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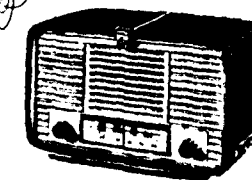
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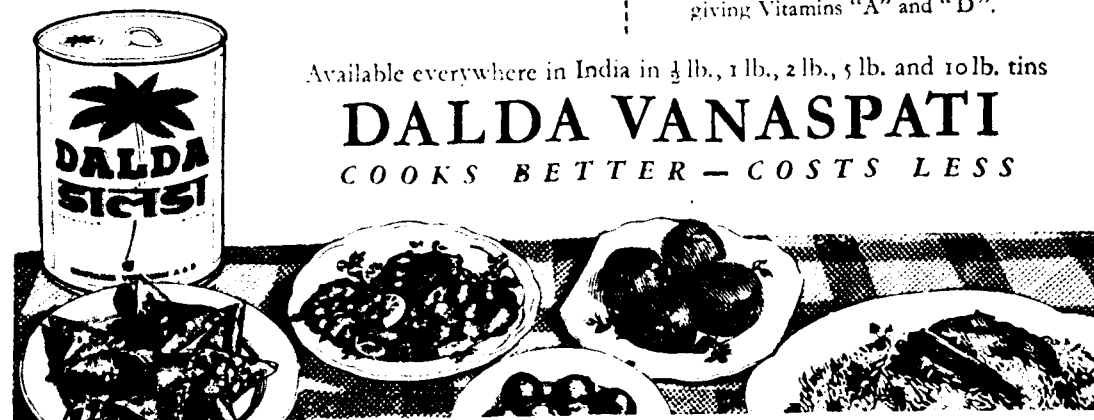
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Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

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SEPT-OCT. 1955

[Nos.9 & 10

New Thoughts on Cottage Industries

BY Mr. J. M. LOBO PRABHU, I. C. S.
(Home Secretary, Government of Madras)

The trouble with Cottage Industries is their isolation. Nothing is thought, said or done for them in their context. The industrial revolution, which benefitted almost all



Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu
other activities of the country has been in opposition to cottage industries, quietly destroying them by a policy of isolation. Nonetheless, for many reasons, cottage industries are an essential part of economy of the country, and deserve not only in their own interests but also in the interests of a fuller national economy to be restored to their proper place. The first reason is that cottage industries represent the single largest field of employment for the rural masses, who have, at best other work for only eight months in the year. When the national dividend is reduced by a third from such unemployment, there should be no limits to the assistance

which Government and the public should give to cottage industries. If the population is fully employed, the taxable capacity for Government and purchasing power for other production will be to that extent increased. If this factor is sufficiently appreciated, no one would leave Cottage Industries to their fate. The Planning Commission has now realised this. It conceives the general improvement of the economy in terms of employing the masses in villages on cottage and small scale industries. A second reason for the development of cottage industries is that without them, the economy of the villages becomes onesided, completely dependent on agriculture, which by itself can never assure a large or steady income, or make village life full or interesting. The tragedy of our village to-day is that life hangs only on the crops, so that everyone sits bewitched, by what only nature can do. A creative impulse is absent, because there are no opportunities for craftsmanship. If the glory that was India passed away from the country, it is because the spirit of adventure was killed in the village by decay of its arts and crafts, from the impact of the industrial revolution. A third reason for the resuscitation of cottage industries is that they can add a new dimension in the lives of women, now condemned only to household chores. Their spirit, which has decayed more, can revive from gainful employment of their idle labour and skill. In proportion as women become aware of their capacities, they will take their rightful place in the social and

economic life of the villages. A fourth reason is that cottage industries which are labour intensive require little capital and to that extent are cheaper in production. If they do not sell more cheaply, it is because their market is so unorganised and uncertain. By their natural economics they can be competitive with machine production, if marketing factors are equalised. Lastly cottage industries represent individualised production, which the connoisseur appreciates, and which the common man will also find satisfying when he understands values arising from methods of work.

The government have been dimly aware of all these considerations. In Madras a comprehensive survey of cottage industries was first made in 1927. In 1942, a fact finding committee reported on the Handloom Industry. In 1946, another survey of cottage industries was done in connection with Firka Development. In 1948, the All India Cottage Industries Board proposed a more detailed survey. Assistance to cottage industries has been through the establishment of training centres on one hand and of commercial museums on the other. Financial assistance in the way of loans and subsidies upto Rs. 500 is granted by the Director of Industries for starting cottage industries, which have an important bearing on the economical development of the country. Three groups of industries have received special attention, first food processing including rice pounding, flour grinding, oil processing, bee keeping and poultry farming, second agricultural, including carpentry, smithy, light metal casting, pottery and tanning, third local like paper making, matches, bell metal work and toy making. The Co-operative Department has been the principal agency for progressing the plans of the various state boards responsible for these industries. By far and away, its greatest achievement has been for the handloom industry, which it not only finances but helps to produce and market.

Nonetheless cottage industries have registered little progress. Most of them are struggling, even hereditary craftsmen turning to other occupations. Some like the match and beedi industries depend on sweated labour. Handloom and Khadi are organised and subsidised by Government. Yet some conclusions can be drawn from these four industries which can be of benefit for others in worse conditions. The first conclusion is that these four industries work to price trends, which are fairly definite, being related to prices of factory production. This determines the level of wages and the prices of raw materials, stabilising the cost of production, which gives assurance along the whole line of production, distribution and finance. Other cottage industries have to sell to middlemen at the lowest prices, so that the latter is insured against the vagaries of price and demand. The benefit of good prices seldom reaches the producer. Some kind of minimum price, therefore, requires to be set for these industries, which the State alone can do, either by purchasing the production, or subsidising to the extent prices are below the minimum. The second conclusion is that these four industries deal with articles in common demand. The State cannot order the nature of public demand, but can help to change it in many ways. Standardisation, Advertisement, display, favour in taxation can give vital movement to new items in the market. The third reason is finance. In the match and beedi industry, there are important parties, which advance money and material. In the handloom and khadi industries, the co-operative department does the same. In respect of other cottage industries, the Co-operative Department has refused to repeat its pattern for the handloom industry, on grounds first that the artisans concerned have no security to offer and second that the finished articles are varying in quality and third that their market is uncertain and difficult.

In these circumstances if other cottage industries are to enjoy at least the security of the handloom industry, State trading is inevitable. If and when the state will buy at a declared prices articles of known specification, production will become steady and standardised. If, in the actual disposal of the purchases, there is loss to Government, this will be a subsidy in the most precise form to these industries. With the State purchases providing a floor price, the producer will be able to bargain for better prices with other agencies. This will reduce state trade to manageable limits so that ultimately the State's position will become only regulatory.

It is, however, not enough to conceive for cottage industry a condition not better than that of the handloom industry, which is really one of survival under stimulants. All cottage industries have to be raised to a paying level, which will attract the idle labour in the village and change the texture of rural economy. This means first that cottage production, which will be in general demand, must be found and organised. It has not been realised that such production is at hand in every village, if only all village houses are reconstructed and equipped. In the Second Five Year Plan of the Chinglepet District, it is proposed to advance one crore of rupees as loan for house construction. The greater part of the loan will be in the shape of materials like tiles, bricks, door and roof frames, iron and other metal parts to be produced according to standard specification by co-operative societies. For the repayment of the loan, the house owner will be allowed the alternative of rendering labour on public projects. The skill and equipment of carpentry and smithy gained in house construction will be later available for furnishing and improving houses. The best cottage industry is, therefore, for the cottage, which will also be a beginning of a new order of production and consumption in the village.

The idea of credit can be extended from house construction to all cottage produced items. In the villages to-day, the most inimical factor for economic change is lack of money and credit. Somehow it has been forgotten that in other countries and in our own towns, it is money which provokes both production and consumption. If the villages are to catch up with towns, they must be enabled to spend more. Such debts will be respected, as the villager has always respect for his commitments. They will provide a market for cottage industries at their very door. They will even bind the villager to a larger volume of work, a most happy mortgage, if work is regarded as the basic wealth of the country. In addition to credit, new salesmanship is required if the villager is to spend his money on items that improves his life. At present, the majority of villages have no shops, and few villagers visit towns, where there are shops. The result is that such money as the village has, is spent on social and religious ceremonies, litigation and drink, the standard of his life remaining at the same poverty level. A chain of shops in all villages, stocking cottage products along side with other items good for the villager, will not only introduce better spending habits, but provide incentives now absent, for more production. If only the villager can be taught to spend wisely, he will not require to be told to earn more. Village economics, therefore, require this slant, which can be provided with type design shops to be run on co-operative lines in all villages.

Handicrafts have, therefore, a future, if there is a bold departure in policy. There is such general deficiency in the standards of living that for a long time to come, the villager can consume all that cottage industries can produce. As and when the tradition of industry becomes established, items of greater complexity and wider demand, can be produced, as in Japan, by mechanical methods. For the present there is much to do, for cottage industries already in existence, if the State can follow a bold policy, and the public show real interests in helping the villager to convert his unemployment into contributions for his own and the Country's advancement.

Our Handicrafts: Retrospect and Prospect

BY SRI MANIAN NATESAN.

Convener, All-India Handicrafts Week.



"Have you ever noticed how a child brightens when he is given a job to do all on his own; what pleasure and delight he takes in it? This is the craftsman instinct, natural to almost everyone, and which only wants encouragement of the right sort to bear good fruit." At some one time or other most of us must have sensed the truth of this statement owed to Schulze.

the seat of the judge: neither shall they declare instruction and judgment; and where the parables are they shall not be found. But they will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handy work of their craft is their prayer."

Centuries after these words were written, the eminent writer Chesterton said: "Fold your hands before heaven in praying, lift up



HANDICRAFTS WEEK IN MADRAS: Front Row: Sri Seshachalam, Hon. Mr. M. Bhaktawatsalam, Governor Sri Prakasa, Mrs. Rekha Menon, Mr. Manian Natesan and Hon. C. Subramaniam.

Now let me turn back to olden times, to as far back 280 B.C. for another passage relating to craftsmen: "They shall not be sought for in the council of people, and in the assembly they shall not sit high; they shall not sit on

your hands into heaven and cry; but look where our dizziest spires are saying what the hands of man did up in the sky: For the giants to lift up their heads in wonder... How high the hands of man could go." How

true these words are and appropriate to our giant temple towers which lift myriads of images carved by the hands of our craftsmen into the blue skies, as it were!

From this prelude of citations it seems that men across the centuries have held in esteem the work of craftsmen. It is to stress this noble status that handicrafts have held across time that I have profusely quoted. Let me now turn to the present state of handicrafts and of the men who with mere and simple tools make the many things we see around us like toys, dolls, baskets, images and metalware, to name only a few.

It would be outside my sphere of activities to discuss the present popularity of handicrafts all over India. I am certain that my colleagues in States other than Madras have given a true picture of the handicrafts problem as existing in their respective territories. Thus, my modest survey covers only the craftsmen and crafts of the Madras State with whom and with which I am somewhat familiar. But before I begin the remarks relating to Madras proper, I would like to hazard the general statement that handicraft traditions were facing, in the recent decades, the danger of passing out of our knowledge. State, interest to some extent has averted this evil and, probably, stemmed the decline into disappearance of an inheritance which has come down to us from the very morning, as it were, of the world. This State interest which I have pointed out is well evidenced by the Handicrafts Emporia that have been established by the Government all over the country, in the premier cities and State capitals.

VALUE OF HANDICRAFT EMPORIA

Everyone of these emporia has now become the focus of goods, wares, and artistic works manufactured in the regions of the State where it is established, and brings to the different regions the crafts of sister-States. I

have used the word "manufactured" here as distinct from machino-facture. Now let me not on the strength of this statement be accused of being an agnostic of machine-crafts or a fanatic of handicrafts. I am aware that there is great progress and expansion in machino-facture in our country. I am aware, too, that there is promise of greater machino-facture in the near future looking to the many rivers now being harnessed and projects under the Second Five-Year Plan. It is difficult to stem the tide of the machine-made product in an age like ours when scientific knowledge may even harness atomic power—I hope for peaceful purposes.

In brief, let us not aid the machine to obscure or annihilate the handy-work of man. And let us not be under the delusion that the change from handicrafts to machine-craft can take place in a day. It will be a long time before all craftsmen are brought to work on the machine and give to machine-made goods the sort of touch that handicrafts have to their credit down the ages.

Furthermore, in the recent years, there has been a revival of interest in handicrafts both from the purchasing and educational ends. Hand-made goods are no longer looked down upon as they were, for a time, in the recent decades. Wide publicity to hand-made goods may lead to greater enthusiasm on the part of the craftsmen. Besides, the emporia that we have, I have the conviction, that recognition by the Government or some public body of the best works in handicrafts would stimulate the urge in the craftsmen to turn out better articles. This recognition may be in the form of awards or subsidy for the poor yet talented workers. This is one way of raising the standard of work, as also to accept nothing but the "upto-standard" when goods are sent to the emporia for sale.

To emphasise the importance of greater aid from the State than is now given, I may say that in my modest experience and study of handicrafts I was amazed to find that in the

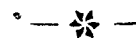
State of Madras (the residual State, mind you, after the separation of Andhra in which region excellent handicrafts have also been for centuries a noble tradition) there are more than 39 kinds of crafts prevailing to this day. From Madras to the borders of Mysore, Andhra and the Travancore-Cochin States, from the sacred city of Kanchipuram, to the holy centre of Rameswaram, in the Arcot Districts, in Madurai and its wide countryside, all over the State lie the small rural factories, so to say, where useful wares and objects of art are being turned out. Lapidary work, conch-shell work, image-casting, stone-carving and wood-carving, palm leaf work of many kinds, horn and bamboo, brass and bell metal are only some of the 39 current crafts. Upon these crafts depends the livelihood of thousands of people. And this alone is good reason for the encouragement of traditional crafts that have to this day survived and promise to con-

tinue surviving in our land, unlike the case of some other countries where, it seems to me, the invasion of the power-driven machine is almost integral.

To sum up, it strikes me that it is also the responsibility of big business and the large agencies of State to bring about a wider appreciation of handicrafts than they are doing to-day. If our existing master-craftsmen are *encouraged they will eventually, through their artistic creations, raise the standards of taste and understanding* by the free choice of the purchasing end of the public. It is essential, therefore, that the progress we are planning on a country-wide scale in many spheres of life embraces also the need for the development and continuance of the handicraft traditions the origins of which can be traced to the very formation time of our people, the times of Mohenjodaro if not even to more distant times.

Unemployment in India

BY Mr. S. D. VISHINANI



ONE of the most important causes of increasing unemployment in India, both urban and rural, is the change in the economic structure of the country. The temptation to migrate from the rural areas to the cities and big industrial towns in search of employment on daily, weekly or monthly wages has struck a heavy blow to rural economy. Artisans and skilled workers who could engage themselves in small-scale cottage industries, arts and crafts and thus add to our national wealth, prefer assured regular income or fixed wages against the uncertainty of profits which their cottage industry might bring. The rural areas are thus deprived of their industrial potential and only such population absorbed in Agriculture forms the backbone of the village community.

With this growing influx of labour from the villages, and there being no sufficient work to intake all that come, unemployment among the new arrivals is the result. As more and more people keep on coming from the rural areas they only tend to worsen the unemployment position and add to the ranks of the unemployed.

In the cities and smaller towns where people receive education, either upto the High School stage or the University stage, the problem of finding clerical jobs for all these educated assumes abnormal proportions. These so-called educated people consider themselves suited only for the desk jobs and refuse to undertake any other work. As private concerns and government departments can absorb only a traction of these educated

people, the remainder have no other alternative but to join the ranks of the unemployed.

If only some of these educated people took to other vocations and professions and started training in that direction, the problem of unemployment could be considerably eased. Take for instance the case of a **Matriculate**. If he learns typewriting, a profession which does not take more than six months to learn, he can easily get himself employed as a typist in a government or private office. The mechanical line also offers good opportunities for employment. Even people with little education can take to the mechanical line.

Another profession which can give good employment and better pay to the Matriculates and Graduates, is the profession of **Stenography**. All they have to do is to learn type-writing and shorthand at some commercial institute, which are found scattered in large numbers almost in every town. While type-writing can be learnt easily, greater perseverance and knowledge is required to learn shorthand. Instances are numerous where persons started learning shorthand but later gave it up at one stage or another because they either found it boring or could not write with speed. Perseverance, as I have said above, is the key-note in attaining proficiency in the art of Stenography.

The profession of Accountancy also offers good scope for employment to a large number of educated people. Only those who are good at figures and possess a neat handwriting are specially suited to this profession.

There are still a good many professions like electrician, fitter, welder, mechanic, wireman, driver, etc. etc. which offer ample scope for employment opportunities.

If, therefore, those who are educated cease to think only in terms of clerical or the so-called 'white-collar' jobs, and train themselves

for other vocations and professions, the problem of unemployment could be solved to some extent.

PRIVATE SECTOR

In the private sector there is a tendency to employ as less people as possible and to extract the highest profits possible. Almost all the employees are overworked. If the greedy profiteer or private employer could realize that it is his moral duty to share his profits with his employees and he should employ as many persons as were necessary for running his business, the result would be increased efficiency and improvement in the quality of work turned out. The employees being contented, would naturally work honestly and put in their best.

It is also a well-known fact that persons employed in private concerns get less pay than those employed in Govt. service. This is perhaps due to the fact that private enterprise has to create money and their entire resources depend on the nett profits which their business brings to them. Extravagance is, therefore, out of the question unless, of course, they are doing a roaring trade.

The development of private enterprise depends upon the natural resources of the country and availability of necessary finance. Our country is rich in natural resources but deficient in motive power. We have to depend on foreign imports of machinery, tools etc. for our industries. It is heartening to note that we are making up for this deficiency and have achieved some progress in the small scale manufacture of industrial tools and machinery.

GOVERNMENT SECTOR

The Government with its vast financial resources and authority to impose fresh taxes or to enhance the existing ones to increase its revenues, is better equipped to employ a vast number of people in its various undertakings.

A large number of persons is required to run the administrative machinery of Govt. The Central and the State Governments employ thousands of people for their various branches. The State has also undertaken numerous welfare activities like transport, railways, airways and posts and telegraphs which give employment to a vast number of people.

POPULATION

The ever-increasing population is also responsible for the growing unemployment among the people. The population of India grows at the rate of 5 million per year while the number of jobs does not increase even by a fraction. It is time our people realized this and checked the unhealthy growth of our population. If population is held in check and less people are born, they would not only be brought up well but also become useful members of society. On the other hand, if millions of people are added to our population every year, they would only tend to aggravate the already acute unemployment problem in our country.

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

Good work is at present being done to combat unemployment. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India have opened regional employment exchanges throughout the length and breadth of the country. These Employment Exchanges primarily cater to the needs of educated people and assist them in finding suitable employment. All government departments have been instructed to notify to the Exchange all vacancies arising in their offices and the Exchange in turn sends a number of suitable persons for the posts. All one has to do is to register one's name with the Exchange. The Exchange, in turn, divides the candidates in different categories and issues Introduction Cards for the Employers.

The Employment Exchange also registers the names of uneducated people for employment as Labour and also for other low-paid posts under the Government. The private sector has not yet utilized the services of the Exchange fully as has done the government departments.

People who are not well educated or trained have little chance of getting good jobs through the Employment Exchange. This is mainly due to the fact that Exchanges have to depend mostly on vacancies arising in government departments where educational qualifications count more than mere suitability. A man may be very clever or experienced; but he must have the minimum educational qualifications before he could be recommended for any Government job. This pre-requisite to a well-paid Government post is a great hindrance in the way of otherwise capable persons who could not receive higher education for one reason or the other.

Keen competition among the candidates is another cause for the disappointment of many. Some persons are well-connected and influential and they succeed in getting jobs while better candidates with little influence are deprived of suitable employment opportunities. This is a thing which is not possible for any agency to check. Favouritism is to be found in almost every sphere of life. Rather than condemning it or trying to cast aspersions on it, the remedy lies in increasing one's attainments and once a man comes to the top it is difficult to ignore him. Hard work and continued effort are bound to bring good results.

FIVE YEAR PLAN

The Planning Commission has come forward with a 11 point programme to combat increasing unemployment in the country. The Five Year Plan is being revised in the light of this programme to increase employment potential in the Industrial and Government Sections. Some of the States have come forward with plans for opening schools in every village and thus provide employment as teachers to a large number of educated unemployed people. The problem is vast and cannot be solved in a day. It is, however, gratifying to find our National Government trying to do its bit. Let everyone of us fight this greatest enemy of mankind and see that every man gets work to do and earns a living in return.

The Flag of Free India

Sri- BY K. N. VASWANI

THE Flag of Free India flutters far and wide majestically on masts of ships and tops of buildings, all over India, in many parts of the world, in portions of Pakistan, it flutters proudly in all Hindustani hearts today. It is new and yet not new. It is the same tricolour, which inspired millions of Indians before August the 15th; which was hoisted on a hundred thousand meeting grounds by our leaders, and was saluted by millions—men, women, children who were arrested, lathicharged, even shot down, while defending it. Hindustani blood, of the Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, Christian and Parsi flowed in a common stream to save it from being dishonoured. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the glory of a Nation. And today, the tricolour, once torn to tatters, trampled upon by the alien authority, is acclaimed as the National Flag, hoisted high on the very residence of Mountbatten, now the residence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, hoisted high also on the historic Red Fort.

The Flag of Free India is the same and yet not quite the same. It is the same tricolour, yet with a difference, bearing in beautiful blue, on the central white portion, not the Charkha of Gandhiji, the apostle of nonviolence, the Father of the Free India of today, but the Chakra of Ashoka, that King of Kings, who having waged war and having won his way to victory, yet vowed in the very hour of victory, to take a vow of nonviolence.

The Chakra on the Flag of Free India, while it does not forget or fail to represent the spinning wheel, the symbol of self-help of the countless millions of India yet recalls and remembers, revives the Dharma Chakra of Ancient India, the symbol of Dharma and virtue, thus re-linking Modern India, on the day of the Dawn of its Freedom, with the ideals of its great and glorious Ancient Past, in the confident hope, with the prayerful wish, that a Free and Modern India, may reach and even excel the record of its Ancient Past, not only in its glory and grandeur but also in Dharma and virtue, in kindness and culture.

H. G. Wells has said of Ashoka "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of History, the name of Ashoka shines almost alone—a star." And another writer, explaining this, has said; "If a man's fame is to be measured by the number of hearts that honour his memory, by the number of lips which have mentioned and still mention him, with reverence, then Ashoka is greater than either Caesar or Charlemagne." Well-deserved tributes these, of World-Historians to Ashoka and the spirit of Ashoka, to the ideals he represented, symbolised and sought to embody in his work.

The same would be said by the future historian, of Gandhiji. The same is already being said of him today, and even greater tribute paid to him, for what he stood for—tor peace in a war-torn and war-weary world; for love in a world of animosities and hatreds; for service and dedication in a world of exploitation and greed; and for the supremacy of moral values and the mobilisation of moral forces in a world drunk with the power-cult embodied and illustrated in the Atom Bomb.

The Chakra on the Flag of Free India, associated with the Dharma Chakra of Ashoka associated also with the Charkha of Gandhiji, symbol of non-exploitation of the masses, associated in the Indian mind also with the Sudarshan Chakra of Krishna, symbol of power, but of power to destroy evil will, forever be a reminder to the Indian people, of their great ancient ideals of Dharma, the duty to fight and overcome evil, of the beautiful, dynamic, modern teaching of Gandhiji, to stand up for the right ideal of non-exploitation of the masses and of uncompromising moral resistance to all evil to the extent of giving up one's own life in the struggle for victory over evil in the world.

The Chakra symbol, means progress not only material but also moral, like the Charkha mark, which heralds and holds high the ideal of moral rise due to non-exploitation. Our chakra means a move-

ment for change, for all people from poverty to plenty, not from peace to war, or from emancipation to imperialism to aggressive power. Krishna Sudarshan Chakra does symbolise power, but power to overthrow and overcome evil and not aggressive power, the power of self aggrandisement.

The Indian people saluting this Flag of Free India, will be inspired forever to stand up for Dharma and non-exploitation for Truth and Justice. And under this symbolic Flag, will, if need be, fight, to resist, overthrow and overcome evil. All India shall pull all her weight in the World Councils and in the world deliberation, on the side of Justice and Peace; for Justice and Peace are inseparable and there can

be no peace in the world without justice in the world, and no peace for the world, without justice for all peoples of the world.

The Flag of Free India, would be a symbol of the hope of the World—the hope of all unfree countries of the World. In Asia; Africa, or elsewhere, that like India, they too would march and march soon, from the dark night of slavery, subjection and exploitation into the light of freedom, the light of liberty, of equality; and live on a level of equality with other nations and peoples of the world and be equal and independent members of the World Fraternity of Free Nations, in the Assembly of the Free Peoples of the World.

U. S. Exclusion Laws

BY MR. RAM NATH PURI

In the days when there was no exclusion law against Asiatics, the world was at peace. America was the only country in the world where freedom of religion was enjoyed by all the people of the world. Her leaders like George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln were like Sri Krishna giving hope to the millions of down-trodden Asiatics to see how free men lived and had made America the very paradise on earth.

Letters of Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ram Tirath and Munshi Ram were read with great interest by the young men of India. Some came to study in the American universities and colleges and few thousands of Punjabi labourers came to seek employment on railroads and American farms. As England ruled India, there was no government official to take care of immigrants from India by helping them to find houses, hotels or employment and show them the Western ways of living in cities upon arrival. The turban of the Sikhs and Hukkas of the Moslems caused much trouble and inconvenience to the East Indians. They could not find shelter

in hotels and houses in the port cities and had to go out in the country and jungles.

The Exclusion law against East Indians and other Asiatics had to be enacted to protect the American wage earners, who were afraid of cheap labour. Then came two wars in Asia and Europe to devour millions of young men and destruction of materials worth billions of dollars. Millions of the war-ridden countries of men are still suffering and to help them the American Government has made some changes in its Immigration laws. But the hearts and heads of far sighted American citizens are not satisfied. They want to improve the latest developments in Immigration with special emphasis on the Relief Act of 1953. One of such men is Dr. William S. Bernard of New York, the National Executive Director of The American Federation of International Institutions, who labels the United States Fundamental Immigration law as "discriminatory, unscientific, and inhuman."

The former Yale University and University of Colorado Sociology professor said before the officials of the Fresno International Institute the Mc Carran-Walter Act passed by Congress in 1952, provides for the admission of 154,000 refugees each year. "But it is discriminatory in many respects against certain races and nationalities. That it regards the people of Asia as inferior to the peoples of Southern Europe and the people of Southern and Eastern Europe inferior to those in Northern Europe."

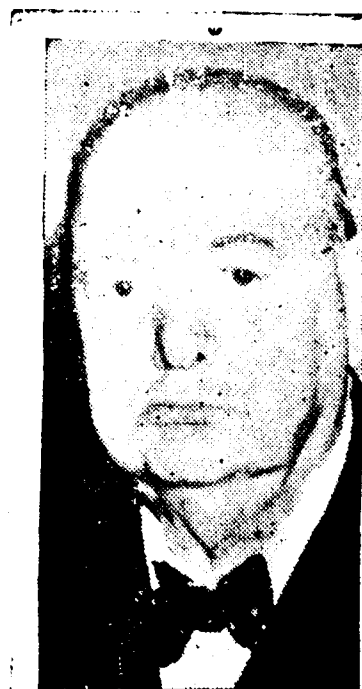
To emphasize his statement Dr. Bernard pointed out the Act provides for the admission of 2,000 persons from Asia, 33,000 from Southern and Eastern Europe and 119,000 from Northern Europe. "The quotas are not transferable" he declared. "For example, Great Britain and Northern Ireland are allowed 65,000 refugees each year. The two countries never use more than one third of that quota. The refugees escaping from Communist held territory are entering countries with the very smallest quotas. The used portion of the British quota cannot be transferred to take care of them."

VIGOROUS ECONOMY

Dr. Bernard said the US has such vigorous economy it should not be affected by the addition of a few thousand immigrants. "We have spot unemployment, but the nation is in a sound and prosperous condition. The refugees will add to our productivity. He stressed some provisions for the people of Asia were made in the 1953 Refugees Act, but added of the 214,000 immigrants to be admitted by December 31, 1956 not more than 22,000 have come in to date. This is pitiful small number. Actually, however, only 2,000 refugees have been admitted. The remaining 20,000 are relatives made eligible under the Act."

This 1953 Act is difficult to administer and full of needlessly precautionary safeguards. It might be classed as spinsterish in attitude. It has had poor administration, slow and unenthusiastic administration, but bad as it is it is not unworkable with vigorous and determined administration."

Other American educators returning from India are of opinion to let a few thousand farmers come each year to study American modern methods of farming by practical methods. That will create friendship and peace in the world.



Sir Winston Churchill was named on Oct 16 as the first winner of the newly-established Williamsburg Award for "outstanding achievement in advancing basic principles of liberty and justice." The honour, carrying an award of \$10,000 and a symbolic town crier's bell, was established by Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller, the philanthropist, and other trustees of Colonial Williamsburg.

Kalidasa and the Fine Arts

By Prof. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Some great philosophers have regarded products of the fine arts as pure expressions of genius. It is therefore interesting to know how a poet of great genius like Kalidasa reacted to other expressions of genius.

Spread throughout his works are abundant references to the fine arts. The dance however, seems to have won the greatest portion of his attention. The first and second Acts of the *Malavikagnimitra*, for example, breathe the atmosphere of the dance. In these the dance performance of Malavika is arranged for and is successfully given, to the delight of the beholders. In this drama, as in the other works of Kalidasa, the words *nritya*, *natya* and *abhinaya*—words familiar in Indian dance parlance, are used in their appropriate places. The *Parivrajika* (wandering ascetic), a noteworthy character in the drama, offers her opinion that experts consider the Chalita Dance based on the "Chatushpada" (a song of four parts), the most difficult of dances (*Mal.*, p. 22). Ganadasa, another fascinating character in this play, refers to a composition of Sarmishtha consisting of four parts in which the time kept is that of the "middletone" (*Mal.*, p. 25). He requests King Agnimitra to observe with attention the representation in the dance of the fourth part of it.

Nor is the *Malavikagnimitra* the only work in which Kalidasa makes reference to the art of dancing: his *Meghasandesha* vies with the *Malavikagnimitra* in referring to this category of the fine arts. In the *Meghasandesha*, a reference is made to the ardent Yaksha lover who beseeches a cloud to carry a message to his distant wife. He tells the cloud messenger to notice, when over

Ujjayini, the dancing girls casting grateful glances at him for his drops of rain, as they dance before Siva (*Megh.*, stanza 39). The Yaksha again calls upon the cloud to watch Siva when the deity commences his famous Tandava Dance (*Megh.*, stanza 40).

Kalidasa is as much interested in painting as he is in the dance. Equally abundant, therefore, are the references to the former in his works. Thus, for example, in Act VI of his famous play, *Abhignana Sakuntala*, the maid, Chaturika enters carrying a pictureboard on which are the portraits of the beautiful Sakuntala and her dear friends, drawn by King Dushyanta. The *vidushaka* (jester), who for all his funny exterior is nevertheless a connoisseur, exclaims about the excellence of the painting. Indeed, Act VI depicts the repentant Dushyanta contemplating this painting and engaged in improving it further.

Scattered throughout the works of Kalidasa are references also to music and sculpture and to the songs sung by the bards. The *vaitalikas* sing sometimes of their master's exploits and sometimes about the glories of their master's ancestors; at other times they sing to awaken their master at dawn and also to announce certain periods, of the day (*Vikramorvasiyam*, Act II, stanza 1). The prologue of the *Abhignana Sakuntalam* presents us with an attractive song sung by a *nati* (actress) describing the pleasures of the summer season (Act I, stanza 4); the *sutradhara* (the one who gives the prologue) praises the song particularly for its attractive melody. Malavika is an exceedingly good singer; she sings the composition on which the dance is based, ere she renders it in gestures. Kalidasa describes Iravati as an

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accomplished lady, suggesting thereby that she sang and danced well.

A reference to sculpture appears in the second stanza of Act III in the *Vikramorvasiyam*, where the chamberlain is delighted by the evening scene at the royal palace, and is especially struck by the "peacocks perching on their roosts as if they were sculptured figures."

These and other repeated references to the fine arts lead to the conclusion that Kalidasa was one who loved and respected them. Two or other statements further confirm this. In the 18th stanza of Act II of the *Vikramorvasiyam*, Kalidasa, speaking of Bharata, who taught the celestial damsels the dramatic art, calls him respectfully "Muni" (Sage). Then in the 4th stanza of Act I of the *Malavikagnimitra* he describes the glories of *natya* (the dance):—

Sages regard this art as an agreeable sacrificial feast delighting the eyes of the gods; it is divided in a twofold manner by Siva; here again is seen the behaviour of men arising from the three qualities of *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*; in short, *natya* is the sole amusement of people of diverse tastes.

But what did Kalidasa think was the essence of each of these arts—song, the dance and painting? This would indeed be an interesting study. Of all the qualities that go to make a song attractive, Kalidasa seems to consider it having the pitch of the "middletone" the most necessary (*Mal.* 1. 21). The *Parivrajika*, already referred to, hearing the sound of the *mridanga* (a type of Indian drum), describes it as "deep and resonant, dear to the peacocks and having the pitch of the 'middletone' for its basis—thus delighting the mind." Kalidasa reverts to the delights of *gambhira* (solemnity) or deep resonance in music in the first verse of the *Uttaramegha*, where he

compares the resonance of the tabors played in the concerts in the mansions of Alaka to the deep and pleasant rumble of a thundercloud. The next most important quality in music which he singles out is harmony. He seems to consider that with harmony music is made; without it music is marred. In describing Uma's voice, Kalidasa says in his *Kumarasambhava* (I. 45):—

Uma had a musical voice and spoke in sounds as sweet as distilled nectar. And when she spoke, even the notes of the cuckoo jarred on the ear like a harp out of tune.

Kalidasa felt that symmetry, which the Greeks also greatly emphasized, held a place in painting similar to that of harmony in music.

Writing about portrait painting, he insists that a portrait should be true to the original in all respects. It was this faithfulness to life that evoked the admiration of Sanumati when she saw on the pictureboard the likeness of Sakuntala painted by the King (*Sak.*, VI) and exclaimed; "Oh, the skill of the King! I feel as if my friend were standing in front of me!" Kalidasa had misgivings, however, in regard to the ability of a painter to portray faithfully his original and he gives a word of advice to artists on this subject.

In the *Malavikagnimitra*, which is a rich storehouse of Kalidasa's views on all the arts, he expresses himself clearly on the essentials of the ideal dance, a dance without blemish, such as the one which Malavika exhibited. It should have five elements. First, the limbs of the danseuse should express and bring out the meaning of the song just previously rendered; secondly, the steps of the artist should be in time; thirdly, there must

be a complete identification of the dancer with the sentiment that he or she intends to convey; fourthly, the movements should be graceful; and lastly, while a single dominant mood should be the basis for the dance, in actually working it out it may become necessary to depict opposing subsidiary moods, in which case each mood should glide with perfect ease into the succeeding one. This point, which Kalidasa strives to bring out and illustrate in Malavika's dance, is an important one. The song for the dance, in English, runs as follows:—

"My heart! the beloved is difficult to obtain; entertain not hopes about him. But ah! my left eye throbs and I know not why! And here he is, seen after a long time; how can he be approached? My lord, I am but a dependent, but know me as one who is ardently longing for thee."

This song, which describes the mood of a maiden when she sees her lover after a long time, has *sringara* (romantic love) as its substratum. But there are in it four subsidiary moods: despondency, delight, thoughtfulness and longing. These secondary moods are by no means similar, yet in her rendering Malavika blends them into one another. Kalidasa has more to say of an ideal danseuse; it is not enough for her to achieve perfection while in action; she must display rhythm and grace even while resting. Kalidasa describes thus Malavika's standing posture after her dance;

"Lovelier than her dancing is her standing pose. Her body is erect while her left hand, with its silent bracelets, rests on her waist. Her other hand hangs at her side like a creeper; and she keeps her gaze on the pavement, at the same time pushing the bright flowers spread thereon, with her toes." *Mal., dt. 6)*

Having indicated Kalidasa's love and respect for the arts and given his views of the essence of painting, music and the dance, it remains to see what he thought of the fine

arts in general. Like many other critics, Kalidasa held that the imagination played a vital role in the fine arts. A work was a work of art only in name, if it was not imaginatively rendered. This is illustrated in the *Malavikagnamitra* when the dancing master, Ganadasa felt that his efforts at teaching his art to Malavika would be crowned with success because the latter had a most imaginative mind. He observes:—

"The art of the teacher attains greater excellence when imparted to a worthy pupil, like drops of rain from a cloud becoming pearls when they fall into a sea-shell" (*Mal., I. 6)*

The arts, when nurtured by a rich imagination, can play a dual role, according to Kalidasa. They can be both instruments and objects of beauty. A beautiful portrait of Sakuntala, a good dance by Malavika, as also the notes from a tabor, can be objects of beauty in themselves; they can at the same time enrich and make more beautiful the place where they are seen or heard. For example, Malavika's mastery of the art of dancing made her look beautiful to perfection. And as if to emphasise the role of art as an instrument of beauty, Kalidasa makes the King exclaim after witnessing her dance: "The dancer, by combining her artless beauty with attractive accomplishments, seems to have prepared a deadly arrow for Cupid" *Mal., II. 13)*. Again, the aerial chariot which Urvasi fashioned out of the clouds, to carry her lover King Pururavas home, was decorated with bright pictures drawn with rainbow colours (*Vik., IV. 43)*. Similarly, the grave sounds of the tabor, already referred to, made the mansions of Alaka resound with beautiful sounds (*Uttaramegha. I.*)

No discussion of Kalidasa's concept of the fine arts would be complete without referring to two outstanding verses in his works. One appears in the *Raghuvamsa* (XIV. 25) and the other in the *Abhignana Sakuntalam* (V. 2.) The first relates to Rama, after his successful return with Sita from Lanka, when he was crowned by his ministers and precep-

tors as the king of Ayodhya. For diversion, in the company of his Queen Sita, he would visit the portrait gallery of the palace and look at the pictures depicting their hardships experienced whilst in the Dandaka Forest. Kalidasa remarks meaningfully: "These recollections of hardships that befell them in the Dandaka Forest became pleasures to both of them who had by now tasted all enjoyments of the senses." Kalidasa seems to be making use of this episode to tell his readers that looking at fine pictures produces joy in the *sahridaya* (aesthete), even though the scenes depicted are painful.

By such an implication Kalidasa was not only raising a problem of aesthetic enjoyment but also was giving a convincing answer to it. In this illustration, he implies that pleasure may arise from the contemplation of tragedy, whether it be depicted in pictures or rendered into dance or song. It is more for this fact which he points out than for the problem which it raises that his statement is noteworthy. After all, Rama was in a picture gallery and before a picture: he was not in the dreadful Dandaka Forest. What he was experiencing was not the real feelings, arising from the hardships undergone in the forest, but only the impressions they had left on his mind. And every feeling aroused, whether pleasurable or painful at the time, produces in retrospect only enjoyment. It was a proof of Kalidasa's greatness that he anticipated the solution of this problem reached by many a later *alamkarika* (literary theorist).

In the second verse, with which Act V of the *Abhignana Sakuntalam* begins, the King is seated with the *vidushaka*. He has just left his judgment seat and is eager for some diversion when he hears a beautiful song sung in the music hall. The song is full of meaning: in it he is reproached for having forgotten his beloved of former days. The King learns that the song is sung by Queen Hamsapadika and he sends his friend to convey to her his reaction to it. But he has become uneasy and, knowing not the reason why, he exclaims; "Why is it that after hearing a song like this I have become full of longing?" And he adds: "As, on seeing

objects of beauty and on hearing melodious sounds, a person, though happy, grows full of longing. This is because he remembers friendships of former lives, friendships made permanent by mental impressions."

As this reflection of the King's was his reaction to Queen Hamsapadika's music it has a direct bearing upon Kalidasa's views on the aesthetic enjoyment which results from the contemplation of any great work of art. First, when a beautiful picture is beheld or melodious music heard, the person seeing or listening is thrown into a state of delight. By this Kalidasa means that any true work of art acts as a "*rasobodhaka samagri*" (refiner of sentiment) and arouses the necessary *vibhava* (objective stimulus), *anubhava* (physical manifestations of the emotions) and *vyabhichari bhavas* (minor feelings) to produce *rasa* (the essential quality or mood) in the mind of the *sahridaya* (aesthete). Secondly, the poem explains Kalidasa's view as to the nature of this delight. Unlike most others he holds that this delight is not unmingled and that it is sometimes touched with melancholy. This aspect of artistic delight is proved amply by experience, and Kalidasa thus explains the reason for the mood of melancholy which sometimes results from a contemplation of the beautiful. The third view which the poem expresses is that such a mood of melancholy is sometimes felt even by a happy person at the sight of beautiful things or the hearing of melodious sounds. This, Kalidasa says, is due to a vague remembrance of affections cultivated in previous births which had become deeply imbedded in the immortal part of the mind.

In offering this explanation Kalidasa is connecting the aesthetic pleasure gained from great art with the doctrine of reincarnation, the past of the soul. It seems that Kalidasa holds that study and contemplation of any magnificent work of art throws us into a mood to remember or feel the influence of our past lives and that it is for that reason that art has such a powerful hold upon us. He seems to maintain not only that the fine arts fill us with delight but also that they may provide us with food for thought.

Perambur Rail Coach Factory

The first all-steel railway coach assembled in the Integral Coach Factory at Perambur in Madras rolled out as Prime Minister Nehru pressed an electrically devised button on October 2.

This marks an important stage of progress in the industrial development of the country. The factory is stated to be one of the largest in the world and has been built at an estimated cost of Rs. 7.5 crores.

Launching the coach, Prime Minister Nehru emphasised the need for manufacturing machinery in India itself and said: "There can be no real progress or real industrialisation in this country until the machine itself is made here and we cease to be dependent on other countries for setting up our factories. It is not with a feeling of isolation that I talk about depending and relying upon ourselves but because no nation can ultimately progress until it has that solid foundation in the modern world" — [Editor, Indian Review.]

The Perambur Factory is the largest of its kind in Asia and one of the largest in the world. In the first year of its working the Factory will turn out 20 coaches with components imported from Switzerland. Thereafter, an increasingly large proportion of Indian-made components will be used.

Production will increase five-fold in the second year reaching 200 coaches in the third and 300 in the fourth years. During 1959-60, the fifth year of production, the target of 350 coaches will be reached, with parts and components completely manufactured at the Factory itself.

For the present the Perambur Factory will turn out only third class coaches. It will produce the empty shells, leaving inside furnishings to other railway workshops.

FEATURES OF INTEGRAL COACH

The Factory has taken its name from the "integral" coaches which it will manufacture. Unlike the conventional type in which the coach body is merely mounted and fixed to a separate steel under-frame, the integral coach as its name suggests will have its body and under-frame integrated into a single unit, all made of steel, with several advantages over the present type.

It will have smoother riding qualities and will, therefore, be much less jerky while on the run.

It is light-weight, being seven tons lighter than the conventional 42 ton coach. Therefore, more coaches can be hauled per locomotive.

In the event of an accident it will afford greater protection to passengers, since it is built for strength with an anti-telescopic device, and its body will not get smashed up as easily as in the old type coach in which the body being a separate piece, gets pushed off and broken up in an accident.

Thanks to a special type of insulation used, heat and noise inside the integral coach during travel will be eliminated to a marked degree.

In travelling comfort the integral coach will equal the best of its kind in Europe. In India it will set a new standard.

735 MACHINES HELP TO MAKE A COACH

It will take the noisy co-operation of 735 individual machines to yield the target production of a coach every six working hours, in a single shift. The machines will be housed in ten giant shops, the largest among them, 1000 feet by 260 feet, being perhaps one of the largest of its kind in the Indian Union.

Through the ten shops run 12 miles of railway. As a result of special devices which have been adopted, the 8.4 million square feet of covered space in the shops will be unusually clean and dust-free. They are well-ventilated and lighted with fluorescent tubes. A public address system will link the shops, enabling instant contact between management and the general body of workers. Canteens, tiffin sheds, washing and shower baths are among the other amenities which have been provided.

Production in the shops will be based on the modern uniflow system. The various stages of actual production are organised in different shops situated end to end in a straight line, the raw material being fed at one end of the straight line and the finished coach coming out at the other, in a cycle. This method of production ensures greater economy and smoothness in working.

INDO-SWISS CO-OPERATION

Eight European countries are supplying the machinery needed for I.C.F. Sixty per cent of this has been indented from Germany, 15 per cent each from Switzerland and the United Kingdom, and the balance from Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Belgium and Sweden.

The Factory itself is a product of Indo-Swiss co-operation in the technical field. As a result of an agreement between the Government of India and the Swiss Car & Elevator Manufacturing Corporation Ltd., of Schlieren, Switzerland, the latter is providing the technical "know-how" including specialised personnel as well as the necessary facilities for training Indian staff in coach manufacture at its works in Switzerland. Forty Indians have completed their training, and another 19 are now in Switzerland.

The designing and execution of the civil engineering works on this project and its residential colony have been completely in Indian hands.

Approximately 4,000 workers will man the Factory when it is in full production, 75 per cent of them being skilled workers. For the training of these men a Technical Training School was founded at the Factory site on March 20, 1954, to turn out 500 men per year initially. The school employs modern methods of training and has its own satellite workshops.

READY IN THREE YEARS

On June 1, 1951, I. C. F. was officially born. Its first headquarters were located in railway retiring rooms at Egmore station, Madras.

It was in September 1952 that the first pile to support the Factory's huge structures was driven. From then on it has been rapid going.

In the end of October 1954 the first consignment of machinery was landed at Madras harbour. Within a year from that historic event the first coach was turned out—the beginning of a new era in the manufacture of rail coaches in India.

The Perambur factory will take the Indian railways a long way on the road to self sufficiency in passenger coaches and also help them to fight overcrowding.

Not only that. When the Factory reaches peak production, it will help the country to save a considerable amount of foreign exchange each year. Equally important is the fact that it will provide a great fillip to many ancillary industries. Examples: rubber, aluminium, chemicals,

BEHIND THE FACTORY

How much does it take in physical resources to "get up" a modern coach factory—beginning from the civilisation of what once was desolate waste land to the production of a modern, streamlined coach?

Into Asia's largest coach factory have gone over 8,000 tons of steel, 20,000 tons of cement, 12 miles of railway sidings,

15 miles of water supply pipes, 5.5 miles of roads and a great many other things.

Adjoining the Factory is the workers' residential colony, a miniature township with 400 houses, parks, playgrounds, a fine club house and other modern amenities. Provision has been made for the supply of 6,000,000 units of electricity per annum to the township and the workshops.

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Religion in the United States

BY Mr. JOHN KERIGAN

The night President Eisenhower left for the historic meeting with British, French and Soviet Government leaders at Geneva, he called on Americans to pray for peace.

In response, churches in all parts of the nation thronged with worshippers in solemn supplication for the success of the Conference.

That response provided once more outward testimony to the mid-century American phenomenon of a national religious upsurge.

Its magnitude, in terms of sheer numbers, is undeniable. About 60 percent of all Americans are church members today. It was only 49 percent in 1940 and 52 percent in 1947 and membership keeps on rising.

This growth has drawn in its wake the popularity of religious books which have a secure niche now among the "best sellers." There is an enormous increase in church building; in a plan for a special religious census next year—and in some profound question beings asked by the clergy.

Their crux is this: How deep and how genuine is the quality of this quantitatively impressive upsurge?

A recent survey, candid and sober discloses that churchmen are divided on this question and not unanimously elated about the massiveness of religious interest.

Many a clergyman takes a critical attitude toward some of the manifestations of the religious mass movement. They are particularly weary of the so-called "peace-of-mind" approach to religion. They fear that many recent converts may be looking merely for solace and escape from the so-called pressures of modern life rather than for true belief and faith. Others, like those of the National Council of Churches, see a tentative quality in the spiritual upsurge—a quality auguring a true readiness for a religious awakening yet to come.

But the survey also produces a few facts which put the religious movement into a new and more affirmative light.

One of these facts is that the churches have made efforts lately to find a new role in modern society. Their position in

modern-day American life is of course vastly different from what it used to be. It bears little resemblance, for example, to that of the village church at the turn of the century. Lost amid growing urbanization and steady population increases is that nearness and intimacy of contact between clergy and Parish which gave the church its influence then. The mass increase in congregational strength has only deepened the problem.

Realizing this, churches have been seeking to move back into the mainstream of American life. They have done so partly by adopting methods of secular institutions competing with them for allegiance, partly by casting their weight more frequently into non-religious controversies.

From these efforts have apparently grown tender seeds of a new relationship between the church at large and its national parish.

Labor Unions, whose origin is the very pursuit of things secular, have ceased to stay aloof from church and religion. From a memorial fund of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), some \$ 200,000 has recently gone to the National Council of Churches. Important in this is the purpose rather than the donation itself. It has been given "on behalf of the practical application of religious principles" to the every-day economic world.

Inquiries into the relationship between religion and economics are being made by several labor unions and by the business community as well. The National Council of the Churches of Christ has published six volumes on the subject so far.

Such things suggest that the religious upsurge may be in part the layman's response to the priest's and the minister's own search for spiritual answers to modern man's problems. If so, Americans would stream to the churches not for mere solace but in the expectation of true spiritual enrichment.

In a sense, this seems to be supported by the rather surprising fact that the post-war religious upsurge and high material prosperity are going hand in hand. In prosperous times, people not troubled by the problems of living are apt to accent tangible and material values. But this time Americans have not forgotten the spiritual on account of their material wellbeing.

Of course, it is always difficult in such matters to separate outward demonstrations from inward motivation.

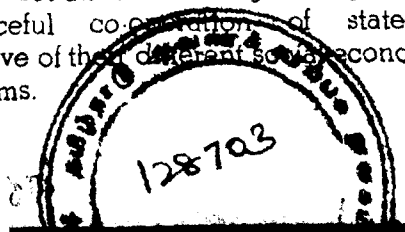
But there are signs that the present-day massive religious upswing is more than a search for "easy religion".

Indian-Soviet Friendship---Major Factor for Peace

BY Mr. A. SNEGOV

The co-operation and friendship between the Soviet Union and India ranks high among the powerful factors now operating in the interests of the strengthening of world peace. In the light of current international affairs, when the supporters of the "positions of strength" policy are unceas-

ing in their efforts to fan the flames of enmity and hatred between different countries, the relations between the USSR and India set an outstanding example of the peaceful co-operation of states, irrespective of their different socio-economic systems.



The recent visit to the Soviet Union of the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru convincingly demonstrated what enormous opportunities there are for the extension of peaceful co-operation and the strengthening of friendship between the two countries. The Soviet Union and India are drawn together by the unbending aspiration of the peoples of both countries to live in peace and friendship with all other nations. Soviet-Indian relations are built on lasting and trustworthy foundations on principles championed by both states, of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of non-interference into the domestic affairs of one another on any economic, political or ideological grounds, of equality and mutual advantage, and of peaceful co-existence.

These five principles of a peace-loving foreign policy were, as is common knowledge, proclaimed a year ago by India and the Chinese People's Republic and became the basis for relations between the two greatest states of Asia. Subsequently Burma and Yugoslavia declared their support of these principles. This spring the five principles were approved by 29 Afro-Asian countries and were incorporated in the declaration for the strengthening of international peace and co-operation that these countries adopted at the Bandung Conference. Poland has also declared support of these principles.

The experience of Soviet-Indian relations fully corroborates the realistic opportunities for the wide development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between countries of different social systems on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. The Soviet Union has manifested its genuine willingness to render all-round assistance to undeveloped countries in their endeavour to free

themselves entirely from elements of colonial dependence and from foreign monopolies. An eloquent illustration of this willingness is the Soviet Union's friendly help to India in the construction of a huge metallurgical works, in training of national cadres of metallurgical experts and in number of other fields. Soviet economic and technical assistance to India is not conditioned by any political obligations whatever, emphasised Prime Minister Mr. Nehru in one of his statements. This assistance is provided under terms profitable for India and facilitates progress and the consolidation of national independence.

The extension of peaceful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India forms the firm basis for the joint action of these two states in the interest of strengthening universal security. Such a development of Indian Soviet relations cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on the entire international situation.

All who are really interested in achieving a further lessening of international tension and in preventing another war gave approval to the joint statement issued by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India. Broad circles of international public opinion evaluated the outcome of Mr. Nehru's trip to the USSR as a serious contribution to the cause of consolidating world peace. In his speech in Moscow, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that the Soviet Government's recent moves had facilitated a lessening of international tension.

The Indian Prime Minister declared that peace meant not just refraining from war, but an active and positive approach to international issues leading primarily to a weakening of existing tension.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union and India with respect to a number of major questions provides a convincing example of precisely such an approach towards international relations.

The joint statement of the heads of the two governments outlines a realistic way towards a lessening of international tension, towards the creation of an atmosphere of good faith and mutual understanding between all states and towards the settlement of controversial issues in the interests of universal peace.

The Soviet Union and India have re-affirmed their desire to see the Chinese People's Republic fully reinstated in its rights in United Nations Organisation. It is likewise necessary that United Nations accept to membership all states fulfilling the requirements of its Charter. The heads of the two governments have voiced the hope that it will be possible to satisfy by peaceful means the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic to Taiwan. The USSR and India have urged all countries on whom it depends to do everything necessary to carry out the terms of the armistice in Indo-China in order that the aims of the Geneva agreements be fully achieved.

The heads of the two governments have expressed the conviction that the principles of the peaceful co-existence of states, which have been obtaining increasingly greater recognition of late, can be applied on a wider scale and that the adherence to these principles by states in their relations presents an earnest that fear and mistrust will be dispelled from the minds of the people. In a situation of peace brought about in this fashion it will become possible to seek the peaceful solution of international problems by means of negotiation and reconciliation.

The USSR and India jointly advocate the full prohibition of the atomic weapon and the implementation of a serious cut in conventional armaments with the establishment and maintenance of effective international control. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru expressed the belief that the Soviet Union's new proposals with respect to disarmament would bring about progress on the way to the settlement of this knotty problem.

Referring to the German problem Mr. Nehru declared that he had gained the impression that the leaders of the Soviet Union desire a sensible solution of the German issue. This issue, Mr. Nehru remarked, must sooner or later be solved by uniting Germany on the basis of peaceable agreement among the powers concerned.

International public opinion notes that the strengthening of peaceful Soviet-Indian co-operation will unquestionably contribute towards the success of the impending Geneva Conference of the heads of the Governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. The joint statement of the Soviet Union and India on major international issues is viewed everywhere as powerful support for the peace-loving forces which are struggling to save mankind from the threat of another war.

"The joint statement," writes the Indian newspaper 'Navajivan', "elucidates the position the Soviet Union will take at these negotiations and the energy with which it will fight for world peace. The principles put forth in the statement leave not the shadow of doubt with regard to the successful outcome of the tour. Power talks, provided the other side will also support these principles".

The views given word in the joint Bulganin-Nehru statement are finding the widest response and understanding the world over.

An increasingly greater number of states have declared their support of the principles of peaceful co-existence. Now there are already over 30 such states whose population totals over two-thirds of all humanity. But even in the countries whose rulers still adhere to the conceptions of "positions of strength" policy and closed

military blocs, very wide public circles are advocating the peaceful co-existence of the two systems.

We may confidently assert—and this is eloquently borne out by the decisions of the recent Helsinki World Peace Assembly—that the overwhelming majority of men and women in the world today support the principles of peaceful co-existence.

Ten Years of the United Nations

By Sir Charles Webster

It is often said that the United Nations has disappointed the hopes of its creators, and, no doubt, many people craving for peace after long years of war and unrest thought that a new world organization which contained all the great Powers of the victorious alliance would usher in a period of comparative tranquillity.

But, as one of those who helped to devise the machinery of the United Nations at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, I can say that the hopes of many of us were not pitched very high on June 26, 1945, when we saw the Charter signed.

For the great gulf opening between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers was already apparent, and the future of large areas of the world was still in doubt. All we could do was devise as good a machinery as possible for the governments of the world to use if they really wished to co-operate for the peace and welfare of mankind. Only time would show whether they would carry out their promises to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter.

RUSSIA'S REFUSAL

At any rate, lack of success has not been due to defects in the machinery of the UN. Only one serious mistake was made, imposi-

tion of the condition that the great Powers in the Security Council must consent to the admission of any new member, which has prevented the United Nations from becoming as universal as it was intended, and ought to be.

But the failure of the Security Council to organize an effective system of collective security is due to the fact that the Soviet Government did not desire it. It refused to allow the machinery provided for in the Charter to be set up and made to work.

No doubt the use of the atomic bomb—so startlingly demonstrated shortly after the Charter had been signed—contributed to this result. Had atomic energy been brought under international control, the United Nations might have become a strong organisation at the outset. As it was, the Security Council was so divided that it became ineffective for its main purpose.

But no changes in the Charter, even if they were possible, could alter this situation, and it may be hoped that time will not be wasted in the 10th Assembly in trying to make them.

DANGERS AVERTED

The General Assembly has established machinery to enable it to do part of the work the Security Council has been unable to perform, and if it has not always been successful, it has done much to prevent, localize, or put an end to, armed conflict in various quarters of the world.

Article 51 of the Charter, which was devised for such a development, has enabled special organizations to be set up of which NATO is the most important—to prepare collective defence against aggression in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The United Nations has even successfully repelled a large-scale aggression against a defenceless people. No doubt, help might have been given in any case. But it was of great importance that the action was taken under the direction of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles on which it is based. In less spectacular ways, the United Nations has been a centre where dangerous situations could be overcome, notably in the settlement of the Berlin blockade.

PROBLEM OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES

Another remarkable development of the General Assembly has been its use as a forum for expression of the desire and the right of all peoples to govern themselves. There has been much irresponsible talk in these debates, and some harm has been done by refusing to recognize that the most important fact in the self-determination of peoples is that it should take place in such a manner as to ensure their future welfare. Timing is the essence of the matter—a fact which many States have often forgotten or ignored.

During the last two years the General Assembly has begun to take a more reasonable attitude. The Charter, of course, gave it no power to act; and though it sometimes disregarded both the letter and the spirit of the Charter in its speeches and

recommendations, this great debate has done much to enlighten all the world in the problems of the dependent peoples and the manner in which they can be made into viable self-governing communities.

Only if that be done can there really come into existence an increase in the application of those human rights so often mentioned in the Charter, and to the definition of which so much attention has been devoted.

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

Not only dependent peoples but many others, in Asia especially, need economic help to raise their standard of living. In this matter also, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies connected with it have done notable and effective work.

No doubt the generosity and prescience of the United States, some members of the Commonwealth, and some other Western States would have done a great deal in any event. But the use of international machinery has enabled such help to be more easily accepted and more wisely directed to the right end, because the political and economic independence of the recipients is thus guaranteed.

Indeed, one of the main objects of the United Nations set forth in the Charter is to raise the standard of living of all its members. Similar principles have inspired the help given under the auspices of the United Nations to the refugees made homeless by war and its aftermath.

This record gives hope that the members of the United Nations are gradually learning to use it for the purposes for which it was devised. Its machinery is more urgently needed than ever if the contending blocs are to replace cold war with peaceful co-existence.

Then its membership can be opened to all peace-loving States and it can, in the words of the Charter, be developed as a "centre for harmonizing the actions of the nations in the attainment of these common ends", to a much greater degree than hitherto.

Report of the States Reorganisation Commission

Under the schemes of reorganisation of States recommended by the Fazl Ali Commission, the Indian Union will consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and there will be three Centrally Administered Areas, that is Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans.

This 267-page report of the Commission was released for publication by the Government of India on Oct 10.

The Commission consisted of Saiyid Fazl Ali, as Chairman, and Mr. Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Rajya Sabha and Mr. K. M. Panikkar as Members.

According to the scheme of reorganisation of the Commission there should be 16 constituent units, to be called States, and three administered territories. The proposals regarding these units are summarised below:

MADRAS

The Madras State should include the existing territories subject to the following adjustments, namely, (i) the five taluks of Agastheeswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shencotta, now forming part of Travancore-Cochin, should be transferred to the State of Madras, and (ii) the districts of Malabar and South Kanara and the Kollegal Taluk of the Coimbatore district should be detached from Madras.

KERALA

The State of Kerala should be formed, which should consist of the following areas: (a) the State of Travancore-Cochin minus the five taluks proposed to be transferred to Madras; (b) the Malabar district (including Fort Cochin and the Laccadive Islands), the Kasargod Taluk of the South Kanara district and the Amindive Islands.

KARNATAKA

The State of Karnataka should be created consisting of the following areas: (a) the present State of Mysore, excluding the Siruguppa taluk, the Bellary taluk, the Hospet taluk and a small portion of the Mallapuram sub-taluk of the Bellary district; (b) the four Kannada speaking districts of Bombay, namely, Dharwar, Bijapur, North Kanara and Belgaum, except the Chondged taluk of Belgaum

district); (c) the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga from Hyderabad; (d) the South Kanara district of Madras minus the Kasargod taluk; (e) the Kollegal taluk of the Coimbatore district of Madras, and (f) Coorg.

HYDERABAD

Apart from the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga the Marathwada districts should also be detached from Hyderabad State. The residuary State which should continue to be known as Hyderabad should consist of the Telugu speaking districts of the present State of Hyderabad namely, Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal (including Khammam), Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad and Medak, along with Bidar district, and the Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna district of Andhra.

The residuary State of Hyderabad might unite with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of such unification.

The future of the remaining areas of Hyderabad, consisting of the districts known as Marathwada is dealt with later on under Bombay.

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ANDHRA

The Andhra State should for the time being continue as it is, subject to certain minor adjustments which are mentioned below.

The taluks of Siruguppa, Bellary and Hospet and a portion of the Mallapuram sub-taluk of the Bellary district should be transferred to Andhra.

The Munagala enclave of the Krishna district, as has already been stated, should be transferred to Hyderabad. There should be no change in the present position. Regarding Madras City and its future it should be regarded as finally settled.

BOMBAY

The State of Bombay should be reconstituted so as to include the existing Bombay State minus the Abu Road taluk of the Banaskantha district and the Kannada-speaking districts of Dharwar, Bijapur, North Kanara and Belgaum (excluding the Chandgad taluk), plus the following areas: (a) The Marathi-speaking districts of Hyderabad, namely, Osmanabad, Bhir, Aurangabad, Parbhani and Nanded; (b) Saurashtra; and (c) Kutch.

VIDARBHA

The new State to be known as Vidarbha should be created, consisting of the following Marathi speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh, namely, Buldana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.

MADHYA PRADESH

After the separation of Vidarbha, a new State, which may be known as Madhya Pradesh, should be created consisting of: (i) the 14 districts of the residuary Madhya Pradesh; (ii) the whole of Bhopal and the whole of Vindhya Pradesh; (iii) Madhya Bharat except the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur district; and (iv) the Sironj sub-division of the Kota district of Rajasthan.

RAJASTHAN

After the proposed merger of Sironj in the new Madhya Pradesh State, Rajasthan should continue in its present form subject to the addition of territories mentioned below: (i) Ajmer, and (ii) the Abu Road taluk of the Banaskantha district of Bombay, the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur district of Madhya Bharat and the Loharu sub-tehsil of the Hissar district of the Punjab.

THE PUNJAB

There is no case for dividing the present Punjab State. PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh should, however, be merged in Punjab.

The Loharu sub-tehsil of the Hissar district, as already stated, should be transferred to Rajasthan.

Apart from the safeguards suggested, Himachal Pradesh should be represented in the Punjab cabinet by at least one member.

UTTAR PRADESH

There is no case for dividing the Uttar Pradesh, and this State should continue in its existing form.

It does not seem to be either necessary or desirable to create a Jharkhand State in south Bihar; the special needs of this area should, however, be recognised. Seraikella and Kharsawan should continue to be part of Bihar. Some adjustments in two eastern districts belonging to Bihar are indicated under West Bengal.

A portion of the Purnea district east of the river Mahananda and the Purulia sub-district of the Manbhum district minus the Chas thana should be transferred from Bihar to West Bengal.

Subject to the recommendations summarised in the immediately preceding paragraph, no boundary adjustments seem to be called for in order to satisfy claims and counter-claims in respect of the border areas of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

ASSAM

Assam should continue as it is subject to the changes mentioned below.

The demand for the creation of a hill State in Assam is impracticable and there is also no reason, having regard to the peculiar features and circumstances of Assam why a separate hill State should be created; special attention should, however, be paid to the development of the hill districts and an enquiry into the working of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution should be undertaken.

The present arrangements with regard to the North East Frontier Agency should continue.

ORISSA

No changes are called for in the boundaries of Orissa which were fixed in 1936 after prolonged and detailed examination.

No recommendations are made in regard to Jammu and Kashmir.

TERRITORIES

The units or areas which have not been dealt with so far will be directly administered by the Centre and will be known as territories.

Delhi should be constituted into such a centrally-administered territory; the question of creating a municipal Corporation with substantial powers should be considered.

Manipur should be a centrally-administered territory, for the time being. The ultimate merger of this State in Assam should be kept in view.

The *status quo* in the Andamans and Nicobar Islands should continue.

The arrangements in regard to areas which have been or may be brought under Central administration in future, either before or after becoming *de jure* part of the territory of India, must be flexible until the position is finally clarified.

The prospective units, their area and population will be as follows:

	STATES	
	Area (in sq. miles)	Population (in millions)
Madras	50,170	30.0
Kerala	14,980	13.6
Karnataka	72,730	19.0
Hyderabad	43,300	11.3
Andhra	64,950	20.9
Bombay	151,360	40.2
Vidarbha	36,330	7.6
Madhya Pradesh	171,200	26.1
Rajasthan	132,200	16.0
Punjab	58,140	17.2
Uttar Pradesh	113,410	63.2
Bihar	66,520	38.5
West Bengal	34,520	26.5
Assam	89,040	9.7
Orissa	60,140	14.6
Jammu and Kashmir	92,780	4.4
	TERRITORIES	
	(Actual numbers)	
Delhi	578	1,744,072
Manipur	8,628	577,635
Andamans & Nicobars	3,213	33,971

WORLD OF BOOKS

ASSIGNMENT TO CATASTROPHE. In Two Volumes. Volume I. Prelude to Dunkirk. July 1939. May 1940 Pp xvi. 332 Volume II. The fall of France, June 1940. Pp xvi 333. by Major General Sir Edward Spears. 25s. net. each volume. William Heinemann Ltd. London.

These two fascinating volumes describing the events from August 1939 when war loomed large till June 1940 when de Gaulle escaped by the skin of his teeth from France to England in Spears' plane will for long remain indispensable as source books of future history. History is past politics and Politics is History in the making, and while we may have to wait another fifty years to see in their correct perspective to national and international movements the dramatic events of these ten months, we need not deny ourselves the excitement and thrill of reading of them in the fuller detail in which they are presented by the gallant Major-General.

Reading this book one wonders whether Stalin was not right in the attitude he took according to the British Ambassador in Moscow in the speech to the All-Union Communist Party in Moscow on March 10, 1939. The words are worth recalling and run as follows. "The Soviet Government would be prepared, as in the case of China, to provide assistance in the form of war material, provisions and technical help, after aggression was in full swing." M. Stalin's advice to his party was "To be cautious and not allow Soviet Russia to be drawn into conflicts by war-mongers who are accustomed to have others pull chestnuts out of the fire for them." England and the British have had in the words of Palmerston no permanent friends or permanent enemies but only permanent interests and the history of the rise and expansion of the British Supremacy in India is a standing example of how a handful of astute vigorous virile personalities could take advantage of

the warring princes and peoples of India and fashion the brightest jewel in the British Crown. From the days of the old fox, King Henry the Seventh in the fifteenth century, British diplomacy has always played a waiting game with theories of Balance of Power and coming in untired at the moment of victory to snatch the fruits thereof. It is no secret now that from 1916 itself when Japan was Britain's ally, Britain was organising the downfall of Japanese political and economic power in the East. As Machiavelli said, "Men will forgive you if you kill their kith and kin; but they will never forgive if you touch their treasure." Sir Stafford Cripps had full authority to work with or against Russia in June 1941, accordingly as British trade and political and financial interests might demand. A decadent society in France with Premiers controlled by plutocratic Egerias decided that the British looked on them only as "False Frenchmen" and that the old description of England as Perfidious Albion was quite true. Churchill had nothing to offer "but blood, toil, tears, and sweat" and the story in volume II. concludes with the inevitable increasing gloom of a predestined tragedy. Though Hitler's miscalculated attack on Russia in June 1941 and Japan's unbalanced hostilities with the United States of America in December 1941 have enabled England to salvage her Empire in portions of Africa and Asia, she was compelled to withdraw from India. She is even compelled to grin and bear it, when described half in fun and half in earnest as the latest State in the United States of America. we would earnestly recommend the perusal of these two volumes to all politicians and statesmen in India, as the ruling class of Britain is engaged in intense diplomatic activity in India and Pakistan to promote the economic, financial, and political interests of Britain on all fronts and to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

SOMETHING OF THE SEA by Alan Ross, first published in 1954 by Derek Verschoyle Limited, London, made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes & Sons Limited, London and Beccles. Price: 6s net.

It has been said "A man of virtue loves the mountains and the man of learning loves the sea and the man of God loves both." Alan Ross is essentially a man of God. While 'the smell assaults him first' when he visits the Zoo, he loves it,

'Suddenly ashamed and moved by some glint of pity in their shooting eyes, as if to-day they showed some symptom or some hint of our predicament tomorrow, or the next day.' Altogether a charming little book "That divides us into several Each one who was one and all My Love."

FROM YENAN TO PEKING, The Chinese People's War of Liberation From Reconstruction to First Five-Year Plan, by Liao Kai-lung, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1954.

This is a propaganda book from the point of view of the Chinese People's Republic. Chapter I is on "Kuomintang Reactionaries" Chapter II deals with the "Defensive Stage of the People's War of Liberation July 1946 June 1947." Chapter III shows the change-over to the offensive by June 1947 and Chapter IV concludes with the "Decisive Victories" which led to the liberation of Chinese mainland in December 1949. Chapter V deals with the birth of the New Republic and the beginnings of the building of a New China. Chapter VI is most interesting as it is a record of planning and achievement under Chinese First Five Year Plan. This short summary of aspiration and achievement ends the book with the sentence "There is no force in the world that can prevent socialism from being completely victorious in the People's Republic of China." Adapted we can say, "There is no force which can delay or hinder the socialistic pattern of society which the People's Republic of India has now set itself to achieve in the very near future."

THE GOSPEL OF THE DIRTY HAND AND OTHER SPEECHES by K. M. Munshi, the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Price Rs. 28-0 Pages I to xi and 1 to 184.

This collection of speeches only emphasises Rajaji's objection to the term 'dirty' being applied to any kind of honest or productive work. The Gospel of the Dusty Hand would have been more appropriate. For, then, we could have said the whole thing was "not so dusty" which, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, means fairly good. The author needs no introduction to the public, as his name itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit term 'Manishee' or he how intensifies by mental analysis and synthesis the material and cultural heritage of a race. As he has said on page 31, the solution of our problem can come only from increased production. As he has warned at page 49, we must remember that our resources in technical, personnel, scientific apparatus and equipment and funds are so limited that they must be utilised in such a way as to derive the maximum possible benefit. The intensive cultivation programme which is again to be renewed this year, is a very important aspect of this approach. "If more water is required in any country for the needs of man and animals, the storing capacity must be proportionately increased". It means more lakes, more tanks, more reservoirs; more wells and tube wells, more river dams, more river valley schemes; but above all, more trees to attract rain, stop erosion and store moisture." Some of the illustrations like that on the Nutritional Cycle are both simple and profound. For any one desiring to fulfil, what Sri Munshi calls a Mighty Impulse to Improve the Land, and to get "a New Outlook," the Gospel of the Dusty Hand furnishes a good approach, a sound array of facts and an encouraging lead both to thought and action.

THE HUMAN SPECIES by Anthony Barnett, Macgibbon & Kee Ltd., 2 Guilford Place, London W. C. 1.

The book is addressed to the general reader and is clearly written. It treats of human biology and of some other questions concerning man's history and welfare, such as evolution, food, nutrition, death, population.

Right in the first paragraph the author tells us that the book "has been written, and will be read, at a time of social upheaval, and it has not been designed as a detached, disinterested account of man, such as a biologist might give of a dung beetle or an earthworm". This being the author's intention, it must evidently also be the point of view of one who appraises how it has been carried out.

The book is instructive and helpful in many ways. Its account of what man owes to nature and what to environment is clear; its debunking of the "racial theory" is convincing; much of what it says on food and soil, food and nutrition, the "sanitary idea" and population, is balanced and helpful. Particularly its insistence on the need of organizing the world's resources to end famine and poverty; on the possibility of controlling diseases and premature death by changing the economic conditions of large parts of mankind is commonsense, practical and helpful.

One wonders whether it can be the scientist's traditional other-worldliness that makes such a practical man see everything fair in the Russian garden-nearly every chapter holds up the USSR to our admiration. Perhaps he is so taken up with the idea of planning, that he is unable to believe that it can be used for evil ends. Or perhaps it is just another proof of the power of propaganda.

One mental kink that makes A. Barnett's book less helpful is his cheerful materialism and amorism. Religious and moral arguments are dismissed as if almost beneath notice. The birth-control controversy is

thus flippantly dismissed (p. 45). Masturbation (p. 52) is, apparently, quite respectable because it is "exceedingly common" and "known also in a number of other mammalian species, e.g. some monkeys, dogs and rabbits. But this applies also to theft and several other forms of behaviour, which few-perhaps not even A. Barnett himself-would be prepared to consider allowable.

Morality is not what many do, but what all ought to do. And one does not see why it is more scientific to find a norm for a man in the animal he is said to have been since he was never meant to be only that rather than in what he is now and was evidently meant all along to be. On what score could such a manner of thinking not be called backward or retrograde?

A. Barnett professes not to treat of the human mind in his book "not because little importance is attached to it, but because it is so important that it needs another book of similar size even for a summary account" (p. 3). However such passages as the one quoted above appear to belapse from abstraction from, to negation of, the existence of the mind and of any great difference between man and animals. 'Chi si contenta gode' say the Italians.

The book is well provided with graphs, diagrams, drawings and very good pictures. One plate is thoroughly objectionable and the ostensible reason for its inclusion in the book is of the flimsiest.

THE TROJAN HORSE, a study of the organisation, methods and objectives of the Communist Parties, Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta.

This is a political pamphlet by the Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia "exposing" "Communist tactics". The subject matter is so controversial that it would be unfair in a review to say more than recommend that a perusal will throw a flood of light both on the attacking and the attacked organization.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. Africa

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

The treatment of peoples of Indian origin in South Africa and the Union Government's policy of *apartheid* were recommended for inclusion on the agenda of the tenth United Nations General Assembly on Sep. 21 by its Steering Committee.

The decision was taken without a formal vote against inscription being cast in the 15-nation Committee. But, New Zealand formally abstained and the United States, while not opposing inscription, expressed "doubt" about the wisdom of inscription and said there was a "real question" about the competence of the Assembly to deal with them.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha early this month Prime Minister said on this question that the U. N. Commission on the racial situation in South Africa made a report to the last session of the General Assembly. The Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its apprehension at the adoption of new laws and regulations by the Government of South Africa which, in the Commission's view, were also incompatible with the obligations of that Government under the U. N. Charter.

DENIAL OF FRANCHISE

Indians will never have the vote in the Republic which the Nationalist Government intends setting up in South Africa, Senator Jande Klerk, Minister of Labour, said at Johannesburg on 3rd-Oct.

Senator de Klerk, who was addressing a meeting on "The Calvinistic basis of the Republic", added that the reason why Indians could not be given the vote was because their spiritual-cultural heritage was so different from the white races that it could only create friction in the political field.

Because the Republic would rest on the spiritual-cultural heritage of the nation, he said, franchise could not be given either to the Africans or the coloureds (mixed descent).

The only solution was separate development in separate fields.

"All power and authority is derived from God—this is the main foundation on which the Republic will be built", he said.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Over 19,000 Indian nationals left Ceylon for good since January 1954 up to Sep 1955 according to figures available at the Indian High Commission office at Colombo.

Of this, 6,356 left on receipt of quit notices under Ceylon Government's scheme of repatriation of Indian nationals, while 12,815 left voluntarily.

Figures cover period upto Aug 31, 1955. The number of Indian nationals at present resident in Ceylon is roughly estimated at about 80,000.

In all, the Indian High Commission in Ceylon had issued, 1,55,000 Indian passports since 1948. Of this 70 to 75,800 persons are believed to have returned to India for good.

Indian nationals are those persons holding Indian travel documents as distinct from persons of Indian origin, numbering over eight lakhs, whose political status now remains undefined.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Dr. Rajinder Singh Grewal said at Rangoon in his presidential address to the annual session of the All-Burma Indian Congress that Indians should take interest in Burmese welfare schemes and donate freely to charities connected with these schemes.

He said the Burma Emergency Immigration Act did not provide for acquiring substantive rights. They were told, he said, that certain administrative instructions were followed in granting permanent stay rights and re-entry visas. "As these instructions remain secret they cannot be taken as authoritative when those rights are denied," he added.

This anomalous position, Dr. Grewal, said, could be remedied only through permanent legislation or rules published or treaty between the two countries.

Dr. Grewal said: "The Indian community has to bear the brunt of the growing restrictive measures gradually introduced in this branch of administration of Burma."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

AUGUST

Aug 1 American and Chinese envoys meet in Geneva.

—Red China releases eleven U.S. Airmen imprisoned as spies.

Aug 2 Two villages, Maem and Surla in Goa declare their freedom.

Aug 3 Two satyagrahis were shot dead by the Portuguese Police.

—Mr. V. T. Sambandam is appointed member of the Malaya Cabinet.

Aug 4 Major. Gen. Iskander Mirza is appointed Ag. Governor-General of Pakistan.

Aug 5 U. N. Trusteeship Council's Standing Committee on petitions elects Mr. Rikhi Jaipal of India as Chairman.

Aug 6 Govt. of India appoints a Law Commission under the chairmanship of C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India.

Aug 7 Pak Premier Mr. Mahommed Ali resigns.

Aug 8 More than 1200 of World's leading scientists meet in Geneva to exchange information and views on the uses of atomic energy.

—Portuguese Legation in New Delhi is closed.

Aug 9 Dr. Radhakrishnan opens the Durgapur Barrage.

—U.S.A. presents atomic technical data to world scientists' conference at Geneva.

Aug 10 Chaudhury Mahomed Ali forms the Pakistan Ministry.

—Turkey joins the Asian African group in U. N.

Aug 11 Curfew in Daman (Goa) Shoot at sight order to troops given by Goa authorities.

Aug 12 Mr. Abdul Wahab is elected speaker of the Pakistan Assembly.

Aug 13 Russia announces reduction of armed forces.

Aug 14 Atomic conference at Geneva concludes.

Aug 15 Independence day celebrations throughout India.

—28 Satyagrahis shot dead by Goa troops.

Aug 16 Sudan Parliament votes motion for self determination.

—South Korea rejects North Korean proposal for re-unification of North and South Korea.

Aug 17 Madras Assembly adjourns as a mark of respect to Goa Martyrs.

Aug 18 Hartal throughout Madras state for protesting against the atrocities of Goa authorities.

Aug 19 Sudan army revolts. Three officers are reported missing.

Aug 20 Russia, U. S. and Britain agree on regular Atom talks: The Geneva parleys conclude.

Aug 21 Terrorism in French North Africa; over 700 killed in riots in Algeria and Morocco.

Aug 22 The Gajendragedkar Commission's report on Bank Award is published. Govt. of India accepts in full the recommendations.

Aug 23 Egypt & Britain sign an agreement by which all Egyptian and British military forces will be withdrawn from Khartoum by Nov. 12.

Aug 24 Madras Assembly passes the tenants' Protection Bill.

Aug 25 Mr. Mahomed Ali ex-premier of Pakistan is appointed Ambassador in U.S.A.

Aug 26 Pondy Assembly passes unanimously the *De Jure* transfer resolution.

Aug 27 Indo Pakistan Trade Pact is ratified.

Aug 28 U. N. Committee on disarmament reassembles and takes up Ike's plan for discussion.

Aug 29 Sudanese Parliament approves resolution re. national plebiscite for Sudanese Self-determination.

Aug 30 Israel appeals to U. N. Council re Gaza strip border incident.

Aug 31 The first United Nations Congress on prevention of crime and treatment of offenders meet in Geneva.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

SEPTEMBER

- Sept 1 Sino-U. S. talks at ambassador level for repatriation of civilians take place at Geneva.
- Sept 2 Dr. Amarnath Jha is dead.
- Sept 3 A.I.C.C meets in New Delhi.
- Egypt & Israel agree to cease fire in the Gaza area fight.
- Sept 4 World History Congress meets in Rome: Over 1600 historians of the world attend the session.
- Sept 5 Mahanadi in floods: over 400 villages swamped rendering 3 lakhs of people homeless in Orissa state.
- Sept 6 Nehru opposes Satyagraha by Indians in Goa: Land frontiers with Goa sealed off.
- World Civil aviation conference meets in the Hague.
- Sept 7 Bombay government bans entry of Indian Satyagrahis to Goa.
- President confers award of Bharata Ratna to Mr. Nehru, Dr. Bhagwandas, & Dr. M. Visweswarayya at a special investiture.
- Sept 8 U. N. Security council calls on Israel & Egypt to bring about tranquillity in Gaza.
- Sir Atul Chatterjee is dead.
- Sept 9 All parties Goa committee decides not to send volunteers to the Goa border.
- Sept 10 Ex Sultan of Morocco Ben Yusef accepts French Govt's plan for Morocco.
- Sept 11. America & China reach an agreement in Geneva with regard to American civilians in China and Chinese students in U.S.A. according to Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's plan.
- Sept 12 Pak-Afgan dispute ends.
- Moscow announces establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and West Germany.
- Sept 13 Ex-King Norodom Sihanouk's party wins in elections in Cambodia.
- Pak Flag is rehoisted in Kabul.
- U. K. envoy Mr. Macdonald meets Mr. Prasad.
- Sept 14 Bihar Assembly rejects no-confidence motion.
- Sept 15 Goa citizens beg in no-tax campaign.
- Quemoy is shelled by People's China.
- Sept 16 L.S. Amery, ex-secretary of state for India is dead.
- Rebellion again in Argentina against Peron government.
- First meeting of Law commission at New Delhi.
- Sept 17 Khan Abdul Gaffarkhan is arrested.
- Rebels bomb Argentina capital.
- Sept 18 The tenth session of the U. N. Assembly meets.
- Russia returns Porkala a Finnish base which she occupied for eleven years.
- Sept 19 Mr. Gulam Mahmod, Pak Governor-General resigns.
- Sept 19 East Germany becomes a sovereign state.
- Sept 20 The Govt. of President Peron of Argentina falls: Military Junta conducts talks with rebels.
- Sept 21 M. Jose Maza of Chile is unanimously elected president of the tenth United Nations General Assembly.
- Crown Prince of Laos and Prime minister Nehru issue a joint statement upholding panchshila.
- Sept 22 U. N. Committee approves inclusion of S. African apartheid policy in the agenda for the present Session.
- Sept 23 Pakistan enters Baghdad Pact.
- Gen. Eduardo Lonardi is installed as provisional President of Argentina.
- Sept 24 Ex-President Juan Peron of Argentina is granted safe conduct to go to Paraguay.
- Sept 25 Mr. A. K. Das is appointed minister in the Pakistan Cabinet.
- Sept 26 Khan Abdul Gaffarkhan is released.
- Lok Sabha passes the bill for the control of prize competitions.
- Sept 27 Mr. N. Gopala Menon is elected Speaker of the Madras assembly.
- Gen. Lonardi is elected President of the Argentine Republic.
- Prince Sihanouk becomes provisional Premier of Cambodia.
- Sept 28 Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur arrives at Hongkong en route to China.
- The Big Four foreign ministers agree on procedural matters for the coming Geneva conference.
- Sept 29 Mr. N. G. Goray who led the first batch of Satyagrahis into Goa is sentenced to 10 years, R. I. by the Goa Military Tribunal.
- Sept 30 The States reorganisation commission submits its report to the Government of India.

READERS' DIGEST

LIBRARY TRAINING IN INDIA

The history of Library training in India began at Baroda first and later in Lahore. Writing in the latest number of *Indian Librarian* under the heading "new Trends in Library Education" Mr. D. Subramaniam, Librarian of the Benares Hindu University says that regular library service education commenced in Madras University in 1933. The Benares Hindu University followed next.

"Later on from 1947 onwards the other universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Aligarh commenced the Diploma Courses with more or less a similar curriculum and duration.

The curriculum of library training in all these universities is based on the traditional and functional details of administration. Admission to these courses is restricted to graduates with a liberal education of four years, undergraduate course either in Arts or Science or Commerce. Instruction to a more or less extent is imparted in the following subjects for one full academic year. (1) Classification and Cataloguing (theory and practice), (2) Library Organization (3) Library Administration, (4) Bibliography, Book selection and Reference service. The Delhi University though it started the Library Science Course as late as 1948, it forged ahead of other institutions and introduced a degree course M.L.Sc and Ph. D. course to benefit candidates for the top ranks of the profession to the teaching posts.

A review of the teaching of librarianship in India for the last few years evinces to us great deficiencies."

"There are complaints that students are not receiving the type of training befitting the job to be done. The graduate librarians are learning more about principles and theories of classification and cataloguing comparison of different schemes of classification and problems of administration of catalogue than the actual working of the scheme and preparation of catalogues. These principles may give a broad outlook of the problems of the librarianship but the student is quite unable to put them into practice without some experience. The application of the western principles of librarianship to Indian conditions cause another difficulty and students are unable to improvise solutions to the demands of a practical situation."

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL REALITY

Shri Bhabani Bhattacharya contributes to the September issue of the *Aryan Path* an article under the above caption. "It will not be true to say that our writers lack the necessary awareness", certain aesthetic conceptions have been the deterrent, according to the writer. Indian writing has suffered from these false conception in a greater measure than is generally realised.

For, Art must teach, but unobtrusively, by its vivid interpretation of life. Art must preach, but only by virtue of its being a vehicle of truth. If that is propaganda, there is no need to eschew the word.

It is hardly necessary to add that when propaganda distorts truth with an ulterior motive, when it tries to "sell" something under false colours, it ceases to be ethical and is not art either. It is far removed from the writer's technical equipment and has use only for the publicity agent.

NO SATYAGRAHA IN GOA

Mr. Nehru has called off the Goa marches. Complete withdrawal of Satyagraha in the area has been effected. Commenting on this the *New York Times* says:— "Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had been 'wise and right' in throwing his influence against the continuance of satyagraha marches into Goa.

Discussing the possibility that 'one of the factors' leading to Mr. Nehru's decision might have been an announced plan of Pakistanis to stage a similar technique in Kashmir, the paper says: "The Pakistanis apparently decided to take advantage of the correspondence (between the two cases). There is, however, a vital difference. It is hard to imagine that India and Portugal would go to war over the disposition of Goa. In the case of Kashmir, on the other hand, India and Pakistan have already been at war—on a limited scale—and are still living under the terms of an uneasy truce and a dangerous cease-fire line. What was an 'incident' in Goa could be a cataclysm in Kashmir. Mr. Nehru is wise, therefore, to disavow this technique at this time in the Goa case since it strengthens his moral position in the event that the Pakistanis are so short-sighted as to go through the plan of a Kashmir march."

In fine it adds: "It is easy to understand Pakistan's impatience in the Kashmir case. India, having originally suggested that a plebiscite was the right way to settle the question has, for almost eight years, made an agreement on that plebiscite impossible. To the Pakistani, the Indian obduracy on Kashmir is as reprehensible as the Portuguese obduracy on Goa is to the Indians.

"Nevertheless, the 'non violent' march is not the way to settle the question. In the first place it won't settle it. In the second, it could very quickly cease to be non-violent."

CHANGES IN PAKISTAN GOVT

The *New York Times* in the course of an editorial on the above topic observes:

"Pakistan (area: 365,907 square miles; population: 76,000,000) has one of the best armies in Asia and is firmly committed to the free world camp in foreign policy. But in its eight years of independence it has experienced self-government. A Constituent Assembly tried for six years, without success, to write a Constitution. It was dissolved in October, 1953 by Governor General Ghulam Mohammed, an appointee of the British Crown under the Indian Independence Act which, in the absence of a Constitution, is Pakistan's basic law. Since then, Ghulam Mohammed, though gravely ill has ruled by decree.

"Pakistan's political difficulties are not surprising. Carved out of British India as the Moslem counterpart to Nehru's Hindu state, the country is split by a thousand miles of Indian territory into two halves. West Pakistan, including most of the territory and the capital, Karachi, is united in ardent devotion to the Moslem faith, but shot through with provincial rivalries. East Pakistan, a single province (East Bengal) includes most of the people and much of the industry, but has a strong Hindu minority and champs at direction from Karachi.

"At first, the gulf was bridged by the party that won Pakistan's independence—the Moslem League. But the league is based chiefly in West Pakistan. As the lustre of independence began to dim, there arose in East Bengal organized opposition to the League's policy of centralized control from Karachi and a special status for the Moslem religion. Despite the opposition, the League's leader, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, tried to carry on a one-party Government. Dissolution of

the Assembly in 1953 was one rebuff to his policy. A second came in Pakistan's first elections two months ago. The Moslem League won only 35 of the 80 seats in the new Constituent Assembly. Two Bengali parties—the United Front under Fazlul Huq, and the Awami party under Hussein Suhrawardy—won 16 and 13 seats, respectively.

"Recently in Pakistan the new Constituent Assembly convened and a fresh approach to the political and constitutional problems got under way. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed resigned as Governor General because of bad health. He was replaced by a bluff soldier and personal protégé, Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza, 55. The same day Mohammed Ali resigned as Prime Minister. He was replaced by another Moslem League leader, former Finance Minister Chaudri Mohammed Ali. The New Prime Minister will head a coalition Government linking the Moslem League with the United Front of Fazlul Huq."

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

The weekly news magazine *Time* for August 29th has a report on the Conflagration in North Africa. It points out:

"Violence that came close to actual warfare blazed across French North Africa. In an 850-mile arc from Constantine in Algeria to Casablanca in Morocco, more than 800 were killed and thousands more wounded in a spreading, sporadic rebellion that brought the wrath of Islam close to the shores of Europe. The uprising threatened to cut off France's vast colonies in equatorial Africa. More than 300 million Moslems were already feeling their impact, from Senegal to the Celebes. In the eye of the storm were 20,000 Americans—airmen and their families stationed at the four Strategic Air Command bomber bases in western Morocco."

"In Paris there was shock and alarm. Premier Edgar Faure, who had appointed an able man to bring peace to Morocco and had then hung back from letting that man put through the reforms he demanded, condemned 'this terror and savagery, and grimly warned of French retribution. In the Moroccan capital of Rabat, his appointee, French Resident General Gilbert Grandval, was shocked at the bloody collapse of his efforts to win a compromise.

"The man who arrived in Morocco a month and a half ago with the ardent desire to restore order and peace by friendship has a broken heart," said Grandval. "There is no motive that can excuse such a crime."

"Day before the fighting broke out, Grandval had rushed back to Morocco from Paris with a special invitation to the nationalist leaders, asking them to meet with the French Cabinet to work out a compromise. Because Grandval had won their trust, most nationalist leaders accepted this last-minute offer. But though the moderates in Morocco urged calm on their impatient people, the extremists would not be stayed. As so often before, the French concessions came too late.

"The seeds of revolt had been sown over 43 years of French insensitivity to the political and spiritual longings of North Africa's Arab peoples. France gave North Africa roads, hospitals and the works of Voltaire, but not the political liberty it demanded. The spark that ignited the violence was struck one day last week. In came on *La Date Fatidique* (literally, the fateful date).

"It was the second anniversary of the dethronement of Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef as head of some 9,000,000 Moroccan Moslems. On August 20, 1953.

the French bundled Ben Youssef aboard a DC-3 and exiled him, ostensibly to 'save' him from his own people, actually because he supported their demand for more political freedom. So flimsy a pretext was an insult to North Africa's faithful. Morocco's urgent nationalists flatly refused to accept the weak and wizened old man whom Paris foisted on them in Ben Youssef's place. Ben Youssef, never very popular as Sultan, became in exile a martyr.

"The French were dismayed and alarmed. Since last month's riots in Casablanca (*Time*, July 25), 60,000 of their troops have been standing guard in Morocco, but more, apparently, were needed. From its limited reserves in Europe, the French army flew a battalion of marines and a company of security police to beef up the Moroccan garrison. It even took space on commercial airliners to fetch hundreds of Senegalese NCO's from their units in Indo-China.

"There were other uprisings in Rabat, Marrakech and Fez, but the worst fighting broke out where it was least expected: among the Berber tribes. Lean, eagle-eyed horseman who accept the authority of Islam, though not all of its practices, e.g., they eat wild boar, the Berbers are the descendants of the proud indigenes of Africa's northwest corner. Many Berber tribes held out against the French until as late as 1934, but since then their *Caid*s (chiefs) have accepted French gold.

"The French encouraged Berber hostility to the Moroccan Arabs as part of their general policy of divide and rule. Two years ago the Berbers were persuaded to back up El Glaoui, the cunning old Pasha of Marrakech, who acted as France's agent in the removal of Ben Youssef. El Glaoui has teamed up with the right-wing

elements among the French *colons* in North Africa to delay and sabotage Gilbert Grandval's plans for reform and self-government.

"An important segment of Berbers had now switched sides. "There is new hope in Morocco," the Berber *Caid*s wired Premir Faure recently. "We respectfully ask you to put an end to the El Glaoui myth.....There is no question of accepting the Pasha of Marrakech as the chief of the Berbers. They form a part of the whole, the Moroccan people." But when the French continued to temporize, the *Caid*s told their Berbers to saddle up.

"While the French army had its hands full beating back the Moroccans, other fanatical Arabs saw their chance in Algeria, North Africa's richest province and legally a part of France.

"With perfect timing, gangs of Algerian *fellaghas* (rebel bandits) raided French police stations and stormed the railroad station on the outskirts of Constantine (pop. 119,000). Fourteen Frenchmen standing at a bar were blown to bits by a bomb. The *fellaghas* called themselves 'The Army of Liberation'; they were joined by urban terrorists known as 'Death Battalions.' The rebels swept through dozens of French villages, burning looting and killing scores of French civilians were knifed or torn to pieces before the troops swung into action.

"Pitched battles broke out in half a dozen Algerian towns. It was impossible to count all the casualties, but reliable estimates ranged as high as 550 dead (460 of them rebels) and possibly thousands injured.

"All told, *La Date Fatidique* claimed the lives of some 650 Arabs and 200 Frenchmen. French North Africa was in flames, and there was still no knowing how far the flames would spread, or how they would be put out."

UNCO-OPERATIVE WITNESSES

"A gov't's right to demand information" is the subject of an article in *The National Catholic Weekly of America*:

"America's search for a solution to the problem of loyalty and security has turned of late to Chief Justice John Marshall, whose interpretation of privileges protected by the Fifth Amendment may help us to know what to do about uncooperative witnesses. Under Marshall's interpretation in the trial of Aaron Burr, it is clear that a witness may refuse to disclose any information which might aid in convicting him of crime, but that the Government has a right to demand from its citizens all other pertinent information in a legitimate inquiry. Embarrassment, or even disgrace, therefore, will not excuse a witness from responding.

To say that government has a right to demand cooperation from its citizens presumes that the citizens have a moral obligation to cooperate with legitimate government. This was something generally presumed in Marshall's time, but today it is something that Communists deny and others have lost sight of. Witnesses, then, who refuse to answer legitimate questions are challenging the foundations of political society itself.

The basic protection of rights is the moral law based on man's dignity. This same moral law, however, imposes on the citizen an obligation to obey legitimate authority. We cannot have it one way and not the other. If we believe that we have rights antecedent to government—freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly which may not be curtailed by any government so long as their expression does not endanger the common good, then we must also conclude to men's moral obligation toward political

society. Each generation has its own contribution to make to improve human living. Our generation is being asked to discover an equitable solution for subversive political activity and to reaffirm the basic tenets of democratic society.

SELF-GOVT IN THE COLONIES

Monsignor Enrico Chappoulic, Bishop of Angers, in *Pele Le Mond* says:

Colonization is justified morally to the extent to which it constitutes a service rendered by the colonial power to the people which one day she put under her authority. We mean by this service primarily education, both moral and material. The end of a well conducted education must be the emancipation of educated subject, who has become capable of governing himself through the very activity of his teachers. The Church, therefore, could not accept taking sides with those who hold colonialism as a permanent fact, who lean both on the prestige and material advantages which the mother country draws from her colony and on the pessimistic judgment [that] colored people (are) inferior to their European masters and incapable of ever finding their own happiness in freedom.

However, fruit does not ripen everywhere at the same moment. It is unreasonable to treat, for example, Viet Nam, a land with an old civilization, and a group of mountain tribes from Laos or Africa, still only partly emerged from primitive savageness, in the same way. By wanting to shake off guardianship too quickly—assuming that this guardian is honest and not a tyrant—a population risks falling into anarchy. But to want to hold out in spite of all opposition, faced with a native elite reasonably capable of taking the reins of authority, the colonial power runs the risk of terrible explosions and surely her brutal eviction.

TWO CHINAS

David J. Dallin, anti-Communist author, in the *New Leader* points out on the above subject:

Two Chinas have been in existence for several years and there is little prospect of their merging in the near future. So long as this situation prevails, we shall have to reject the idea of one China, because we cannot turn over the eight million people on Formosa to Communist rule. Nor should our recognition of Peking, if this should occur, affect our close ties with the Republic of China government.

Because we do not recognize the Chinese Communist government, every occasion on which we negotiate with it is regarded by our citizens as a humiliation, and in the Communist capitals as a source of fiendish satisfaction. Negotiations at Geneva concerning U. S. Prisoners are being artificially dragged out by Peking's envoys merely to prolong the delight of seeing de facto recognition enforced on the "stubborn" Americans.

We all know the Chinese Communist regime is dictatorial, inhumane, terroristic, and slave-driving. But diplomatic recognition and membership in the United Nations cannot be viewed as rewards for democratic virtue.

It is wrong to exaggerate the significance of diplomatic recognition, and it is doubly wrong to concentrate on it in our relations with the Soviet bloc. The Communists have several ways to press us—release of prisoners, trade, travel, etc. If we continue in the present vein, we will remain on the defensive, and the years to come will merely witness one retreat after another.

Nonrecognition of Peking was the only possible course for the United States as long as the Chinese Communists participated as aggressors in the Korean War,

trained officers and men for the aggressive war in Indo-China, and assisted in supplying arms from Czechoslovakia and Russia to the Ho Chi Minh forces. Now there remain its preparations for a war against Formosa. So long as these continue recognition is still impossible.

But should the Chinese Communist government sign an armistice or in some other manner pledge to refrain from military operations against Formosa, the last reason for nonrecognition and nonadmission will have been removed. When under such conditions, Peking adopts normal attitudes toward foreign nationals liberates them from her jails and permits their exit, when the usual facilities for the functioning of diplomatic representatives are provided in Peking the time will have come to revise our position on recognition and admission.

NEWSPAPERS' DISTRIBUTION IN RUSSIA

The Soviet Union is using jet cargo planes to fly page matrices of the main Moscow newspapers to the country's major cities for printing and distribution. *Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper, reports that jet planes are also being used for carrying urgent air freight shipments.

Every morning about 3 o'clock, *Pravda* says, the matrices of *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and other Moscow newspapers are rushed to Vnukovo Airport outside the Soviet capital and loaded aboard a waiting cargo plane. The matrices are paper-mache molds of newspaper pages used to cast stereotype plates for the printing of newspapers.

The page molds are delivered to the cities of Sverdlovsk in the Urals and Novosibirsk in Siberia. *Pravda* says that the jet cargo plane covers the 1,800 miles from Moscow to Novosibirsk "several times faster" than ordinary aircraft.

U. S. SECURITY PROGRAM

In the *Yale Review* Mr. Du A. Du Bridge, President of the California Institute of Technology points out about the U. S. Security program:

"How are we going to determine who can be trusted to work in the areas of weapon technology where there are secrets to be kept? By the very nature of the problem criteria cannot be laid down and adopted once and for all. Conditions change. When a war is on and lives are at stake we are, oddly enough, willing to take more of a risk in order to get the job done quickly. People who served competently during the war were disqualified later from classified work. The very term "risk" itself implies a danger not fully defined.

Every human being is to some extent a security risk. No one is perfect; no one is immune to being deceived or blackmailed or tortured into giving information; no one is certain never to commit a slightly careless act in handling secret material. At the same time there are urgent jobs to be done. If we trust no one with secrets, then there will be no secrets—for secrets are invented in the brains of fallible human beings. If we disqualify every competent but slightly "imperfect" scientist from working for the government, then we shall surely fail to survive as a nation in the modern world.

There is a crying need today for a reformulation of the concept of a security risk. You may fire a man convicted of petty larceny; but you should not call in the security board. All we are trying to do is to exclude people who might, directly or indirectly, give information to an enemy.

It is often said that security procedures may be justifiably arbitrary because, in any case, "federal employment is a privilege, not a right." As far as most scientists are concerned, it is neither a privilege nor a right, but only a patriotic duty. Often scientists are not paid at all for their advisory services. Yet the government needs good scientists and ought to offer positive inducements to them.

There is a danger of losing classified information and we must adopt reasonable precautions. There is also a danger of losing the technological race for military security. We need to find a balance between these two risks which is more advantageous than at present to the safety of the U. S.

"THE SCIENTIST"

In Britain's *Political Quarterly* Dr. Jacob Bronowski, of the British National Coal Board, tries to explain why scientists are viewed with suspicion by most nonscientists. "The scientist," says Bronowski, "is not only disliked but also distrusted." Government treat the scientist as "indispensable, but unreliable, a hangdog hangman who has the bad manners to be good at war work and the impertinence to find it distasteful. The public thinks that he has no conscience, and his security officer fears that he has two consciences..... He is unhappy between his scientific creed and his social loyalty: between, that is, the long and triumphant tradition of open publication, and a society which still hopes to survive by the peasant adage, 'Least said, soonest mended.'"

The public "puts its fear of the scientist into robust terms—he is going to blow man off the earth, or (in alternate weeks) he is going to overpopulate it."

Steeped in the common-sense science of the Victorian Age, the public thinks of scientists as dangerous warlocks. "The popular picture of the scientist," says Bronowski, "lends itself to the basic totalitarian tricks which exploit the insecurity of the ignorant: an awe of the specialist, a hidden hatred of him, and a cleft between his way of thinking and theirs."

"PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS EMPIRE"

The so-called "Portuguese Overseas Empire" in India consists of only three tiny footholds on the Western seaboard of India comprising an area of 1532 square miles which is inhabited by 637,591 persons of whom only 1,079 are either European or of European origin. The population of Indian birth was 636,153. The Hindus numbered 388,488 and the Christians 234,275. There were only 14,162 Muslims there.

True to the imperialistic tradition, the Portuguese colonialists made every effort to keep the people in ignorance. As a result nearly 88 per cent of the people were generally illiterate. The percentage of people reading and writing only in Portuguese was only 1.43 per cent while that in Indian languages was more than 10 per cent.

The State revenue Rs. 24,778,358 in 1953 was almost double the figure in 1948 when it was Rs. 12,714,629, thus signifying intensified exploitation of the people. This interpretation of the growth of State revenue would be confirmed when one looked at the figures for expenditure on the import of arms and ammunitions in the colony. In 1948, such expenditure amounted to only Rs. 42,000 but in 1951 it was Rs. 2,934,000—almost seven times the 1948 figures.

The economy of Goa was greatly dependent on India. About 100,000 Goans were living in India. The remittances from the Goans in India kept the Goan economy alive. In 1951, only a little over 41 lakhs of rupees had been remitted from Portugal to Goa while the amount remitted from India was Rs. 68,035,241. Of the 247 ships entering Goa in 1951 only 2 were Portuguese.

TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

The Conservative *Daily Mail* praises Prime Minister Nehru for his present attitude to the question of Goa.

"We have both praised and criticised Mr. Nehru in this column", the *Daily Mail* editorial declared. More particularly we have criticised him recently over his attitude to Portuguese Goa. Now Mr. Nehru's Congress Committee have voted for a ban on 'unlawful' invasion from India into this tiny corner of Portuguese territory and Mr. Nehru himself agrees. He has shown himself sensitive to foreign reaction and for this responsiveness we have nothing but praise.

"The more responsible attitude he has now adopted towards Goa will give added weight to Mr. Nehru's view when he deals with other and bigger issues".

SOVIET SUBMARINE BASES

The magazine, *United States News and World Report* publishes a copyright article describing an alleged Soviet plan to set up submarine bases in the Antarctic as a step towards conquest of Australia.

The author of the article is identified only as "a former military attache in Moscow who now regularly makes intelligence analyses of Soviet strategy for one of the Western Governments".

He says the plan followed the Communist theory that world domination depends on control of both the land mass centred on Moscow and the "world ocean" centred on Sydney.

The estimate of Soviet intentions was based on a 21,000 mile secret cruise early this year by one of Russia's latest long-range submarines, fitted with funnel-breathing apparatus, from Murmansk to the Antarctic and back.

"There is little doubt that it is only a question of time before the Soviet Union demands the right to establish a permanent base in the Antarctic for her whaling and research activities", the writer declares.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

RE-ORGANISATION OF STATES

India, whose 600, odd States were reduced to 27 since the advent of freedom, will be further consolidated and integrated to consist of 16 fullfledged States and three Centrally-administered territories, according to the recommendations of the three-member States Reorganisation Commission, whose 287-page report was released officially for publication on October 10.

The 16 reorganised States to be formed by disintegration or expansion of most of the existing States are: Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Andhra, Bombay, Vidarbha, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Jammu and Kashmir. Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans will be the three centrally-administered territories.

There will be no constitutional distinction between the proposed States. The present classification of Part 'A', 'B' and 'C' States will disappear and along with it, the institution of Rajpramukhs, which has been widely criticised on the ground that it ill accords with country's democratic frame-work. We give a succinct summary of the Report on another page of this issue.

The Congress Working Committee met at New Delhi on Oct 14 and in a resolution adopted at the end of the two-day deliberations on the States Reorganisation Commission report has expressed the hope that "fullest consideration would be given to the report and its recommendations and allied problems in a spirit of co-operation and with-

out the introduction of acrimony and conflict and appealed to Congressmen to approach the report in a calm and co-operative spirit, avoiding agitational approach".

The committee has expressed the opinion that Congressmen holding responsible positions should function with dignity and avoid taking steps which may further the spirit of disunity. It passed the following resolution:

"Now that the report of the Commission has been published and the public has been given every opportunity to consider it, the same considerations still apply and it is the earnest hope of the Working Committee that while the fullest consideration should be given to the report and its recommendations and allied problems this will be done in a spirit of co-operation and without the introduction of acrimony and conflict. Our country and our people are faced with a great test and our future will naturally depend on the manner in which we deal with this great problem. While it is natural that various parts of the country desire to maintain their individuality and cultural traditions to have full opportunities for growth, it must always be remembered that the progress of our people depends upon the unity of the nation and the advance made by the nation as a whole. Whether States are big or small, they have the same importance and their future is tied up with the larger future of the whole of which they are parts. To introduce a spirit of disunion and conflict is not only to hamper this general progress but also to weaken the very foundations on which our national strength and progress depend."

MR. NEHRU ON NATIONAL FLAG

Prime Minister Nehru uttered a warning at Vellore on Oct-5 that if necessary every power of the State would be used to put down attempts to disrupt the unity of India or to show disrespect to the National Flag.

"Nowhere in India under any circumstances whatever will the cry of division or separation be tolerated in future, from whatever source it may come," he declared. Whatever happened, India was one and would continue to be one. He continued:

"If any man lifts his finger to dishonour the National Flag, we shall face him boldly. No man or woman can disrespect the great National Flag of India. Let me make it plain that it is intolerable and can never be tolerated. Whatever may happen, we will not tolerate disrespect to the National Flag.

"I want to make this clear also, that there is going to be no compromise in this matter of unity of India and respect to the National Flag. If necessary, every power of the State will be used to meet any menace that might arise, because there is no compromise in regard to basic matters. Whatever happens, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, India is one and will remain one."

CHOU EN-LAI ON CO-EXISTENCE

Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, said in Peking on Oct 4 that peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems had become "an actual fact in international relations". * * *

"The peaceful co-existence of countries with different systems has not only become popular with the people of the world and grown into the common belief of hundreds of millions of people who cherish peace, but is an actual fact in international relations," Mr. Chou emphasised.

PANIKKAR ON INDIA'S UNITY

Sardar K. M. Panikar declared in Madras on Sept 18 that it was the duty of the next generation to make the concepts of Indian citizenship and unity a living tradition with the people of India.

"Any kind of exclusivism is a direct denial of our common citizenship and our sense of unity", he said.

"This extremely mischievous and dangerous theory brought us very nearly to a crisis in 1947" because it gave the Princes the idea that after Independence they could stand out as separate Sovereign entities. It was the affirmation of the will of the people, who said, whatever happened they proposed to remain united and that they would get rid of the Princes who stood in the way of that unity, that made unification of India possible. * * *

Mr. Panikkar concluded. "This unity of India which was achieved with such a measure of determination and with such vision is a thing which should be very dear for us and which should be the first consideration of all our activities, once we divide, we cease to be one great unit of civilisation."

CHRISTIANS IN NEW SET-UP

Dr. R. N. Manickam, East Asia Secretary of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, said at Vellore on Sep 9 that colonialism was not yet dead in Asia.

"To-day, Christian leaders were taking their rightful place in the national and governmental life, some holding positions of trust and responsibility. It was interesting to know that this community, which formed only three per cent of the population of East Asia, had not lagged behind in offering its wholehearted support to and co-operation with national enterprises and nation building activities."

Mr. MALCOLM MACDONALD

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British High Commissioner for India, arrived in New Delhi on Sept 11.

Mr. MacDonald told pressmen: "I am extremely glad to come to Delhi. It is remarkable the way in which India within a few years of her becoming a sovereign nation could become one of the most influential nations in the world. India's work for peace is appreciated all over the world. It should be a great privilege and pleasure for me to work in Delhi to maintain and improve the very friendly relations that exist between Great Britain and India."

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

Sir Atul Chatterjee, a former High Commissioner for India in Britain, died on Sept-8 at Boxhill-on-Sea in Sussex. Sir Atul was just over 80 years of age.

Sir Atul was a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly from 1921 to 1924 and Industries Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1923-24. From 1925 to 1935 he was High Commissioner for India in United Kingdom. He was a member of the Council of India from 1931 to 1936 and Adviser to the Secretary of State for India from 1942 to 1947.

Mr. L. S. AMERY

Mr. Leopold S. Amery, former Secretary of State for India, died in London on Sept-16. He was 81.

Mr. Amery played a significant part in British politics for over half-a-century. He was Secretary of State for India and Burma from 1940 to 1945—the critical period when the British Government was negotiating with India's political leaders on the constitutional future of this country.

Sir M. VISVESWARAYYA

Mr. A. G. Ramachandra Rao, Minister for Law and Education, Mysore Government in the course of a message on the occasion of the 95th birthday of Dr. M. Visvesvaraya on Sept 14 stated. The long and rich life of this venerable engineer-statesman, the architect of modern Mysore, is well known. His simple and extremely well regulated life of utter devotion and disinterested service is our rare privilege to witness and enjoy. Here is an inspiring 'Karma yogi' to see, to understand and to follow."

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

Dr V. Raghavan, has been awarded the Dr. Kane Gold Medal. We understand that this is in recognition of his distinguished work in Indological studies.

The first recipient of the medal was Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar for his work on Dharma Sasiras.

This honour for Dr Raghavan is for his all-round work in Sanskrit studies, particularly Alankara Sastra.

His poetic work on the life of Muthuswami Dikshitar has already earned for him the title of Kavikokilam from Sri Sanakaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti-peakam.

Sri K. RAMA RAO

Mr. K. Rama Rao, former member of the Rajya Sabha and veteran journalist, has been appointed Adviser to the Government in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry for the Five-year Plan integrated publicity.

Mr. Rama Rao assumed charge of his post on Sept-15.

Dr. SACHIN SEN

Dr. Sachin Sen, Editor of "The Indian Nation," Patna, has been unanimously elected President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference for 1955-56.

SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

Arrangements for the All India Sanskrit Parishad to be held at Tirupati on Nov. 11 and 12 are going apace.

President Rajendra Prasad, who is to preside over the conference, will arrive there on the afternoon of Nov. 11. and leave for Madras the next evening. While at Tirupati he will stay at the Tirumalai Hills.

The conference is expected to be attended by Governors and Rajpramukhs. Chief Ministers and Education Ministers. Directors of Public Instruction of five States and other high officers and Pundits.

OXFORD COLLOQUIUM ON PHILOSOPHY

Three philosophers from India are among the 22 scholars from 13 different countries who are attending the first colloquium on contemporary British philosophy at Brasenose College of Oxford which started on Sept. 13.

The Indian delegates are Prof. P. Damle of Poona University, Mr. A. Purani of Sri Aurobindo Ashram and Miss R. I. Bedford Professor of Philosophy, Women's Christian College at Madras.

FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION

India had made "substantial progress" in providing free and compulsory primary education for all children as laid down in the Constitution Mr. Mano Mohan Das, Parliamentary Secretary to the Education Minister, informed Mr. H. V. Kamath in the Lok Sabha on Sept. 15.

Replying to a question by Mr. Raghunath Singh, Dr. Mano Mohan Das said that the approximate increase in the budgeted expenditure on education in the country (including States) during 1955-56 over the previous year was Rs. 31.62 crores.

VALLABH VARSITY

The Bombay Assembly on Sept-14 gave its assent to establish and incorporate a teaching and affiliating University at Vallabh Vidyanagar—the first University in the State which will have Hindi as the medium of instruction and examination. This University, which will seek to accelerate the process of regeneration of villages by application of modern arts, sciences and technology to rural requirements, after the late Sardar Vallabhbhai who inspired this scheme of rural regeneration.

Prof N. K. SIDHANTA

Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, has been appointed a member of the University Grants Commission, in the place of Dr. J. Ghosh who has ceased to be a member consequent upon his relinquishing charge of the office of Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

The University Grants Commission has sanctioned an 'ad hoc' grant of Rs. 20,000 of 1955-56 towards the expenses of preparing a critical edition of "Valmiki Ramayana" undertaken by the Oriental Institute of the M. S. University of Baroda.

ANNAMALAI VARSITY

The Annamalai University has decided to utilise the Central Government's Silver Jubilee grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for study and research in comparative philology of Dravidian languages.

Steps will be taken in due course, it is learnt, to appoint an erudite scholar as Professor and three Research Assistants in Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu.

LAW COMMISSION

The inaugural session of the Law Commission was held at New Delhi on September 16 under the Chairmanship of Mr. M. C. Setalvad, the Attorney-General of India.

The 11 member Commission was appointed on August 6, mainly to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways and means for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive.

The Commission will work in two sections—the first section consisting of the Chairman with three other members will deal mainly with the question of reform of judicial administration while the second section consisting of the remaining seven members will be concerned with Law revision.

At its first session, the Commission draw up the programme of work. The Commission is appointed in the first instance upto the end of 1956.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The Union Home Minister, Pandit G.B. Pant, stressed the need for some changes in the present system of law and judiciary in the country.

Laying the foundation-stone of the building of the Jaipur bench of the Rajasthan High Court on Sept 18 he said the present system of administering Justice was cumbersome, and out of date. It was, therefore, necessary to simplify the process to dispense justice more speedily, so that the common man would be able to understand the basic principles of law, and thus appreciate his own position and his duties to the State.

THE JUDICIARY IN CHINA

China has developed a legal system by which cases in law courts are usually disposed of mostly on the day they are taken up, Mr. N. R. Das Gupta, who led a 15-man lawyers' delegation to China, said in an interview at Dum Dum on Oct-29. Mr. Das Gupta, who returned from China said the quick disposal of cases in China were possible because of the unique simplicity of the court's approach to the disputes. The lawyers were not allowed to complicate cases or to harass the parties. In most cases the parties never engaged any lawyer for defending their cases. They submitted their own case and the court dealt with them most sympathetically.

There were three types of courts—basic, intermediate and the High Courts.

The basic courts were like the Indian panchayats. There were two assessors and a Judge and the whole of them were popularly elected. The intermediate courts, consisting of three judges, sat on appeal over decisions of the basic courts. Finally, there were the High Courts in the provinces, most of them having revisional jurisdiction. At the apex stood the Supreme court to deal with specialised cases—constitutional and inter provincial.

FAMILY LAWYER SYSTEM

Replying to a reception accorded to him on Sept 5 by the Kumbakonam Bar Association, Mr. P. T. Rajan pleaded for the introduction of the family lawyer system in this country in much the same manner as the family solicitor system in England. The wisdom of the lawyer, his special training and education must be availed of by every family for settling most of their legal problems even out of court, he said.

Mr. C. K. NAIDU

Mr. C. K. Naidu's 61st birthday was celebrated on the 31st of October. Writing about him, Maharajkumar Dr. Vijaya Anand says:

"Col. C. K. Nayudu has been a figure in the cricket life of India for well over forty years. For over two decades I played with him and against him and a glimpse of that 'gay cavalier' in action gave you a greater thrill than seeing a ten million-dollar movie.

C. K. has had a good innings in his active life and in full maturity he has a personality which grows on you. He has a flair for captivating people. Figures do not always reveal the true worth or merit of a player. Maybe C. K. has not established many records but the unique record of having 'played cricket' is itself a fitting proof of his abiding worth. And if only the youth of the country approached the game in the spirit in which it was played by C. K. and emulated him, it would be the greatest tribute that we could pay him. May his example inspire this and the coming generations!"

BOARD OF CONTROL FOR CRICKET

The Maharajkumar Dr. Vijaya of Vizianagaram was re-elected President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India for another term of one year at the annual general meeting of the Board held at Banaras on Oct 30

THE MADRAS ZOO

The Madras Zoo which takes pride in the fact that it is the oldest in India begins its second hundred years with the goodwill of the public, not only of Madras City but of countless towns and villages in our country who have visited and been charmed by it. The Centenary celebrations took place on the 31st October.

STUDY OF GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 2,25,000 for the proposed Gandhi Smriti Mandir in Bhavnagar.

This memorial to Gandhiji, estimated to cost Rs. 14 lakhs, will contain a museum, a library and a research institute, an emporium, a workshop and an auditorium.

The Nidhi has also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 2,25,000 towards the cost of improving the surroundings and constructing a connecting path between the ancestral houses of Gandhiji and Kasturba Gandhi.

The committee further decided to acquire the Darbargarh where Kasturba was incarcerated for participation in the struggle for responsible Government in the former Rajkot State. The hall would be used as a centre for women's welfare activities.

Regarding requests from foreign countries for facilities for study and research in Gandhian thought it was decided that persons possessing "adequate qualifications" should be offered these facilities.

TRAINING IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Training in social welfare is proposed to be included in future in the curriculum of I.A.S., I.F.S. and I.P.S. trainees. Syllabus in this connection were drafted, it is learnt at a meeting of the Advisory Board on Social Welfare which was held in New Delhi on 6th Sept.

The Board also considered the proposals for research in social welfare submitted by the various Universities and social welfare institutions. The Board also made recommendations to the Union Ministry of Education regarding grants to be given or undertaking these projects.

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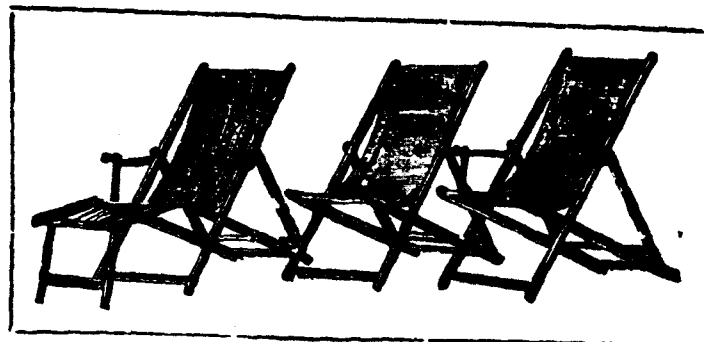
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