
Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.
He left to his successor Tennyson the task
of portraying "Nature red in tooth and claw".

THE BITTER TRUTH

How awful to reflect that what people say
of us is true?

—Logan Pearsall Smith.

EXPERIENCE OR ENERGY?

When men are young, they want experience;
when they have gained experience, they want
energy.

—Benjamin Disraeli.

SMOKING OR READING

I have every sympathy with the American
who was so horrified by what he had read of
the effects of smoking that he gave up
reading.

—H. G. Strauss, M. P.

THE GOOD M.P.

When in the House M. Ps. divide,
If they've a brain and cerebellum, too,
They've got to leave that brain outside,
And vote just as their leaders tell'em to.

—W. S. Gilbert : : *Iolanthe*.

HIS CARE

He who hath made the night of stars
For souls who tire and bleed
Sent one of His great angels down
To help me in my need.
He who is wrapped in purple robes
With the planets in His care
Had pity on the least of things
Asleep upon a chair.

—W. B. Yeats.

FREEDOM IN BONDAGE

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation;
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand
bonds of delight.

—Tagore : "Gitanjali".

TENDERNESS

Why, why was I born a man, and yet see
the sufferings of wretches I cannot relieve?...
Why was this heart of mine formed with so
much sensibility? or why was not my fortune
adapted to its impulse? Tenderness without
a capacity of relieving, only makes the man
who feels it more wretched than the object
which sues for assistance.

—Goldsmith : *The Bee* No. IV.

TRANSCENDENTAL CHATTER

If you're anxious for to shine in the high
aesthetic line as a man of culture rare,
You must get up all the germs of the trans-
cendental terms, and plant them every-
where.

You must lie upon the daisies, and dis-
course in novel phrases of your compli-
cated state of mind.

The meaning doesn't matter if it's only idle
chatter of a transcendental kind.

—W. S. Gilbert, *Patience*.

GOD'S WILL

In many a shape is the God's will wrought,
And much they accomplish that none
foreknows

What men deemed sure, they bring to
naught,

And what none dreamed of, they dispose.

—Chorus in *The Bacchae* (Euripides).

THE WISE AND THE FOOLS

The wise men of all times have always said
the same, and the fools, that is the immense
majority, of all times, have always done the
same, that is to say, the opposite of what the
wise have said.

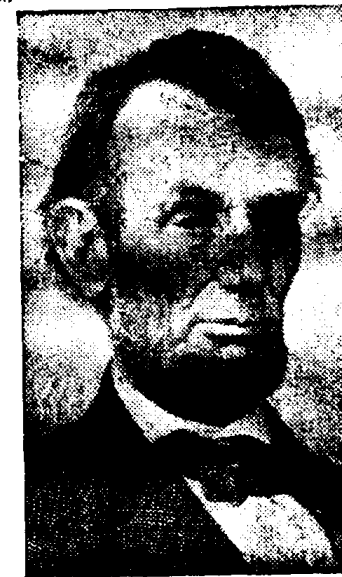
—Schopenhauer.

Abraham Lincoln

By Mr. STEPNEY CORTEZ KIBBLE

Asst. Director of Cultural Affairs, USIS, Madras

"FOURSCORE and seven years ago, our
forefathers brought forth a new land con-
ceived in liberty and dedicated to the
proposition that all men are created equal..."
As these words rolled out across the battle-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

field of Gettysburg from the lips of President
Lincoln in a voice choked with emotion and
punctuated with grief, there flashed before his
eyes a picture of the battlefield of Gettysburg
as it had been—littered with the mangled
bodies of Union and Confederate soldiers, an
atmosphere filled with the groans of the dying.
It was a deeply-moving spectacle for this
very simple and understanding man who was
President. He thought that those words, so
hastily gotten together, which he spoke that
November morning ninety-two years ago,
would soon be forgotten. Little did he
realise then, that his now-famous Gettysburg
address would become immortalised among
the great orations of all time and would serve
as a symbol of hope and of the true meaning
of democracy for free men everywhere.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President
of the United States, was born at Hodgenville,
Kentucky, February 12, 1809. He spent his

boyhood in a log-cabin where he often studied
his three R's by the light of the fireplace
under the tutelage of his step-mother, Sarah,
whom he loved dearly. This love for his
step-mother he cherished throughout his life
and in his later life, at the pinnacle of his
career, he uttered those now-famous words,
"All I am, and all I hope to be, I owe to my
mother".

He was of that hardy and determined
pioneer stock which set out to open up new
frontiers in lands inhabited by native Indian
tribes. Known for his brawn, particularly
after he beat the well-known Jack Armstrong
in a bout, it was said that he could, "outrun,
outwrestle, and throw any man". But tower-
ing above his great strength was his sterling
quality of honesty which earned for him the
name, "Honest Abe", and by which he was
known throughout the land until his dying
day. He always presented the sunny side of



Mr. S. C. KIBBLE

his personality, regardless of how he really
felt. Everyone who came in contact with him
was familiar with his quaint phrase, "I don't
feel easy till I have turned my thoughts all
round, north, south, east and west."

As a lawyer on the court house circuit
Lincoln gained in fame and prominence. His
name was on every tongue. Four times he
was elected to the state legislature of Illinois.
An excellent orator who spoke the common

man's language, he was able to make his points lucidly and smoothly, while his unruffled calmness foretold his secret strength.

Elected to the Presidency of the Union, he became a target for slander, insinuations, lampoons, and caricatures from the press which seized upon every opportunity to ridicule him. But it was the same man who pardoned the *New York World* which referred to him as "despot", "tyrant", and "dictator" with unaccustomed liberality.

Possessed with a most human nature, Lincoln was greatly misunderstood by most people who looked upon this trait in his personality as a sign of weakness.

Uncompromising opponents charged him with being a "despot" and "totalitarian" because in the spring of 1861 he declared war, put into being a blockade, called out the troops to put down an insurrection, and realised frozen dollars from the U.S. Treasury without Congressional consent and approval. On July 4th of the next year, he asked the Congress to ratify these "arbitrary acts." His actions were simply what he considered the best course to pursue in time of crisis, in order that the Union might be saved.

Gifted with keen insight, Lincoln judged everyday problems according to his good conscience and what he felt was the best course to steer at the time. It was this very human quality which exemplified Lincoln's political greatness and demonstrated his vast wisdom.

To the black masses in slavery, Lincoln was a Messiah, the Abraham who would break the fetters of bondage and lead them into the land of freedom, justice, equality, and opportunity. His Emancipation Proclamation declared that everyone should enjoy the fruits of freedom "as an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity".

In Lincoln's heart was a never-ending sympathy for all of those who had to undergo the rigours, the sorrows, and the suffering brought on by the Civil War. Tears ran down his cheeks when a dear and cherished friend was lost in combat. He kept an attitude of profound grief throughout the war. It was then that he wrote a heart-rending letter to a mother who had lost her son in battle.

"To a mother who has lost her only son, ... in the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address to you this tribute to the memory of my young friend and your brave.. child..."

Lincoln's name shall ever be remembered for the ideals for which he stood, regardless of the toil and turmoil of the politics he had faced.

The life of such an honest man was ended by a demented actor, John Booth, while attending Ford's Theatre, in Washington, D.C., on April 14th, 1865. He died on April 15th at 7 p.m., a Good Friday. The light which shone had ceased to radiate its brilliance. The nation which loved him as "Father Abe" wept over him as the train containing his funeral cortege moved to Springfield, Illinois, carrying him to his last sojourn. The world had lost a valiant warrior and a man dedicated to the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. As Secretary of State Seward had said, as he gazed upon the face of Lincoln on his deathbed, "He now belongs to the ages."



Mr. FRANCIS WATSON

Well-known United Kingdom writer and broad-caster, who arrived in India early in January on a two-and-a-half month tour of the country to collect material for the British Broadcasting Corporation's proposed production of a full-scale radio biography of Mahatma Gandhi for use in its Third Programme.

Community Projects

BY "SOCRATIST"

JOHN Milton with his acumen observed that the new Presbyter is only the old Priest writ Large. So, instead of the highly emotional open letter by a farmer's son, a pseudonym which imperfectly conceals the identity of the Chief Administrator, Sri S. K. Dey, one generally welcomes Community Development, as it is now called, as only a revival of the emphasis on village government in British India so clearly described in Dr. John Mathai's thesis for his research degree over 30 years ago. But as one staid matron confessed "If there were not changes in fashion in respect of clothing and food, we will go back to barbarism and go about naked painting our bodies and gnaw our food like the beasts of the field."

These remarks were partly provoked by seeing the Anniversary Number of 'Kurukshetra',* October 2, 1954 summarizing two years of community development administration.

I must say in parenthesis that what started with Refugee Rehabilitation at Nilokiri and Etawah developed into Community Projects in 1952, became National Extension Service in 1953 and has now taken on the name of Community Development. This brochure is extremely well got-up with many illustrations and instructive maps and very cheap at the nominal price of Annas 8 only. If in the succeeding paragraphs an enthusiastic note becomes incapable of maintenance, it is not owing to any disparagement of the effort which has been made under the grave limitations of a nation in travail. While the Andhra Province was still in the womb of time, someone said that it was genuine optimism to organize a State in which the Circar coastal districts suffer every alternate year from devastating cyclones and the Ceded central districts suffer in every alternate year from great famines. So with a series of droughts in southern India and the floods in eastern India and the unsettled political conditions in the north and north west, any achievement must definitely be held as very great.

*Community Projects in Prospect and Retrospect- 'Kurukshetra' Anniversary Number-October 1954-Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi -8- Price Annas 8- Pages (152 plus 36), 188.

As I said in the opening paragraph, village community life was a continuous thread in Indian social life and Lord Linlithgow must be given credit for making a last effort to capture servile loyalty from the masses by his programme of rural reconstruction and agricultural development. The war years and the political turmoils at the time of advent of freedom both slackened the administration and lessened hopes of discipline and sustained work in the cities and the villages.

The First Five Year Plan of which Community Projects and Community Development are only a wing, though probably the most important wing, fully realised the difficulties in organizing this type of work. The total number of villages in India are 550,000 and nearly a third will be covered by the end of the First Five Year Plan. The remainder is expected to be covered at the end of the Second Five Year Plan.

The pride of place, as is inevitable, goes to Mr. Humayun Kabir's article on 'Female Education in Rural Areas'. As Rosalind says in 'As You Like It' if the women are with the plan, men must need follow. Mr. Taylor very appropriately emphasizes the necessity to make the village self-contained in respect of ideas and workers. Mr. Kairon, Punjab Minister, gives ideas about people's participation. Mr. Roy, Agricultural Extension Commissioner, has analysed the difficulties and achievements of Extension Training Centres. Mr. Davenport with commonsense has emphasized that the gaps between purchasing power, production and the cost of living must be bridged. Mr. Kumarappa and the rigid Gandhian school may see in this an attempt to create a market for urban and foreign luxuries. Here is where one comes against the implication of what is raising one's standard of living. Is it wearing more clothes than our ancestors did? Is it eating different kinds of food instead of what the older generation called "solid nutritious food?" Is it dwelling in a house which has amenities as distinct from

necessities? Here again the luxuries of one generation became the comforts of the next and tea was considered a reprehensible luxury 50 years ago whereas now, for good or evil, it has become a necessity to the bus driver who spends nearly 12 annas day on 12 cups of strongly brewed appetite-destroying concoctions. Statistical information about the average per capita income of Indians having increased from some figure in 1950-51 to 274.5 in 1951-52 is delusive. About 75 per cent of the expenditure of lower and middle and poor classes in 1939 with an income below Rs. 100 per month was on food and clothing. About 6 measures of rice was available per rupee against $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures per rupee now. A yard of serviceable clothing cost between 6 to 8 annas as against Re. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 now. So the state or I almost said the plight of those who were having an income of Rs. 200 per month or less then and who in spite of all kinds of dearness and other allowances do not get more than Rs. 400 per month now is pitiable. To invite them to raise their production without assuring them of increased real wages is not practicable or kindly.

This again reminds us that whenever prices tend to fall, as in the case of tapioca or rice or other grains or cloth consumed by the lower, middle and poor classes, steps are taken to permit their export to countries with greater purchasing power so that the benefit does not get passed on to them. I am compelled to recall this by Mr. Davenport's assertion that effort should be made to ask people to convert precious stones and gold and silver into National Savings Certificates on the basis that the real wealth of the nation depends on the amount of money in circulation. Frankly if this is right, printing notes so as to increase the normal amount of money in circulation should produce a very wealthy country. Why the Indian peasant not without reason clings to his gold and silver is they are still the only measures of value which have not depreciated owing to the machinations of organized Central Governments advised by amateur doctrinaire economists.

The descriptions of work achieved in the various States amply illustrated by figures and plans are extremely interesting.

I would like to conclude with a note of warning that you cannot have your cake and eat it too and you may not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The villager can be trained with a sufficient period of time given to him to re-organize his economic life to enable him to devote his surplus to State and Union needs. The villager can be driven by rush tactics to part with his silver and gold with sublime blind faith that Government will know how to spend the resources to the best advantage of the village and the country. But, if simultaneously the villager is asked to contribute labour and material to improve the village and also by organized drives to part with his meagre surplus, if any, for National and State Savings drives, the catastrophe when it comes will be as deeply distressing as the hang over after the excitement of prolonged alcoholic stimulation.



SIR ALEXANDER FLEMING

74-year-old British penicillin pioneer, who recently retired from his post as Director of the Wright-Fleming Institute of Microbiology at St. Mary's Hospital, London. But he has no intention of giving up work altogether and will carry on investigations in the laboratory he has directed up to now.

The Police and Illegal Violence

By Sri V. K. S. IYER, M. A.

BRUTALTY, callousness and a profuse use of third degree methods have long been persistently alleged against the Police in general, in this country. Many have almost identified them with the Police. Often they have been the subject of exaggeration, repeated exposure, and violent criticism. Any illegal use of violence by those whose duty it is to protect and enforce the law, constitutes a breach of trust and violation of law; and hence deserves careful study. But at first sight itself the problem is of intriguing complexity, though of immense interest to Criminologists and even to the general public. There is little understanding of the problem of illegal violence by the agents of law, and there is still less of data and exact information available regarding the extent and prevalence of its use.

A student of the Social Sciences and psychology would be able to understand and analyse the attitude of the Police after a close and intimate contact with them for years at a stretch. Such a contact with them would reveal that the Police, even in their highest ranks accept and morally justify their use of illegal violence. Such acceptance and justification arise through the long course of their occupational experience and its use is related to their functional ends. Our purpose should be to examine in detail the grounds for such acceptance of illegal violence as an occupational prerogative, and whether such an acceptance ought to be approved or tolerated in a democratic Republic.

The common police man as well as his superior officers in their pursuit of duty have often to enforce obedience from an unwilling public. The very nature of their occupation as well as the special demands made on them too often tend to colour their outlook, and their very habit of thought and approach to social problems. They develop a more or less particular type of social relationship with the general public. Often regarded by the public with suspicion, fear and sometimes with open hostility, they too, gradually learn to reciprocate the same feelings in a more unrestrained measure. Often they have to meet unsympathetic criticism and allegations of corruption, inefficiency and cruelty. They

tend to regard the public as their enemy, and feel that their occupation is in utter conflict with the community. Their common occupation invests them with a feeling of prestige, and their common experience tends to emphasize this prestige and to guard it at all cost. A belief grows in them that the general public and the ordinary man can easily be persuaded by force and show of violence and with that belief they begin an attempt as it were to coerce respect from the public by force and show of force. Their traditions and stories emphasise their conviction that the means that yield the quickest results are the best suited for the Police. A gradual loss of sensibilities is more or less inevitable in such a pursuit, and then they develop their abilities for a calm and cold infliction of torture on fellow beings and grow to be proud of their skill in that field.

The State has delegated to the police the function of using violence on behalf of the State on occasions which the law has enunciated. They can use violence to disperse a riotous mob, to prevent escape of a prisoner, in self defence and on many other similar occasions. On many occasions they alone have the prerogative of using violence. The law does not ban the use of violence by them, but only specifies the occasions for its use and prescribes limitations in its use. Their occupations invariably give them the opportunities to enlarge the occasions for the use of violence, and to overreach the limitations prescribed. Their meetings with the drunk and fighting, with the hooligans damaging property, with the armed criminals who show no regard for other people's life; all persuade them to believe more and more in the use of the iron fist or the lathi or a more lethal weapon. For them lathi and rifle are mere instruments of their occupation and violence comes to them naturally and with effortless ease and spontaneity. They have come to see force as useful, as effective and as easy. They have developed a justification for the use of violence, and they ever attempt to enlarge the area for the use of force. Being the men who deal with the problem they claim that theirs should be the right to decide when

and where and the degree to which violence is to be used against individuals or mobs. There is at least the belief in their subconscious minds that the discretion ought to be theirs and even if they go in for excess it is no moral wrong.

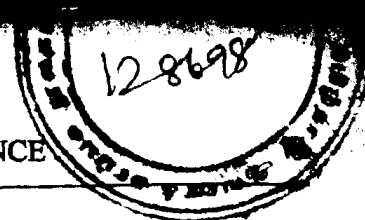
The apprehension of the offender, the detection of crime, and the conviction of those apprehended constitute for the police their essential work. It is that work that gives them their essential class feeling, their distinctive feeling of prestige and importance. The detection of the offence and the conviction of the offender have for them tremendous career implications, and their basic feelings when they deal with a suspected victim in their usual manner are not much different from those of a surgeon when he deals with his patient, or those of a sculptor dealing with his raw material. For eliciting information they may and would, of course, whenever they think that it is not dangerous, make a liberal use of their skill and their peculiar methods.

Again for giving the impression of strength, rudeness and violence are often resorted to. Strong action, means to the police a luxurious use of violence of a concentrated nature. There will always be some legal ground to cover up and be a justification for the violence indulged in. In spite of all these, excessive violence and third degree methods have often formed the subject of ruthless criticism from all quarters. But the tactics of the Police have persisted and this persistence in the face of official threats, and public criticism shows that they regard third degree methods or illegal violence, to use a more respectable phrase, as functional to their work. There are so many administrative devices and rules to minimise and reduce and even to prohibit the recourse to such violence. But they would seem to regard that the third degree methods are useful and unobjectionable from the larger point of view and even legitimate in a particular way.

The keen competition within the force itself to attract public attention and thereby official recognition and the attendant advantages arising therefrom, is another important factor that goes to defeat the efforts of the State to reduce the objection-

able methods. It is detections that are praised and rewarded; nobody looks into the means used. The means themselves come to be looked upon with esteem. However persistent may be the efforts in the right and legal manner, unless they yield quick results they seldom are recognised either by the public or by those in authority. From the public there is almost too often an absence of sympathy for the hard and difficult work of the Police. There is often apathy, hostility, malice, and misunderstanding. The police in turn come to believe that the people, or the majority, of those whom they have to deal with are bad, and that they deserve a good beating up, individually or collectively whenever there is the chance for giving it. The belief is akin to that of many teachers that naughty children deserve an occasional use of the cane.

Another major contributive factor to the prevalence of the third degree methods, is the clamour of the public for the apprehension of the offender, and for teaching him a lesson. The hysteria and alarm generated in the public mind by exaggerated and red hot versions of rape, theft, and arson and other crimes in the newspapers, destroys the little judicious nature they may have, and inflames the latent sadism and thirst for the sight of retribution. There is an unbearable weight of public demand and the whole weight has to be borne by the Police. Every major crime, particularly a sensational one is taken as an indication that the Police have failed, and as a fresh challenge to them. The public suddenly become violently critical of Police efficiency and even of their good intentions and integrity. The Police have to work under this stupendous pressure, they have to justify their presence, and the pay they receive from the public Revenues, and they have to show up some concrete result to the Public in the shortest time possible. In this frenzied pursuit of immediate results, and working under feelings of having been defeated, outdone, and challenged, they release their natural human restraints and there results the usual police tactics. The police are naturally too sensitive to criticism; because criticism could easily undermine prestige. It is through prestige that the Police live and work, prestige is to the Police far more precious than things more real and



concrete. If prestige is destroyed everything is lost for the Police. Their usual routine, work becomes a hundred times more difficult and many items of their work could easily become almost impossible if prestige is utterly lost. This fact is seldom appreciated by the public or the Press. Hostile and violent criticism is of no help to the Police, it could only hinder them, and when there is more of hindrance in their work and pursuits, they have to seek re-course to more and more of police action. Such actions may not be to the taste of the public, and if they become sufficiently public there may again be criticism and the vicious circle goes on. Those who have to act under such pressure and hostile criticism, and for whom time is so vital, are only too likely to go a little out of their sanctioned ways in their hot pursuit of immediate results. There is the unhappy duty to satisfy the impatient and indignant public. And the glare and publicity which the apprehension of the offender and the detection would bring in would naturally cover up the illegal use of violence in their pursuit of the lawful objective.

Similar occasions repeat themselves in the course of years, and the indignation and impatience of the public serve to abridge the capacity of the police for cool and patient action entirely within the bounds of law. Restraints are gradually thrown away until at last they come to look upon the prospect of an immediate administrative action against them as the principle or sole reason for abstaining from illegal means. Man changes with the work that he does. Long years in a particular work or profession change man's mental make up and character more than anything else. The habitual and functional use of violence would inevitably produce a certain lack of sensibilities, a crudeness and cruelty in human relations, and in course of time a trait of sadism. Man has to reduce himself to some subnormal or subhuman level for the use of violence towards unprovoking and passive agents. Those who repeatedly reduce themselves to this level sometimes find it difficult to raise themselves from that to normal human level. Individuals in the force may vary, of course, and to a great extent. But they have a common experience which mould their self

conceptions and give them a new perspective and approach to the problems that confront them. It is because of this new perspective that they do not use their sanctions against their subordinates and colleagues in their administrative capacity. They do not condemn the use of illegal violence by their brother officers, even though they may flare up in indignation and anger when others may resort to such violence even to the slightest. Thus a collective sanction for the use of violence outside the province of law is created, and every policeman is aware of this sanction.

The inordinate delay of many of our criminal courts, and the cumbersome and tedious procedure that has to be followed before an offender is punished, is an inducement to the people to resort to the police more and more for redressing their wrongs. Due to the same reasons the police feel that they should act in such a way that some rough justice is meted out to those who deserve. "They have done it, they won't get their dues in courts in a short time, they would repeat it if we spare them now, they do deserve a little of rough handling at our hands" is the line of argument and justification that they have to advance in their favour. Again open disrespect for the police provoke them to violence, probably more than anything else. The man who talks to the policeman, he who shows any inclination for showing obedience and submission when accosted, and the man who has attempted an open defiance of their orders, deserve some handling in their view. If a man does not respect the agent of law, he has no respect for law, he is a potential law breaker, and as prevention is better than cure it is better to give him a taste of the strength of the long hand of law before he begins an attempt to violate law. This is the line of thinking often followed.

Of course in the line of thinking itself there would be substantial difference between a well educated, well trained and contented force and one that is the reverse of these. But even then there is some degree of similarity of thinking brought about by the common collective experience of the members. Unfortunately in this country the history, the collective experience, the background, and

the peculiar circumstances and situations which the police had to face till a few years back, were all conducive to a more liberal use of illegal means than in any other modern country. The unhappy consequence of these varied forces acting on the mass mind of the force has been that they have come to look upon the use of illegal force with equanimity and with a feeling of moral justification. The means of violence properly belong to the state, and are to be used by the Police only as the agents of the State, and in compliance with the conditions of the trust imposed by the State on them. But the net result is that the conditions of the trust are violated with impunity, and that the means of violence are used as personal property, as a means for their functional ends.

Such an abundant use of illegal force by the agents of the State is too dangerous a phenomenon that it should not escape a scientific study. Many of the basic conditions that generate the use of illegal force cannot be changed and hence there is bound to be some illegal violence towards the comparatively helpless at all times. But this is still dangerous to democracy. What this amounts to is that the State through the agents of state is denying to some at least, however few the number may be, all the fundamental rights so elaborately guaranteed

by the Constitution. The rights and guarantees are there for everyone of the citizens of the country, and the powerful agents of the state ought not to deny any one, any of the rights or protections guaranteed by the Constitution. Therefore it is the duty of the Welfare State to take every step to reduce the use or the possibility the use of illegal violence by the Police. We should attempt to alter the basic conditions, and the major contributive factors that tend to produce the result herein referred to. Power for the discretionary use of violence is only likely to be abused, and power inevitably corrupts in the long run. Sadism could flourish not in the Nazi concentration camps alone, but even in the civilized and modern Police of a Welfare State is governed by the most liberal democratic Constitution. The tendency would have been a little reduced if the period of continuous exercise of power on behalf of the state were a little reduced, and a steady fresh stream of blood was poured up through the force at frequent intervals. But the clear stream of reason appears to have lost itself in the dreary deserts and of dead habit so that substantial deviations from the practices which the foreign rulers left us is looked upon with scorn and contempt and as dangerously destructive of efficiency.



SPIRITUAL LIFE

When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy.

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song.

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out from beyond, come to me, lord of silence, with thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door, my king, and come with the ceremony of a king.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O thou holy one, thou wakeful, come with thy light and thy thunder.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Congress

THE Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, the outgoing President, described the Madras session of the Congress "as the most attractive Congress, so far as memory goes." Indeed the Diamond Jubilee session was not merely the most attractive; it was from a historical angle, also perhaps the most memorable and significant after the 1927 Congress in which was adopted the resolution declaring complete independence as the political goal of India. That political independence having been attained by Congress efforts, the next step is how to make that independence bear fruit in the lives of the people. It may easily be said that any session is important in its own way. But the Avadi session concentrated its attention on the means by which that independence could be made to subserve the welfare of the masses. It gave the people a new phrase—"the National Plan Sector"—to denote the integrated approach of Government and the Congress to the development of India. Nehru himself, internationally minded as he is, never bothered about External affairs for once, but often spoke on the Objective and Economic policy resolutions as they represented "a vital turn in our thinking and a turn in the right direction."

After political Swaraj should come economic Swaraj and the emancipation of the common man from poverty and social stigma.

The Congress therefore, on the very first day set its seal of approval on the party's aim to establish a Socialistic pattern of society when it unanimously approved the resolution moved on the subject by Prime Minister Nehru. Before a gathering of about three lakhs of people and in the presence of Marshal Tito, the head of an independent Socialist Republic, the 3,000 delegates put up their hands, when President Dhebar put the resolution to vote after half a dozen speakers had supported it.

Prime Minister Nehru, in an impassioned speech emphasised the importance of planning to achieve a Socialistic pattern of society.

Reminding the people that in India, they had solved the problems of political independence and national integration through peaceful methods, abjuring violence even while in the thick of the conflict, the Prime Minister asked the delegates:

"Why then should we not solve the problems of industry, and bring about a Socialist order in India, through peaceful methods? Why should we think in terms of violence, class struggle and fight of the proletariat?"

Mr. Nehru said that they in India, wanted both a welfare State and a Socialistic pattern of society.

"Remember that a welfare State is essentially a part of a Socialistic pattern of society. You may conceivably have a Welfare State without a Socialistic pattern but not a Socialistic pattern without a welfare State".

The scheme of the new social order was already implicit in the presidential address. "A social order based upon Truth and Non-violence is our goal and will remain unchanged till it is achieved," said Congress President Dhebar.

"Neither the Communist nor Capitalist pattern can offer us a solution. Our outlook on life is wholly different. While we do not discount the economic aspect as wholly irrelevant, we believe that a good society is possible only if it is based on the fundamental urge of man's moral nature. In terms of practical politics, this means that incentives other than material can also provide motive power for economic and social advance." Power or no power, Congress must continue to play its role outside the framework of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of service and sacrifice to attain its objective, Mr. Dhebar said. Elections were only part of its bigger responsibility, even though they were a substantial part.

One of the most important things that should be done by the organisation was to enable the people to build up their inner strength, as that would be the ultimate key-stone of their liberty and prosperity.

If Congress was to develop its strength to the full, they could not dispense with either the Charka or Khadi, or similar other items of Babu's Constructive programme.

And yet there is no scheme, no definiteness about the plan and all is vague, and nebulous. Even Mr. Nehru's colleagues do not seem to be aware of all the implications of the new formula. Some hold that the Congress has merely stolen the thunder from the P. S. P. Maulana Azad himself is of the view that the whole thing is nothing new but implicit in the Congress plan. The Maulana said the Congress was not raising any new voice or slogan in demanding that a Socialistic pattern of society should be established in India.

"If any member thinks that we have raised a new slogan, he should disabuse his mind of it at once. Some people thought that through this resolution the Constitution of the Congress was sought to be changed, I would like to assure you all that even for a single minute the shadow of such a thought did not cross our minds. The Constitution of the Congress remains intact."

It is held that "the public and private sector can and should co-exist and within the fields set for them they will have considerable freedom and initiative."

Relations with Pakistan

There is undoubtedly a welcome change in our relations with Pakistan. It would be strange indeed if the climate of goodwill so pronounced in our relations with other countries has not affected our next door neighbour. And the Governor General's ready acceptance of our President's invitation to Delhi to participate in the celebrations of the anniversary of the Republic is more than a formal gesture of friendship. We believe it marks a definite change in the attitude of our neighbour "from one of aloofness if not indeed of suspicion and hostility". The speeches made at the Banquet given in honour of Mr. Ghulam Mohammad at the Rashtrapathi

Bhavan truly reflect that change. President Rajendra Prasad took the opportunity to assure the Pakistan Governor General that the Government of India was anxious to do everything in their power to solve the problems between the two countries "in fruitful co-operation with yours."

"Although we have voluntarily parted company", the President said, "years of close association assisted by a common background and a common experience provided the foundation for enduring friendship and understanding between us. There is much in common in the languages spoken in our two countries, so that we can understand each other. There should, therefore, be no problem between our two countries which would not be capable of solution in a spirit of friendliness and understanding."

The Governor-General in his reply said, "Let us put an end to our disputes. We owe this as a duty to posterity not to leave them a legacy of misunderstanding and bitterness. It will depend on the early solution of our disputes, and I feel that India also realises the fundamental truth as we do. There is no alternative except that the two countries act in a spirit of truth and sincerity without which it seems difficult for them to achieve real prosperity."

He said that given the goodwill and the breadth of vision "I have no doubt that such an end could be realised much sooner than most of us can think of."

It would be wrong to treat these words as mere expressions of conventional courtesy. There is a ring of unmistakable sincerity in these words which, if translated into action will make a significant improvement in the relation between the two neighbours.

Our friendly and purposeful contact with the heads of some other States has borne fruit. There is now a growing area of countries pledged to peace and goodwill, abjuring fear and suspicion, determined to live and let live and renouncing the resort to armed conflict in any event. It is a matter of no small regret that while our efforts in this direction should have been successful with distant nations they have so far failed with our immediate neighbour.

China Rejects U. N. Invitation

A meeting of the U. N. Security Council had been called to discuss the New Zealand request backed by Britain and the United States for consideration of a cease fire in the fighting in the islands off the Chinese coast. New Zealand was also due to propose that Communist China be invited to attend future meetings.

But then the Soviet dropped a trick by submitting its own proposal that Communist China be invited to take part in discussion of the Soviet charge alleging aggression by the United States against the Chinese mainland. A resolution to this effect was handed in shortly before the Council met as arranged to discuss the situation in the Formosa Strait.

Immediately the Council President Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand had banged his gavel to open the meeting the Acting Head of the Soviet Delegation Mr. Arkady Sobolev, formally proposed that the representatives of the Chinese Nationalist Government be debarred from consideration of the questions before the Council.

China also rejected the U. N. invitation to attend the Security Council to discuss New Zealand's proposal for a Formosa cease-fire. She said she would send a representative only to discuss the Soviet resolution which brands the U. S. as an aggressor against China and only when "the representative of the Chiang Kai-Shek clique has been driven out of the Security Council."

China's refusal to join the Security Council in seeking a cease-fire in the Formosan Straits came as a sharp disappointment to most of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. It surprised delegates only to the extent that it appeared to exclude all possibility of Peking being represented in the U. N. discussion. But the demand for the prior eviction of the Nationalist Chinese delegate from the Council seemed to slam the door.

Peking refused the U. N. invitation to discuss a Formosa cease-fire not because it does not want a settlement but because it would have meant admitting there were 'Two Chinas.'

Marshal Tito on New India

None so blind as those who will not see. Evidently the example of Britain and France has not helped Portugal to make up her mind to leave India in peace.

Marshal Tito just on the eve of his departure for Yugoslavia on board his yacht, the "Galeb", after a 24-day tour of India, was asked for his views on the future of Portuguese pockets in India. The Marshal told the PTI special correspondent accompanying him:

"It is absurd that such a great democratic progressive country like India is separated by a small territory which is now in foreign possession and that she has to wait for the inclusion of this territory with the mainland. I am speaking about the territory in India which is now in the hands of Portugal."

The Yugoslav President said that the picture he was carrying about India after his tour was entirely different from the one he had before his arrival in the country. "India has formed a deep impression on me and it is difficult to express it in a few words" said the Marshal.

"I was able to see Indian people making an earnest effort to make a better future for them. I was also able to see Indian people very conscious of their role in their creative efforts for building up a new India and I wish them all success in their efforts."

Marshal Tito's visit as Mr. R. Dalgai, Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia said, had enabled leaders of the two countries to understand each other better. There had already been complete identity of views between the two countries on international questions.

Clear Rules

The following item is said to appear in a list of police regulations posted up on a highway in England:

"Until further notice every vehicle must carry a light when darkness begins. Darkness begins when the lights are lit!"

The Late Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyer

Moving tributes to the memory of the late Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Aiyer of Madura, a former member of the Assembly and front rank Congress Leader of Tamil Nad, were paid by official and Non-official members at both Houses of legislature in Madras. Vaidyanatha Aiyer was one of the active leaders in the freedom struggle. A devoted member of the Congress he participated in all constructive activities of the Gandhian era particularly in Harijan uplift. As President of the Tamil Nad Harijan Sevak Sangh his services were unique. He led the Harijan entry into the great Meenakshi temple against odds with a courage and steadfast devotion to the cause which set a precedent to a great socio-religious revolution in the south. In a moving tribute in council C. R. said:

"Rarely we have men of his type and it is a great shock when premature death takes such people away from us. Sri Vaidyanatha Aiyer shares with only one whom I remember the glory of building Tamilnad as it is today. If in the Gandhian era, Tamilnad has played its part honourably and well, it is due to two men. One was Dr. Rajan, who passed away some time ago and the other Sri Vaidyanatha Aiyer."

The Formosa Issue

Discussing the Formosa situation, Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor, *New Statesman and Nation*, now in India, deplored the lack of full realisation of the implications of another war on trivial issues:

Formosa was part of Chinese territory and it was ridiculous to suggest as some did that there should be a plebiscite over the future of Formosa. It was high time, he added, war-mongers realised the grim truth that once war broke out on a global scale, there was no saying which side would ultimately win, but that it would certainly wipe out the human race due to radio activity. He did not think that the Formosa issue was a major issue to impair co-existence and precipitate co-destruction.

A Tamil Scholar's Centenary

In celebrating the 101st birthday of Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyer South India is reminding itself of the debt it owes to the services rendered to the cause of Tamil language and literature by one who gave a new life to them. It has been said that what Bharathi did for the revival of creative literature in verse and prose that and something more Swaminatha Aiyer did for the critical study of classical Tamil. Aiyer's self effacing devotion to the ancient masters and his adventures in search of manuscripts and patrons are movingly told in his charming autobiography while his candid accounts of talented contemporaries set the standard of biographical literature in Tamil. We owe many a long forgotten masterpiece to his learning and memory and industry. What is more he brought a strictly modern scientific outlook to the task of editing the classics of our archaic and sectarian literature. "Thorough in his search and collation of sources, scrupulously accurate in reproducing the text and variants, free from prejudice or partiality, modest in his claims as an annotator and never averse to owning present ignorance, he was the ideal editor. He was humbly content to transmit to posterity the treasures of the past as he discovered them."

Congress Govt. in T & C.

A five-man Cabinet headed by Mr. Govinda Menon, leader of the Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin Assembly, was sworn in before the Rajapramukh on Feb. 14 at the Kaudiar Palace, Trivandrum.

Besides Mr. Menon, the Chief Minister, other members of the newly-formed Cabinet are: Mr. A. J. John, Mr. K. Kochukuttan, Mr. A. A. Rahim and Mr. K. I. Velayudhan.

The Congress Party thus comes to power in Travancore-Cochin after the first Socialist Government in India was voted out of office in the first week of February.

This will be the second time that Congress will be forming a Government in this State, the first being before the general elections.

Martyrs' Day

"Martyrs, Day" in remembrance of the sacrifice of the people who laid down their lives in the cause of India's freedom and synchronising with the seventh death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi was solemnly observed all over India on Jan 30.

According to the instructions from the Government of India, people in all walks of life in the country observed two minutes' silence when the clock struck 11, which hour was announced by boom of gun. The whirl of wheels in factories ceased at that time. All India Radio went off the air and all traffic stopped for a couple of minutes.

Nothing could be more appropriate than this decision to observe January 30 every year as Martyrs' Day. The wonder is it took us seven years to discover the greatness and solemnity of the occasion to celebrate the day as a national day of remembrance and rededication.

It was on this day seven years ago that Mahatma Gandhi fell victim to a fanatic's bullet. As with all martyrs "Gandhiji's death was the crowning glory of his life, the passing from mortality into immortality."

The day was observed with befitting solemnity all over the country not merely as an atonement of the past but as an insurance against the future.

Mr. Hayles of The Mail

The death of Mr. Alfred Arthur Hayles, Editor of the *Madras Mail* after a brief illness since Christmas last has deprived the city of the services of a veteran journalist who for three decades was closely associated with many progressive movements in its civic life. Hayles of the old *Madras Times* and the *Madras Mail* was no doubt "Anglo Indian" in his outlook, critical of the Congress and not un-often on the side of the ruling bureaucracy. But so were many other citizens—Editors or no Editors—and so were many papers as well. Hayles was a keen and observant Journalist. He rightly gave priority to local news, featured things of near interest to the city and State, gave a lead to illustrated journalism and kept his paper bright and vivacious. Latterly, of course, he dropped much of his insular prejudices and tried to keep abreast of progressive India. As a journal *The Mail* in his hands was distinctly attractive.

Justice Rajadhyaksha

The death of Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha, Judge of the Bombay High Court, in Bombay at the comparatively early age of 58 deprives the country of the services of an able and trusted public servant.

Born in September 1896, Mr. Ganpat Sakharam Rajadhyaksha was educated in Bombay and Cambridge. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1920 and after serving in various capacities as Collector, Deputy Secretary to the Bombay Government, Secretary to the Bombay Legislative Council and District and Sessions Judge he was appointed as Additional Judge of the Bombay High Court in 1943.

Mr. Rajadhyaksha was the Chairman of the Press Commission and constituted the one-man tribunal to inquire into the Bank employees' issue. His colleagues on the Press Commission, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. A. D. Mani and Mr. Chelapathy Rao and others have all borne testimony to his special contribution to the Press report.

The Government of India recorded their appreciation of the services of Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha, in a notification published in the *Gazette of India*, dated February 12, 1955:

"His patient and sympathetic approach, his careful sifting of facts and his ability to enter into the minds of all concerned, earned for him the confidence of all parties and his judgment was, therefore, frequently sought. 'The Government of India wish to record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered to the Government and the public by this distinguished Judge,'"

Mr. Rajadhyaksha came to the Press Commission with an impressive reputation as one of the most thorough-going investigators and judge of complicated questions in the country. "I am revealing no secrets" said the President of the AINEC, when I say that the chapters of the Commission dealing with the Press laws, which are the most comprehensive treatise on the subject were due to his masterly grasp of details and the fundamentals of press freedom."

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

R. WADIA: Essays in Philosophy Ed. By S. Radhakrishnan and others. Available of Prof. N. A. Nikam, 28, III Cross Rd., Basavangudi.

This is a volume prepared for presentation to Prof. Wadia in appreciation of his long and varied services to the cause of philosophy and education. The practice of compiling and presenting a book of this kind by way of honouring a scholar and teacher like Wadia, which has recently come into vogue, is at once beautiful and appropriate. What could be more fitting than that fellow scholars should attempt to further the cause to which the professor has devoted all his life?

Prof. Wadia taught philosophy for many years in the Mysore university and generations of students have profited by his teaching. As President of the Executive Committee of the Philosophical Congress for some 20 years Prof. Wadia has directed philosophical research with exceptional ability and devotion. And then he was equally interested in other fields of intellectual and social activity in the country.

The 22 essays contributed by scholars from various universities in India and abroad deal with different phases of philosophic and social thought. The variety of subjects covered by the papers gives an idea of the wide scope and comprehensiveness of the Professor's interest. There are essays on such diverse subjects as contemporary British Philosophy, Mystical Element in Islam and Studies in the Bhagavad Gita. Altogether a well merited tribute to a great scholar.

WHILE THE HUMOUR IS ON ME By John D. Sheridan. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. London:

The forty four little essays that comprise this delightful book of Irish humour, sometimes frivolous but always witty, are packed full of thoughts and feelings that are as refreshing as they are laughter-provoking. The material for Mr. Sheridan's essays is drawn mainly from everyday life, but he has the power of investing the commonplace with wonder and strange-ness that compel attention. His sense of fun is matched by his gift of words—and the reader is richly rewarded as he skips through pages of kindly and tender pleasantries. Paul Noonan's illustrations add to the entertainment.

SACRED BOOKS OF THE WORLD By A. C. Bonquet, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England.

This is a companion volume to the author's "Comparative Religion" in the same series, designed to give additional meaning to that book by illustrating each of its chapters from original sources. At the same time the author has culled with care and diligence specimens of the world's sacred literature in English translation. The range is wide and deep extending from primitive chants to the psalms and hymns of our own day. Here are selections in proper historical perspective, from Babylonian and Sumerian prayer songs, Vedic hymns, and Homeric poems, from the Gathas of Zoroastrian literature and Jataka passages from Buddhist Texts, passages from the Old and New Testaments, from the Quran and the Japji of Granth Sahib and pieces from Manchurian, Chinese and Japanese lore and lyrics. Altogether a comprehensive anthology of sacred literatures of the world from the earliest dawn down to the revelations of the twentieth century.

THE UPANISHADS: A Second Selection By Swami Nikhilanda. Phoenix House Ltd., London. Blackie and Sons (India) Ltd., Bombay.

The Upanishads are the source books of the Hindu faith and philosophy. In an earlier volume Swami Nikhilananda treated us to an interpretation of the text with Sankara's commentaries of four of these books—Katha, Isa, Kena and Mundaka a present volume he has rendered into English three more of these Upanishads—the Svetasvatara, Prasna and Mandukya, with copious notes and comments. The volume opens with an introduction on Hindu Ethics supplementing the introduction to the first volume embodying a general survey, the metaphysics and psychology of the Upanishads. He contemporizes two more volumes rendering the Taaittiriya, Aitareya, Brihadaranyaka and Chhandogya into English all the four major Upanishads.

Swami Nikhilananda's English version of these basic Scriptures which Schopenhauer described as 'the most rewarding and elevating reading possible in the world' is a distinct and much needed contribution to the interpretation of Eastern thought to Western scholars.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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GREEK POETRY FOR EVERYMAN. Chosen and Translated by F. L. Lucas. J. M. Dent and Sons (Received through Macmillan and Co., London)

'Of the Greeks' wrote Sainte-Beuve, "a page, an idyll from time to time suffices me. It is not deep knowledge of them that I require; it is their flavour." We have had a taste of this fine flavour in the Greek Drama for Everyman reviewed in these columns in our October issue. And here in this admirable volume the Cambridge scholar offers a representative collection of the best Greek Poetry in his own verse translation—work done, he says at intervals over the last twenty five years.

Of the beauty and aptness of Lucas's translation we have already spoken in terms of high praise. For Lucas, in his version is all that good translator should be—he has shunned both aggressively, antique and ultra modern words and rendered the classic original in sweet and flowing modern English at once beautiful and sufficient. There is not a false note in his rendering, though he has throughout kept to English rhythms. This is high praise but well deserved.

There are of course many books about Greek poetry and there are many translations of individual Greek poems, but here in one homogeneous volume we have a comprehensive collection of the best Greek poetry covering fifteen centuries. Verse translations of Iliad and the Odyssey linked by prose summaries, and specimen pieces of minor poetry afford excellent fare for the student of letters. The volume provides introductions and explanations, invaluable to non-classical readers.

ANNIE BESANT: By Sri Prakasa, Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

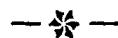
All through her life Mrs. Besant was in the thick of a fight for some cause or other, and was therefore as much the theme of admiration as of reproach. Her storm-tossed career lent interest to a good deal of polemical literature. But biographers and critics alike were unanimous in acclaiming her as the most dynamic personality of any time. Books have been written in appreciation of Besant's many-sided character and achievements—as suffragist, politician, orator, Theosophist, Home Rule-leader—and in every sphere of activity she outshone her contemporaries. But Governor Sri Prakasa has chosen to deal

with some little known facets of her life so intimate and personal that only members of her great and life long friend and colleague Babu Bhagavan Das's family could write with first hand knowledge. Sri Prakasa himself addressed Besant as "mother" and she always referred to him as her "son". With such opportunities of close association, and gifted with a wide awake and observant mind Sri Prakasa is able to recall many of those little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and love that lent beauty and splendour to a dedicated life. Sri Prakasa's reminiscences—authenticated by letters and notes from diaries—bring in relief all the charm and fragrance of a life as resplendent on the public stage as in the less known spheres of private friendship and benevolence. He gives us a hundred instances of Besant's feats of memory, the infinite care with which she attended to her multifarious transactions, her method of writing and speaking and her invariable habit of throwing herself whole heartedly into the cause she espoused, forgetting self in her devotion to public duty. The Vidya Bhavan has in this book provided the reader with literature as instructive as it is entertaining.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Stefan Lorant. The New American Library, New York.

Stefan Lorant's text-and-picture biography of Lincoln is a living record of perhaps the most memorable and unique career in American history. It is also a document of thoroughly human interest, unfolding the dramatic story of Lincoln's life as husband, father, student and statesman. His brief career as lawyer and even his briefer spell of love and disappointment are portrayed with ample evidence. Here are facsimiles of Lincoln's letters in his own handwriting, rare documents and a wealth of photographs and drawings culled from contemporary records. Mr. Lorant presents a fascinating picture of Lincoln in a hundred moods—grave and gay—his dark days of sorrow and frustration as well as his bright hours of triumph and glory with the same authentic brush.

DIARY OF THE MONTH



- Jan. 1 Chou En lai, Chinese Premier, to attend 30 nation Asian African Conference.
—Dr. Bhatnagar, eminent scientist dead.
- Jan. 2 Mr. Hammarskjöld, U. N. Secretary General in Delhi on mission to Peking.
—Ambujaammal, daughter of late S. Srinivasa Iyengar, elected Chairman, Reception Committee, 60th Congress at Madras.
- Jan. 3 H. H. the Pope calls for a bridge of truth between East and West.
—President Tito leaves Calcutta for Rangoon.
- Jan. 4 Mr. Hammarskjöld, U. N. Secretary General in Peking to meet Chou En lai.
- Jan. 5 Lapcashire protests against U. K. imports of Indian cloth.
—President of Panama Col-Remon shot dead.
- Jan. 6 Ike, addressing Congress urges United Nation against attacks on Asian nations.
—Programme for Small Scale industries adopted at Board meeting in Delhi.
- Jan. 7 S. A. Govt. plans to remove 60,000 non-Whites from Western Johannesburg and resettle them 6 miles away.
- Jan. 8 Forward Bloc decides to merge with Congress: Gen. Mohan Singh, Chairman Meets Dhebar, Congress President-elect.
—Grants from Centre to Khadi & handloom.
- Jan. 9 Bank employees defer strike proposal & decide to participate in enquiry.
- Jan. 10 U. N. Secretary General and Chou En lai issue joint statement on talks—but no reference to a release of War prisoners.
—Pandit Pant sworn in as Home Member in the Centre.
- Jan. 11 Indo-American air talks fail; Temporary permits for restricting services arranged.
—Agreement signed for 110 Million—Dollor U. S. aid to Pakistan.
- Jan. 12 Clement Attlee in Berlin Advocates East—West Coexistence.
—Costa Rica invaded by insurgents led by Theodoro Picado son of an Ex-President.
—Soviet note to Western powers against German rearmament.
- Jan. 13 President Eisenhower asks Congress to continue conscription.
- Jan. 14 Delhi warns Lisbon against deportation of Goa Satyagrahis.
- Jan. 15 Congress President Nehru in Madras on the eve of Avadi session
- Jan. 16 U. N. Dhebar, President-elect of Congress arrives in Madras.
—Outgoing Congress President Nehru in his report to A. I. C. C. outlines Socialist pattern of Society;
- Jan. 17 Agreement reached between Japan and Burma regarding economic development of latter.
- Jan. 18 Invitations to 25 countries sent for Asian-Africa conference at Bandung.
- Jan. 19 Civic address to U. N. Dhebar by Mayor and Corporation of Madras.
—U. S. Senate investigation Committee passes officially under democratic control.
- Jan. 20 Chinese Cultural delegation leaves for Burma.
—Congress 60th session opens at Avadi, Madras, Sri U. N. Dhebar presiding.
- Jan. 21 Marshal Tito back in Madras, and attends Congress.
- Jan. 22 Death in Madras of A. A. Hayles, Editor of *The Mail*.
- Jan. 23 Congress session concludes: Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, declares that Kashmir's accession to India is final.
- Jan. 24 House Committee votes resolution on use of U. S. forces to defend Formosa.
- Jan. 25 Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Governor of Pakistan, in Delhi with Dr. Khan Saheb on invitation to Republic Day celebrations.
- Jan. 26 Republic Day celebrations all over the country: President awards Bharat Ratna to Dr. Bhagavan Das and Dr. M. Visveswarayya.
—Russia ends state of war with Germany.
- Jan. 27 Lieut. S. M. Shrinagesh, G. O. C. Southern Command, to succeed Gen. Rajendra Singhji as Chief of Army staff and Commander-in-Chief.
- Jan. 28 Prime Minister Nehru leaves for London to attend Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.
- Jan. 29 Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab appointed Governor of Bombay.
- Jan. 30 Martyrs' Day observed with 2 minutes' silence, Gandhiji having paid with his life this day 7 years ago.
- Jan. 31 Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers opens in London.

READERS' DIGEST

GANDHIJI'S MEETING WITH GEORGE V

Lord Templewood, formerly known as Sir Samuel Hoare, formerly Secretary of State for India, has published a volume of memoirs, which according to Dr. Shelvankar, contains what is possibly the fullest account that is so far available of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and King George V at Buckingham Palace. The meeting took place during Mahatma Gandhi's visit to London for the Round Table Conference in the early '30s.

The book, entitled "Nine Troubled Years" is a sort of political autobiography for the years 1931-40 and deals at some length with the Indian constitutional problem as it presented itself in those days and Lord Templewood's part in shaping British policies.

Of Gandhiji's meeting with King George V, he writes:

"His Majesty's reaction was much as I had expected: what has this rebel fakir to do in the palace after he has been behind all these attacks on my loyal officers?" It was only towards the end of the audience that he had a slight return of his earlier irritation when he protested against having 'the little man' in the palace with 'no proper clothes on, and bare knees'.

"However when they were once started, the King's simple sincerity and Gandhi's beautiful manners combined to smooth the course of the conversation, though more than once I became nervous when the King looked resentfully at Gandhi's knees.

"When the conversation was drawing to an end the King, the most conscientious of monarchs, evidently thought it was his duty to warn Gandhi of the consequences of rebellion. Just, therefore, as Gandhi was taking his leave, His Majesty could not refrain from uttering a grave warning. 'Remember, Mr. Gandhi, I won't have any attacks on my empire.'

"I held my breath in fear of an argument between the two. Gandhi's *savoir faire* saved the situation. With a grave and deferential tone, he replied: 'I must not be drawn into a political argument in Your Majesty's palace after receiving your Majesty's hospitality.'

"They then took leave of each other as friendly guest and host."

UNDESIRABLE' & 'OBJECTIONABLE' FILMS

While the film industry is complaining against the rigours of existing censorship, there are some moral zealots in the country who want it to be intensified in order to prevent the production and exhibition of "undesirable" films. The zealots, says *Freedom First*, had a field day in the Rajya Sabha when it discussed Mrs. Munshi's non-official resolution recommending to the Government action by legislation or otherwise to prohibit the exhibition of undesirable films.

"It is unfortunate that the Minister for Information and Broadcasting also joined the chorus and lent the weight of his authority to the cry for the banning of "undesirable" films. Curiously enough neither the Minister nor the other supporters of the resolution specified in clear terms what according to them was an "undesirable" film.

It is this difficulty to define what is "undesirable"—and the definition is bound to vary from individual to individual—that places arbitrary power in the hands of bureaucrats, once they are invested with the authority of prohibiting anything that they consider "undesirable." Tastes, standards of propriety and ideas regarding moral or immoral behaviour differ so widely from person to person and time to time that any arbitrary rules that may be laid down are bound to affect the freedom of the artiste, the director and the producer and lead to a serious deterioration in quality.

The argument put forward in support of the resolution was that "undesirable" films corrupt the morals of youth. This is an eternal argument urged by elderly men and women against enjoyments and diversions fancied by the young. If the argument is accepted, all enjoyment will have to be banished and life converted into a dreary routine of work and sleep.

RATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The term 'Rationalisation' in modern economic science implies modernisation, scientific management and industrial monopoly. It essentially means a rational and scientific approach to industrial problems. There is therefore, no question of anybody being against rationalisation of industry as such, says Prof. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary of the Congress in the course of an article to the Press.

It must be realised, however, that the content of rationalisation would vary from country to country and from region to region even within a country. For example, the idea of rationalisation in the United States of America, where labour is scarce and capital abundant, would be basically different from that of India where labour is abundant and capital scarce. A machine that may be of great use and advantage in America, may be completely out of place in India where the fundamental question is that of providing employment opportunities to millions of people who are without work for several months in the year.

It is very wrong to think that the Gandhian School of Thought is against all mechanisation and rationalisation. Gandhiji was not against machinery as such.

What he was against was the "craze" for machinery and labour-saving devices in a country like India where people suffer from "enforced idleness." We all know that Gandhiji wanted to improve the existing spinning wheel and offered substantial prizes for the improved varieties of the *charkha*. A number of new small spinning machines are now being devised in different parts of the country. In response to the recommendations of the International Planning Team, the Government of India have decided to establish four Regional Technological Institutes for the development of small-scale industries. No reasonable person can be against such improvement in organisation and technology.

But there is need for a rational approach even in our enthusiasm for rationalisation and modernisation. If we do now show discrimination in the use of machinery in India and try to mechanise the existing small-scale and village industries indiscriminately, we shall be doing more disservice than service to the cause of industrial progress in the country.

For instance, take the *bidi* machine. If such machines are allowed to be introduced for the manufacture of *bidis* in India, about five lakhs of workers, out of the total of six lakhs, will be thrown out of employment. Mechanisation in this

sphere at this stage is, therefore, uncalled for and definitely injurious. Similarly, we should try to improve the village *ghanis* for increasing their yield and output rather than establish oil-mills for the purpose. In the case of hand-made paper, we may improve domestic small-scale manufacture by using mill-made pulp in place of hand pound pulp. It may be desirable to introduce electric power in certain small-scale and village industries. But the basic idea ought to be to improve per capita productivity or the productive efficiency of each worker rather than to displace human labour by the introduction of improved machinery. A sewing machine is a typical example of useful rationalisation in a country like India. It increases the efficiency and productivity of a worker without displacing his manual labour. I wish that more machines of this type may be manufactured in India for lightening the labour of our workmen and augmenting their capacity to supplement their meagre incomes.

We are all for increasing the efficiency of labour and production; but our aim should be to increase not merely the mechanical efficiency but the economic efficiency as a whole. Our objective should be:

Full employment plus maximum production. Mere production at the cost of employment will be definitely harmful. At the same time, attempts to employ more labour without increasing productive efficiency will also be suicidal. Rationalisation of industry in India, therefore, should mean a serious attempt to balance the advantages of fuller employment and technological improvements. I am confident that both the Government and the industrialists in this country will follow a policy of cautious and discriminate rationalisation for the real welfare of the masses.

NEW LIFE FOR RURAL INDIA

India's Community Development Projects, which aim at the all-round development of rural areas mainly through the villagers' own initiative, have been described by Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, as "the dynamo providing the motive force behind the Five-Year Plan". Although the first of them only began in 1952, these projects have already begun to transform India's agricultural economy, says *Commonwealth To Day*, an illustrated magazine published by the central Office of Information, London.

The idea behind the scheme is one of many-sided development, for experience in India has shown that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects are dealt with in isolation.

In this great democratic experiment that India has launched, intensive development has begun in certain areas, and will continue later over the rest of the country. In each area the approach to the villager is being made by officials known as Village-level Workers. Their task is to establish contact with every farmer in a group of villages.

In the general pattern of the scheme the Village-level Worker is the basic unit in a supervisory organisation covering an area of about 100 villages, known as the Development Block. Each Block has its own Development Officer assisted by technical supervisory officers. The main plan is to organise the farmers in a co-operative life where, as free agents, they make their own decisions, practise scientific agriculture on the largest possible scale, and find supplementary occupations in a variety of decentralised small-scale industries, while the Government assists by organising research and providing supplies, services and credit.

In October, 1952, the Government started the Community Programme in 55 project areas, and now work continues throughout the country in 220 Development Blocks, comprising about 23,650 villages with a population of 21,500,000. Another important development in 1953 was the National Extension Service, which is integrated with the Community Programme, the aim of both being to transform the social and economic life of the villager. The pace at which this happens depends on available resources and the response of the people, which so far has been enthusiastic.

The results of the first year's work, ended September, 1953, have been impressive.

A total of 54,968 acres were reclaimed and irrigation of 130,329 acres was improved. In the sphere of animal husbandry 19 key centres and 155 veterinary dispensaries were opened and over a million cattle inoculated against disease. The development of fisheries has proceeded rapidly. Nearly 9,000 wells were renovated and 1,300 new ones built. Over 1,370 new schools, 3,556 adult education centres and 2,868 recreation centres were started. Over 3,300 miles of new earthen roads and 146 miles of metalled roads were laid down. Many thousands of houses have been built or renovated.

Over 1,045 co-operative societies were formed in the project areas in the year under review. A large number of them have assumed responsibility for organising and directing the rural project work. Such organisations are being encouraged everywhere, so that each village will, in time, have its own development council.

Meanwhile, training continues, as thousands of qualified Village-level Workers and a large adminis-

trative staff are needed. Plans have been made by the Community Projects Administration to produce, as soon as possible, at least 80,000 skilled workers with a supporting staff of nearly 300,000.

Finance has been no obstacle so far. The Central and Provincial Governments share the main burden and voluntary contributions are made by the people. During the first year of the scheme the Government provided Rs. 19 million and the people themselves provided Rs. 15 million in money and in the value of their labour.

CHINESE PERIODICALS

China is forging ahead. Evidence of Chinese progress in the arts and sciences, in industries and agriculture, in international affairs and in the world of culture is growing strong and impressive. It is good the leaders of New China have revised the value of more direct and intensive contact with the outside world. The lifting of the curtain has brought China nearer to her neighbours and made close comradeship in thought and endeavour possible.

The contact with the world will doubtless benefit both China and her neighbours. A peep into the Chinese mind is now possible through the new periodicals in English published from Shanghai and Peking. We have received two such periodicals which in point of get up and contents are no way inferior to similar publications in India or elsewhere. *China Reconstructs* a monthly pictorial magazine (157 Changshu Lu, Shanghai) is a miscellany depicting Chinese progress in arts and industries. The latest number has a vivid and interesting account of our Prime Minister's historic visit to Peking, with many attractive features. *Chinese Literature* (published by the Foreign Languages Press, 26 Kuo Hui Chieh, Peking) is a quarterly with articles and poems by leading Chinese writers. "The Lives of the Scholars" and "The Palace of Eternal Youth" summaries of which are published in the issue before us, give us a glimpse into the magic of Chinese literature in prose and verse. There are plates and cartoons in colour and black and white fully expressive of the delicacy and sense of realism of modern Chinese painting. Altogether a sumptuous volume pleasing alike to the eye and mind.

KASHMIR

For some time past the Publications Division of the Government of India have been sending us an English monthly journal entitled *Kashmir*, an Illustrated Magazine which seeks to acquaint the world with the life and problems, customs and traditions, and arts and crafts, of this lovely mountain country. Number Eleven which is before us is a typical issue opening with a historical sketch of the valley in The River of Kings followed by Illustrated articles on Pratap Singh Museum and Bird life in Srinagar.

THE NEW VIOLENCE IN FICTION

Today's fiction may be corrupting the morals of youth—but not for the reason most people think. It is not the sex, says Novelist J. B. Priestley in the *New Statesman and Nation*, it's the sadism.

In recent years, says Priestley, both Britain and the U. S. have been deluged with books that "describe, with a gusto missing from the rest of their narratives, scenes that descend to the depths of atrocity. Moreover, they ask not only for our interest, but for our admiration. It is not just the villains who smash noses, gouge eyes, and beat people to a jelly; the heroes do it too, and indeed are handier at it than the villains.

This is not a good dream life to offer adolescent lads.....The hero is what they would like to be. Outwardly he is everything they are not, tall, broad-shouldered, very strong, very brave, attractive to the girls.....Nothing new here: boys and youths have been identifying themselves with the Hero for thousands of years.....But we might see it that the Hero is not so often kicking people in the stomach and then smashing their faces into red pulp.....It will be as well if the citizens of tomorrow do not take it for granted that people they dislike should be beaten, pounded, minced. The red-pulp view of life should be discouraged.

"If some of our cleaners-up would stop thinking about sex and take a look at this violent cruel stuff, they might yet do us a service.....Nine youngsters out of ten will sooner or later discover sex for themselves...but this cruel violence is something else. It is by no means an essential part of us. No doubt there is in us the germ of it, a spark of savagery, especially in youth. One of the aims of civilisation is to smother that spark.....But here in this popular fiction the whole civilised trend is being carefully reversed.

"It is more than a question of manners. There is in much of our early fiction—in Fielding and Smollett, for example—a lot of rough-and-tumble, knock about brutality, as much a reflection of its time as Hogarth's pictures were. But this new violence, with its sadistic overtones, is quite different. It is not simply coarse, brutal from a want of refinement and nerves, but genuinely corrupt, fundamentally unhealthy and evil. It does not suggest the fair-ground, the cattle market, the boxing booth, the horseplay of exuberant young males. It smells of concentration camps and the basements of secret police. There are screaming nerves in it. Its father is not an animal maleness, but some sort of diseased manhood, perverted and rotten..."

LITERACY IN INDIA

Six crores out of India's 36 crore population or 16.6 per cent are literate, i.e. they can read and write a simple letter in some language, according to the 1951 Census. The remaining 30 crores are illiterate. An analysis of the information on literacy and education obtained in the 1951 Census has been published by the Registrar-General in his "Census of India: Paper Number Five."

Of the six crores who are literate, about six lakhs can only read, but cannot write. Over five crores of the literate population do not even have a middle school standard of education. The number of people who have attained that standard is only 90 lakhs. Of these 90 lakhs only 38 lakhs or a little more than one in a hundred among the people have passed the Higher Secondary School standard. Sixteen lakhs of the 38 lakhs have reached a still higher standard of education, 4.66 lakhs have attained upto Intermediate in Arts and Science and 11.7 lakhs are holders of degrees and diplomas.

The literacy figures given in the paper are based on a ten per cent sample survey, while the tables on educational standards by the livelihood classes are based on the entire population.

While the all-India percentage of literacy is 16.6, West India has the largest percentage of 23.8, while North India has the lowest with 10.8. The percentages for other zones are: South India 22.8; East India 16.8; North-West India 13.4; and Central India 10.9.

Literacy is higher among men than among women. The percentages for the whole country are: male literacy 24.9 and female literacy 7.9. South India has the largest female literacy, with 13.5 per cent and North India the lowest with 3.6. The percentage of female literacy in other zones are: West India 12.6; North-West India 6.8; East India 6.6; and Central India 3.8.

According to the livelihood basis, 12.1 per cent of the agricultural classes are literate, while 29.0 per cent of the non-agricultural classes are literate.

CHRISTIANITY IN M. B.

More than 1,000 persons have been converted to Christianity during the last six years by 446 Christian missionaries in Madhya Bharat, according to Mr. M. B. Rege, former Judge of the Madhya Bharat High Court and Chairman of the seven-man Committee appointed by the Madhya Bharat Government to enquire into the activities of the missionaries.

These missionaries, he said, were spending Rs. 10 lakhs every year for propaganda and other activities.

Mr. Rege, who was addressing a Press Conference in Indore said during the visit of the Committee in Ratlam and Jhabua districts, some persons told the Committee that, besides the ignorance of the poor, "psychological pressure" was also playing a prominent part in easy conversion of the people.

Continuing, Mr. Rege said Canadian missions were active in Indore, Ratlam and Dhar districts and used to spend nearly Rs. 6 lakhs every year in this area alone while Roman Catholic missions were active in seven other districts in South Madhya Bharat. The largest number of conversions were reported from Shajhapur district, the number being 416 in six years while there were only three missions for this work.

Mr. Rege regretted that the response to the questionnaire issued by the Committee to about one thousand persons some time back, requesting them to supply all information

about the activities of Christian missionaries, was very poor. The Hindu Maha Sabha, Jan Sangh and Arya Samaj, which had clamoured for the enquiry, had not come forward to give suggestion in spite of the Committee's repeated requests. There was no use blaming the missionaries so long as others remained silent without doing anything to counteract their activities.

THE CRY OF "WOLF"

Formal war between owners of nuclear weapons means the annihilation of society, as most of mankind in both East and West learn daily from press reports. The soul-searchers, as they stand and blink in what looks like the shadow of death, foresee utter obliteration—but not how to forestall it, observes Sri Bhades Choudhury in *World Veteran*. Meanwhile there is evidence on every hand that ordinary people are by no means eager to rack their brains about it. They feel that the World keeps going from crisis to crisis and they have heard from the cry of "Wolf" so often that they no longer heed the noise!

"In the East, thinkers from Confucius to Gandhi have pinned their faith in the ethics of non-violence; and hence the purpose of the peacemakers along the Gandhian way differs from that of other peacemakers in as much as they, unlike the latter, devote themselves to establishing peace not by diplomacy or political manoeuvres but by bringing about a change of heart.

If the recent atomic peace move of the U.S. President can be achieved, it may in time broaden and lead step by step to ultimate disarmament, to beneficial rather than military use of the atom, and finally to an agreeable form of safeguards against misuse of it.

The most vital aspect of Eisenhower's new approach to the problem of atomic energy is that it opens the way again to negotiated solution. It offers a new positive topic for democratic discussion in a spirit of Gandhian philosophy and Christian piety. If it is accepted in that spirit and carried forward in practice, then humanity will have reaped a very great boon."

AVOID CLOSE SOWINGS

Farmers growing maize are often tempted to sow the seed too close. This acts very badly on the formation and development of cobs, and as such the yield gets reduced.

Research shows that seed for a grain crop is best sown in rows 18 inches apart with a spacing of 9 inches between plant and plant. A line-sown crop yields better than a broadcast crop. Line sowing is done by using a drill or by dropping the seed in the furrow opened by a country plough. If the furrows made are straight and parallel, hoeing and weeding are made easy with bullock-drawn implements.

For a fodder crop, the distance between rows can be maintained between nine inches to a foot. Ten to 15 lb. of seed for grain and 30 to 40 lb. for fodder are considered adequate for sowing an acre.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY IN INDIA

"Person to person diplomacy is transcending our striped-pants diplomacy in India," according to George V. Allen, former U. S. Ambassador to India. Speaking as the institute of International Education, Allen said that in his humble opinion, if the world is to be saved, such person to person diplomacy will save it.

Allen highly praised the U. S.—Indian Exchange Program of 4-H farm boys as an intrinsic part of the person to person diplomacy.

"In the past two years some 25 4-H boys have lived on Indian farms," he said, "and some 125 young Indian farmers have lived and worked on American farms."

The former Ambassador said "we entered this programme with some doubts but it has proved a success. Why the Indian farmers have even formed an alumni group that meets once a year in New Delhi to recount their experience in America."

Allen, praised Prime Minister Nehru whom he said is "stoutly in favour of a secular state" and also wants "a multi-racial nation where all races are equal."

"The strongest emotion in India today—and perhaps all of Asia—is nationalism," Allen said, "and Nehru uses this emotion effectively in fighting communism."

INDIAN PROGRESS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The *San Francisco Chronicle* cites the progress made by India since her independence and says in the face of such an impressive record, the "Why are we aiding Nehru?" chorus in this country sounds ignorant and off key."

In a recent editorial, the *Chronicle* says in almost every significant way, life is better today in India than it was seven years ago when the country was winning its autonomy.

"Because of this betterment of conditions in India, she has won the most of a heavy economic and social struggle—one of the greatest, perhaps in the history of the human race—the achievements of India since independence have become a theme of intense national pride," the *Chronicle* says.

Stressing the importance of food production gains and the increase in literacy, the *Chronicle* concludes its editorial by saying:

"In the current year the United States Government is spending 60,500,000 for development assistance and economic aid and 17,700,000 for technical assistance to India. Since 1947 we have put 278 million into the Indian economy. We have been wise thus to help the Indian leaders stabilize and expand their country's economy; what we have done has contributed to combating the Communist menace. In the face of an impressive record like that the "Why are we aiding Nehru?" chorus in this country sounds ignorant and off key."

THE BRITISH WAY

What are the characteristics of the British civilisation?

According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President they are: The ballet box, the Cricket bat, the limited liability Company and the authorised version of the holy Bible.

Unveiling the bust of the late Sir Manekji B. Dadabhoy, Dr. Radhakrishnan said that the cricket bat taught people that they should "play the game" It did not matter if they lost, but they should accept defeat with grace. The limited liability companies were interested in playing their part in development of trade and industry, and the ballot box told them that "it is not by killing one another but through the votes that we can bring about great changes in constitutions", he added.

THE EASTERN ECONOMIST—ANNUAL 1954

At a time when the attention of the whole world is focussed on South East Asia and the problems relating to it, the *Eastern Economist* has done well to choose "India in South East Asia" as the theme of its Annual Number. The subject has been treated with special reference to India because of her Geographical position and intimate historical bond with the other South East Asian countries.

The problem is discussed in its varied aspects—political, economic and psychological. Part I—A is devoted to a political assessment of the problem. History has invested South East Asia with a new unity, born partly out of the common experience of colonialism, but reinforced largely by the pressure of the Peoples' Republic of China and the counter pressure which it has generated. If the position of South East Asia were to change, there should be a dissolution of the differences which exist internally and a new pattern of political and economic co-operation should be evolved.

In part I B is set out in detail the economic co-ordinates of South East Asia and a plan for economic co-operation. The present economic structure of production in South East Asia with indications of the lines on which improvement is possible has been sketched.

An economic survey of India in 1954 forms the subject of part II.

The "*Eastern Economist*" Annual numbers reads like a novel and contains a fund of information on problems relating to India and South East Asia. It provides food for further thought on the subject and should prove useful to those interested. The articles have been illustrated by suitable graphs and diagrams, a notable and attractive feature of the *Eastern Economist* publications.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

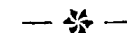
The goal of U. S. foreign policy in 1955 will be to maintain peace and the basic position of free world strength, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles says in an article in the January issue of the magazine *Nation's Business*.

"That high purpose is behind everything we do," Secretary Dulles said, noting the considerable progress made during 1954 despite the obstacles posed by international communism.

In 1955 the Secretary of State said, "one of the ever-present hazards will be the danger of being lulled into lowering our defences against the enemy before the peril is past." Though to the free world the word "co-existence" means the toleration of differences, it may mean something entirely different to the Communists, he said. The words "democracy" and "peace" have in the past been distorted by the Communists, he warned.

Reaffirming his faith in "the dynamic influence of a free society and our determination to negotiate from strength" Secretary Dulles linked U.S. purposes.

"One of the principles of such a free society as ours," he said, "is that in it all men are brothers. Translating this into the world of diplomacy, you have nations working together in a very real sense."



Once a very pompous lady was ushered into President Abraham Lincoln's study. "Mr. President," she began, "I want my son to get a commission as a colonel, at least. I demand it not as a favour, but as a right. My grandfather fought at Lexington, my father fought at New Orleans, and my husband was killed at Monterey."

"I guess, madam," Lincoln answered quietly, "that your family has done enough for this country. It is time to give somebody else a chance."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

RACIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE multiplicity of racial laws, the savagery of courts, the mounting animosity of the majority of the whites and the recent stand taken by the powerful Western countries like the United Kingdom, and the United States over the racial issue in South Africa, have combined to make the outlook of life for the Indians, Negroes and mixed population and Asiatics in general in the Union of South Africa grim and tragic, according to two South African travellers who were returning to South Africa after an extensive tour of Far Eastern countries.

The travellers, who desired to remain anonymous for fear of repercussions on their return painted a vivid and lurid picture of the economic and social conditions in the Union for the coloured population in an interview with the Press Trust of India.

They described the present situation in the Union as a "reign of terror and a police State of the worst order with a record unrivalled by any past or present Totalitarian States.

The travellers said that all the evils associated with Totalitarian States existed in South Africa to-day.

S. A. COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

ASSUMING segregation was desirable in university education, the most feasible scheme financially was concentration of of most non-European students in Natal University and Fort Hare, an important African training centre, a special Inquiry Commission reported. The Commission said that separate university training may lead to questions about whether the cost would endanger Government subsidies for mainly European universities.

The Commission, told to investigate the practical aspects of separate training for Africans, Indians and coloureds, tabled its report in the House of Assembly.

Ceylon

CEYLON CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

SIR Edwin Wijeyaratne, Ceylon's High Commissioner-designate to India, indicated that a majority of applications from 8,75,000 Indians for Ceylonese citizenship would be turned down. There were already, he said, about one lakh of Indians holding the Ceylonese passport and they had nothing to worry.

As regards those Indians who would fail to get registration, the Ceylonese Government would offer them some inducements to apply for Indian citizenship.

These inducements, he said, were worked out in detail at the moment by the immigration authorities in Ceylon. They would roughly be on the following lines:

- (1) those Indians who fail to get registration would not be bundled out of the island even if they became Indian citizens;
- (2) they would not be driven out of their existing employment; and
- (3) they would be allowed to remain in Ceylon for a long period of time.

Kenya

IMMIGRATION LAWS IN KENYA

MR. C. B. Madan, an Indian member of the Kenya Legislative Council, declared at Nairobi that if the Kenya Government were to repeal the Immigration Law which permitted Indian women domiciled in the colony to bring their husbands after marriage for settlement in the country, there would be "no other honourable course left open to Asian Ministers in Kenya than to resign from Government."

Addressing the first of a series of meetings organised by the Kenya Indian Congress to protest against possible amendments to the Immigration Law, he said Indians feared that the Kenya Government might follow the example of Tanganyika where similar rights of Indian women had since been withdrawn in spite of strong protests from the Indian community there.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Twin and complementary resolutions, one on Socialist pattern of society, and the other on Economic policy with the establishment of a welfare society under socialist economy as the national aim were unanimously adopted by the Congress at Avadi.

SOCIALISTIC SOCIETY

In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the preamble and directive principle of state policy of the constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five-Year plan which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but also of great achievement.

The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the community projects and the national extension service which already cover 80,000 villages and 50 million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and co-operation which these schemes have evoked. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for allround advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five-Year plan.

The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a welfare State and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume

of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

The Second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry including machine-making industry, as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions being given, but also on the full co-operation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

In view of the declared objective being a socialistic pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will (1) Initiate and operate large scale schemes providing services such as power, transport, etc. (2) Have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy. (3) Check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production. (4) Plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

The First Five-Year Plan was based on a public sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part, more particularly in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include co-operatives and small scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the national plan. The private sector has thus a definite plan in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic controls of the plan.

India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitates rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic processes. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them.



Mr. DHEBAR ON CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

In the course of his presidential address to the Madras Congress on Jan 21, Mr. U. N. Dhebar spoke of the Congress objectives in the context of Present welfare state. He said :

In the context of a welfare State, most of the social and constructive activities, in which the Congressmen were engaged have been taken over by the State and others by various bodies, boards, congresses and associations. It appears to some that in course of time the Congress will be reduced to a mere parliamentary party, its chief function being to lay down policies, run elections and lead the Government or the Opposition. It has, therefore, become necessary for me to emphasize some aspects of our organization rather forcefully.

What is the Congress?

It was a tear fallen from the suffering and agonized heart of a humanity in bondage, come to life. India had seen better days and, because of some of her weaknesses, had become a prey to the most subtle forms of exploitation—foreign and domestic. The more she tried to shake off the bondage, the faster, closer and tighter grew the bonds around her, till the agony of her heart and aches and pains of her body—emaciated and famished for want of nourishment, both physical and cultural—could hardly bear them any longer. That tear was destined to be a stream, the stream, a river and the river, a mighty Ganges or Brahmaputra, which was to wash off the sins and weaknesses of ages, to weld her people together, breathe new life and carry them aloft united, purified and strengthened to their cherished goal. It was to be a force unparalleled in the history of the world. Its unarmed and unsophisticated armies were to spread the message and undertake a mission the world has heard and worked for, only on rare occasions. What was that message? What was its power? To whom was it addressed?

That message was to cast off fear of everything and fight with indomitable will and courage for truth with the weapons of nonviolence and love. It implied faith in the ultimate success of truth and non-violence and in the unfailing capacity of love to win over.

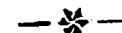
Outwardly, it appeared to make an extraordinary demand on us, but, in practice, it was the least strenuous of the struggles because it was the simplest. The unarmed character of the fight totally paralyzed the armies of the adversary; its openness, his machinery of intrigues and subterfuges; its justice shattered his moral strength. His armies paralyzed his machinery of diplomacy

and intrigues rendered useless and his moral strength broken, the opponent was completely shaken. He survived for a time but that was due not so much because of his strength but because of our weakness and our lack of adequate preparation.

While it worked on the adversary in this way, how did it work upon us? For that is more important to us today. Unconsciously but with magical effect, we found a new life flowing in our hearts, new blood circulating in our veins, a new spirit capturing our minds, and new hope welling up in our bosom. It simply took possession of us. While the effect differed from individual to individual, it was but clear that the whole nation was impregnated with a new faith and a new spirit. We forgot our old habits and were irresistibly carried forward in the purifying stream. Months, years and decades passed and every day we felt conscious that we were something new to ourselves. On occasions we felt fatigued, remembered our old comfortable existence and the worldly prospects it held before us. But it was for a time only. The urge, the message created in us, was so strong and overpowering. It was irresistible. In a way we found ourselves being tested. For Congressmen a test was always welcome, and the result was always certain. We were supported during these days by the inner urge and we found our inner strength daily growing. Bapu was clear. Our salvation lay in building up that inner strength. It was a process of self-realization. It was all a struggle for self-emancipation. That being achieved, no power on earth could hold us back from our march towards freedom and prosperity.

This message did not aim at mere political salvation, nor did it aim merely at outward economic and social changes. It aimed at a complete change of one's personality from within, resulting in a total change of his outlook. Only such a change could be a sound basis for a permanent change in the way of life of a society and the foundation of a new social order.

Political power was bound to follow. But our minds were and are clear. Power may come to us as it has come to us now. We shall, therefore, put it to the only use for which it is intended with humility and in a spirit of service. But power or no power, the organization must continue to play its role outside the framework of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of sacrifice and service.



STRENGTHENING THE CONGRESS

The Avadi Congress unanimously adopted the resolutions on unity and integration as also on purity and strengthening of the organization, originally moved in the subjects committee by Mr. Morarji Desai :

UNITY AND INTEGRATION

This Congress is of opinion that the progress and well being of the people of India necessitate not only political and economic advance but also social reform so as to remove the barriers which come in the way of individual and social growth. The unity of India requires that every separatist tendency that comes in the way of such unity should be actively discouraged. While preserving the great variety of India and the richness of her cultural life, it is essential that India should be integrated culturally and psychologically. Caste, which is not only separatist but is opposed to the democratic ideal of equality, should be put an end to, and communalism, which degrades both religion and politics, should be sternly repressed. Provincialism, which is a narrowing and disruptive factor checking the development of a unified and integrated India should also be opposed.

PURITY OF ORGANISATION

A strong, powerful and dignified political organisation is an indispensable requisite of sound and efficient democracy much more so in the context of India with the vastness, numbers and magnitude of her problems. The Congress has by reason of its services in the past and in recent years acquired an abiding place in the hearts of the people. Because of such trust and because of its solidarity it has been able to deal successfully with difficult and intricate problems to assure an orderly and progressive Govt. to the people and to undertake planned development on a wide scale through democratic processes.

The Congress looks back with pride and gratification on its contribution towards the freedom and advancement of the country.

The Congress, however, views with serious concern some of the trends and tendencies noticeable in the working of the organisation. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp

the strength of the organisation, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency. It therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked.

The Congress has a positive role to play apart from the running of Governments in the country. It has an obligation to prepare the masses for shouldering heavy responsibilities involved in a democratic form of Govt. in order to achieve its social objectives. It is its duty to inspire the masses to cultivate a social and moral outlook and work for the psychological and cultural integration of the country. Anything that goes against the vital principles for which the organisation stands must be dealt with firmly. The Congress hopes that a firm and determined effort weeding out the undesirable tendencies referred to above and implementation of the constructive and developmental programme will clean the organisation of its weaknesses and raise its strength and dignity so that it continues to perform its historic mission to the people of India and through them to humanity as a whole.

Mr. NEHRU ON POLITICAL BOSSES

Speaking to Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees on organisational issues. Mr. Nehru drew a distinction between a 'political boss' and a 'political leader'. There is a tendency towards 'boss development' in local politics. It is rather difficult to draw a fine line between a political boss and a political leader. But a political leader is good by virtue of service and his popularity; while, a political boss is a person who captures leadership by various methods which are not desirable. Undoubtedly, such growth in the Congress in local areas is not good because it is completely opposed to any idealistic approach to problems which has been the strength of the Congress."



112 CRORES FOR EDUCATION

India spent during 1950-51, a sum of Rs. 112,02,59,463 on education by way of direct and indirect expenditure, according to the Education Statistics compiled by the Union Education Ministry.

These statistics are based on figures supplied by the various State Governments but do not include figures for Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad (University portion) which are not available.

Of the amount spent, Rs. 89,41,10,157 was direct expenditure or outlay devoted directly to the maintenance of institutions and remuneration of teachers.

The remainder of Rs. 22,67,49,376 was expenditure of hostel and scholarship charges, cost of buildings and equipment, expenditure on direction, inspection and other miscellaneous items which cannot be apportioned to any individual institution or type of institution.

The expenditure works out on an average to Rs. 3,14,069 for one lakh of population.

C. R.'s ADDRESS TO NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

Addressing the 34th Convocation of Nagpur University, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar the elder statesman, told the graduates, "Each one of the uneducated craftsmen, farmers and shopkeepers that carries on in the busy world, you will soon discover, knows more than you do. Do not, therefore, pretend that you are more educated than they or that you are more important or that you are a different caste".

The highlight of the Convocation was the conferring of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on Rajaji by Chancellor Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya. A total number of 1,424 candidates, 234 of whom were women, were the recipients of degrees.

In his 20 minute address, Rajaji suggested that education in the early stages should be shaped in two carefully designed methods and approaches—one for pupils belonging to educationally weaker sections of society and the other for children of educated families.

Emphasising the importance of religion in life, Rajaji said the only way of putting down the rising tide of greed and deception was "to reinfuse the spirit of religion among our people, especially among the educated people who set standards of behaviour for others".

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

A three-year degree course and 17 as the minimum age for entry into the Universities was recommended by the Central Advisory Board of Education which concluded its three-day meeting at Delhi. The Board also decided that the end of Secondary Education at 17 years should mark a terminal stage in education and prepare students for life.

The Board requested the Government of India to appoint a committee to draw up an integrated syllabus for the School Final examination to achieve the above objective. The last class in the Secondary stage, it was decided, should be called the Eleventh Class and may be reached after schooling of not less than ten years. The actual duration of the school system in the various States was to be determined by the State Governments concerned.

The Board was of the opinion that for the implementation of these recommendations it was necessary that liberal financial assistance should be provided by the Central and the State Governments. The Board also requested the Central Government, State Governments, and the Planning Commission to provide the necessary finances in the Second Five-year Plan for the implementation of these recommendations.

The appointment of a separate Advisory Committee on Basic Education as a Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education was also recommended by the meeting.

IKE'S APOLOGY TO STUDENT

Elaine Solgate, a secondary school student, has received President Eisenhower's apology for the length of his State of the Union message to Congress.

Elaine, 16-year-old student at Reese High School, had to copy the 7,700-word speech in longhand as punishment for talking while her history class was listening to the President. After spending a week at the task, Elaine sent it to the President.

It was returned with the message.

"With profound apologies for the length of this speech to one who was given the task of copying it. With best wishes, Dwight D. Eisenhower."



PAK G. G.'s PROCLAMATION CHALLENGED

The Sind Chief Court on Feb 9 upheld the petition of Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan challenging the Governor General's proclamation of October 24, 1954 and declared the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly illegal.

A Full Bench of the Court consisting of five Judges also held that the appointment of the Central Ministers Major General Iskander Mirza, Minister for Interior, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, Dr. Khan Sahib, Minister for Law, Mr M. A. H. Ispahani, Minister for Commerce and Mir Ghulam Talpur was illegal and unconstitutional.

The Court granted 14 days' stay of execution of its writs in this connection to enable the respondents to file an appeal with the Federal Court.

The judgment of the Full Bench was unanimous.

Chief Justice Constantine read out the judgment to a packed Court.

The Court granted Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan a writ of mandamus restraining the respondents from preventing him to function as President of the Constituent Assembly.

Ministers Can't Function

Their Lordships also granted a writ of *quo warranto* preventing Major General Iskander Mirza, Mr M A S Ispahani, Dr Khan Sahib, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, and Mir Ghulam Talpur (respondents) from functioning as Central Ministers.

These writs were to be issued after 14 days.

The Full Bench granted this stay of execution to enable the respondents to file their applications with the Federal Court.

Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ali told Pressmen that the Government would abide by the decision of the Federal Court about the Governor-General's proclamation dissolving the constituent Assembly.

U. K. COPYRIGHT ACT STILL IN FORCE IN INDIA

A British Government order of about forty years ago under the United Kingdom Copyright Act still continues in force in India.

This was revealed in a statement made in the Rajya Sabha by Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education, in reply to a question by Mr. M. Valiulla.

Dr. Shrimali said:—"Prior to independence, copyright relations with the Government of United States of America were established by an Order in Council made by the Government of the U. K. on February 3, 1915 under the U. K. Copyright Act, 1911, which was made applicable to India also and a proclamation of the President of the United States dated April 9, 1910, issued under the United States of America copyright law."

He said order continues to be in force in India even after the attainment of Independence and the inauguration of the Indian Republic of Jan. 26, 1950.

The President of the United States of America has recently issued a fresh proclamation confirming the copyright relations between India and the U.S.A."

HINDU MERCHANTS IN GOA PERSECUTED

The Portuguese authorities in Goa, who believe that Hindu merchants are helping the liberation movement, have adopted a new measure to persecute them. They are asking from them "Laixa do gerentif"—(Manager's tax of Rs. 10 per year). Almost all Hindu families of Goa have been affected by this tax. Even small Hindu joint family business in the villages, not having capital of more than Rs. 1,000, will be affected.

It is learnt that the measure has also been adopted as Government, finding its coffers empty, wants money somehow or other.



SEMINAR ON 5 YEAR PLAN

Presiding over the inter-State seminar on the Five-Year Plan for the Southern Region at Coimbatore on Feb. 4 Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, said that the rate at which investment had been made during the first three years of the first Plan period fell short of what was envisaged in the Plan and it was necessary to step up the rate of investment considerably during the remaining years.

Mr. Nanda said the decision to adopt a socialist pattern of society would have a decisive influence on the approach and tone of the second Plan, preliminary work in connection with the drafting of which had just commenced. Such a society presupposed a socialist way of life, of which the essential features were a sense of social discipline and social responsibility in an increasing measure.

He emphasised that a socialist democratic society demanded higher standards of efficiency, of competence and execution and of integrity than those which prevailed in capitalist society. Because of the emphasis on democracy, more was left to co-operation, to the sense of duty, than to fear.

The basic condition for bringing about the socialist pattern, Mr. Nanda said, was the ability to create conditions of rapid development in which the nation as a whole made a determined effort to consume less to-day so that to-morrow might be more plentiful.

Mr. Nanda, stressing the need for decentralised planning, said that planning in a democracy envisaged the participation of the people in the fullest sense. He wanted pooling of all the experiences and knowledge of officials and sharing them with non-officials.

Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, in inaugurating the seminar said that it was the national aim to bring about a social order, based on justice—social, economic and political—which offered to every citizen equality of opportunity and participation in the development of the nation's life.

The details of the social pattern were worked out by the Fiscal Commission and

later more fully by the Planning Commission. The plan, in its different parts, sought to give form and shape to it.

About forty delegates from the five South Indian States—Madras, Andhra, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin—and the Government of India, besides a large and distinguished gathering of non-officials were present.

SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES CORPN.

A Small Industries Corporation, designed to assist small industries, has been registered as a private limited company under the Indian Companies Act.

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The setting up of such a Corporation was one of the two recommendations made by the international team of experts of the Ford Foundation which surveyed the problems of small-scale industries in India in 1953.

T. T. K. DENIES TIME STORY

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Commerce and Industries, who has withdrawn his resignation after his talks with the Prime Minister denied that he gave any interview to the New Delhi correspondent of the American magazine "Time" prior to his departure from the Indian capital.

The New Delhi correspondent of the magazine had put out the story that Mr. Krishnamachari described, in the alleged interview, Prime Minister Nehru as "dictator" and that he shook hands with him "for the last time."

The Minister told PTI that he had never seen the correspondent of the American magazine, nor did he give any interview to any one. He said that on the eve of his departure from Delhi he met Press correspondents in the capital at his residence but he gave no interview to any one.



AID TO WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN RURAL AREAS

A resolution requesting the Government to give stimulus to the women's movement in the rural areas was adopted by the 24th session of the All-India Women's Conference held at Phaltan. The resolution also requested the Government to make better provisions for training, employment and living conditions for the girls working in the rural areas. It urged the Government to take the co-operation of the women's voluntary organisations in this field.

The conference, which concluded on Feb. 4 recommended to the Government to integrate "certain specific items" for stimulating a rural women's movement by giving directives in the second Five-Year Plan and to consult women's voluntary organisations in doing so by calling a representative meeting of such organisations.

The Conference also requested the Community Projects administration to frame a "minimum programme" for short term training courses for home improvement of rural areas after consultations with women's organisations, and to recognise the All-India Women's Conference as one of the voluntary agencies for giving the training. It also demanded that provisions should be made for the proper recruitment of women trained under such schemes for service in project areas.

Priority for the establishment of working girlshomes—in areas where facilities for housing personnel were not easily available was another demand made by the conference.

The conference directed all its branches to give wide publicity to the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill and to give free legal aid to those who were in need of the same.

Mrs. Puspaben Mehta (Delhi) was elected General Secretary for the ensuing year while Mrs. Zabawalla was elected Treasurer.

The Conference also decided to convene an Asian-African Conference of women early next year. Announcing this to pressmen Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, President of the A. W. C. said that representatives of Pakistan, Ceylon and Turkey, who were attending the 24th session had given their whole hearted support for such a conference.

HELEN KELLER IN INDIA

Helen Keller, the noted deaf and blind author and educator, arrived in Bombay on February 20 and is scheduled to visit various cities in India.

Highlighting her various engagements in the city was a civic reception arranged for her by the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Her visit to India will be part of a goodwill tour to India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines and Japan sponsored by the American Foundation For Overseas Blind (AFOB) in cooperation with the governments of the countries to be visited. Miss Keller hopes to inspire "desperately needed" expansion of facilities for relief, education, and rehabilitation of the blind, the deaf-blind and the deaf in the Far East.

The 74-year-old woman, who has become an inspiration to millions, already has circled the world at least five times in her efforts to increase public understanding of the problems of the blind.

Dr. SUSHILA NAYYAR

Dr. Sushila Nayyar, former Health Minister of Delhi State, was on Feb 25 elected as Speaker of the Delhi State Assembly defeating Rana Jung Bahadur Singh (Independent) and Mr. Hari Chand (Jan Sangh).

She is the first woman to be elected Speaker of any State Assembly in India so far, since Independence.

Dr. Nayyar secured 34 votes as against five and four secured by Mr. Harichand and Rana Jung Bahadur Singh respectively. One vote was declared invalid.

Earlier, three Congress candidates, Messrs. P. R. Chakrabarty, K. P. Shankara and Gopinath withdrew their names from the contest.

FIVE REVOLTS

About 1,500 girls—married and unmarried—sought the permission of the Lucknow City Magistrate to live "independently" of their husbands and relatives during 1954, it is learnt.

These girls, who mostly belonged to the lower strata of society, filed their "liberty of action" application before the City Magistrate, Lucknow, without knowing that the latter has no such power. The applications therefore, were ordered to be preserved in the files.



CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The Avadi Congress, more than any other previous session, was deeply concerned with constructive work. The Prime Minister himself devoted more time to reforming the Congress from within so as to root out corruption and promote its efficiency than to foreign affairs which usually absorb his attention. Constructive work and Economic policy were the two main points on which the Congress executive was concentrating its attention.

The Resolution as finally adopted reads:

"The Congress endorses and commends the resolution on 'constructive and developmental work' passed by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer on July 24, 1954. The resolution referred to above is as follows:

Since the Congress has undertaken the responsibility and burden of the Government of India, both at the Centre and in the States, the parliamentary programme of the Congress is necessarily important and requires full and constant attention. But the Congress has always laid stress on constructive activities in the country. Indeed, such activities, on the widest scale, are not only important in themselves, but are essential pre-requisites for the success of parliamentary work.

The strength of the Congress has come from its roots in the people and the service it has rendered to the people by its constructive activities. These activities have now increased and widened in scope and cover all the developmental schemes in the country. Congress members of Parliament and State Assemblies must remain in constant touch with their constituencies and participate in constructive and developmental activities.

A special responsibility, however, rests on other Congressmen, who are not directly associated with parliamentary work, to devote themselves to these constructive and developmental activities. These activities include the old constructive programme of the Congress which comprises, inter alia, communal unity, work for Harijans and Adivasis, and cottage and village industries. They should also include work for the Bhoodan movement, the organisation of co-operatives, and every kind of possible help in the developmental programmes of the Five-Year Plan. Particularly, Congressmen should associate themselves

with, and take active interest in the community projects and national extension service schemes. They should do this not only through the Advisory Committee for these schemes but by offering themselves for the training laid down for village workers and other type of workers for the community project and national extension service schemes.

In this way, the Congress will be directly associated with the great task of building up new India and Congressmen will come into close contact with and serve the people, more especially in the rural areas.

The A.I.C.C. attaches great importance to this constructive and developmental work and directs the President and General Secretaries to organise this in an effective manner. The Pradesh Congress Committees should do likewise.

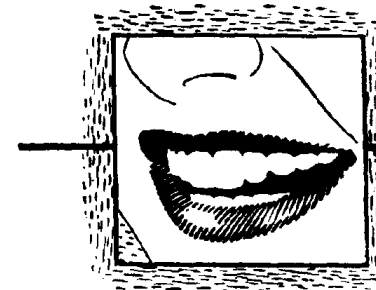
FOREIGN ESTABLISHMENTS

The following is the text of the resolution on Foreign Establishments adopted at the Avadi Congress:

The Congress has noted with pleasure the *de facto* transfer of the French establishments in India to the Union of India. It welcomes the inhabitants of these areas as citizens of the Indian Republic and as members of the large family of India, and looks forward to their progress and advancement. In particular, the Congress is gratified that this historic change has taken place by means of a friendly settlement with the French Republic. It welcomes the assurance given that French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry and thus add to the richness of India's life and culture.

The Congress is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India.

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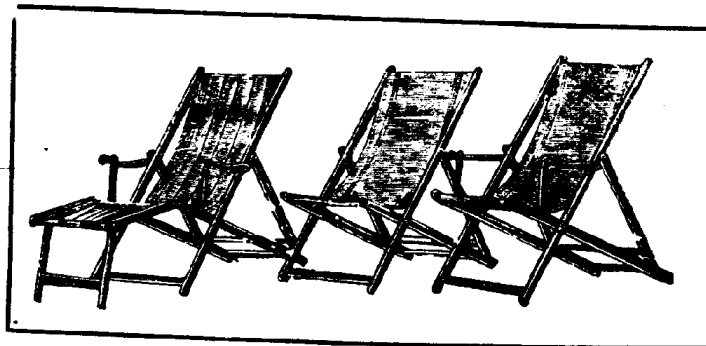
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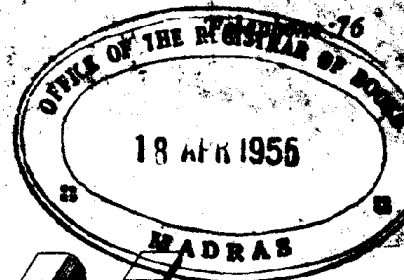
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