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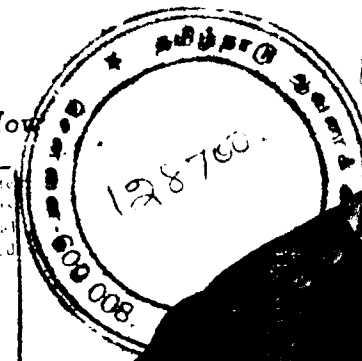
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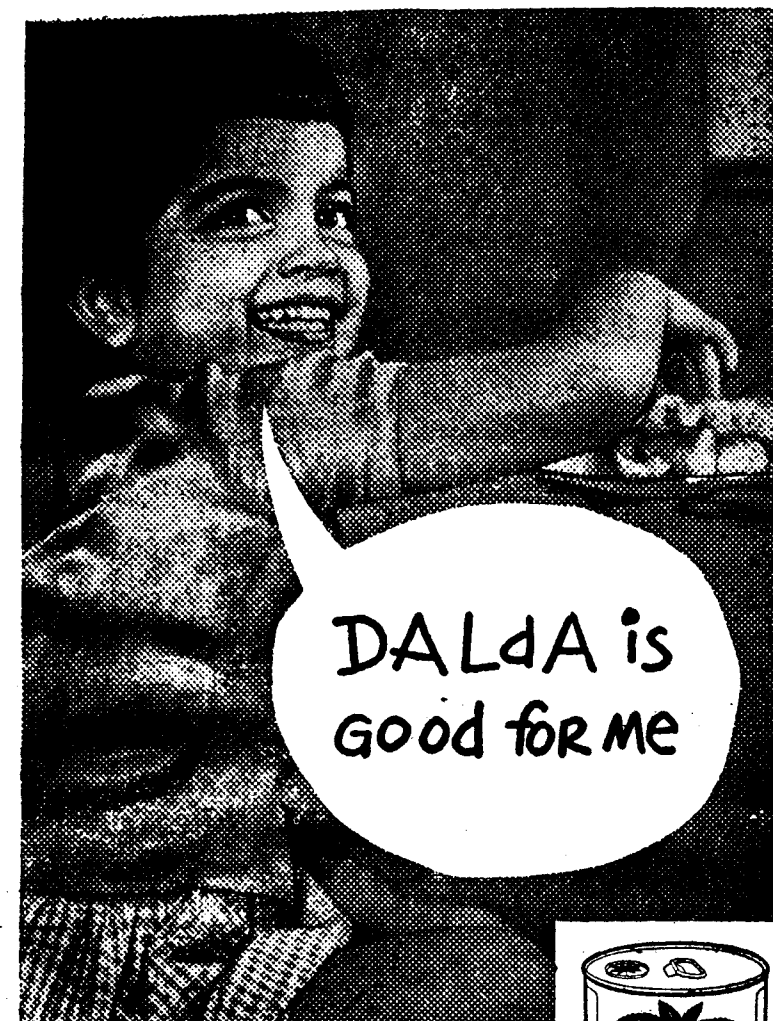


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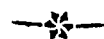
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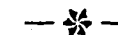
Vol. 56]

MAY 1955

[No. 5

Outlines of a Tax Policy in a Mixed Economy

BY PROF. A. C. MINOCHA.



ONE of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in our constitution is to prevent concentration of wealth and incomes in the hands of the few. To achieve this objective tax policy though not the only instrument, is certainly the most effective and powerful one. In the mixed economy that we have adopted, where private and public sectors have their definite roles to play, the important ingredients of economic policy and ordered economic growth are (a) improvement in distribution (b) greater development in public sector (c) more production in the private sector (d) promotion of stability in the economy. In a planned economy the fruits of economic development must be distributed over a large number of people and there must be widespread diffusion of gains in the community. But this objective of distributive justice may not come into conflict with another objective i.e., increase in production. If taxation policy results in drying up the distributive source then it would only lead to distribution of poverty.

Equality in the society cannot be achieved through the automatic functioning of economic forces. The state will have to become an active creator of desired change rather than a mere spectator of economic trends. Taxation as a means to reduce inequalities have a definite role to play. Pointing out the role of taxation in the distributive justice the Taxation Enquiry Commission says:

"The attainment of a wider measure of equality in incomes, wealth, and opportunities

must form an integral part of economic development and social advance The tax system can certainly assist in this process by recognition of the fact that the distribution of income is not immutable but is capable of adjustment, if definite emphasis is directed towards it in the fiscal system."

No reliable statistics about the extent of inequality in India are available. But this can be said that in the inflationary period, there has been concentration of incomes in the hands of the business community. Income tax as an instrument of reducing inequalities has its own weaknesses. It does not extend over to agricultural incomes and its evasion further creates inequalities. Imposition of agricultural income tax by the state Governments and death duty will go a long way in reducing inequalities in the society.

EQUITY IN TAXATION

Equity is an elusive term. It is relative to the public finance operations as a whole. The principle of ability to pay to achieve equity will have to be sacrificed to some extent if objective of economic development has to be achieved. As the Taxation Enquiry Commission remarks, "It is inevitable in under-developed countries seeking to accelerate the tempo of their economic development that their tax system must suffer some departure from the strict basis of ability to pay, if the targets of economic development which form the imperatives of their national

policies are to be attained within a reasonable period."

The Commission has suggested that there should be a ceiling on personal net incomes after taxation and income should not exceed 30 times the average family income. Calculated on this basis it comes to about 35,000 a year. But the Commission has set this as a long term objective which need not be implemented in the immediate short-period. The recommendations of the Commission are torn between their desire to reduce inequalities and the desire to promote production. Greater production and better distribution are both objectives of high importance in relation to general and social policy. It has been said that in the conditions of this country increase in production is more important objective than improvement in distribution. Low capital formation due to a higher propensity to consume and a lower propensity to save is a marked feature of under-developed economies. The vicious circle of poverty runs from (a) low income to (b) the small propensity to save and hence to (c) lack of capital, leading to (d) low productivity and so back to a low level of real income per head. Capital formation occurs if something happens to break this vicious circle of poverty. Tax system will have to be adopted to the imperative need of stepping up the rate of capital formation.

Higher taxes act in a disincentive manner and depress trade and industry. Tax system should not be strained to such a limit so as to endanger the flow of productive system.

In a mixed economy capital must flow to the private sector which has been given a definite role to play. Anything which discourages savings and investment in this sector, would dry up this source of wealth. Taxation reduces consumption and investment and diverts resources from the private to the public sector. Both the sectors depend upon a single investible pool and a policy to satisfy

the just claims of the both on this common pool is highly desirable in a mixed economy. If the proceeds of taxes go to swell the administration and non-development expenditure, additional public investment made through taxation will take place at the expense of private investment. The following statement from the Taxation Enquiry Commission Report gives an analysis of public expenditure in India :—

(in terms of per Rupee of total costs)

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Non-Development	0	9	6
Social services	0	3	2
Economic development	0	3	4

Non-development expenditure forms the bulk of public expenditure in India. The Commission remarks, "It would not be incorrect to say that taxable capacity shrinks with impecunious and unpopular policies and ineffective governance and expands with beneficent and competent administration. Public expenditure in India has been moving increasingly towards beneficent expenditure but it cannot be said with equal certainty that it is moving also towards economy and efficiency."

There is a strong need to strike a balance between the objectives of achieving equality through the tax instrument and of maintaining unimpaired the flow of saving and investment. The tax policy should be carried to reduce inequalities without encroaching upon incentives. A tax policy must be accompanied by a beneficent expenditure policy. Public expenditure in India needs a thorough study and careful enquiry by a high power Commission. The success of the Plan depends upon the achievement of public expenditure rather than the extent of financial outlay.

We have accepted the role of private enterprise in our planned economy. If it is to function, it must not be starved to death. It must be given incentives to flourish—such incentives which are consistent with the broad

economic and social objectives. Not to provide incentives means to defeat the progress of economic development. Considering the important role which private enterprise will have to play, the Commission has recommended tax concessions, development rebates to selected industries, a 'tax holiday to new selected industries for 6 years etc. The Tax system must have the adequacy of both depth and range, if it is to promote an accelerated pace of development. In a tax policy direct and indirect taxes both must occupy their respective places. Additional taxation of wide range of luxury products accompanied by a broadbased taxation of articles of mass consumption at comparatively low rates is suggested by the Commission.

"Restraint on the consumption of high income groups must of course be greater in respect of low income groups."

It has become necessary to revise the present tax structure in India in the light of the recommendations of the Taxation Commission. Personal incomes of rich as well as poor must be taxed, as it would not do merely to tax the rich. "The masses must be taxed and told why they were taxed." The higher income groups in the countryside are not contributing as much as they ought to contribute. There must be restraint in consumption as no country can advance without sacrifice in the early stages of development.

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Early contact between Indo-China and South India

BY MR. K. V. RAMAN, M.A.,

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THE cultural expansion of India into the Far East in the early years of Christian era forms a most fascinating chapter in history. In the momentous task of broad-casting Indian culture abroad both North India and South India played a notable part. If Bengal, Manipur and Assam spearheaded the waves of invasion that went through land to the Far East, South India, thanks to her close proximity to the sea and her long experience in navigation, exploited to the tilt the sea-routes to reach those far off islands.

Scholars like Gerini once held that only the Indians of Malabar and the Coromandel Coast colonised Indo-China by the sea-routes. Though this view is no longer true (for Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has shown that Bengal also played a great part in the colonisation through the sea) it goes to show at least the importance of South India's stupendous role in the field. People from South India must have started from that coast of Coromandel

which faced the East, the coast of ancient Kalinga, of ancient Telingana, particularly the country of the lower courses of Krishna and Godavari,

That South India from immemorial times had contact with the Indo-China is easily gauged from the following facts: Pan-Kou a Chinese writer who lived not later than second century A. D. gives the route and the duration of travel from Upper Annam (Je-nan) to the Coromandel coast and even to Kanchi. That Chinese writer also states that there was contact between China and Kanchi even at the time of the Chinese Emperor Wou (140 to 86 B.C.).

The Periplus also mentions the trade route from three harbours on the eastern coast near Masulipatam across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula.

Legends and traditions also reveal the ancient ties between Indo-China and South India. For example, Ligor, a province of

Indo-China is believed to have been founded by a certain Dandakumara who fled from Godavari District and got shipwrecked off the coast of Malaya Peninsula. (Gerini: *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*).

Again, the story of the origin of the royal dynasty of the Kambuja bears a close resemblance to the story of the origin of the Pallava dynasty, the common factors being the marriage between the Indian Prince and a Naga woman, and the association of Asvathama.

According to the Chinese chronicles the first Hindu who went to Kambuja was a Brahman, Kaundinya by name. A supernatural voice said to him, "You must go and reign in Funan" and he went to Funan where he was warmly welcomed by the people and crowned as their king. This Kaundinya, was a Brahmin from South India, perhaps from Mysore. (*Journal of Greater India Society* Volume VI).

Leaving traditions and legends and coming down to historical facts, we find that the man who founded the first Hindu dynasty in Champa in second century A.D. was Sri. Mara, and it has been suggested that Mara was a title or name assumed by the Pandya Kings of South India, and so the title might well have been borrowed, from the Pandyas. Another significant fact is that the later Cambodian kings assumed the title of Varman. This reminds us of the Pallava kings who also invariably clubbed 'Varman' to their names. Not only that, the very names of the Pallava kings like Mahendravarman were adopted wholesale by the kings of Cambodia.

There is an inscriptional evidence to show that Sivasoma, the grandson of King Sri. Jayendradhipativarman came all the way from Indo-China to India to learn the *Sastras* from Bhagavat-Sankara the great expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, who hailed, from South-India. (R. C. Mazumdar "Kambuja Desa" Sir William Meyer Lectures.)

The very script of the inscriptions that are to be found in Indo-China bears unmistakable proof for the South Indian influence on Indo-China. Along with North Indian-script Pallava script was also in vogue. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that the script of the oldest inscription in Indo-China (which dates from third century A. D.) is very much

akin to the type of writing that was used in the East coast of South India by the Telugu dynasties like the Salankayanas. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar however thinks that it was derived from the script employed by the Kushanas in the Central regions of North India.

It is architecture that furnishes the most eloquent testimony to the influence of South India on Indo-China. The existence of the gopuras of the Dravidian style in Cambodia makes us think that the South Indian artists must have gone over to Cambodia to give a helping hand to the local artists. Again, the style of architecture found in Champa bears a striking resemblance to that found in Mamallapuram, Kanchi and Badami. But one should not however overlook the fact that the artists of Indo-China were not slavish imitators. They, on the other hand, effected vast improvement and showed their originality.

Not the least of all, the social customs and religious beliefs tell us much about the Impact of South India on Indo-China. For example, the law of inheritance through the female line that was known in Malabar as Marumakkattayam was practised in Indo-China. The custom of Sati was also there. If we take religion, it is to Tamilnad that goes the credit of having introduced the Nataraja form of Siva in Indo-China. Even though Vaishnavism and Buddhism were also practised, it was Saivism that was most popular in Indo-China. Moreover, a number of Bhagavati images have been found in Indo-China which bear ample evidence to the fact that the Bhagavati cult, peculiar to Malabar, was prevalent there. Tradition has it that the cult was introduced by Bhargava Parasurama, with whose name Malabar is also connected. Malabar was in fact known as Parasuramakshetra. The name Sasta is also the name of one of the gods of Cambodia and according to Prof. S. V. Viswanatha, Sasta or Dharma Sasta is the name under which Harihara or Ayyappan appears in Malabar (S. V. Viswanatha: *Racial synthesis in Hindu culture*).

Thus, it will be seen that the early contact between South India and Indo-China made its way into the cultural plane and led to a brilliant flowering of South Indian culture abroad.

Germany Re-visited

BY MR. W. N. EWER

I have just come back from a fortnight's study tour of the Federal Republic of Germany. I have talked with all sorts of people, from Federal and provincial Ministers to men-in-the-street. And I have seen much for myself—in Rhineland and the Ruhr, in Wurttemberg and Bavaria and Hamburg. What is the main impression one has of West Germany almost exactly 10 years after the end of the war?

First, of the tremendous achievement of reconstruction, and of the amount of effort and hard work that has been put into it. But also, of how much still remains to be done.

Even now, 10 years after the end of the war, the cities of West Germany which I saw—Cologne, Dusseldorf, Essen, Stuttgart, Munich, Hamburg—are still devastated areas. New buildings, new factories, new offices, and new dwellings are rising among the ruins. The contrast with 10 years ago is an amazing one. But the ruins are still there. The work is still nothing like done.

Let me give one example. One of the finest achievements is the progress of rehousing in Hamburg. Whole new districts of working-class homes have been built. They are an impressive sight.

But the figures speak for themselves. Before the war there were approximately 600,000 'housing units'. When it ended, half of them had been destroyed or rendered uninhabitable—a deficiency of 300,000. Now, by intense effort, 150,000 new 'units' have been provided, either by repair or new building.

It will, the authorities estimate, take another 10 years before Hamburg's housing is back at the prewar level. Meanwhile, there is desperate overcrowding; and thousands live in shanties, Nissen huts, and the cellars of wrecked buildings.

Munich, less heavily damaged, now has just about as many dwellings as before the

war. But the population has increased by 200,000 since the end of the war, mainly because of the influx of refugees and 'expellees' from Eastern Europe and the Soviet zone of Germany.

Housing and refugees; refugees and housing—these are West Germany's biggest problems today. Since the war, some 10,000,000 refugees or 'expellees' have come to the Federal Republic. They are still coming over from the Soviet zone at the rate of 200,000 a year.

They have somehow to be absorbed, found jobs, and found some sort of living quarters. And, by and large, the job has been done. There are only some 300,000 still living in camps. It is not the least impressive part of what the Germans now begin proudly to call the 'German miracle.'

And, certainly, the contrast between the West Germany I saw in 1945 and the West Germany I have just been seeing is not far short of miraculous.

It has been a miracle in two parts. First (as I find most Germans ready to remember) came the miracle performed in the first year or two by the staffs of the Allied military governments. They had to take charge of the whole administration—down to village level—of a country in which everything had collapsed.

Somehow or other, under incredibly difficult conditions, they got the people fed; they got transport running; they got mines working; they got schools and hospitals and social services operating. Germany and all the West owe those men and women a debt that can never be repaid, but should never be forgotten.

The second phase was when, gradually but far more rapidly than had been at first thought possible, authority and responsibility were handed back to the Germans—until, now, the Federal Republic has become

a fully self-governing State. And for the achievements in this second phase, the credit goes to the Germans themselves; though, as they fully recognize, they could not have done it without the massive assistance of Marshall aid.

Even now, as I have said, the work is far from complete. The standard of living of workers is far from satisfactory. Wages are, by comparison with Britain, low; working hours, long. Housing conditions are deplorable. Agriculture needs modernizing.

Many more years of effort and of peace will be needed before West Germany can fully recover from the catastrophe Hitler brought upon her. The vast majority of West Germans are, I am sure, very conscious of that. But at the same time, they have a sense of achievement. Conditions may not be good, but they are far better than they were.

What of East Germany—The Soviet zone? I have not been there myself, except, last year, in East Berlin. But all the evidence now is of a sharply worsening economy.

The promised ending of food rationing has not come. On the contrary, Herr Grotewohl,

the East German Premier had to announce last month that the sugar and flour rations were being cut. Meat and fats are practically unobtainable in many districts.

The promises of better pay and better supplies of consumer goods have never materialized. It is, now, again heresy to expect or want more consumer goods. And in November the central committee of the Party called for a revision of 'norms' to cheapen production. And a revision of 'norms' means less pay for the same work, or the same pay for more work.

But the conclusive proof of the contrast is the steady, and increasing, flow of refugees from the Soviet zone to the West. Last year there were nearly 200,000. Now they are coming at the rate of 15,000 a month—a large proportion of them young men.

Most Germans to whom I talked of reunification seemed to be thinking not so much of the political national ideal as of the unhappy lot of their 17,000,000 fellow-countrymen under Soviet rule.



Classical Music in Films

BY SRI ANIL BISWAS

When we seek to apply our knowledge of classical or folk music to Indian films, we have to understand the full implications of the two categories of classical music and folk music.

By classical music, it is not meant to imply that it is a static, monolithic entity. It is easier to speak of classical music than to define it. Let us speak of classical music. We may be on safer grounds then.

With its long tradition and countrywide reverence, classical music embraces within its fold many a style, from the Vedic "sam-gan" to "thumri" and "tappa" of

yesterday. Surely, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on the difference that obtains between the "sam-gan" and the "thumri," between "dhrupad" and "khayal" or between "khayal" and "tappa." And yet all these styles and forms go to constitute the body of Indian classical music.

COMPLEMENTARY

Then, should we conclude that music, studied and classified, alone is entitled to be called classical? Folk music has so far received very scanty attention, indeed, but in the near future we may have to face a phenomenon, which will baffle some and

please others, in growing love for a proper study of folk music in all its details. Folk music will then become a subject of studious research and classified training.

Could we then speak of classical folk music? What then should distinguish the classical from folk in Indian music? Books on music in India have solved the riddle for us by suggesting two very apt and picturesque terms, "margi" and "desi" for classical and folk music respectively. Classical is like the great highway in the realms of Indian music and folk the local byways which are essentially local and regional in character, but yet capable of leading the willing traveler to the great highway.

Classical and folk styles in music are thus mutually complementary rather than contrary to each other. The great classical tradition in Indian music derives its greatness from the rich folk forms in our music. The latter has given birth to the former and has sustained it.

Being in the films I have realised only too well that music alone, both in its classical and folk forms, is capable of reflecting the time factor and the space factor of our existence. A truly Indian "musical" needs must have both classical and folk forms to embellish it and to reflect Indian life and character in musical phrases.

India is a country of innumerable temples and fields. Both have yielded us rich harvests in music. The former has tended to be classical, while the latter has had a bias for folk music. India is a country of thousands of towns and cities and lakhs of villages. The urban centres have shown fondness for the classical forms in music while the rural remained steadfast in their love for folk forms.

Indian films have sought to picturise both the temple and the field, the town and the village. Thus our films have been helping themselves generously with the extremely

rich fare that the classical and the folk traditions in Indian music have to offer us. It should be clear, therefore, that films, being what they are, could never be hostile to the one form or the other.

Trouble arises when Indian films cease to remain Indian, when Indian music-makers prove themselves incapable of tearing off the erstwhile colonial fetters on culture. The dwellers of this hoary land, still full of possibilities and potentialities for a great future, sometimes glorify themselves in being the suburbanites of London, Paris and New York. And they really forget that by being westernised they can only succeed in presenting themselves as a sorry spectacle of a colonial people seeking to imitate the metropolitans.

They smother their own initiative, strangle their urge for self-expression, and destroy all hope of fulfilment, which real creative art alone is capable of achieving. Their so-called modernity is only a hallmark of an insipid, hybrid and fallow craftsmanship imposed from without, trampling underfoot all that is within. It is because of this mania for modernity that a wasteland stretches before us like an eye-sore, where a rich orchard should have been nurtured. A new music for a new India should certainly have been our slogan, but not at the cost of India and Indian music.

Individual excellence and exclusive initiation was the motto of classical musicians in mediaeval India. This did help specialisation of and higher development in classical music but the specialists of classical music lost that sense of unity and perspective which was essential for the growth and development of Indian music as a whole. Narrow domestic walls divided the great house of Indian music into innumerable small "gharanas."

In the same way the different regions lost all contact with each other and thus folk music in India became more and more loca-

lised and powerless to defend itself against the onslaughts of de-culturalised towns and cities of an enslaved India. A defunct feudalism could not sustain our living traditions and an alien imperialism could hardly nurture them.

Indian music thus suffered a mortal setback from which it is just recovering. It is time, therefore, we started in terms of a planned aesthetic enterprise, capable of restoring the artistic soul of India to the Indian people, even as our Five Year Plans seek to rehabilitate the material body of India, damaged by a series of feudal lapses and a crushing alien blow.

A highbrow attitude which seeks to browbeat all forms of popular music in the name of nurturing the classical tradition, only succeeds in harming the cause of classical music. These obscurantists forget, rather conveniently, that classical music has developed from precedent to precedent, from innovation to innovation at the hands of great masters like Amir Khusroo and Tansen. The innate right to experiment should not be denied now as it was not denied in the past. Music reflects the inner life of a people. Therefore, by its very nature, it has to be dynamic and not static.

It follows logically, therefore, that the mighty streams of the inner life of the Indian people should rise from their own fountain-heads of inspiration and they should flow into their own "ratnakars" or to their own great seas. Thus, it is wrong to remain static on the one hand and on the other, out of sheer impatience, to try to be alien to native inspirations and just sensational instead of being self-satisfied.

TO LEARN

It is not for sensationalism that we would go abegging at the doors of a highly-developed medium of foreign films. If at all, it would be to learn quite another lesson. The collective element in life rather than the

individual has been underlined and emphasised by all Western forms of art. There was a time when in our country, too, the curtain used to rise to the beating of "dwadash mridangams" or the "twelve drums." That was collective music, most effective and difficult.

Orchestration, as different from accompaniment, was known and practised by our ancient musicians, but this practice was given up in mediaeval times when individual performance gained precedence over collective music. Collective life suffered as never before and it is only recently that some emphasis has been put on the revival of that collective life.

A democratic medium, like films, is naturally the aptest to mirror the great revival of collective life. It is, therefore, in the very nature of things that the cause of community-singing could best be promoted by this medium. A great country like India, with all its far-flung frontiers touching the great seas and mountains, would prove most fruitful for the growth and development of films which are essentially born of the scenic, the picturesque and the phenomenal.

In a country where illiteracy stretches like a vast desert from one end to the other, the film alone could really be called "the ship of the desert." Where books are scarce, films should be plentiful. And films in all their plenty would sound dreary without melodious and rhythmic music.

By music in films we do not only think of songs, but also background music which gives voice to mute images and weaves incidents into an emotional pattern. Significant notes of back-ground music are like the sensitive undertones which make moods more vocal and expressions more expressive. Back-ground music can make a scene more effective, a silent scene speak. It is like the mind's eye seeing in harmony with the eyes of the body. Notes in background music are thus like "shrutis" in the scale of scenes.

BACK-GROUND MUSIC

Thus, beautiful music in films will take the shape of melodious and rhythmic songs on the one hand and effective background music on the other. Films with music in its latter aspect have not been many but recently an experiment commended by film critics was successfully made in "Munna." Only when more films of this variety have been made, could we go from the particular to the general.

Little research has been made in the field of film music. Orchestration is yet in its infancy in India. Indian instruments have not yet been tested for all their tonal values for purposes of orchestration. Electric mechanisation, as a factor, is yet new to most of our musicians. Microphones and projectors have enabled us to annihilate space and time, but we have not been able to appreciate their qualities and adapt ourselves to their needs fully as yet. Marriage between music and machine is a baffling phenomenon to comprehend and we have not been able to master the situation to the extent required of us.

Any researches undertaken in the field of music will have to take into account this new factor of mechanisation, and musical instruments and those who handle them will have to adapt themselves to the new conditions. An exhaustive inventory of Indian musical instruments in the fields of classical and folk music should be prepared without delay. A catalogue of songs extant both classical and folk, is overdue. Thus a nucleus of a national library of Indian music with written, recorded and visualised music in classical and folk forms, could be established under a Ministry of Culture without much delay.

After this inductive process of collecting data in the fields of Indian music, useful and practical deductions could be made in order to make the knowledge of music more systematic. A uniform system of writing and reading music will have to be evolved. Several systems of Indian notations are in vogue at present, waging a battle of survival against the onslaught of a highly systematised and widely practised system of notation emanating from the West.

'SHRUTIS'

In its application, this foreign system is thorough and has even reached a kind of perfection. But, unfortunately, the Indian music does not seek to base itself on standing notes, by abandoning the principle of an inner continuity of one note flowing into the other and of expressing its inner contents through subtler shades of fraction notes called "shrutis." Just as the English language and the Roman script, highly developed and widely practised as they are, could hardly take the place of an Indian language in its own script for our self-expression, so also a foreign system of notations could hardly do for our purposes in terms of musical research, studies in music and music-making.

History has blessed us with a tradition in music developed by great masters and matured by the slow process of time. Geography beckons us to go to the widely-varied regions of our country, where folk music has flourished in all its vitality and charm. Audio-visual devices provide us with a unique opportunity of bringing home the rich harvest of classical and folk music without molesting or moving down the golden sheaves in the fields of music, sown and cultivated by people and posterity. Our music had a great past, and let us hope it will have a greater future.

The Mission of Bandung

BY PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE twenty-nine Nation Asian-African Conference, which commenced its work on April 18, at Bandung in Indonesia has, undoubtedly, made history. In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, work done by the Conference was a "considerable achievement." Although there were certain initial setbacks and hurdles, the wisdom of all the Delegates assembled at the Conference made it possible to achieve complete unanimity on all issues. The 5000-word communique issued by the Conference at the end of its seven days' work is a document of far-reaching significance. It shows that the Continents of Asia and Africa are now determined not to be camp-followers or "yes-men" of the Western powers but to meet together and chalk out their own destinies through mutual consultations and co-operation. In the course of his concluding address the Prime Minister of India made it clear that the Conference had not been convened in any spirit of ill-will or hostility towards any nation of the world. He, however, desired that like India, Asia and Africa should not get entangled in any of the Power Blocs and should behave as free and independent nations. Shri Nehru hoped that "in future there would be no yes-men in Asia and Africa."

In the course of his inaugural address to the Conference, the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno made a fervent call for "surrender to peace" and declared that Asia and Africa were united "by a common determination to preserve and stabilize world peace and by a common detestation of colonialism and racialism". "No task," declared President Soekarno, "was more urgent than that of preserving peace." He wanted the principles of "live and let live" and "unity in diversity" to be the mottoes of the Conference, and hoped that "the Conference would give guidance to mankind and prove that Asia and Africa were reborn." The

Prime Minister of Indonesia Dr. Sastroamidjojo observed that "those who fostered the illusion that the stock-piling of atom and hydrogen bombs could bring about peace rather than the sponsors of co-existence were unrealistic day dreamers." The Conference pledged its support to the basic principles of human rights in the U. N. Charter. During the proceedings of the Conference, India expressed the view that "the best foundation for friendship between nations was not political alliances but understanding and respect for the culture, mind and heart of one another." The Communique of Bandung Conference recognises "the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African regions, and the general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty." It also emphasises "the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian and African countries." It "deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which forms the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world." "Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man." The Conference was of the view that "disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of whole destruction." The Conference declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." The Bandung Conference was, therefore, in more senses than one, an unqualified success in serving the cause of peace and good-will among the nations of the world. The prominent part played by the Prime-

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Ministers of India and China went a long way in ensuring the success which the Conference ultimately achieved. We particularly welcome the assurance given by the Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai that China would not encourage Communists in or from other countries, particularly the Five Colombo Powers. This assurance would go a long way in resolving conflicts in the South-East Asian countries.

It was a happy coincidence that the 19th April was observed throughout India as the day of dedication to the cause of a peaceful and non-violent social and economic revolution through the Bhoodan movement. It was on April 18, four years ago that Acharya Vinobha Bhave got the first instalment of 100 acres as land gift in Pochampalli village in Telengana. During the last four years the Bhoodan movement has spread throughout the country and has rightly become the symbol of a peaceful socio-economic revolution in India. This movement has attracted world-wide attention because of its unique nature in conformity with the innate genius of India. Acharya Vinoba now desires to intensify this movement during the next two years so as to be able to achieve the target of 5-crore acres of land by the end of 1957. Thousands of people must have taken the solemn pledge on the 18th April to rededicate themselves to the cause of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It is indeed inspiring to know that on the same day, 29 nations of Asia and Africa also dedicated themselves to the cause of world brotherhood and goodwill. India believes that real peace should be established only if individuals and nations solemnly resolve to eschew social and economic exploitation, work for maximum self-sufficiency and bring about a bold decentralisation or diffusion of political and economic power through the organisation of village communities. The best way to preserve world peace is to decentralize and

disperse power rather than to centralise and concentrate it in the hands of a few individuals or nations. The Communists believe in the "withering away" of political power but begin by centralizing authority in the hands of a small section of the population. The Sarvodaya philosophy preached by Gandhiji, on the other hand, believes in Panchayat Raj on the basis of self-governing and self-sufficient rural communities or Panchayats. The Bhoodan movement symbolizes this urge and ideal of a non-violent and decentralized democracy for India and other nations of the world. Instead of bringing about a social and economic revolution through the coercion of the State, Bhoodan or Sarvodaya places more faith on the conversion of the minds and hearts of the people through a process of mutual love and co-operation. Prime Minister Shri Nehru reaffirmed the same faith at the Bandung Conference by asserting that India had accepted the Gandhian ideal which taught the lesson of self-reliance on one's own inner strength. Shri Nehru spoke with "faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs."

"India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist; whatever the great powers did, India would rely on herself." It was also a strange coincidence that the world-renowned scientist and humanist Dr. Einstein also passed away on the 18th April. He was responsible for giving to the world the key to the secrets of atomic energy, but firmly believed in the principles of non-violence and world brotherhood. He had deep faith in the inherent goodness of humanity. When I had the privilege of meeting him some years ago in his cottage at Princeton, he gave us a message that "nothing was more important to man than man." He also expressed his full faith in the ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. In the words of Shri Nehru he died as a "beacon of light in a world where shadows darken." We also

learn that in the course of his last letter Dr. Einstein advocated the philosophy of "passive resistance" for the defence of a minority. Born as a great scientist who gave to the world that Theory of Relativity and the secrets of atomic energy, Dr. Einstein passed away as a great humanist who sincerely believed in the cause of world peace and friendship.

April 18, 1955 was therefore, a memorable day, indeed. It was on that day that India re-affirmed her faith in non-violence and world brotherhood; it was on the same day

that nations of Asia and Africa resolved to work unitedly for resolving international conflicts and bringing about world co-operation, and it was on this very day that one of the greatest scientists of the age passed away quietly in a hospital with a burning faith in the goodness of man and the futility of atom bombs and other instruments of destruction. We earnestly hope that the mission of Bandung, the inspiration of the Bhoodan movement and the faith of Dr. Einstein in passive resistance and non-violence would usher in a new era in the history of the world.



Churchill, the Parliamentarian

BY EARL WINTERTON

Sir Winston Churchill's Parliamentary career has presented a remarkable picture



of rises and falls throughout its existence which has by no means always coincided with the changes of fortune of the Parties to

which he has belonged. After he had been defeated in 1922 and he was unable to obtain another seat for some time, it looked as if it might have ended; from 1924 to 1929 he not only occupied, as Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most powerful offices in the State, but completely re-established his parliamentary position.

In the early thirties, after the formation of the National Government, of which he was not a member, there was a distinct decline in Churchill's prestige and influence over the Commons. The old, ill-natured criticisms and comments about his personality and character, which were so prominent in the 1900 Parliament, began to recur in the Lobbies and smoking-room of the House and in Fleet Street. He was an erratic genius; he was utterly unreliable; he had caused unnecessary trouble to the Prime Minister and to all his colleagues in every Cabinet in which he had served by his volubility and persistence in disregarding every opinion except his own; so ran the tale carefully fostered, I may say, by most of the leaders of the National Government.

By the mid-thirties, as a result of the delivery of a series of some of the greatest speeches ever made in Parliament in peacetime on defence and foreign affairs, he had again reached a position of great power and influence in the Commons. Indeed, only Baldwin and Lloyd George could equal him in the attention which his speeches attracted.

GREAT INFLUENCE

Much has been written about Churchill's tremendous achievements as a statesman after he became Prime Minister in the darkest hour of Britain's chequered history in 1940. Less has been said about his influence in Parliament and the joint contribution which he and the House of Commons made to national morale.

The fact that the House of Commons in World War II was far more helpful to the national war effort than its predecessor of the 1914-18 war was due to a happy combination of circumstances in which Churchill's personality played a great part.

Unlike Lloyd George, he had great knowledge and practical experience of national defence. He had warned Parliament and the country again and again before the war about the perils of the international situation and Britain's inadequate preparations for defending herself. He did not suffer the disadvantage, under which Lloyd George suffered in his wartime premiership, of having always to confront a considerable number of pacifists in the Commons, for the opponents of the war in 1940 were a mere handful of M. Ps. Above all, he established his supremacy not only as leader of the national will but as a great parliamentarian by his magnificent first speech after taking office. In that speech he clearly indicated that both Houses of Parliament had their part to play in the supreme test of the nation's willpower.

The general relationship between Churchill and Parliament during World War II was a

credit to both. It played no small or unworthy part in the nation's war effort. After the crushing defeat of his Government in 1945, Churchill's parliamentary position might easily have suffered permanent, or at least temporary, eclipse. That this did not occur is striking evidence of his foremost place in world statesmanship. Indeed, it was as a world statesman, and not as the Leader of the Opposition, that he excelled in the 1945 and 1950 Parliaments.

AS OPPOSITION LEADER

Not even in the period of his wartime premiership did he do more to lead and inform public opinion, through his speeches in Parliament, on defence and foreign policy, than he did while Leader of the Opposition. He more than any statesman at home and abroad in the year from 1945 to 1951, prepared the ground plan for the defence — in a military, moral and psychological sense — of Western Democracy against the menace of Russian Communist imperialism.

One of the greatest of his achievements was that in the 1945 Parliament, though suffering from the disadvantage of having sustained as a Party leader a great electoral defeat, he nevertheless persuaded the House of Commons as a whole that his views on external affairs were right, despite the furious resentment with which they were met at first by the Labour Party. In fact, by the end of that Parliament, the Government were following the policy which he had advocated a few years earlier.

He attained this achievement by a series of speeches whose brilliance and hold on the House of Commons were as great as any which he had ever made. He did this when well over 70 and after having undergone a period of tremendous strain and terrific responsibility as Prime Minister in the previous five years. It cannot be disputed, I think, that no other United Kingdom

statesman has approached Churchill's record in this regard.

What is the secret of Sir Winston Churchill's great influence over, and popularity in, the House of Commons? To answer the question one must consider the composition of the House itself. It represents the amalgam of races and traditions which is Britain. In some of its moods it reflects the emotional genius of Wales and the Western Highlands of Scotland; in others, again, the vulgar humour and good-nature of the average Cockney. Its attitude in any debate cannot be predicted in advance; at its best it has no rival among the democratic legislative bodies of the world.

INSTINCTIVE UNDERSTANDING

Sir Winston Churchill is steeped in its atmosphere and traditions; he is familiar with all its varying moods; he knows its

likes and dislikes; he has an instinctive understanding of what it will accept and what it will not accept; he prepares his speeches with great care because he very properly believes that the House has a right to expect that he shall give of his best.

To a man of Sir Winston's gifts and stature, with more than half-a-century's membership of the Commons, it is not surprising that all this should be so, or that he should share the great merits and some of the defects of the House. It is this, above everything else, which makes him the greatest living parliamentarian. [This is condensed from an article contributed by Earl Winterton to "Churchill-By His Contemporaries," edited by Charles Eade and published by Hutchinson and Company (Publishers), Ltd, London. It is reproduced by permission of the publishers, to whom we are indebted.]



Longevity and Its Aids

BY Dr. S. T. MOSES

Newspapers gave prominence sometime ago to a Moscow statement about a 141-year old man discovered in the mountains of Azerbaijan. He is said to live with his 117-year old wife in the village of Tirasvo which was entirely populated by his children, grandchildren, great grandchildren and great-great grandchildren. Similar reports of longevity are on record. Thomas Parr (aged 152) died in 1635, Jenkins (169) in 1670, Katherine, Countess of Desmond (104) in 1604, the Hungarian Zortan (187) in 1724, Joubert the Quebec shoemaker (113) in 1814, Hon. Katherine Plunkett (111) of Ireland in 1932, Li Chung Yun (253) in 1933, The Turkish Kurd Zara Agha (160) in 1934, Begum Azam Khan (118) of Afghanistan in 1935, Faulkner (104) the Berkshire jockey in 1935, Wrestler Calipha (105) of Poonan

1936, Bhadu Fakir (132) of Philipnagar, Bengal in 1939, Sandu (116) of Rumania in 1941, Mrs Bholi (110) of Nairobi on 9th February 1949 and Sirdar Shyan Singh Bedi (108) of Gorakhpore on 20th June 1949. Centenarians reported living are Senora de la Rosa (128) of California in 1933 Maria Farkos (104) a beggar of Budapest in 1936, Boora (122) of Punjab who with his surviving 30 teeth could lift a 12-feet girder in 1938, Tapsi Baba (172) who gave Pandit Malavia the 'Kaya Kalpa' treatment in 1938, Aga Effendi (150) who went to America in 1942 to find a young bride, Chand Bibi (132) of Bhopal whose brother 111 years old was alive in 1943, Mrs. Janabai (150) of Navagram near Srinagar where two other ladies 104 & 125 in age were found in 1947, Miss Shepherd (114) an inmate of St Asaph's Hospital, Wales in

1948, Safar Guseinogly (138) of Baku in 1948 and Joseph Lawrence (104) Britain's oldest man in 1949. In the 1931 census a 113-year old Muslim pensioner of Government was found in the village Karthikapalli of Cochin. A census note in 1941 from Nagpur mentioned that Sidi Wastad a 150-year old man alive at the previous census was still going strong.

The Bible in the Book of Genesis mentions many centenarians, Adam (930), Seth (912), Enos (905), Cainan (910), Mahaleel (895), Jared (962), Methuselah (969), Lamech (777), Noah (950), Terah (205), Sarah (127), Abraham (175), Isaac (180), Jacob (147), Joseph (110), Aaron (123), Moses (120) and Joshua (110). 'Modernists' explain these 'fanciful' ages as follows:- Primitive man, only after some centuries of existence realised that certain phenomena repeated themselves. The longest period of time to be measured by early man was the length of one lunation. So the earliest 'years' of Genesis were months, the next 5-month periods, the third 6-month periods and finally 12-month periods the present years. According to this interpretation Methuselah fell in the first, Abraham in the second and Jacob in the third and their actual ages therefore were only 80 years & 9 months, 72 years & 11 months and 73 years & 6 months respectively. Other Christians however take a more literal view and believe man's days got reduced from 900 and odd to 120. The Lord said man's days shall be an 120 years-and still further to the Psalmist's 'three score years and ten' normally and 4 score by reason of strength'. The decadence was due to the growing wickedness of man on earth. While the 120 years of Moses' days were due to the natural diet and outdoor life of the people, 50 years were cut off in David's civilised age by indolence and dissipation i. e. sin against all laws of health included. The Bible gives us a wholesome rule of life to attain longevity. "Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which

the Lord thy God giveth thee". The average expectation of human of life in the world has increased during the last half century due more to comparatively better living conditions and progress in combating diseases. A new word 'Geriatrics' has come into use today and this is a newly developed system of keeping old people young by occupational therapy, massage, heart treatment, diet, injections, cheerful surroundings and above all by exercises.

The testimony of the centenarians themselves as to how they managed to survive as long as they have done is varied and interesting. Li Chang Yun ascribed his long life to the Indian herb *Hydrocotyle asiatica*. This plant known in Tamil as 'Vallarai' is a common garden herb that creeps along the ground. It is one of the ancient aids for rejuvenation besides being a brain food and a blood purifier. The full benefit is derived if the leaves are taken raw in the form of a vegetable salad or sambol. The Valayans of Krusadai island off Ramnad district, claim for 'turtle flesh and toddy' life prolonging powers. The Kuravas think two customs of theirs strictly observed help longevity viz 1. the regular oil bath when drops of oil are run in a row by the fingers on the head and 2. the curious 'couvade' wherein during the wife's confinement the husband plays the patient taking all the disagreeable medicines of which asafoetida is an important ingredient! One centenarian attributed his long life to his vow of celibacy while another thought his married happiness prolonged life. One owed his long life to the fact that he neither smoked nor drank while another did not deny drinking but in moderation. The secrets therefore of longevity according to the livers themselves seem confused and even contradictory.

The rules laid down by experts are equally varied and interesting. Sir William Lane the famous surgeon declares that man to reach his full span of life should live on uncooked

fruit, vegetable and grain, go without clothes and live mostly out of doors. He should touch no alcohol, condiments or tobacco. Dr. Rouchakoff is another advocate of uncooked food. Dr. Baker of Chicago who started the '120 years club' in Madras in 1935 advocated correct breathing, proper posture whether in walking, standing or sitting and vegetarian food, emphasising the value of seaweed as food. Indian Shastras enjoin 'Pranayama' (breath control) for cleansing blood vessels, Asanas (postures) for regulating blood pressure and judicious fasting periodically for general health. Mrs Holmes who lectured in Madras in 1930 on Dietetics, Solar plexus breathing and rejuvenation and started practical classes referred to St Paul as the first to realise that he could die daily to himself to his old thoughts and habits and so rejuvenate his body and declared that we owed it to ourselves to follow his lead and rejuvenate the physical body through proper eating and correct breathing. Many methods of rejuvenation or 'making young again' are current.

The treatment of Dr Jaworski of Paris is by blood transfusion. The treatments of Dr Voronoff and Dr Steinach are based on the fact that decrepitude of age is due to the falling off of supply of 'hormones'. Steinach maintains the supply by operating on the generative organs of the patient and Voronoff by grafting glands of young monkeys. Dr. Standgard injects the serum obtained from the glands of Russian Wolfhounds. Dr. Dnapp achieved similar results by radiotherapy, his method being a secret and worked upon only himself and a select few whose lives he has thought worthy to prolong. The success of Dr Usurinov of Moscow in isolating the 'pigment of old age' in 1946 is considered a big step forward in the fight against old age. The famous Kayakalpa treatment is of many forms, one of which can be performed in one day and another takes a year. Pandit Malavia was during the treatment confined to a chamber for six weeks. Kaya Kalpa is said to be beneficial to men of quiet disposition (Satviki brit) and 'Shanti' holds the secret of longevity.



INDIAN CRICKETERS IN BRITAIN

(LEFT TO RIGHT): P. R. Umrigar who is to play for Oldham in the Lancashire League, G. S. Ramchand, who is to play for Nantwich in the North Staffordshire League, V. L. Manjrekar, for Ferguslie Cricket Club, Scottish League, and S. P. Gupte, who is to help Rishton Cricket Club in the Lancashire League.

Split in the Congress in (1907)

BY SRI RAMESH PRASAD, M. A. (POLITICAL SCIENCE), M. A. PREV. (HIST.)

CRISIS in political organisations is a natural phenomenon. Institutions, the creatures of human activities, must suffer change; otherwise, they stagnate and die out. Whenever change is obstructed the inevitable result is a crisis. Organisation claiming a national character can ill-afford to neglect popular aspirations and reactions. The split which took place in the Indian National Congress at Surat in 1907 was one such crisis which mundane institutions have to face,

The Leadership of Moderates: Ever after its inception in 1885, the Indian National Congress held its sessions from year to year in different cities for a score of years. The course of the Congress was a peaceful march devoted to the voicing of public grievances, suggestion of reforms and making entreaties and appeals to the British sense of justice and righteousness. The object of the Indian National Congress had been "to draw attention of both the people as well as the Government to all the grievances from which the country suffered, and which were its avowed objects to remedy by constitutional means and methods."¹ The Congress annual sessions, at different places, all over the country were like the sessions of a large annual debating society. Long speeches were made and the sessions adjourned after the adoption of numerous monotonous resolutions, copies of which were, however, despatched to government for favourable consideration.

No effective campaign was organised and no remarkably constructive work was done during the twelve months of a year, on the expiry of which the Congress met for the next annual session. Even a moderate of Gokhale's brand was not fully impressed by Congress methods. 'Very few of us' he observed, "have really faith in the work we

are doing. When men take up work in a mechanical spirit, without believing in it, you should not be surprised, if no great results are achieved."² Similar dis-satisfaction was expressed by G. Subramania Aiyer. "To some extent," remarked he, "it has even departed from the features that marked it in the earlier days.....But it does little more than that at present. The fourth of the objects of the Congress, as stated by its first President, namely, 'the determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests,' has now gone out of its sight."³

Though the advent of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable change in Congress attitude towards the government, the leadership of the Congress had remained the same and the men at the helm of affairs were fully confirmed in their favourable views towards the British character and their sense of justice. They tried to understand British character from British literary creations. These Indian leaders of the Congress, of whom history takes note as 'Moderates,' were the product of Western culture and education. "They had their Wordsworth and their Browning societies."⁴ They went to all lengths in praising the British nation and British character. Muhammad Rahimatullah Sayani, President of the 12th Indian National Congress, declared in unambiguous terms that "a more honest and sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English nation."⁵ Similarly, the annulment of the partition of Bengal "led to a gushing praise of the British Government, a renewed faith in its sense of justice and a sense of profound

2. Indian Review, August, 1904, p. 550.

3. Indian Review, December, 1905, p. 830.

4. Indian Unrest: V. Chirol., p. 24.

5. The History of Indian National Congress Vol. I, P. Sitaramayya, p. 61.

1. Indian National Evolution: A. C. Mazumdar p. 98.

gratitude expressing itself in unmeasured flights of oratory."⁶ Thus, in spite of the repeated acts of injustice and atrocities, committed by the Britishers in India and the regular draining of its resources, the 'Moderates,' who had been nurtured by Western traditions never faltered in their professions of faith in the nobility of British character. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was expressive enough when he remarked "I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call,"⁷ and concede the Indian demands. S. N. Banerjee even declared, "We plead for the permanence of British rule in India."⁸ They believed that to get redress for her grievances, "what India wanted was a lucid and balanced presentation of her case before Englishmen and their parliament."⁹ They even "loved to parade their loyalty."¹⁰

Extremism in Maharashtra and Bengal: Opposed to this set of moderate leaders, were the patriots of Maharashtra and Bengal. The young men of Maharashtra and Bengal, well educated and fully conversant with Western education and culture were principally inspired by Indian ideals and were proud of their heritage. In an open letter to his countrymen, Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh proclaimed the superiority of Hindu over Western civilization. "We reject" he writes, "the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilization inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of a superior fitness."¹¹

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the pioneer of this re-awakening in Maharashtra. "He was a born fighter and a typical Maharashtra. The passion for freedom was the

ruling motive of his life."¹² He organised Ganpati festival in 1893 and Shivaji festival in 1895. He also started Hindu Lathi club and carried propaganda against cowkilling. Maharashtrian nationalism could be roused only by such activities. These festivals were utilised for political purposes. He also carried on vigorous propaganda against the British government through his organ, *Kesari*. In the eyes of the Moderates, his programme was dangerous. But the following of Tilak was increasing day by day. He was acting as a man of the land, to which he belonged, deeply touched by the sufferings and miseries of his fellow countrymen. He voiced what people felt. Maharashtra was ablaze.

In Bengal, the partition project led to a serious outbreak of public feeling against the Government and dis-satisfaction mounted with its repressive measures. 'Yugantar,' 'Sandhya' and other journals, preached revolutionary ideas and roused the public to action. Though they all acknowledged the debt of Tilak, local leaders of renown were not wanting in efforts. Men like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Ashwini Kumar Dutta, were actuated by the desire of liberating the country from foreign yoke. Religious feelings were roused in Bengal and the Shakti-Cult was revived and popularised.

The Extremists were ardent and relentless. They "smarted under a sense of wrong andkept up an agitation through the columns of their papers as well as upon the platforms, decrying the Congress and preaching the utter futility of Congress propaganda."¹³ They had devised new weapons of Swadeshi and boycott and they became very successful in Bengal during 1905-11. The Indian National Congress had also upheld the movement of Swadeshi in its Calcutta

12. Indian Politics Since The Mutiny: C. Y. Chintamani, p. 81.

13. Indian National Evolution, pp. 103-104.

Session of 1906.¹⁴ It would not be judicious to call the work of the Bengal patriots as destructive. A. C. Mazumdar's statement that "theirs was apparently a work of destruction and not of construction"¹⁵ is hardly based on justice. The political methods of the Extremists were surely surcharged with religious fervour. But they were constitutional and peaceful in action. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose observed in 1907 that the "Extremist is not such a dreadful creature after all, and so far as the safety of the British rule is concerned, is as prosaic and harmless a being as the orthodox congressman is now understood to be."¹⁶

The growth of extremism was not an overnight phenomenon; it took years to mature and many factors contributed to it—the famine of 1895-97 and the plague of 1898; the Anglo-Indian feeling of racial hatred and their attitude of arrogance towards Indians, and the work of religious reformers,

The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon: But the immediate reason for the flaring up of national feelings was the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. He undertook feverish activities and suffered from a zeal for reforms. His hand was everywhere and there was hardly any department which did not feel the impress of his personality. The Calcutta Corporation Act of 1899 and the Official Secrets Act of 1904 were passed and adopted under this enthusiasm for reform, against popular protest. His Indian Universities Act of 1904 turned the universities of India into "the most completely governmental universities of the World."¹⁷ The partition of Bengal proved to be the greatest blow to Indian sentiments. In spite of the clear manifestation of public opinion, Lord Curzon carried it through. But it released dormant potentialities and created a

wave of indignation throughout India. "No other event in the history of national movement in India gave a more powerful incentive to her political consciousness and awakening than the partition of Bengal."¹⁸ These and other official measures of Lord Curzon coupled with the expedition to Tibet and the policy towards Afghanistan gave rise to much popular resentment. Besides, Indian troops were also sent out to China and South Africa. "Indians strongly resented the employment of their troops to further British imperialistic designs."¹⁹ For all these acts of unpopularity Curzon paid the price. He "departed unhonoured and unsung."²⁰

Events outside India: Moreover, continuous news of maltreatment of Indians in South Africa were pouring in the country. Mahatma Gandhi was waging a non-violent war against the atrocities and inhumanity of rulers there. The Indian sense of self-respect was deeply wounded. The Indians felt that without independence at home it was not possible for them to get fair treatment at the hands of other people. Nor were other international happenings wanting. The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1904-5 put self-confidence and courage in the hearts of the people of Asia. "Almost for the first time in the history of the world an Asiatic power, hitherto somewhat despised.....humbled a huge European power....."²¹

Discontent Manifested: Therefore, when the twenty-first Congress met at Banaras on 27th Dec., 1905, the two wings of the Congress were sharply divided over the resolution of welcome to the Prince and Princess of Wales, which was ultimately carried, extremists absenting themselves from

6. Ibid, p. 62.

7. Ibid. p. 103.

8. How India Wrought for Freedom: A. Besant, p. 357.

9. History of Indian National Congress (1885-1935): P. Sitaramayya, p. 97.

10. History of I. N. C. Vol. I: P. Sitaramayya, p. 62.

11. Indian Unrest, Note 2, p. 337.

14. Resolution VIII: How India Wrought for Freedom, p. 460.

15. Indian National Evolution, p. 104.

16. Indian Review, April 1907, p. 252.

17. Life of Lord Curzon Vol. II: Ronaldshay, p. 193.

18. The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements by Dr. Lal Bahadur, published by Agra Book Store, 1954, p. 54.

19. Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development, Vol. I:

20. Indian Review, May, 1904, p. 308.

21. Indian Review, January, 1905, p. 1

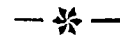
the meeting. The extremists were further disappointed by the absence of the word 'Swaraj' from the presidential address of Gokhale. Much disgruntled, they met in an open session (mostly young delegates) to form the New Nationalist Party, which, however, did not dissociate itself from the Congress.

The differences between the extremists and the moderates had become so alarming that an open breach was feared at the Calcutta session of 1906. To avoid this, Dadabhai who was 82 was invited from England to preside. When he accepted the invitation, the relief was so great that S. N. Banerjea wrote to him, "you have saved us from a crisis."²² Dada-

22. Dada Bhai Noroji: R. P. Masani, p. 497.

bhai could conciliate the extremists by declaring that "self-government is the only chief remedy. In self-government lies our hope, strength and greatness."²³ A resolution on self-government, which extremists paradoxically called the Swaraj Resolution, although the word 'Swaraj' did not figure in it, was adopted. Such an attitude, however, saved the situation for the time being. But it could not save it permanently. The discontent was real and it made the split inevitable. What happened, therefore, at Surat in 1907 does not surprise us.—(*History and Political Science Journal, Agra.*)

23. How India Wrought for Freedom, p. 447.



Perpetual Peace: A Phantasmagoria

BY "SOCRATIST"

DANIEL the Propnet saw a great image; whose head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass. His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. A stone that was cut out without hands, smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and broke them to pieces. He interpreted it as the prophecy of the Ages and Empires of the World. First came the Ages of Gold and Silver, representing the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires; then the age of brass, representing the Roman Empire. Then came the Iron Age and the Age of the Industrial Revolution, represented by the British Empire. Now, we have come to the Reinforced Concrete Age of Clay made with calcinated lime into Cement reinforced by iron, with the weakness of clay and the strength of iron, powerless before the might of the stone cut without hands namely, atomic blast, and disintegrating into pieces. But the God of Heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

These thoughts were provoked by a perusal of the fascinating book "IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE; Seven Years with the United Nations." by Trygve Lie; (The Macmillan Company.) Mr. Trygve Lie with a prior record from 1935 to 1940 as Norway's Minister for Justice, Trade, Industry, Shipping, and Fishing, and from 1940 to 1945 as Foreign Minister to the Norwegian Government in exile in London whose closest friends were Mr. Eden and Mr. Winston Churchill, stage-managed the United Nations Organization as Secretary-General. He frankly confesses that before, during, and after the septennium of superficial impartiality as an international civil servant, he never relaxed in the pursuit of his private mission of fighting totalitarianism and communism. He looked upon Communism as a devastating fire, and the United Nations practically as an association of the neighbours of the U. S. S. R. who joined together in setting up their own volunteer fire brigades to meet the common danger. (see p. 439).

From the days of the Athenians and the Corinthians who inscribed on stone their

treaties of perpetual peace, not to go back to earlier instances in Hindu and Greek Mythology and Legend, what has stood ultimately in the way of peace has been inequality in its various aspects, and Mr. Lie summarises this beautifully at p. 142. "I appreciate more than ever the unparalleled opportunity given to me to gain a first hand knowledge of the hopes, aspirations, fears, and uncertainties of peoples and their leaders in nearly every quarter of the globe. One result of this experience was to strengthen my basic conviction that poverty remains mankind's chief enemy. To-day, in the middle of the twentieth century, most human beings still are hungry most of the time—half the world's people have yet to be taught how to read and write, are constantly ill, and expect to die before the age of thirty-five. Calculations show that the per capita income of almost two-thirds of this total is less than a hundred dollars a year; and other evidence proves that most of the world's population cannot afford decent clothing, housing, and recreation, while hundreds of millions still live in bondage and peonage not far removed from slavery. The economist Gide put it in another way saying. "Woe to the races who are too easily satisfied; they will not be long in disappearing from an earth which they have not cared or dared to exploit to their fullest capacity and its possibilities." So, on the Artha Sastra principle that "The kingdom at the frontier is the enemy," kings and peoples have roamed near and far and established for a time and times though not for all time continental Empires like those of Alexander, Rome, Napoleon, and Hitler, and far-flung Empires like the British Empire. There has always been an aggressive acquisitive individual or people to overpower and keep in subjection an inefficient or lazy or tempting prize. The wealth, luxury, and pomp of the ruler have, always had to be paid for by the comparative poverty and servility of the conquered races. And it is not dejection and

pessimism but true realism to concede that the strong man will not yield up his castle without a struggle and there are limits to the altruism and self-sacrifice of the most altruistic.

Now this brings us to the crux of the matter, namely, how when even in the matters of a village community all over the world decisions by a unanimous vote have never been practical politics, great powers with permanent seats on the Security Council and the right to veto the admission of new members and to veto decisions can ever produce tangible results. Even in the election of the first Secretary General the Labour Govt. were lukewarm in their support of Mr. Lie as he had been a close friend of Eden and Churchill. When the re-election came, Mr. Lie was practically continued in office by the Anti-Communist powers and the U.S.S.R. started and continued an Official and social boycott practically compelling him to resign before his full term. The War Time alliance broke up as both Churchill and Cripps had only rushed to Russia to distract Hitler into attacking it, and had already secret plans to move away from Russian entanglements. As soon as Britain's vested interests in Iran and its petrol came up, the matter got shelved. The Palestinian Challenge almost led to "War" against the United Nations. The Berlin impasse was "concluded" by a compromise which settled nothing. Greece was saved by Western arms paid for by Western Taxpayers. The issue of Chinese representation is still being tossed about with Chester Bowles in his report making childish aspersions about Ambassador Panikkar being influenced by personal idiosyncrasies and family ties in recommending India to support Mao-Tse-Tung. The heroic attempt to by-pass the Security Council by the Acheson plan by which at short notice without intervention of the Security Council an emergent decision of the General Assembly could vest the Secretary-General with executive powers naturally

provoked the indignation of Mr. Vyshinsky. Mr. Lie's moral strength as an international civil servant came to an end. Mr. Lie tried a personal talk with Prime Minister Nehru on January 18, 1951. And with what effect? Nehru impressed Lie as being a tired man who was not moved by Lie's references to the global aims of World Communism, the military superiority of communist China and the Soviet Union and a veiled threat that it would be a tragedy were India's newly-won political freedom ever to be threatened, compromised or lost. Lie hints that outside help from "wealthy nations" in India's Reconstruction programme in economic and social matters, "if it comes" should make Nehru give up his narrowness of approach to world affairs and evaluate the situation in its proper perspectives. (pp. 351-362). I am afraid this account of the interview may be pounced upon by protagonists of Communist ideology as equivalent to Mr. Lie, who by 1951 had been isolated as devoted to Anglo-American interests against Soviet interests giving gentle hints to Pandit Nehru that India's new won freedom would be in jeopardy from both sides and that he had better take economic and technical aid under the Technical Assistance Programme from the U. S. A. and from the British Empire under the Colombo plan and learn to look at the world political situation from their angle of vision. This may explain why with great heat, Pandit Nehru said recently at Bandung that Europe and America thought their quarrels were the world's quarrels and Asian countries like India and African countries must join one bloc or the other, to survive against aggression. He proclaimed his faith that Power Blocs like Colossi would break up in mutual conflicts without being able to injure non-aggressive idealistic states like India. The Communistic issue in the Secretariat and the mass hysteria in the U. S. A. faced with the loss of the flower of its young manhood a million strong in the Korean War made Lie's

position more and more difficult culminating in the suicide of his legal assistant Abe Fuller.

Mr. Lie resigned and smugly congratulated himself that world peace was preserved during his service and that a world war, the most dreaded threat of all was avoided. Of compulsion, he admits at page 157 that abundance is the privilege of the relatively few, while poverty remains the curse of the great majority. But he glibly talks at page 437 as though police, prisons, concentration camps, are found on only the Russian side of the Iron Curtain and not also in the colonial parts of Asia and Africa and the screened strategic areas where the destructive possibilities of atomic energy are being experimented upon and tested in God's own good country, the United States of America,

The fact of the matter is as confessed by Mr. Lie at p. 412 about his resignation. "No single person is indispensable. I was dispensable, and should be replaced by a new Secretary-General who could enter the work fresh and with fewer fixed ideas about persons and issues. All this may seem to some readers to form a rather surprising mixture of reasons of high policy and very personal considerations, but I can assure them that people in high places are not different from other human beings. People are people in all walks of life, the public image notwithstanding." From Ministership of justice, Mr. Lie has descended to trade and diplomacy and in Sanskrit we say all trade and government is Satyanrutham or Truth-Falseness. The first part of Mr. Lie's name Trygve means Truth and the latter part in England means a terminological inexactitude. Having won universal acclaim during his first term as a great Secretary who sifted the matter for others to decide, he blotted his copy-book in the opinion of the U. S. S. R. bloc by taking according to that bloc an improper interest in the Korean and other affairs.

Mr. Lie has succeeded in averting hot war in many parts of the World though it may be cold comfort to the Malayans and the Chinese and the Africans who are being liquidated by "Incidental operations." It came as a shock to me to read in the Indian Institute of Culture 1954 report that in 1952 the European extremists had taken control and the "Screening" of the Kikuyus meant they were herded into great concentration camps, their cattle killed, and about thirty thousand

Africans killed as reprisals for the slaying by the Mau Mau of 950 "loyal africans" and 50 (Fifty) Europeans. The only hope of the world seems to be an emotion-conditioning analagous to air-conditioning by which God will set up a kingdom of the world which will belong not to this people or that people but to all peoples of good will who, blessed as peacemakers, shall be called the children of God.

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Commonwealth Influence on World Affairs

BY MR. DENIS WEAVER

The British Commonwealth of Nations, which comprises eight self-governing countries and an impressive number of colonies, protectorates, protected states and trust territories set in five continents, is an association of democratic communities differing to the utmost possible extent from a Communist or Soviet or other totalitarian system.

It is based not on power but on friendship. There is no centralised control. It is this fact which makes it unique and gives it a great part of its strength and its influence upon world events.

NO PARALLEL

It is difficult to imagine a more widely varied group of statesmen than those who met at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' gathering in London — having no general commitments, no central secretariat, no formal ties, not even a fixed agenda to discuss. Yet this, like earlier meetings of the same type, is realised more and more by the rest of the world to have demonstrated once again the constructive moral power of free discussion between equal partners.

History provides no parallel to this association of nations. The very fact that

every Commonwealth country is a member of one or more non-Commonwealth organisations, ranging from the North Atlantic Treaty to the Colombo Plan, and has important specific aims and needs of its own, helps rather than hinders the underlying sense of common purpose which gives a meeting of its elected leaders its reality and effectiveness.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

It might be easier to list the ways in which the members of the Commonwealth differ than to deduce a common policy for them all. For example, expenditure on defence, regarded by some member countries as a first essential, is regretted by others which think the first use for any available money should be technical aid in their underdeveloped areas.

Yet money flows from richer to poorer members for the latter purpose and none doubts that if one should be attacked by an outside power, help would be immediately forthcoming from the others.

To suggest, however, that a meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers is no more than a friendly conversation in a club-like atmosphere, or that the differing viewpoints

and problems of its members mean that no joint decisions can ever be made, would be far from the truth. The lessons learned over the past year from the Berlin and Geneva Conferences and from much highlevel diplomacy in between—namely, that unity of purpose is essential if the free world is to remain free and progressively to raise its standards—is well understood by the nations within the Commonwealth.

SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGE

Some have a close relationship with the United States, a friendly but not subservient relationship, believing this is necessary for the continuing strength and prosperity of the free world. There is nothing inimical to this in the separate association of the Commonwealth countries with each other. Rather is it a significant advantage that counsel based upon intimate knowledge of special points of tension in the world can in this way

be made available to London, Washington and Paris. One example of this is clearly the first hand interpretation of Chinese affairs which Mr. Nehru is able to contribute.

Inside the Commonwealth, too, are other countries which have not yet attained full status as self-governing nations, though some are within sight of it. The Gold Coast, the West Indies, the Federation of Malaya and Singapore have all made further progress recently along the road towards self-government.

Considering the tremendous diversity of race, religion, colour and needs of the present Commonwealth countries, is there any reason to fear that when the time comes these others will not fit in to this powerful partnership of free nations, whose importance in the prime task of maintaining peace in the world is increasingly obvious?



Sir Anthony and Lady Eden and Mr. Nehru.

The Formosa Problem

BY MR. RICHARD SCOTT

The vexed question of Formosa is engaging the attention of the whole world as it is feared that it may lead to a third world war. Mr. Richard Scott, the diplomatic correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says after a visit to Formosa that he is more than ever convinced the British Government's stand on this issue is correct: "If the offshore islands are vacated there would be a good chance of peace in the Formosa strait." We reproduce his observations by the courtesy of the B. B. C. [Editor, *Indian Review*.]

I SUPPOSE most people's interest in Formosa is limited to the part the island plays in the international political field. And the sort of questions you would like to get answered by someone who has been visiting the island is: could Formosa be the spark which starts off a third world war? Or is there any peaceful solution to this conflict between the two Chinas? How important really are the offshore islands? Perhaps the question is: what do the Formosan people themselves really want for the future and so on. Well, you obviously cannot get any very sure answers to most of these questions just by going to Formosa, if only because the decisions on which the answers rest will largely be taken in Washington and Peking and elsewhere. But at least the recent visit I paid to Formosa has perhaps given me a clearer picture than I had as to what is really involved in these questions. And it has also given me the chance to look at these questions against the background of Formosa itself. So first of all I would like very briefly to give you a picture of the general set-up in Formosa; and then to discuss one or two of the major political questions involved in the in the so-called Formosa situation, with some very tentative guesses at the answers.

AN ATMOSPHERE OF CALM

Now I had expected to find a fairly tense atmosphere on Formosa, with the military much in evidence and the hustle and bustle and anxious excitement of preparations for resisting attack from the mainland, or conceivably for launching one against the mainland. But in fact I found the atmosphere calm, and though life does tend to be somewhat dominated by the fact that Formosa considers itself at war with the Chinese mainland the problems this throws up do not seem to be handled with any very desperate urgency. You certainly do not get the impression of living on top of a volcano

which might explode at any moment. One concrete example of this is the extent of American aid which is used for other than direct military purposes—for improving the economy of the island and the health and education and so on of its people. The total United States economic-aid programme for Formosa this year will cost a sum of 133-million dollars.

I also expected to see in Formosa some fairly clear evidence of a police-state. That is not the picture I got. It is a maddeningly over-bureaucratic regime—your almost every action involves the filling up of forms, sometimes in sextuplet—and it is authoritarian and rather preoccupied with security. But as I have said, the island is virtually in a state of war and even though the enemy has not attempted yet even to bomb it he is only some ninety miles away—and he is a very big opponent.

Now all this is a good deal rosier than I had expected. And it is better than it was until fairly recently. For instance, I do not think there is any question now of the opponents of the regime being taken out and shot. I am pretty sure it is the presence—indeed the omnipresence—of the Americans on the island that is largely responsible for this disappearance of the more hateful, ruthless manifestations of the police state. And it is this ubiquity of the Americans, who keep a direct eye on every aspect of administration, that has almost certainly caused so great a change in the honesty and efficiency of the Kuomintang administration since it arrived on Formosa from the mainland.

FACTORS IN THE KUOMINTANG'S DEFEAT

Though the Kuomintang can perhaps put up some excuses—the Japanese for instance, had left China in a pretty chaotic state after their defeat and withdrawal after a long occupation; and the Chinese Communists

were a considerable menace right from the moment of liberation—yet it still remains that the Kuomintang administration on the mainland was singularly corrupt, inefficient and oppressive. And these characteristics played an important part in its final defeat.

Now let me turn briefly to the economic front. If it were not for the artificially high level at which the Nationalists are maintaining their military forces—a population of around nine-million is supporting an army of about half a million—the Formosan economy would be just about self-supporting. There is a surplus of rice, which is the basis of the economy, and exports of rice, sugar—which is processed on the island—pineapples, and one or two other agricultural products would be enough to pay for normal imports. The actual deficit which is caused by the scale of the military effort is made up out of American aid.

And though it has been estimated that the United States is paying for over eighty per cent of the Nationalists' armed forces, the Formosans are probably making as considerable a contribution to their defence budget as they could. For instance, they are paying a twenty per cent purchase tax on almost all consumption-goods. And their other taxes are fairly high. They live austere with very few luxuries.

THE OFF-SHORE ISLANDS

Now for some of the political questions. And I must repeat that the talks I had with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and other Nationalist leaders, as well as with American officials, still left the answers to most of these questions a matter of personal judgment: for instance, the question of the offshore islands. The only important islands still in the hands of the Nationalists are the Quemoy group and the Matsus. The official Nationalist line is that these two groups of islands will be defended at all cost, whatever the Americans decide to do about them. And American official policy has deliberately left in doubt what they will do. But I can assure you that apart from official Nationalist spokesmen no one in Taipeh seemed to be very certain just what would happen about these islands. Ultimately the Nationalists' dependence on the United States is so great

that the Americans could compel them to accept virtually any policy about which Washington felt strongly enough to insist.

But I guess that unless the United States insisted very firmly on an evacuation of the offshore islands the Nationalists are ready to defend them at almost any cost—certainly Quemoy. Whereas there are very few civilians left on Matsus there are some forty-thousand on Quemoy, including, incidentally, the members of the exiled government of the mainland province of Fukien. Though the Nationalists, with some American technical advice, have been putting a good deal of work into improving the defences of Quemoy, it hardly seems conceivable that the island, on which the Nationalists now have a couple of divisions, could hold out for long against a determined Communist attack.

Though the small Nationalist air force includes only about 100 jet fighters until now it has been able to dominate the air over these offshore islands. The reason is that the Communists have not got airfields in the area capable of taking modern aircraft. I was told in Taipeh, however, that the Communists were now building a series of airfields on the mainland opposite Formosa. When these are ready and the Communists are able to make use of their considerable number of jet fighters and fast fighter-bombers I think it is obvious that the whole military situation in the Formosa Strait could change. I can see no reason whatever for thinking that the Communists will not attack these offshore islands as soon as they are ready to do so, and that really means as soon as their airfields are ready and the aircraft are assembled. I would guess that would not be so very far off.

NO EARLY ATTACK ON THE ISLAND EXPECTED

And what about an attack on Formosa itself? I did not get the impression that anyone expected them to make an early attempt against the island. It is obviously impossible to say how successful a Communist attack could be. It depends how much the Communists are prepared to put into their attack and how much the Americans are prepared to put into the defence and counter-attack. But it seems that one of the major limitations on the present extent of

American military action from Formosa is the shortage of airfields on the island. Over two-thirds of Formosa is rough, mountainous country, and the construction of more airfields could be done only at the expense of valuable agricultural land. Throughout the whole of the 250-mile western coast facing the mainland shallow sandy beaches go out from cultivated low-lying land. A fleet of junks, at the right tide, could attempt a landing anywhere along this coast.

But as far as I could judge, the morale of the Nationalist troops is high, and they have been well trained under American direction. Incidentally, though the overwhelming majority of them came from the mainland over five years ago their average age is still said to be only twenty-seven, an ageing army, no doubt, but hardly yet an aged one. The troops certainly seem far better fed and clothed than they did some years ago on the mainland. And I think that if they were called on to fight for Formosa at this moment they would give a good account of themselves.

As I have said, the great majority of the troops came from the mainland and most of them have left homes and families behind. They have been indoctrinated against Communism since their arrival on Formosa. They live a spartan, almost dedicated life on the island. Only one in thirteen is married and only officers are in fact allowed to marry Formosan women. For all these reasons the Nationalist troops have got pretty strong incentives for fighting resolutely against the mainland Communists.

The United States does not station any forces of her own on Formosa, though she has a fairly large number of military advisers and instructors, particularly with the Nationalist Air Force. And of course, she can send in air units at short notice, as she did during her evacuation of the Tachen islands.

FORMOSANS' VIEWS

As for the views of the Formosan people, perhaps all I need say is that the cry of 'back to the mainland' is universally popular throughout the island. Supporters of the Kuomintang, naturally uphold it—it is really all they have got to live and work for, their only *raison d'être*. The native Formosans support it because they will be delighted when their mainland guests depart. To put it stronger, they would very much like to have their island to themselves again, for the first time since the Japanese seized the island sixty years ago.

To sum up, then, I have returned from Formosa more than ever convinced that the British Government's views on the situation are the right ones. That is to say, if the offshore islands were evacuated, as the Tachen islands were evacuated, there would be a good chance of peace in the Formosa Strait for quite some little time. I believe the Communists will shortly make a bid to capture the Matsus and Quemoy. By then the United States, if it does decide to intervene directly in their defence, will only be able to prevent their falling to the Communists by turning it into a major battle. And out of that a major war could only too easily develop. But if the Americans do not intervene then I believe the islands will fall. And that, it seems to me, would produce an even more disastrous drop in the morale of the Nationalists and of the peoples of other non-Communist countries in the Far East than if the offshore islands had been evacuated. But since I doubt if the Communists, at least for some time, will feel that they are strong enough to capture Formosa itself from the combined forces of the Nationalists and the Americans and very likely of other members of the United Nations as well, the liquidation of the problem of the offshore islands should bring peace to this area for at least some time.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS TIME.
By Agnes Savil, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P. (Publ. 1955) F've plates and a map. Price 25 shillings. Rockliff, London E.C. 4.

This is a loving study done *con amore* of the great Emathian Conqueror, who bid spare the house of Pindarus, when temp'e and tower went to the ground. Doctor Savil with the industry and relentlessness of a diagnostic physician, has delved into many volumes, both hostile and friendly, to see if there was any evidence whatsoever that a youth of such enhancing promise had degenerated even before his premature death at the early age of 33 into a drunken dissolute tyrant, as alleged by his detractors. She found none. The explanation is as Churchill said on the death of President F. D. Roosevelt: "He was loved by millions, inside and outside the United States. Hated, too, as who isn't who gets things done?"

In the case of a World Figure of all Time, like Alexander, we would recommend people to read Part II which describes briefly but accurately the character of Alexander, the City-State of Greece and the Religion and Thought of Greece, first and then the actual chronological narrative of the life in Part I. Some of Doctor apophthegms like the following are magnificent. "Myths born of the struggle within the self are the material from which religion and creative art emerge; in some individuals these have a dynamic power."

The tactics and strategy of Alexander cannot be canvassed with justice in the brief course of a review but it will be grossly improper not to notice with pride and approval his directions for the treatment of the conquered and the civil population. He treated conquered kings with dignity and generosity. His soldiers unlike the brutal and licentious mercenaries of later days, were strictly restricted from indulging in rape and rapine.

But the great miracle of Alexander marching 21,000 miles from his starting point, conquering all in his way, and knowing when to return pales into insignificance when confronted with the practical persistent interest

in learning, knowledge, and culture that Alexander exhibited owing to his training by the greatest of Philosophers and Scientists, Aristotle. There is a Sanskrit sloka which says, "Youth, Wealth, Power, and lack of Discrimination, each one, by itself can lead to catastrophe, let alone all four as in most young princes." Alexander's life as set out by Doctor Savil, shows Youth, Wealth and Power, if united to Discriminative Knowledge in a dynamic personality, can conquer the World not only temporarily but for all time.

WARREN HASTINGS: A personal Biography.
By Keith Feiling. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. St. Martin's St., London.

Prof. Keith Feiling's well documented life of Warren Hastings is as instructive as history as it is entertaining as the biography of a colourful personality. Hastings, like all heroic figures in history, is a much misunderstood character. The Professor has had access to all documents both in manuscript and in printed official records and books and he has made a volume of sustained interest. The book is built first and foremost on his own papers, taking much besides from those of Philip Francis, Elijah Impey, and other contemporaries. The author has also made use of Hastings' letters, hitherto unpublished, to his most intimate friend in India, George Vansittart. He quotes freely from Hastings' Diaries but he has wisely appended an index of references rather than padding his work with footnotes obstructing the easy flow of the narrative.

It is the aim of this biography, we are told, to explain the making of Hastings' personality and his aspirations, how far they were achieved or how deflected, rather than to attempt a fully documented detail of his manifold policies. It would therefore be pointless to discuss his Indian policy *vis a vis* Burke's famous impeachment in Parliament. As compared with its predecessors, this book gives more room to his formative years, before he became Governor-General: to his marriages and private life; and to his relation to the strife and factions of Parliament and the East India House which ultimately brought him to ruin. Altogether a vastly entertaining memoir of a colourful figure in British Indian annals.

"MY LIFE AT THE BAR": an autobiographical account of the life at the Bar by Sri G.V. Mavlankar, Speaker, Lok Sabha. Published by The Hindustan Times, New Delhi.

This book contains several interesting reminiscences of the author who enjoyed very lucrative practice at the Ahmedabad bar. The lawyer according to him has a special responsibility to discharge within the frame work of society as an agent who plays such a large part in the administrative mechanism of justice. Throughout the book stress has been laid on the moral outlook which a lawyer should cultivate in order that he should practice as a social worker to uphold the stability and advance the progress of the community at large. The eight rules of conduct adumbrated by him in the concluding chapter of the book well deserve following by the members of the profession. And if they do so the fast declining respectability and dignity of the bar will be restored.

ROGET'S THESAURUS. Penguin Books, London. Thesaurus, as an invaluable book of reference in literary composition, has earned for itself a reputation which has stood the test of a hundred years and more. It was originally designed to be the converse of a dictionary. While the purpose of the dictionary is to explain the meaning of words, that of the Thesaurus is, "the idea being given, to find the word or words by which that idea may be most fitly and aptly expressed."

The present abridged edition retains the original scheme of classification with some necessary additions to bring it up to date—by the introduction of separate categories for terms relating to Flying and Aircraft. It is excellent service to letters to provide a cheap popular Penguin edition of this well known classic of reference.

NEW HANDBOOK OF THE HEAVENS. By Bernhord—Bennett—Rice. Mentor Book. The New American Library of World Literature. 501 Madison Ave. New York. 22.

This nicely printed book is very useful and informative to laymen as well as to students of astronomy. It offers rich and interesting astronomical facts, with illustrations (drawings and diagrams) and 28 photographic inserts. The authors are to be complimented upon an authentic, dependable and detailed accurate guide to popular introduction to astronomy.

TO BADRINATH—By K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Chaupathy, Bombay. Rs. 1-12.

Sri Munshi is thoroughly at home in the history and mythology of India. As Rajpramukh of Uttar Pradesh he has had ample opportunities to visit the shrines and sacred places of the region in the company of men well versed in *Stalapurana*. And of course he writes of all he saw and felt with the facility of one who knows how to convey his impressions, with skill and judgment. This he does superbly well with anecdotes and presentations of scenery with appropriate photographs of Himalayan slopes and architecture. Sri Munshi confesses, like most of his readers but with few of his opportunities or powers of expression that though he is not a devout Hindu he is thrilled by the sights and scenes.

"I cannot claim to be a devout Hindu. Nor do I believe that salvation is to be gained merely by visiting temples. I have not the gift of seeking the miraculous intervention of God for my personal benefit.

"I am attracted to our shrines because I love the Motherland. Whenever I visit a spot, a river, a mountain, with which, heroic or sacred memories are associated, my heart glows with pride. The beauty of every scene and sight in our towns or our countryside has an irresistible lure for me....The Puranas assure us that to bathe at a sacred place ensures a better life when we are born again. But I can sincerely say that a visit to such places gives me a better life even as I am...though it may be only for a few short hours.

This book in particular is valuable to intending pilgrims and tourists as it gives practical guidance even as to food and bus fares to important stations on the route.

INDIA AND BURMA. By Prof. W. S. Desai, Orient Longmans, Mount Road, Madras.

Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs the new series of volumes entitled "India and Her Neighbours" is a wholesome reminder to us of the growing unity—economic, social and cultural of the countries of S. E Asia. The Council has already issued two volumes "India and Ceylon" and "India and Malaya" and now "India and Burma" is a welcome continuation of the series. Like the rest of the volumes in the series this book also deals with the geographical and historical background of the relations between the two countries and their impact on the political, economic and social life of the peoples concerned, not forgetting the problem raised by the presence of immigrants of Indian origin.

NETAJI SUBHAS BOST—A glimpse of his life by Mukundlal Sircar. Published at Chhatrivala Building, Tardeo, Bombay-7.

This is another of the attempts to revive interest in Netaji. He was born on Saturday the 23rd January, 1897, and some of us believe he is still alive and on completion of his Shastibhappoorthi he will come back to lead India into fresh fields of self-respect and prosperity. There is a Sufi's prophesy that within 10 years after 15th August 1947, India will be again Bharatha Varsha. There is Cherio's prophesy that the North Temperate Zone will become frozen and a new civilization will start south of the Tropic of Cancer. The book is well-written and let us wait and see.

UNION JURISDICTION OVER JAMMU AND KASHMIR—By Durga Das Basu, Published by R. N. Sarkar, 260 Madan Mitra Lane, Calcutta-6.

This is a re-arranged re-production of relevant orders relating to the jurisdiction of the Indian Union Government over Jammu and Kashmir. It will be a helpful reminder in the light of the talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in the near future.

WANG KUEI AND LI HSIANG—HSIANG. By LI CHI Foreign Language Press, Peking.

This is frankly a propaganda narrative account of the atrocities of landlords under the old Chinese bourgeois regime and the "corrupt Chiang Kai-Shek regime" and how the guerillas saved a girl from the bold bad Baron landlord. The original Chinese may be poetry but the translation is rather bitterly prosaic. But the illustrations and the get-up are extraordinarily pretty and fascinating in spite of the tag at the end. "If we support the revolution, it is for our own sakes."

GETTING THE MOST OUT OF LIFE—By C.G.L. Du Cann. Thorsons Publishers Ltd., 91 St. Martin's Lane, London.

The title of this work is evidently taken from Somerset Maugham's "The Summing Up" wherein he offers the fruits of his experiences in one sentence as a guide to his readers: "I made up my mind that, having but one life, I should like to get the most I could out of it." The author accordingly has attempted to provide a plan for successful living. The purpose is to design a way of life in which material progress will be coupled with spiritual content. That inner contentment can't be had by mere accumu-

lation of wealth or power—though these contribute much to happiness. This may be commonplace. But Life to be really successful must be varied, vivid, and vital and must be so lived as to make it full of interest and significance. There is commonsense in the author's exhortation to get the most out of life—as in the value he sets on money which in these days is the basis of so much that makes for happiness, and in his plea for making pleasure the proper pursuit of life. One may wonder if the conscious pursuit of pleasure really leads to happiness. But he dismisses the cant of duty above pleasure and points out that at bottom even patriotic or philanthropic actions are inspired by the urge for pleasure.



NEW CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE INDIAN NAVY

Vice-Adm. S. H. Carlill, C. B., D. S. O., Flag Officer Training Squadron, Home Fleet, Royal Navy, who has been appointed Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy in succession to Adm. C. T. Mark Pizey. The appointment is to take effect in July. Vice-Adm. Carlill was born in December, 1902.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP OF CEYLON

Explaining the implications of the resolution unanimously adopted at the Hatton session of the Ceylon Democratic Congress recently as it affected the two pacts between the Governments of India and Ceylon, Mr. A. Aziz, Congress President, told the members of the Working Committee of the Jaffna branch of the Congress that any pact between the two Governments which did not touch the provisions of the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act would not solve the problem of offering citizenship rights to people of Indian origin in Ceylon.

Mr. Aziz said, adding: The Ceylon Government is of opinion that a large number of persons of Indian origin settled here do not desire to acquire Ceylon citizenship and only a small fraction is desirous of acquiring it. According to us the position is just the reverse because we feel that the bulk of the Indian settlers wish to become full-fledged citizens of this island. If the Government of Ceylon feel we are wrong and they are right then without resorting to a complicated and rigorous procedure why do they not put the question straight to the persons concerned?

Mr. Aziz said: "If citizenship of Ceylon is less important than inducements to a certain section of the people they will of course make their choice accordingly. But if on the other hand regardless of inducements which the Ceylon Government may offer, people wished to become Ceylon citizens then it is only fair that they should be granted Ceylon citizenship by a simple and uncomplicated procedure. This in fact is the essence of the resolution adopted at Hatton session of the Congress."

REPRESENTATION FOR INDIANS

Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon told the Representative of the Hindu recently that registered Ceylon citizens of Indian origin would be able to elect their representatives to the Lower House of Parliament during the next general election.

The Ceylon Premier said this in answer to a question, whether in view of the popular talk of snap election anytime from now on, registered citizens would be able to have representation in the next Parliament.

It may be recalled that the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of January last year, while agreeing to place registered citizens on a separate electoral register, stipulated that "citizens whose names are placed on a separate electoral register will be entitled to elect a certain number of members to the House of Representatives the number being determined after consultation with the Indian Prime Minister."

Clause Six of the Pact also laid down that "the Government of Ceylon expect to complete their action in this respect before the present Parliament is dissolved in 1957."

The Ceylon Government had taken unilateral action without consulting Mr. Nehru and enacted legislation, allocating only four seats to registered citizens.

South Africa

"APARTHEID DOOMED TO FAILURE"

Sir Roy Welensky, Deputy Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said that the policy of *Apartheid* is in the long run "doomed to failure."

He told the Broken Hill Railway Club that the policy of repression of African and coloured people could not be pursued successfully as it was costly, unrealistic dangerous and "utterly futile."

Br. Guiana

INDIAN REPATRIATES FROM BR. GUIANA

A chartered ship will take a batch of about 400 Indian repatriates to Calcutta in mid-August, according to the British Guiana Government announcement.

The last batch of Indian repatriates had sailed for India in January, 1949.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- April 1 Vice-Admiral Carlill is appointed Chief of the Naval Staff in India.
—U. S. Senate ratifies Paris Pact re. rearmament of West Germany.
- April 2 Quake havoc in Philippines resulting in 400 deaths.
—Madras Assembly adjourns.
- April 3 The first National Convention of Farmers meets in New Delhi.
—U. K. Steel Mission arrives in New Delhi.
- April 4 Dr. Khan Sahib is appointed first Chief Minister of the proposed one-unit West Pakistan.
—Kao Kang, former Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Govt. commits suicide.
- April 5 Sir Winston Churchill resigns: Sir Anthony Eden succeeds.
—U. K., U. S. & Turkey protest against Afghanistan's policy towards Pakistan.
- April 6 Asian conference opens in New Delhi, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru presiding.
—India-Egypt Pact of friendship is signed.
—Genzahedi, Premier of Iran resigns: Mr. Hussain Ala becomes premier.
- April 7 Rajya Sabha passes the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill.
—President Eisenhower signs the Paris Agreements on re-arming West Germany.
- April 8 Mr. K. P. S. Menon meets Premier Nicolai Bulganin in the Kremlin.
—Mr. Pham Van Dong, North Vietnam Dy. Prime Minister meets Mr. Nehru.
- April 9 Russia announces her decision to cancel her 20 year treaties of Friendship with Britain and France as the latter are for re-arming West Germany.
—U. S. Envoy, Mr. Sherman Cooper presents his credentials to President Prasad.
- April 10 The 16th All-Malayalee conference meeting at Madras adopts unanimously the resolution on Aikya Kerala.
- April 10 Pakistan Government announces that it would take back all the members of the minority community who had migrated to India from East Pakistan.
—Mr. R. K. Nehru Foreign Secretary hands over note to Portuguese Minister protesting against repression in Goa.
- April 12 Egyptian Prime Minister Col. Nasser arrives in New Delhi en route to Bandung.
- April 13 Russia and Austria agree on an Austrian State Treaty.
- April 14 Col. Nasser addresses Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.
- April 15 Nehru leaves for Bandung.
—The 162-year old Zamindari System ended in West Bengal
- April 16 Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru arrives in Bandung.
- April 17 Dr. Albert Einstein author of the theory of relativity is dead.
- April 18 President Soekarno inaugurates Asian-African Conference at Bandung.
- April 19 Pak. Prime Minister presents 7 principles for promoting World Peace.
- April 20 Rajya Sabha passes unanimously the Constitution Amendment Bill.
- April 21 Political Committee of the Asian African Conference unanimously passes resolution condemning racial segregation and discrimination.
- April 22 France signs agreement granting Home Rule to Tunisia.
—Andhra Assembly meets for the first time after the dissolution of the old Assembly.
- April 23 Mr. R. L. Dora is elected Speaker of the Andhra Assembly.
- April 24 Bandung Conference concludes.
- April 25 Pak Consulate in Jalalabad is closed.
—Lok Sabha passes the motion for consideration of State Bank Bill which provides for nationalisation of the Imperial Bank.
- April 26 Russia agrees to a Four Power ambassadors' meeting in Vienna re-giving independence to Austria.
- April 27 Pt. Nehru arrives at New Delhi from Bandung.
—President Eisenhower announces his readiness to talk with red China on Formosa.
- April 28 Lok Sabha passes the untouchability (offences) Bill prescribing punishment for the practice of untouchability.
- April 29 About 75 Satyagrahis enter Daman, Portuguese territory.
—Signor Giovanni Gronchi is elected President of Italy.
- April 30 Lt. Col. Nasser offers to mediate in the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan.
—Pak Governor-General postpones elections to Constituent Convention.

READERS' DIGEST

TRUE DEMOCRACY

Prime Minister Nehru says that "real democracy" must ensure individual freedom as well as social well being.

"To-day, all kinds of Governments are called democratic which in fact, they are not. In fact, the word 'Democracy' is used in opposition to the communist form. That is totally incorrect".

Mr. Nehru's observations are given in the current issue of the Gujarati monthly *Sanskriti* in reply to questions submitted to him by this journal.

Mr. Nehru said that in this age of adult suffrage, political democracy was no longer thought adequate. People had begun to think of economic democracy.

Socialism and Communism in their respective ways, he said, aimed at economic democracy. But in attaining a "measure" of economic well being and equality Communism sacrificed in some other ways the "essence of democracy".

"Well-being is thus obtained at the sacrifice of freedom and individuality. That need not necessarily be so, but, in fact, we have seen this happen" he added.

Mr. Nehru said that it was clear that no system could ultimately prevail unless it brought well-being to the people. That was one of the "tests" of the success of any system.

"The question, therefore, is whether this well-being can be obtained by democratic and peaceful processes. 'I think it can, and I think India can attain it'. Mr. Nehru added.

To a question "How can the pace of achieving social and economic justice within the framework of democracy be accelerated," Mr. Nehru replied: "The answer to this question, I hope, will be given in our second Five-Year Plan to some extent at least".

"There is no reason why social and economic progress should not be swift in democracy. But this also requires a measure of discipline and co-operation among the people as well as hard work and, sometimes, austerity", concluded Mr. Nehru.

VISITORS TO RUSSIA

To Indian journalists who have been "invited" to cover Mr. Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union are some useful tips from Lucjan Blit, a prominent Polish Socialist who is a member of the editorial board of the British journal, *Socialist Commentary*. The writer observes:

When a foreign journalist ventures into an interpretation of Soviet policy and does it with all the delicacy his experience has taught him, he will, in most cases, have his piece sent back with the curt note that it cannot be cabled abroad. Even when the report is no more than a re-write of the leading article in *Izvestia*, the censor will take five hours to pass the dispatch...

"No foreigner, be he a diplomat, an accredited journalist or anybody else, is allowed to visit places outside a radius of 25 miles from Moscow. He can do so only by special permission. But even in Moscow or Leningrad he can walk around by himself only with some difficulty. There are no street maps printed in Russia, probably to confuse spies. Neither is a telephone directory available—no doubt for the same good reason. Then there is the lack of Russian money. The rate of exchange is such that any foreigner in Moscow would go bankrupt in a very short time, if he did not abstain from changing his currency into Russian currency (an icecream in Moscow costs 3s. 6d.)..."

"Questions can be asked. But if one wants to obtain factual information he may expect disappointment. On June, 8, 1947, the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R. passed a decree which made punishable by law the disclosure of any information which constitutes a State secret. The law imposes penalties of from eight to twelve years imprisonment for disclosing facts connected with 'industry as a whole and its various branches,' and 'agriculture, trade and means of communication,'" The law about state secrets was republished on May 29, 1954.

CRISIS IN SAIGON

The heart of the matter in South Vietnam was symbolized in the "two cities" of Saigon. There was the French quarter of tree-lined boulevards, smart shops, side-walk cafes. There was, all round it, the thatched-roofed city of the Vietnamese, much of it now strewn with rubble and ashes.

What the two cities symbolized was a collision of forces that are in powerful motion in a vast stretch of the Far East—a key area in the struggle between freedom and communism. writes the *New York Times*. On the one hand are the bitter memories and the living remnants of colonialism. On the other is the drive of nationalism. The outcome of the conflict between these forces is crucial to the effort led by the U. S. to build democratic self-government strong enough to withstand the pressures of the Communists.

In Saigon last month there came a crisis in that effort. It was a bizarre denouement in which the South Vietnamese Premier after months of vacillation met the challenge of a State and a private racketeering army that seemed to be leagued against him. At the week-end the Premier's status appeared to be uncertain.

The gravity of the crisis was underscored by a deep and open conflict between the two big powers directly involved—the U. S. and France. It was plain that the West faced in South Vietnam a test of diplomacy that would have repercussions all through the Orient.

In the mid-nineteenth century a wave of imperialism was sweeping through Asia and Africa and the French moved into Indochina on the crest. The French did much to modernize Indochina. And in so doing they enriched France.

French rule was not unchallenged. For years before World War II Indochinese nationalists agitated for freedom. But it was not until France's wartime defeats at home and in Indochina that the nationalists became strong enough to enforce their demands. The end of the war brought a bloody struggle for Indochina.

The story has unfolded in four phases. The first began with liberation from Japan and the return of the French. In the face of a tide of nationalism the French recognized an auto-

nomous republic headed by Moscow-trained Ho Chi Minh, and agreed to negotiate a treaty of independence. But the negotiations collapsed and in 1946 war began, with Communists emerging in control of the nationalist cause.

The second phase began in 1949 when Paris named Bao Dai, formerly Emperor of the Province of Annam and at that time an habitue of the French Riviera, as Chief of State in an anti-Communist Vietnamese Government rivaling Ho's. But Bao Dai, with his pro-French views, failed to capture the Vietnamese imagination. Ho's forces steadily grew stronger, as Bao Dai remained in Cannes most of the time.

The third phase came last year with Ho, aided by Communist China, fighting into the ascendancy. At the Geneva conference the French, fed up with the war, signed a truce ceding North Vietnam to the Communists and providing for national elections in 1956 for a re-unified country. In the south the French, on American urging, installed Ngo Dinh Diem, an ardent nationalist, as Premier under Bao Dai.

The fourth phase was the period of turmoil that came to a climax. It was marked by a complex interplay of these main forces:

The Diem regime. Diem is the first nationalist Premier of Vietnam. He is an honest, conscientious and patriotic man. But he has had no administrative experience and many of his supporters concede that he is inept, rigid and tactless. A devout Roman Catholic in a Buddhist country, he has aroused some religious opposition. His object is to stay in power in a Vietnam freed of both French and Communist influence. He appears now to have the backing of the Vietnamese army—although it opposed him when he first took office.

The dissident sects. The most important is the Binh Xuyen, an organization of bandits who control the brothels of Saigon. One of its leaders was appointed head of the police force by Bao Dai just before Diem became Premier. During the war against the Communists the French subsidized the Binh Xuyen and two religious sects, and they, in turn, put their private armies at the disposal of the French. When Diem took office he demanded the integration of the private armies into his

army. Eventually, the two religious sects agreed, but the Binh Xuyen, in danger of losing its rackets, held out and fought the Premier.

The French. They exert great influence in Vietnam, partly through skillfully reared a number of Vietnamese officials and politicians to the presence of 100,000 French troops, partly because they have to be puppets. The French appear to be torn between two courses to try to do business with the Communists and allow Ho quietly to take over South Vietnam, or to try to preserve their political and economic foothold in a free Vietnam. In either case they would need to get a pro-French Government in Saigon. They have opposed Diem bitterly—they say because he has no popular support, Diem says because he will not do their bidding.

The United States. The U. S. exerts great influence in Vietnam by virtue of the fact that it is footing most of the bills. Washington's objective is to save South Vietnam from communism. It believes the country must have independent, popular and efficient government, and it gave its support to Diem as the most likely candidate. On the other hand, Washington wants to avoid the charge of meddling in domestic Vietnamese politics. The U. S. has pressed France to intervene on Diem's behalf against the rebels on the ground that, under the Geneva truce agreement, the French army is responsible for maintaining internal order.

EINSTEIN FORMULAS

Albert Einstein, who died on 18th April at the age of 76, wrote one of the most significant equations in scientific history: $E=mc^2$, which had its fruition in the harnessing of atomic energy. Einstein, a man of singular warmth, was profoundly interested in the human equation as well. Here are some of his formulas on man and life:

ON THE MEANING OF LIFE

"What is the meaning of human life, or, for that matter, of the life of any creature? To know an answer to this question means to be religious. You ask: Does it make any sense, then, to pose this question? I answer: The man who regards his own life and that of his fellow creatures as meaningless is not merely unhappy but hardly fit for life."

ON THE PHYSICIST

"The supreme task of the physicist is to arrive at those universal elementary laws from which the cosmos can be built up by pure deduction. There is no logical path to these laws; only intuition, resting on sympathetic understanding of experience, can reach them."

ON SCIENTISTS

"The man of science *** suffers a truly tragic fate. Striving in great sincerity for clarity and inner independence, he himself, through his sheer superhuman efforts, has fashioned the tools which are being used to make him a slave and to destroy him also from within. He cannot escape being muzzled by those who have the political power in their hands. As a soldier he is forced to sacrifice his own life and to destroy the lives of others even when he is convinced of the absurdity of such sacrifices."

ON WEALTH

"I am absolutely convinced that no wealth in the world can help humanity forward, even in the hands of the most devoted worker in this cause. The example of great and pure individuals is the only thing that can lead us to noble thoughts and deeds. Money only appeals to selfishness and irresistibly invites abuse. Can anyone imagine Moses, Jesus or Gandhi armed with the money-bags of Carnegie?"

ON SCIENCE AND RELIGION

"[The scientist's] religious feeling takes the form of a rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law, which reveals an intelligence of such superiority that, compared with it, all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings is an utterly insignificant reflection. This feeling is the guiding principle of his life and work, in so far as he succeeds in keeping himself from the shackles of selfish desire. It is beyond question closely akin to that which has possessed the religious geniuses of all ages."

EMERSON AND HINDU PHILOSOPHY

It is common knowledge that Emerson and the New England thinkers (among whom were Thoreau, Hawthorne and Holmes) pioneered a path through the tangled underbrush of scepticism and materialism of their day.

They were already influenced by the philosophical movement in Europe under the Cambridge Platonists and other philosophers like Kant, Schopenhauer and Boehme; but above all, as J. L. Davidge observes in the course of an article in *The Theosophist*, they were influenced especially by contact with eastern classics such as the Bhagavad Gita.

Emerson's eclectic philosophy was in vivid contrast with the narrow orthodoxy of the New England Community.

The Transcendentalists were supposed to hold new views, but we have it from Emerson himself that the so-called new views were the very oldest views presented in a nineteenth-century garb to suit the new life and time. Basic to their philosophy is the sense of unity. Emerson concentrates it in his poems: in "Woodnotes" and "Xenophanes" and many another.

The specious panorama of a year
But multiplies the image of a day,—
A Belt of mirrors round a taper's flame;
And universal Nature, through her vast
And crowded whole, an infinite parrot,
Repeats one note.

Emerson attached great and special value to Oriental literature. In one of his essays he states that he thought Hindu books "the best Gymnastics of the mind." In another essay "Plato the Philosopher" he says:

In all nations there are minds which incline to dwell on the conception of the fundamental Unity." This tendency finds its highest expression in the religious writings of the East and chiefly in the Indian scriptures, in the *Vedas* and *Bhagavad Gita* and *Vishnu Purana*. These works, he considers, rise to pure and sublime strains in celebrating this conception of Unity.

It is recorded that Emerson carried a small format of the Bhagavad Gita in his pocket.

Emerson was a thoroughgoing evolutionist. Involved in evolution, says the writer, is the principle of Karma, the law of cause and effect. Karma is said to be the cause of reincarnation and "until it is compensated, that is until a harmony between effects and causes is re-established reincarnation must go on. Emerson calls it "the law of compensation," "the law of balance" and so on.

It is the secret of the world, that all things subsist and do not die, but only retire a little from sight and afterwards return again. We must infer our destiny from the preparation. We are driven by instinct to have innumerable experiences which are of no visible value, and we may revolve through many lives before we shall assimilate or exhaust them.

What one man is said to learn by experience, a man of extraordinary sagacity is said without experience to divine. If one should ask the reason of this intuition the solution would lead us into that property which Plato denoted as Reminiscence.

The soul having been often born remembers what formerly she knew.

THE FABULOUS FUTURE

In a recent issue of *Fortune* magazine David Sarnoff, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, looks backward at scientific achievements and forward to the progress which he believes will characterise the next 25 years.

Writing of "The Fabulous Future," he first recalls some of the developments of the past 100 years, a period that "compassed more technological achievement than the millennia that preceded."

Some of the most conspicuous inventions were electric light, power and communications; the radio; motor vehicles; mass production in industry; a knowledge of astronomy that has infinitely extended man's conception of the universe; and, in biological and medical sciences, the germ theory of disease which has led to the conquest of man's worst scourges in the field of disease, and the discovery of anaesthetics and antibiotics or "wonder drugs."

Sarnoff then brought his survey closer to the present by mentioning several of the leading developments of the last 25 years. These included television, nuclear energy, jet planes, penicillin and the new synthetic fabrics.

He believes that in the next 25 years the world will see "centuries of development telescoped into a brief span," and he also makes the following striking prediction: "The quantity of the new powers and products and processes at man's disposal is important; but even more important is the

increasing speed at which these things have come. It is not a case of continued increase, but of continued acceleration of increase. We need only project the curve into the future to realize that we are merely on the threshold of the technological age."

Some of the developments of the next 25 years, according to Sarnoff, will include electronic lighting that will change the appearance of our homes, stores, factories, streets and cities; nuclear power applied to the operation of factories and machines, including ships, locomotives, aircraft and automobiles; and atomic batteries that will provide electric current for years without recharging.

Other developments may be the practical use of power derived from the sun, tides and winds; new metals and fabrics; the extraction of salt from ocean water to irrigate vast desert regions; guided missiles for civilian use, such as transmission of mail; and pilotless aircraft.

In addition, we should see improved medical diagnosis and treatment that will greatly lengthen the present lifespan; electronic machines that will compute, remember and file information; automatic factory equipment that will select, test, check and handle raw materials and finished products; and practical ways of making available the ocean's wealth of chemicals and foods, in addition to the oil that is now being obtained from the ocean floor.

Such predictions coming from a less well-informed authority might seem exaggerated, but when a man of Sarnoff's reputation sees possibility of such remarkable new developments, there is more than a possibility that they can be realised.

"The very fact that electronics and atomics are unfolding simultaneously is a portent of the amazing changes ahead," Sarnoff says. "Never before have two such mighty forces been unleashed at the same time. Together they are certain to dwarf the industrial revolutions brought about by steam and electricity. There is no element of material progress we know to-day—in the biological and chemical fields, in atomics and electronics, in engineering and physics that will not seem, from the vantage point of 1950, a fumbling prelude."

PAK ECONOMY AND THE AMERICAN LOAN

Sir Percival Griffiths who recently visited India and Pakistan gave an address to the Over-seas League, on his return to London. In the course of address which is published in *The Asian Review*, Sir Percival gave his frank opinion of the way Pakistan has been utilising the foreign exchange that is made available to her. Pakistan must increase her production if she is to survive and prosper. How can she increase production if she cannot get spare parts for machinery? Nobody wants to deny spare parts to Pakistan, but far too much of the available foreign exchange had been used on over-ambitious capital schemes and the vital needs of home industries are neglected. Sir Percival goes on to say:

I believe, and I say this very sincerely, as one who I think can claim to be a friend of Pakistan, that Pakistan's whole future depends on her beginning to exercise some restraint; on her recognizing that you cannot go ahead beyond a certain speed; that she now needs time to consolidate, and the best advice any outside observer could give to Pakistan would be "Do not embark on fresh schemes in the next year or two; consolidate what you have, use your American aid for that purpose, and give yourself a little breathing space. It is no good setting up industries you cannot maintain. It is no good setting up fresh industries and having your existing industries steadily running down."

There is one danger in Pakistan to-day, says Sir Percival, and that is the danger of people forming an exaggerated idea of what can be done by the American Loan.

The American Loan is of value and I personally am extremely glad that it has been taken, but that American Loan is very limited in its amount, it is limited in its scope, and I see signs of a considerable danger of people forming a wholly exaggerated idea as to what you can do with it. People who would have taken a serious view of their financial situation but for that aid are now saying: "We need not bother now we have got American aid; everything is lovely in the garden." But everything will not be lovely in the garden unless Pakistan will exercise the self-restraint to which I have referred, and will say to herself the time has come to call a halt, to consolidate what she has got, to make her new industries work properly, and when, and only when that is done, it will be time to think of fresh schemes.

WORLD OIL PRODUCTION

Writing on "oil profits and oil Production" the *Financial Times* says that last year world oil production reached a new peak of some 5,250 million barrels; the industry in a single year produced as much oil as it did in the first 54 years of its growth from 1860. The experience of the Royal Dutch Shell groups—responsible—was fairly representative of that of the industry as a whole. The Paper continues:—

"The production of crude oil rose by five-and-one half per cent., and refinery intake by nearly nine per cent. Although the recession slowed down the rate of growth in U. S. and North American sales to only four per cent., those to the rest of the world rose by nearly 10 per cent. The Shell chairman points out that the net profit of the group last year amounted to less than 14 per cent. On the capital employed; the worldwide profit margin on all operations was only about one penny farthing a gallon.

"High oil prices are caused not so much by the basic price charged by the producers, but by the fact that the very cheapness of this basic price makes oil an attractive source of revenue to governments. Sales and excise taxes last year amounted to one-fifth of sales proceeds over the world as a whole, and in Europe to one-third."

U. S. TRADE POLICY

Writing under the caption "U. S. Trade Policy" the *Scotsman* says:—

"With the approval by a large majority by the U. S. Senate of the Administration's Tariff Bill, a major obstacle in the path of the realization of the President's free-trade policy has been surmounted. The Bill has still to be considered by a Joint committee of both Houses, but the fact that the House of Representatives have already passed it without amendment indicates that the prospects that it will become law are distinctly favourable.

"Mr. Eisenhower thus seems likely to secure, with Democrat support, what he was unable to obtain from his own party—namely, an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for a period of three years which will give him authority to reduce tariffs to a maximum of 15 per cent.

"Further failure on the part of the President to secure approval for his tariff policy could have had far-reaching repercussions on international economic relationships. It could certainly have influenced the attitude of other countries to the proposed Organi-

zation for Trade Co-operation, the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

COMMUNISM AND TIBET

Communism or Socialism cannot be introduced into Tibet for at least another fifty years, according to Chinese Premier Mr. Chou Enlai.

The *Economic Review* a fortnightly journal of the A. I. C. C., quoted Mr. Nehru as saying at a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party that somebody had asked the Chinese Premier in his presence: "Are you going to introduce Communism in Tibet?"

Mr. Chou laughed and his reply was: "Either you do not know the nature of what Tibet is or the nature of Socialism, when you put that question to me. You cannot introduce Communism or Socialism into Tibet. You just cannot do it. May be fifty years, 100 years later they may do it. Because there are certain essential elements that you have to face. It is not merely grabbing of this concern or that concern and calling it Socialism."

"ENDEAVOUR"

The current issue of *Enleavour* the British quarterly "designed to record the progress of the Sciences in the service of mankind" contains a number of articles of special interest to Scientists and students of research in medical Science. Of particular value is Sir Mac Farlane Burnet's learned thesis on "The Riddle of Influenza Virus" setting forth new methods of attacking what can be a very deadly disease. "The colours of animals" by H. Munro Fox surveys the principal types of coloration in animals with appropriate illustrations and plates in colour. We note that *Enleavour* is now issued to Indian readers by the Publicity Department of the Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Ltd. Chowringhee Calcutta.

ON DIVORCE

The Snobs, like the poor, are always with us, says "Vighneswara" in *Swatantra*. But when they are clothed with a little brief authority, he adds "their inner insufficiency might early become a national tragedy."

Thus, because a handful of westernised women have demanded it, our nationalist Government has deemed it proper to force divorce upon the Hindu community the insistence on monogamy seems prompted by the consideration that otherwise there might be no provocation for divorce. Our statesmen derive sober satisfaction from the thought that, whatever the Sastras might say, our progress in enlightenment will win the approval of the civilised world. But, if you tell them that that world is rather worried by its own rising divorce rate—currently one for every three weddings—they nonchalantly retort: "We know our women; their Indian virtues will save them from such foolish excess."

LAND REFORMS IN ITALY

Mr. Arnaldo Cortes, correspondent to the *New York Times*, point out that almost 90,000 families aggregating more than 400,000 persons are settled on Italian land made available through land reform. The heads of these families, formerly day laborers, are now small land-owners.

The two fundamental laws of land reform were passed in May and September, 1950. It was not until early in 1951, however, that actual work began. Reform has therefore been in progress little more than four years.

In that period, 89,939 families of former agricultural laborers have been settled on 1,170,000 acres. The average family holding is about thirteen acres.

Although this reform has been criticized on the ground that it has not given each family enough land to live on, experience has shown that intensive cultivation can produce sufficient yield from thirteen acres to support a family.

While the families were receiving their land twenty-seven residential centers and ninety-one service centers were built. Eighteen thousand two hundred seventy houses and 169 schools, kindergartens and recreation centers were built, in addition to churches and other facilities.

Eight hundred and eighty miles of roads have been built, and 4,063 tractors and 39,500 other pieces of agricultural machinery have been made available to the new landowners.

The land-reform plan is a twelve-year project. It is only about one-third completed. Its results so far are considered very satisfactory by 1,094 delegates of the new small land-owners, who held a congress in Foggia recently. They were addressed by the vice-secretary of

the Christian Democratic party, Mariano Rumor, who told them that they owed their land entirely to his party despite efforts of the Communists to claim credit.

U. S. AID TO ASIA

Planning for United States aid to Asia on a "regional" basis had received something of a set-back at the recent Simla Conference, the *New York Times*:

observes

Referring to the non-agreement of Asian States upon any programme in which they could share as part of a regional whole, the newspaper says: "We think and speak too often of 'Asia' and 'Asians' as if we were dealing with one cohesive part of the world and one unit of its populations. The Simla Conference should have made it plain to us that there are differences, areas of mistrust and antagonism, conflicting views and aims that will make it difficult if not impossible to deal with a geographical area as if it were unified in spirit as it is in need."

"The unity does not yet exist and the conference made it clear that it is still some considerable way in the future."

The newspaper added that this did not mean, however, that the idea of regional planning was unsound. Far from it since the very differences that were expressed at Simla made it clear than ever that the problems posed and the questions raised could not be solved on a narrow basis.

It went on: "It cannot be expected that the United States will continue for an indefinite time to be the illimitable source of American money for all nations that are in need.

"The whole basis for our economic assistance was set forth from the beginning as mutuality of effort. If there is not a 'counter part' in the countries that need and want help our assistance becomes ineffective.

"We earnestly hope that our Asian friends will understand this fact. It will be to their great disadvantage if the inability to make even tentative agreements becomes a weapon in this country that can be used politically to defeat an essential part of our foreign aid programme."

CRIME IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa says, in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* for April, that the analysis by the General Secretariat of the International Criminal Police Commission tended to disprove the general belief that poverty led to crimes against property. The study rather pointed to a contrary conclusion and showed, at least statistically, as if the more wealthy a country was the greater would be the crimes.

India was the least criminal of the 34 countries covered by the study.

Dr. Kumarappa quotes from the report the following figures for 1952 for 100,000 population in the undermentioned countries :

	Cognizable crimes	Serious thefts	Simple thefts
U. S. A.	1322	325	983
U. K.	1342	259	911
France	1484	65	366
West Germany	2992	268	935
India	165	16	69

INDIA LEADS IN COMMUNITY PROJECT

"The overall concept of the Community Programme is good and feasible both in terms of technical personnel required for its implementation as well as for its wide coverage envisaged in the First and Second Five-Year Plans," observes Mr. Arthur Raper, Consultant, Community Development Division, Foreign Operations Administration of the U. S. Government, in a communication addressed to the Community Projects Administration.

Mr. Raper, who recently completed a three-week study tour of India's community projects, points to the "widespread response of the villagers to the programme and the satisfaction Government officials are finding in servicing the self-help efforts of the villagers." He says there is evidence that soon the cost of the programme will be recognized as a public investment rather than mere expenditure.

Mr. Raper says: "India leads the world in the community development field" the only exception being the island of Puerto Rico, where the programme is a little older and in

which more emphasis is placed on the processes of community involvement than on a systematic scheme rendering technical assistance to the villagers. He adds: "Since India is recognized as in the lead, she is attracting visitors from all over the world who are interested in community development activities. The servicing of such visitors is time-consuming, but of great importance and as time passes, other countries are naturally going to look to India to assist them in securing needed experienced personnel" and in other ways.

PONDICHERY

The French India Company installed itself in Karaikal in 1739. In all, it gave to the Raja of Tanjore 150,000 gold 'chacras' for Karaikal and Pondicherry. This the company did in three instalments.

Pondicherry was founded by Francois Martin in 1674. It was captured by the Dutch in 1693 but was restored to the French in 1699. It was besieged by the British four times, and the fortress and public buildings were destroyed.

According to the Treaty of Paris in 1814, Pondicherry was finally restored to the French but they were allowed to keep only the minimum number of forces required for the maintenance of internal order.

C. R. ON U. S. AID

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said in his statement to the press on May 11: "we have two alternatives to choose from," one of which was "to accept U. S. aid in our eagerness to make quick advance and completely lose our newlyfound great moral power." The other alternative was "to make a sacrifice to resist the temptation of the assistance offered and conserve our power."

"If we choose the former as the easy alternative we can be happy and drift along," he said in a statement and asked: "How long will the happiness last? The future was black not only for the world but for us also. We cannot save ourselves from total catastrophe."

In the statement, Mr. Rajagopalachari said at the outset that he had noted the "cautious observations" of the Finance Minister on the question of accepting U. S. aid.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

SECOND 5-YEAR PLAN TARGET

The Planning Commission has reached the conclusion that the Second Five-Year Plan should be of a size and character which will be capable of securing an increase in national income by about 25 per cent and providing employment opportunities to 10 to 12 million persons over a period of five years.

The Union Minister for Planning, Mr. G. L. Nanda, who broadcasted from the Delhi Station of the All India Radio on May 25 added: "When we consider the experience of other countries and our own, two things become clear. First, that these targets can be achieved given the necessary effort and organisation, Second, that if we set ourselves smaller targets, our economy will fall behind the rate of growth of population and instead of moving forward as a nation we shall slide back."

"The nation has to accept the obligations which this new economic goal creates and all of us must prepare ourselves for the sacrifices which this may entail," he said.

Mr. Nanda said that to raise the national income by 25 per cent over five years involved stepping up the rate of investment from about 7 per cent of the national income at present to about 11 per cent by the end of the next Plan period.

THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION

Scope for "new and healthy blood" to come into the Congress organisation and discouragement to a few individuals holding important positions "more or less continuously" have been urged in a list of do's and don'ts to Pradesh Congress Committees by Mr. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress.

Drawing the Committee's attention to the recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Congress Working Committee on purity within the organisation and to the resolution of the (Berhampur A.I.C.C.) adopting the recommendations, Mr. Narayan says:

"(1) As far as possible a person should not hold the same office in the organisation for

more than one term. Such an arrangement would remove one of the basic causes for the formation of groups.)

"(2) The practice of a person holding a number of positions in the Congress organisation, legislatures and local bodies should be discouraged. At present the same person holds several positions and evokes legitimate jealousies and frictions. Our general conventions should be, "One man, one position." Exceptions could, however, be allowed by the leader of the party or the P.C.C. Presidents.

"(3) In order to eliminate casteism, it is necessary that active members of the Congress should not be members of any caste or communal organisation. They should not associate themselves with any activity carried on by or in the name of a caste unless the activity be of a religious character or connected with the uplift of Scheduled Castes or tribes or is expressly for removal of anti-social customs. They should not participate in caste dinners or parties or conferences. They should not associate themselves with any caste institutions connected with educational or other beneficial activities like schools, colleges, hostels, etc., unless that institution is open to all sections of the society without any distinctions of caste or community."

LIMIT ON EARNINGS

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, M. P., said at Poona on May 28 that private enterprise had no validity in any State, which claimed to be really democratic. He wanted a limit on individual earnings.

In an industrially backward country like India, he said, unrestricted or nominally regulated private enterprise meant "criminal exploitation" of the poor and the weak in the community.

If the whole State belonged to the people, if it was to run in the interests of the people, the responsibility of capital formation should be that of the people, he added.

(Mr. Gadgil said the second Five-Year Plan was aimed at bringing about a "casteless and classless society", to which the Congress Party was pledged.)



MR. NEHRU ON RATIONALISATION

Speaking at a Press Conference at New Delhi on May 31 Mr. Nehru said:—

"We want higher technicians, greater efficiency, a more rationalised system of working. But we certainly do not want people to be thrown out of work. Therefore, the broad policy the Government have adopted is that where any rationalisation takes place, the people must be guaranteed work, that is, no one should be thrown out. If that is so, then we can consider it. Also, broadly speaking our approach is this; all new plants that we put in must be of the latest technique, the newest type and generally speaking, we should throw in our resources on additional production units, which necessarily give additional employment rather than in improving an old unit which might create unemployment. We do the latter only when we can provide employment for those who might become unemployed. That is the broad approach. Of course in working it out one has to consider many aspects."

KOTELAWALA'S FEARS

Ceylon Prime Minister Kotelawala was quoted as saying that the day Ceylon did away with the Englishman it would go under India.

Opening a college on May 25 at Giniga-thena, South-Central Ceylon, Sir John said: "It is difficult for Ceylon to do away with the Englishman completely. We simply cannot live without them, because of the fact that we will be utterly helpless the moment we do so."

He added that the day Ceylon did away with the Englishman completely, Ceylon would go under India. "It is not the British or the Portuguese who suppressed our freedom, but the Ceylonese themselves who served under foreigners," he said.

Sir John was presumably referring to demands made for ending Ceylon's defence agreement with Britain. His speech was reported by the independent evening paper, the *Times of Ceylon*.

MR. DESAI'S APPEAL

Speaking at the Indian Labour Conference at Bombay on May 14 Mr. Khandubhai Desai, Minister for Labour, Government of India, said: "The establishment of a socialist pattern of society calls not merely for a great creative effort but for a measure of ungrudging sacrifice on the part of the fortunate 'haves' and an abundance of patience on the part of those who are less fortunate."

We are meeting at a very opportune time. The Second Five-Year Plan will soon be on the anvil, and it is for all of us, irrespective of the group to which we belong, to contribute in a full measure towards the evolution and execution of a bold Plan of national development. That Plan will be based on socialistic principles and will aim at the creation of a socialistic pattern of society. Though five years are a very short period in the history of nations, we ought to be able, even during that period, to take concrete steps towards the implementation of our ideal in the matter of the production and distribution of wealth to the advantage of the common man."

PANDIT PANT ON THE PRESS

Pandit Gobind Vallabh Pant, Union Home Minister suggested in a meeting at Delhi on May 28 that some method should be devised whereby the Press could be associated with Government in the sphere of policy-making.

"My own idea is that apart from giving information to the Press or placing before them all necessary facts in order to enable them to view things in their correct perspective, we should also seek the assistance of the Press in the solution of the difficult problems which have to be faced from time to time.

"I would like them to feel in reality that they are coadjutors with us in serving and advancing the larger interests of the country and the community. Their responsibility is sufficiently onerous, but if they have a greater opportunity of offering real assistance in the solution of difficult and ticklish problems, I think that would enable us to get their viewpoint even at a stage when criticism alone is not to be their concern; but their contribution will be of a more constructive character in the formative stage."



MR. N. M. JOSHI

We regret to note the death of Mr. N. M. Joshi who died on May 30. He was an ardent social worker. He spent many years in the early part of this century in slums and it was there that he became intimately acquainted with the workers and joined the trade union movement. He was President of the Bombay Social Workers' League and Vice-President of the All-India Civil Liberties Council until his death. Mr. Joshi once refused the title of C. I. E. offered to him by the British Government on the ground of his being "too poor".

Mr. Joshi was always known for his sincere effort for bringing unity in the trade union movement between Communists and non-Communists. He severed his connections with the main trade union bodies in the country in 1947 when he found his attempts at unity failed.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD

The Queen has approved of the appointment of The Rt. Hon'ble Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia, as High Commissioner



for the United Kingdom in India in succession to Sir Alexander Clutterbuck. Mr. MacDonald will take up his new post at the beginning of September.

U. N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

India was elected to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, according to a report received here. India polled the largest number of votes, 16.

India was also elected by 16 votes to the U. N. Statistical Commission.

Dr. CHANDRASEKHARIYA

Dr. T. Chandrasekhariya, former Director of Public Health, Mysore, has been appointed Public Health Adviser to the S.-E. Asian region of the W.H.O., with head-quarters in Delhi.

"KASHMIR PRINCESS" SABOTAGE

Premier Chou En-lai, reporting to the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress on May 13, recalled the death of members of the Chinese delegation to Bandung and of the other victims of the Indian plane crash on April 11, who "were murdered by Chiang Kai-Shek's secret agents."

"We express our deep condolences to the martyrs and our sympathy and concern to their families," Premier Chou added.

NEW PRESIDENT OF ITALY

Signor Giovanni Gronchi, 63-year-old Catholic labour organiser, and political theorist, was sworn in on May 11 as the second President of Italy's nine-year-old Republic.

Signor Luigi Einaudi was the first President.

INDIAN RAILWAY COACHES FOR PAKISTAN

India has agreed to supply to Pakistan immediately 28 broad-gauge railway passenger coaches and underframes with wheels for another 22 coaches. The supply will be made on a "no profit" basis.

Negotiations for the supply of this rolling stock between Indian and Pakistan Railway officials were held in New Delhi a few weeks ago, when India agreed to meet Pakistan's requirements in spite of the rolling stock shortages on her own railway system.

The coaches and the underframes will be delivered to the Pakistan Railway authorities at Attari shortly.



CENSORSHIP OF FILMS

Commenting on the Congress Working Committee's call for stricter enforcement of censorship rules and regulations, leaders of the Indian film industry said that the need is for a "reasonable," rather than a "stricter," attitude towards the question of censorship of films.

Mr. S. S. Vasan, president of the Film Federation of India, declared that, while the film industry was not opposed to "reasonable censorship," fears about unreasonableness in censorship constitute a major factor impeding qualitative progress in films.

Mr. V. Shantaram, president of the Film Producers' Guild of India, said in an interview with *Screen* that what the Indian film industry needed today was a reasonable censorship rather than a stricter one.

TREATIES AND PACTS IN HINDI

All treaties and agreements which India would sign with any other country would be documented in Hindi besides in English and the State language of the other contracting country, it is learnt.

In pursuance of this decision the air agreement with Japan, it is gathered, has been drafted in three languages—Hindi, English and Japanese.

It is understood that in the event of a difference of interpretation in the Hindi and Japanese texts the English version would be adhered to by both Governments.

DIVISION OF INDIA HOUSE LIBRARY

A settlement is reported to have been reached on the division of the India House Library in London on the basis of the partition agreement of 1947, by which India will get 82-1/2 per cent share and Pakistan 17-1/2 per cent.

The two countries will also assist each other in replacing the books that may be needed by the other, it is understood.

This agreement is believed to have been arrived at as a result of the intervention by Prime Minister Mohammed Ali.

PATNA HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Raj Kishore Prasad, Advocate, and Mr. Kanhaiya Singh, District and Sessions Judge to be judges of the Patna High Court, with effect from the date they assume charge of their respective offices.

CONSTITUTION OF FILM CLUB

The constitution of the proposed International Film Club is ready and will be considered at a general meeting called for in June at the residence of Mr. A. J. Patel in Walkeshwar, Bombay, where the Club's office is located. The meeting will be open to all members of the industry.

The admission fee of the Club is likely to be fixed at Rs. 1,000 and the yearly subscription will be Rs. 120. A monthly dinner and lunch programme will be part of the Club's activities.

SEGREGATION IN U. S. A. SCHOOLS

The United States Supreme Court, directed that segregation of White and Negro school children be ended as soon as feasible.

But the Court whose ruling was read by Chief Justice Earl Warren said local conditions could be taken into account. Lower courts could decide whether a prompt and reasonable start towards full compliance was being made by local school authorities. Mr. Warren said the high tribunal expected full compliance with its decision as early as practicable.

BARRISTER'S FEE: BOMBAY RULING

"There is nothing to prevent a Barrister practising in India in a court in which the dual system does not exist from entering into a contract for his fees or adopting legal proceedings to enforce such a contract," according to a ruling by Mr. Justice Tendolkar at the Bombay High Court.

The ruling was given on a preliminary issue raised in a suit filed by Mr. K. R. Gauba, a Barrister who was enrolled as an Advocate on the Original Side of the High Court in 1948, claiming from Mr. J. Vasica a sum of Rs. 27,650 for the balance of his fees.

CLAIM AGAINST FORMOSA GOVT.

The U. S. Supreme Court delivered a four-three majority decision recently which whittles down the universally accepted doctrine that foreign governments cannot be sued in domestic law courts. The Supreme Court ruled that the foreign government which invoked United States law in a legal action cannot at the same time claim immunity.

TWO JUDGES FOR MYSORE

The President has appointed Mr. Nittoor Srinivasa Rao, Advocate-General, Mysore and Mr. Hombe Gowda, District and Sessions Judge, to be Judges of the Mysore High Court.



PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

Mr. B. G. Kher, former High Commissioner of India in the U. K., stressed the need for "discovering for ourselves a system of national education suited to our national requirements."

At the second session of the All-India Primary Teachers' Federation which met at Puri on May 28 Mr. Kher said there was no clear national policy, definite objective or uniformity of any kind in regard to free and compulsory education for all children under fourteen as laid down by the Constitution. "Each State has its own policy or lack of it, and the nation drifts along according to the views of the person, in charge for the time being," he said.

Mr. Kher next asked the Federation, which claims a membership of more than one million primary teachers spread over the country, not to function "merely as a trade union fighting for more pay and less work."

INSTRUCTION MEDIUM

To consider questions relating to the medium of instruction in the University stage of education in Madras State, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education, is convening a conference of educationists on June 18 at Madras.

The Vice-Chancellors of the Madras and Annamalai Universities, Principals of First Grade Colleges and Training Colleges and some non-officials will be invited to the conference, it is learnt.

The conference will also be requested to form a committee for the purpose of evolving suitable technical and scientific terms, which are essential for imparting education in the regional languages.

Mr. Subramaniam expressed his view that as many terms as possible should be evolved which could be common for all, or a large number of Indian languages. He also hoped it would be possible to co-ordinate the work of the proposed committee with the work of any all-India body working for evolving suitable technical and scientific terms in Indian languages.

TRAVANCORE' VARSITY VICE-CHANCELLOR

The terms of office of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Travancore, and of Mr. P. R. Parameswara Panicker, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, have been extended for a period of six months from May 15, states a Press Note.

JOSEPH PULITZER

The founder of the awards, Joseph Pulitzer, went to the United States at the age of 17 as an uneducated immigrant. In 1868 he became a reporter on a German-language newspaper in St. Louis, Missouri. Within four years he rose to be managing editor and part owner of the paper. In 1877, Pulitzer went to Europe as a special correspondent of the *New York Sun*. His articles showed a remarkable mastery of English, a language he had not been able to speak 12 years before.

In 1879 Pulitzer founded the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* which within four years brought him a fortune. Later he bought the disintegrating *New York World* and made it one of the leading papers of the time.

Pulitzer left \$1,000,000 to the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, which he had founded in 1903 with a gift of the same amount. He also endowed \$250,000 for the Pulitzer Prizes to encourage literature and journalism.

The 14 Pulitzer Prizes are awarded annually on the first Monday in May by the trustees of Columbia University on the recommendation of an advisory board composed of 12 distinguished editors and publishers and a university president.

VICE-CHANCELLOR' ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, M. A., B. L., M. L. C., who has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University for a period of three years from 1st May, 1955, entered upon his duties on 5th May. He was formerly President of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, and Chairman, Madras Public Service Commission. Before taking up official positions, he was closely associated with local bodies.



INDIA'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN 1954

India's balance of payments in 1954 on current account showed a surplus of Rs. 3.7 crores as compared with a surplus of Rs. 58.7 crores in 1953. However, the marked reduction was accompanied by a higher level of trade. Imports rose by Rs. 49.4 crores to Rs. 924.5 crores in 1954. The increase was on account of commercial imports which rose by Rs. 84.5 crores to Rs. 507.3 crores. Government imports continued a downward trend. In 1954, Government imports declined by Rs. 35.2 crores to Rs. 117.2 crores. Exports showed a rise of Rs. 12.8 crores to Rs. 548.8 crores. Invisible receipts fell in 1954 by Rs. 18.4 crores to Rs. 79.4 crores. The increase in India's level of foreign trade was 5.6 per cent during 1954 compared to an increase of 3.6 per cent in the level of world trade. But in contrast with 1952 and 1953, there was a sharp reduction of about 20 per cent.

MR. S. T. SADASIVAN

Amongst the very few Indians who have earned a wide reputation in the field of Banking, both in India and outside, the name of Mr. B. T. Thakur, the General Manager of the United Commercial Bank Ltd., can be mentioned with distinction. After having served the cause of banking for over 35 years, Mr. Thakur has on grounds of health, gone on leave preparatory to retirement. He had to take this decision on the advice of doctors as he has been ill for the last two months and has recently had to undergo a major surgical operation. Mr. S. T. Sadasivan who is well-known in banking and financial circles has succeeded Mr. Thakur as General Manager of the United Commercial Bank.

D. D. T. FACTORY

The Union Government has decided to set up a second State-owned D.D.T. factory near Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin.

The factory, which will have a capacity of 1,400 tons of D.D.T. per year, estimated to cost Rs. 75 lakhs.

INDIA'S PART IN U. K.'s OVERSEAS TRADE

India's imports from the U. K. in 1954 were to the value of £115,000,000 the same as in the previous year. Britain's imports from India in 1954 were to the value of £149,000,000 compared with £113,000,000 in 1953.

SURCHARGE ON FREIGHT RATES

Commerce and Industry Minister T. T. Krishnamachari declared that the Indian Government would not allow itself to be "threatened" by foreign shipping companies, who were demanding increase in their surcharge on freight rates.

Mr. Krishnamachari told the Import Advisory Council that any shipping line that raised its surcharge would not be allowed to touch Indian ports. "If they do not want business from India, let them not have business from India."

If the threat did materialise, Mr. Krishnamachari added, the country could go without imports for sometime from these countries although there would be a certain amount of temporary inconvenience.

INDIA'S IRON ORE RESERVES

India's iron ore reserves are estimated to be 21,000 million tons, nearly one-fourth of the world's reserves, and highest as compared to any other country, according to a survey by the United Nations.

The survey was conducted by a 7-man Expert Committee appointed by the U. N. Secretary-General following a resolution by the U. N. Economic and Social Council requesting an appraisal of the world's iron ore reserves. Mr. M. S. Krishnan, Director, Geological Survey of India was a member of the Committee.

An earlier appraisal of the world's iron ore reserves, contained in a U. N. report four years ago, estimated the reserves to be about 53,918 million tons. The Committee now estimates the reserves to be 84,530 million tons.



WOMEN IN COMMUNITY PROJECTS

The seven-day convention of Congress Women organisers concluded on May 25 at New Delhi after discussions on their role in Community Projects and National Extension Service blocks' social welfare institutions, and in strengthening the Congress organisation.

At the meeting, they were assured by Mr. S. K. Dey, Community Projects Administrator, that the Projects Administration was anxious to enlist the active help and co-operation of women workers. He told them that the Community Projects and National Extension Service would cover the whole country by the end of the Second Five-Year-plan.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Member of the Congress Working Committee, expressed satisfaction with the work of the conference.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress, said it was desirable that work among women was carried on without any conflict with men workers of the Congress Committees.

24 WOMEN IN COMMONS

Britain has sent 24 women to the new Parliament three more than in the old House of Commons, and equally the record set up at the "Labour landslide" election of 1945.

Fourteen of Labour's 43 women candidates and 10 of the 33 Conservatives were successful in the election. None of the 16 other women candidates—14 Liberals, one Communist, and one Welsh Nationalist—was returned.

Among well-known women who go back to Westminster are redhaired Miss Patricia Hornsby-Smith, Parliamentary Secretary to the Health Ministry, Dame Florence Horsburgh, former Conservative Minister of Education, Dr. Edith Summerskill, former Labour Minister of National Insurance, and anti-Bevanite Mrs. "Bessie" Braddock.

AMERICAN MOTHER OF 1955

President Eisenhower recently received the "American Mother of 1955," Mrs. Lavina Christensen Fugal, at the White House. Mrs. Fugal, daughter of Danish immigrant, was chosen by an organisation which annually designates an outstanding mother from nominees from each of the 48 States. The 75-year-old widow from Utah has 8 living children, all college graduates, and 34 grandchildren. A former school teacher, Mrs. Fugal has been a director of the Utah County Farm Bureau, and community department of the Utah State Farm Bureau.

PRASAD'S CALL TO WOMEN

President Rajendra Prasad exhorted women to emulate and take inspiration from the life of the late Kasturba Gandhi, who chose to work in rural areas.

They would be doing a great service by working in rural areas, he said.

The President, who was addressing the inmates of the Gandhi Smarak Mahila Chakra class at Patna recently said that in free India, emphasis on work had shifted from urban to rural areas. The heart of India, lived in villages, and it should be the endeavour of all to serve the rural areas.

Dr. Prasad added that women had more time at their disposal than men, and this was more so in the case of women of rich and well-to-do families. Men should utilise their time for the nation's progress instead of wasting it in idle talks. They could take to the spinning wheel and turn out Khadi for their own use.

PAKISTAN WOMEN'S DEMANDS

Pakistan's leading women's organization, the All Pakistan Women's Association, (A.P.W.A.) which is known to enjoy official support, is on war path against officials and public men desiring to marry again.

According to reliable reports, the association has prepared a list of highly placed Government servants and prominent public men who are intending to take second wives. The list is stated to have been prepared in some cases with the help of wives whose husbands are intending to marry again.

GENERAL

—: * :—

NOT ONLY LAND, FACTORIES TOO

Acharya Vinobha Bhave declared at a meeting on Khanpur that "our objective is that not only land but factories also should be owned in common."

"We are beginning with land but the principle will be extended to industries when you, the village folk begin to live in harmony, and thus gain strength," he said.

It meant that proprietary rights of the individual would be a thing of the past, and all wealth would belong to society. Ultimately, that principle was going to govern the world.

FOREIGNERS' PROFITS IN INDIA

During the year 1954 a sum of Rs. 19.32 crores was sent out of India to foreign countries by foreign firms and companies operating in India on account of profits, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, told the Rajya Sabha on April 15. The figure for 1953 was Rs. 16.67 crores. The figures were exclusive of individual remittances of less than Rs. 20,000 and also investments of profits in India.

The Finance Minister added that in 1954 Rs. 59.39 lakhs were invested by foreign firms in India as against Rs. 153.60 lakhs in 1953.

FOREIGNERS IN INDIA

During question hours in the Lok Sabha, the Deputy Labour Minister, Mr. Abid Ali disclosed on behalf of the Home Minister that the number of foreigners registered in India as on the 31st December, 1953 was 42,591. The break-up was as follows: Chinese 9110, Afghans 5454, Tibetans 5030, Tribal Pathans 6357, Americans 3507, Iranians 3956, Germans 1191, French 959, Japanese 526, Portuguese 206, Russians 249, Swiss 572, Spanish 413, Burmese 636.

RAIL STRIKE IN BRITAIN

Royal Air Force aircraft began a make-shift postal service on May 31, as Britain plunged into an official 'State of Emergency' owing to national rail strike.

The R.A.F. mail flights—based on London and Bristol—made plain the determination of Sir Anthony Eden's Conservative Government to keep essential services operating in the face of the strike.

The Army also was called in to carry in a fleet of lorries many of the 25,00,000 letters and parcels posted in Britain everyday.

MR. B. NATESAN

Vignheswara writes in the *Swatantra* under the heading, "Sotto Voce":

"To my friend B. Natesan journalism has been no lark. For forty years it has been a hard and not very rewarding task-master; but few journalists that I know have loved their work more passionately or devoted themselves to it more self-effacingly. And he has managed to keep amazingly young in spirit. I came to know him as a fellow-boarder in Clive's House. He was slightly older than some of us, but we were attracted to him by his simple *bonhomie* and his infectious love of books and of laughter. It was he who set the apocryphal story going on its rounds, that the jolly priest who was our Warden had in good faith granted a day's leave to a ward who had pleaded that he was 'suffering from Amavasya.'"

Mr. G. A. Natesan made many rich finds in his time, but none more fortunate than B. N. whom the glamour of print attracted to the *Indian Review* before he could take his degree. Once there his almost fanatical loyalty and his employer's wise-humanity managed to keep him chained to his desk in Sunkurama Chetti Street. In a way it was fortunate that he was not forced into the dingdong of daily journalism. It was general ideas rather than party politics that appealed to him; above all it was the enchanting world of books that made him ignore the pinpricks of life with the serenity of a Sir Henry Wotton. At long last he has left the Street of Ink for peaceful retirement in Bangalore; but some of us will always think of his undefeated idealism as the authentic mark of the journalist."

TECHNICOLOR FILM PROCESSING PLANT

Plans to build a technicolor film processing plant in India is in an advanced state of negotiation. The Indian undertaking was expected to be financed with capital from the country with Technicolor supplying "technical know-how, licences, copyrights etc."

SANKARA'S SELECT WORKS

Sanskrit Text and English Translation

By Mr. S. VENKATARAMANAN, B.A.

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

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

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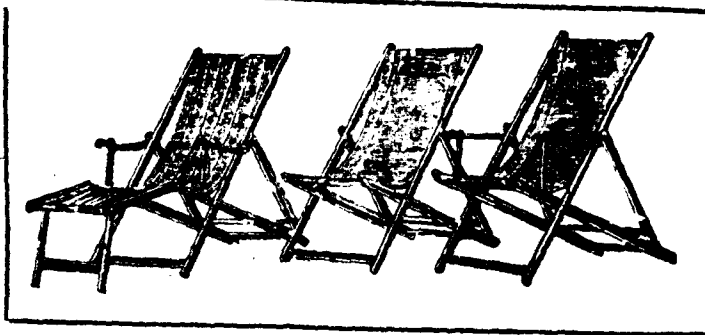
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