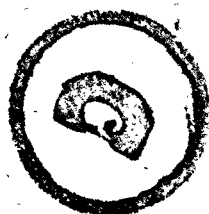


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Vol. 57]

AUGUST 1956

[No. 8

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The Evils of Communism

By Bertrand Russell

The American Presidency

By Mr. Sidney Hyman

The Commonwealth Conference

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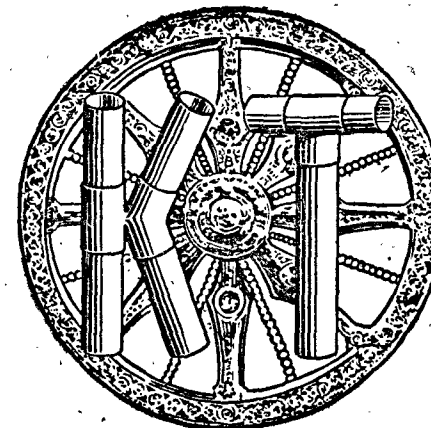
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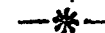
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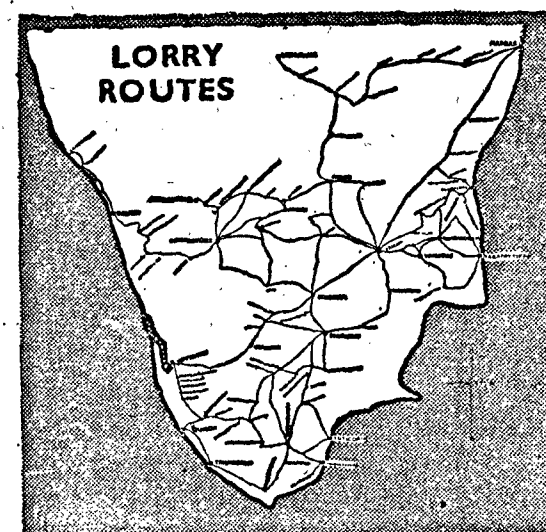
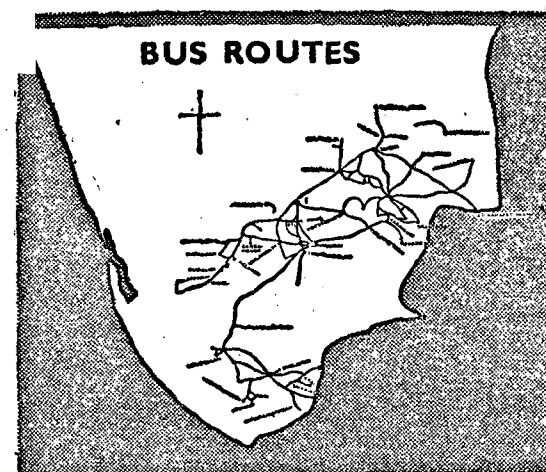
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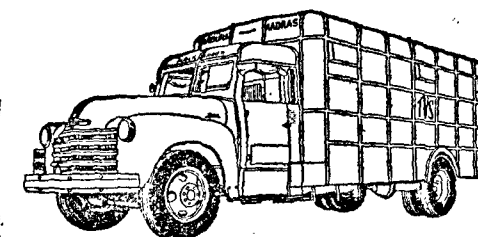


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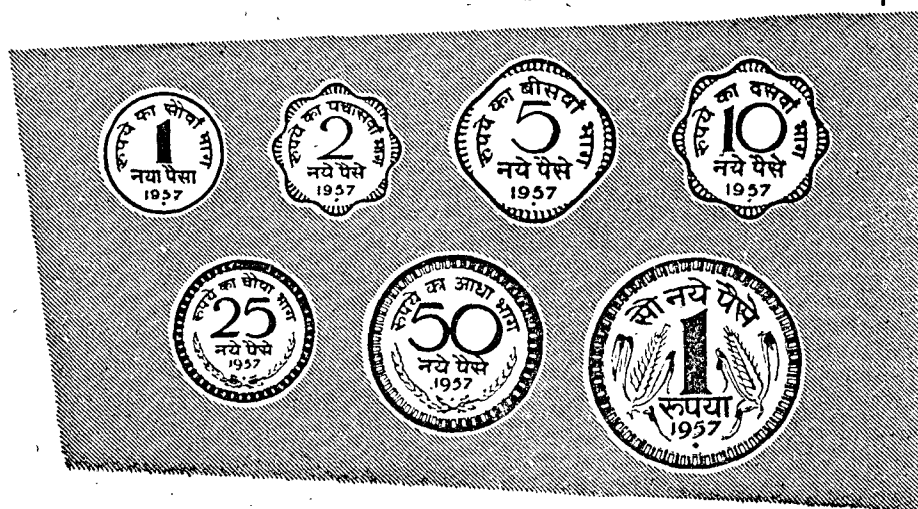
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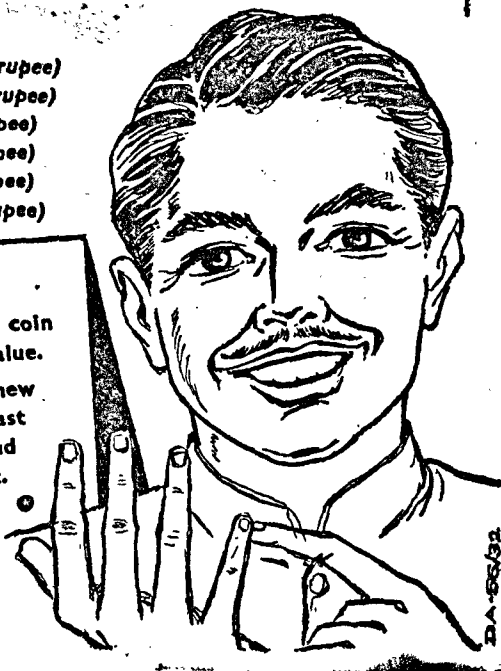
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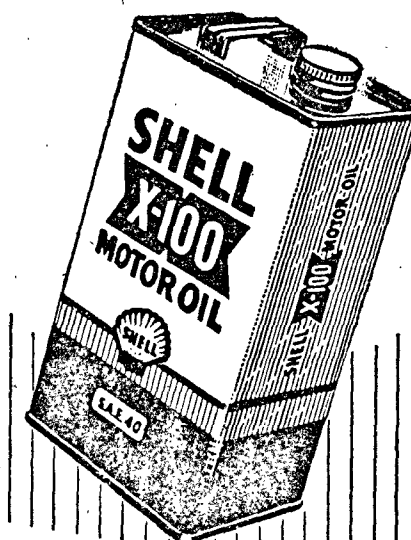
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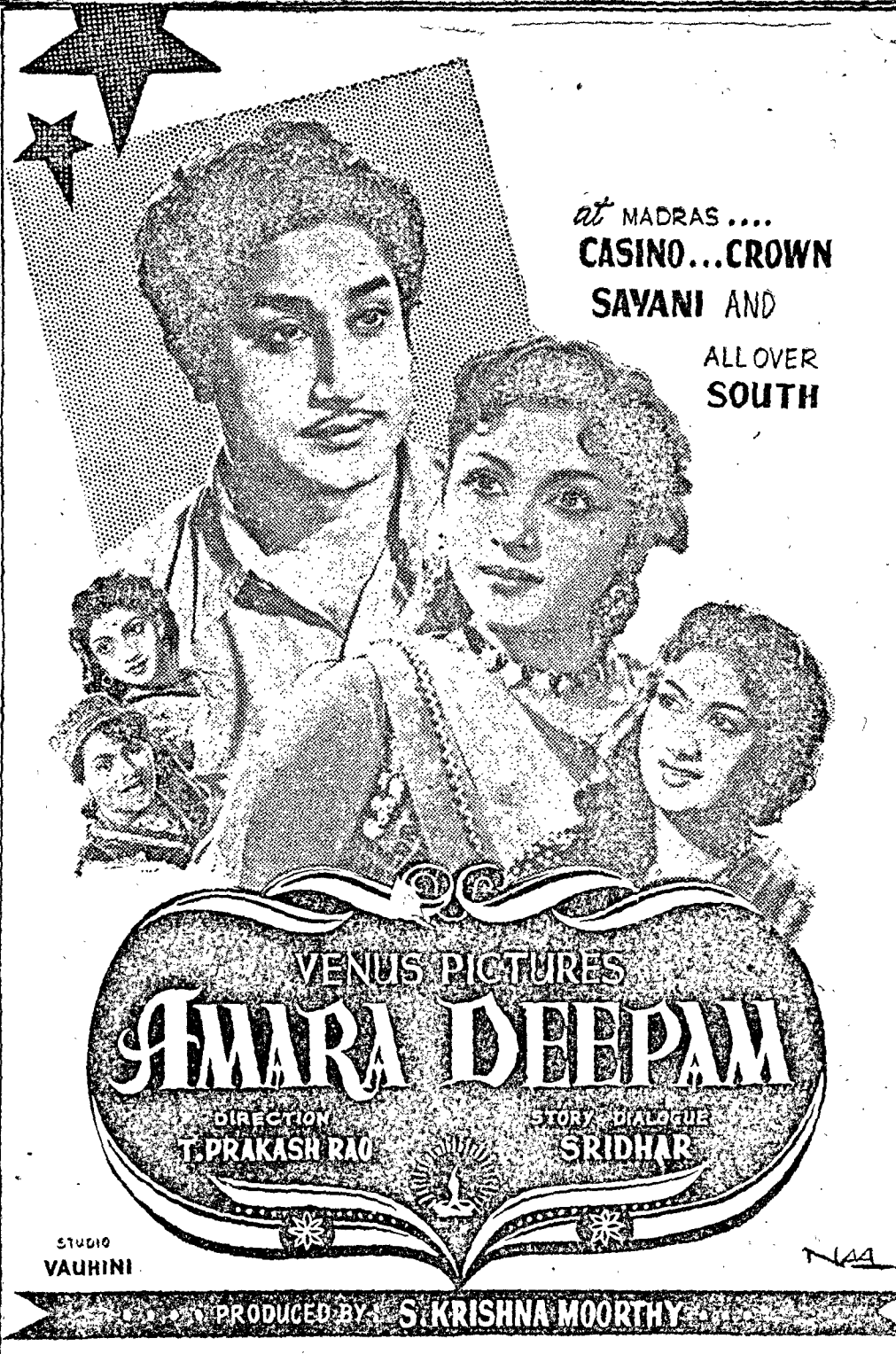
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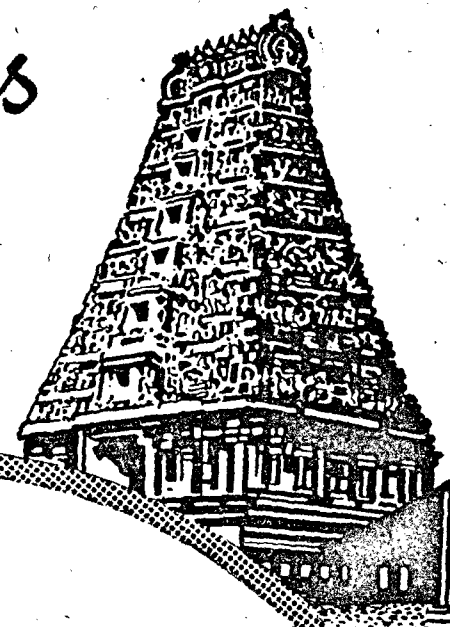
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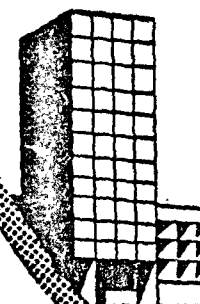
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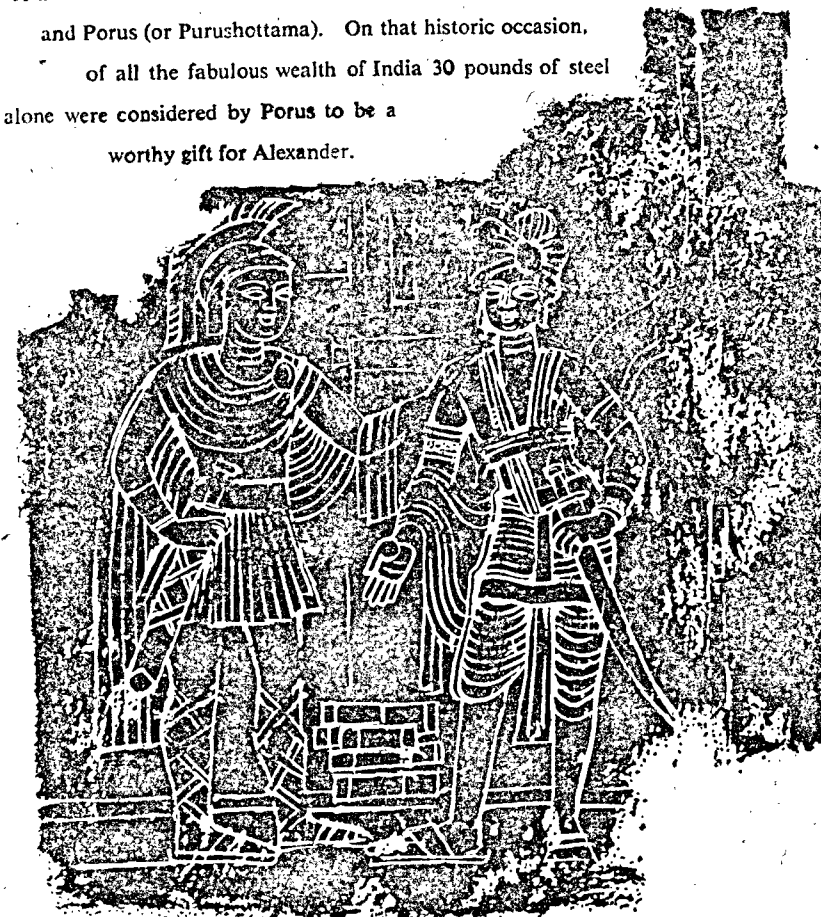
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[No. 8]

Tilak and Gokhale

By

SRI D. ANJANEYLU, B.A. (HONS.), B.L.

While the country celebrated the birth centenary of the "Father of Indian Unrest" (as his enemies considered him) or the "Father of Indian Revolution" (as we honour him), one is instinctively reminded of another great Indian who had nothing to do with 'unrest' or 'Revolution'. Tilak and Gokhale were both equally genuine and selfless patriots, second to none in their love for the motherland or concern for the people's welfare. Gokhale was born ten years later than Tilak and predeceased him by five years. Both were Maharashtrians and came from the same Chitpavan stock of orthodox Brahmins. Both were born in humble circumstances and ended their lives in comparative poverty. Both were good students of Mathematics and Sanskrit and took up the teaching profession as a mission, working in the same New English School and the Fergusson College at Poona in the first years of their public life.

There, however, the comparison ends. For, very soon, the difference in character and temperament led to an inevitable parting of ways. Tilak had to leave the Deccan Education Society, along with his friend Agarkar, owing to differences on matters of principle, while Gokhale stayed on for some more years. While Tilak took a new line of public service by starting the 'Kesari' and 'Maharatta'. Gokhale extended his activities to the Sarva-janik Sabha and later founded the Servants of

India Society. Curiously enough, it was the younger leader that stood firmly for go-slow methods and came to be closely identified with the Moderates. The older man was the prime mover and chief source of inspiration for the rising forces of resurgent nationalism, dubbed by their opponents as the 'Extremists'. It is quite well-known that both the groups came to an open clash at the Surat Congress in 1907 and the gulf was never to be bridged.

Though they had a similar upbringing at home and not very different training at school and college, Tilak and Gokhale were cast in altogether different moulds. Stormy and combative in his make-up, though he could often assume the calm before the storm, Tilak drew his life's inspiration from the gospel of the 'Bhagavad Gita' and the lives of heroes like Shivaji and Samarth Ramadas. With self-restraint as his distinguishing characteristic, Gokhale was influenced by the Liberal doctrines of Mill, Gladstone and Morley and modelled himself on the lives of Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha. Tilak was intensely religious in his outlook and his nationalism was based on the firm foundation of religious tradition. Known to have been an agnostic in his youth with his share of admiration for Maj. Bradlaugh, Gokhale considered religion as a matter of personal belief that should not be allowed to interfere with one's politics or public life. Sacrifice and

suffering were the mottoes of Tilak's life and service was the badge of Gokhale's tribe.

Education and social reform were dear to the heart of Gokhale as they were to his master Ranade and his friend, philosopher and guide, G. V. Joshi. He belonged to the old school of thought which believed that an enlightened populace and a progressive society were the first requisites for political autonomy. They were quite ready to seek the aid of Government in forcing the pace of social reform, as, for example, in passing the Age of Consent Bill. To the Lokamanya, Swaraj was the inalienable birthright that could not be denied to any nation. Good government was, to him, no substitute for self-government. The removal of social anomalies was a question of the society's internal regulation in which the foreign rulers had no moral right to meddle with. A revival of Hindu orthodoxy, without its evils, was an effective counterblast to stem the tide of modernism and Western materialism and defeat the forces of atheism and agnosticism.

In the British connection with India, Gokhale, and those who thought with him, saw the unmistakable hand of a benign Providence. He could never imagine a self governing India outside the British Empire whose blessings it would be foolhardy to deny oneself. Tilak never laid much store by this mystic tie and the foreign rulers were not different from 'Asuras'. Though he did not mind a free nation continuing as a Dominion, the real substance of swaraj was what he wanted and strove for. Home Rule was to him, as to the Irish, not the shadow of constitutional reforms, but a transfer of power, not merely office, to Indian hands, with full control over the purse and all branches of the Government—legislative, executive and judiciary.

If, in their aims, they were not identical, in

their methods, they were poles apart. The Prince of Moderates swore by constitutional methods and peace and order were of supreme importance and without them all was nought. Believing in the gradualness of inevitability and the inevitability of gradualness, he had a horror of non-co-operation and passive resistance, not to speak of armed violence. Peace without freedom was, to Tilak, no different from the peace of the graveyard and the law of a foreigner, imposed against the people's will, was only a "Lawless Law". Though the means were important enough, Tilak put them next to the ends in view. Diplomacy should be met with diplomacy, he said, as there was no place for absolute Truth in politics. Reforms could be accepted when they were offered, but only as a stepping stone in marching to the ultimate goal of Swaraj. Council entry was not objectionable but only as a stage in the fight for entry into a free state. Tilak never advocated violence or armed rebellion as such, but he could not help it if the intrepid youth of Bengal and Maharashtra were inspired by his speeches and writings to tread the path of revolution.

Gokhale's appeal was mainly to the intelligentsia whereas Tilak's was to the masses. One was the best example of the Western influence on the Indian mind while the other, also a cultivated mind, was a true son of the soil with his moorings in the hearts of its people. As Dr. Pattabhi aptly put it in his *Congress History*, one was on level with the times and the other was ahead of them. Tilak had lighted the torch of freedom and shown the way in the struggle that followed, culminating in the achievement of independence. Gokhale, with his unshakable faith in peaceful progress and good government, may be said to have laid the foundations for political stability and national consolidation.



The Evils of Communism

By

BERTRAND RUSSELL

In relation to any political doctrine there are two questions to be asked: (1) are its theoretical tenets true? (2) is its practical policy likely to increase human happiness?

For my part I think the theoretical tenets of Communism are false, and I think its practical maxims are such as to produce an immeasurable increase of human misery.

The theoretical doctrines of Communism are for the most part derived from Marx. My objections to Marx are of two sorts: one, that he was muddle-headed; and the other, that his thinking was almost entirely inspired by hatred.

The doctrine of surplus value, which is supposed to demonstrate the exploitation of wage-earners under capitalism, is arrived at: (a) by surreptitiously accepting Malthus's doctrine of population, which Marx and all his disciples explicitly repudiate; (b) by applying Ricardo's theory of value to wages, but not to the prices of manufactured articles.

He is entirely satisfied with the result, not because it is in accordance with the facts, or logically coherent, but because it is calculated to rouse fury in wage-earners.

Marx's doctrine that all historical events have been motivated by class conflicts is a rash and untrue extension to world history of certain features prominent in England and France 100 years ago. His belief that there is a cosmic force called dialectical materialism which governs human history independently of human volitions, is mere mythology. His theoretical errors, however, would not have mattered so much but for the fact that, like Tertullian and Carlyle, his chief desire was to see his enemies punished, and he cared little what happened to his friends in the process.

Marx's doctrine was bad enough, but the developments which it underwent under Lenin and Stalin made it much worse. Marx had taught that there would be a revolutionary transitional period following the victory of the proletariat in a civil war and that during this period the proletariat, in accordance with the usual practice after a civil war, would deprive its vanquished enemies of political power. This period was to be that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It should not be forgotten that in Marx's prophetic vision the victory of the proletariat was to come after it had grown to be the vast majority of the population. The dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, as conceived by Marx, was not essentially anti-democratic.

In the Russia of 1917, however, the proletariat was a small percentage of the population, the great majority being peasants. It was decreed that the Bolshevik party was the class-conscious part of the proletariat, and that a small committee of its leaders was the class-conscious part of the Bolshevik party.

The dictatorship of the proletariat thus came to be the dictatorship of a small committee, and ultimately of one man—Stalin. As the sole class-conscious proletarian, Stalin condemned millions of peasants to death by starvation and millions of others to forced labour in concentration camps.

He even went so far as to decree that the laws of heredity are henceforth to be different from what they used to be, and that the germ-plasm is to obey Soviet decrees but not that reactionary priest Mendel.

I am completely at a loss to understand how it comes about that some people who are both humane and intelligent can find something to

admire in the vast slave camp produced by Stalin.

I have always disagreed with Marx. My first hostile criticism of him was published in 1896. But my objections to modern Communism go deeper than my objections to Marx. It is the abandonment of democracy that I find particularly disastrous. A minority resting its power upon the activities of a secret police is bound to be cruel, oppressive and obscurantist.

There are those who, oppressed by the evils of Communism, are led to the conclusion that the only effective way to combat these evils is by means of a world war. I think this is a mistake.

At one time such a policy might have been possible, but now war has become so terrible and Communism has become so powerful that no one can tell what would be left after a world war, and whatever might be left would probably be at least as bad as present-day Communism.

This forecast does not depend upon which side, if either, is nominally victorious. It depends only upon the inevitable effects of mass destruction by means of hydrogen and cobalt bombs and perhaps of ingeniously propagated plagues.

The way to combat Communism is not war. What is needed, in addition to such armaments as will deter Communists from attacking the West, is a diminution of the grounds for discontent in the less prosperous parts of the non-Communist world.

In most of the countries of Asia there is abject poverty which the West ought to alleviate as far as it lies in its power to do so. There is also a great bitterness which was caused by the centuries of European insolent domination in Asia. This ought to be dealt with by a combination of patient tact with dramatic announcements renouncing such relics of the white domination as survive in Asia.

Communism is a doctrine bred of poverty, hatred and strife. Its spread can only be arrested by diminishing the area of poverty and hatred.

The dangers of irresponsible power came to be generally recognised during the 18th and 19th centuries, but those who have been dazzled by the outward success of the Soviet Union have forgotten all that was painfully learnt during the days of absolute monarchy, and have gone back to what was worst in the Middle Ages under the curious delusion that they were in the vanguard of progress.

There are some signs that in course of time the Russian regime may become more liberal. But, although this is possible, it is very far from certain. In the meantime, all those who value not only art and science but a sufficiency of daily bread and freedom from the fear that a careless word by their children to a school teacher may condemn them to forced labour in a Siberian wilderness, must do what lies in their power to preserve in their own countries a less servile and more prosperous manner of life.

The American Presidency

By

Mr. SIDNEY HYMAN

While the members were signing the new charter of government—so James Madison relates in his journal of the Constitutional Convention—Benjamin Franklin looked toward the chair where Washington presided. First he noted a painted sun on the wall to its the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."



President Eisenhower
who seeks re-election

rear. Then, after remarking to near-by members that artists found it hard to distinguish a rising from a setting sun, Franklin added:

"I have often and often in the course of

Few chance remarks by any man have been so massively confirmed by history. The American Presidency now rides high, not alone in the sky above its native soil. It is a central

overhead fact of life for people around the globe. For all these, the mid-twentieth-century President goes far toward determining whether America and the world beyond its territorial stretch will know killing frost, or a good harvest of springtime hopes.

This place the Presidency holds in the life of its domestic and foreign constituencies was twice seen recently in poignant focus. The first was when General Eisenhower was laid low for a while by his heart attack; the second, when he was brought under a surgeon's knife. Both times—as in the earlier cases of President Wilson's paralysis and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death—the sudden clouding of what had shone so brightly a moment before led to a universal gasp of concern.

As with Wilson and Roosevelt, it was due in part to the affection for General Eisenhower as a person. In part, too, it was the reflex response of ordinary humanity, rediscovering the old truth that even High and Mighty Chieftains are mortal. Yet, in equal part, a fear of the unknown underlay that universal gasp, a fear that, if there should be a new President, the tremendous sphere of the Presidency might be spun by the successor in eccentric ways, to the peril of many things caught in the gravitational suction.

Much of this reaction, it should be said, has come to be expressed in foreign parts during periods of our general elections as well. Here Thomas Jefferson ranks equal with Benjamin Franklin as a true prophet, erring only on the side of understatement.

"The election of a President of America some years hence," Jefferson wrote from Paris in December, 1787, before the Constitution was rectified, "will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe than ever the election of a King of Poland was."

For the updating, add to this Asia, the Middle East, Africa, South America and the

Pacific. And the further fact, by way of proof that in the autumn of 1952, one after another nation was forced to postpone its own domestic decisions until Americans made up their minds who would succeed President Truman, and until the successor himself made known what policies he meant to pursue.

Why should any of this be so? More specifically, what accounts for the place the President holds at the summit of domestic and world affairs?

As a prelude to the probable answers, three points should be set down straight off to clear away misconceptions about what moved along parallel lines. The simple fact is that all Presidents have obeyed the fundamental concepts of limited government.

There have been but a handful of acts, most notably in the exceptional circumstances of Lincoln's Presidency, for which some sort of constitutional support could not be found. And even Lincoln either tried to bring an act by fiat under the legal protection of his power as Commander-in-chief, or had the Congress give retroactive approval to what he had done. The extraordinary constitutional discipline of our Presidents can be measured statistically. Of the many millions of acts they have performed in the aggregate, less than a handful have ever been struck down by the Supreme Court as being unconstitutional.

Turning now more directly to the questions that were put earlier, the pre-eminence of the American President on the world horizon can be traced to America's own twentieth-century bigness. Had we stayed a small nation, lost in a rural wilderness, the President would either have been spared the need or denied the means to be a generative force on the world scene. That he now seems to be a prime power of foreign events—or a prime defaulter in the face of those events—is intimately tied to our changeover from a barnyard economy

to a teeming industrial plant and scientific laboratory.

On these grounds, we were able to organize a concert of powers that might stay the march of Soviet expansion. No other country except the United States was in a position to bear an extra share of the necessary industrial equipment incident to the common defensive mission, or to provide the vital ingredient of nuclear arms. And what the United States alone could do, the President was deputized to do for it.

Yet this merely glances but does not lay open the heart of the reasons for the Presidency's preeminence in our domestic life. The more pertinent reasons, I feel, involve a mixture of law and mood.

The larger a republic—or empire—grow, the more its people seem to need a common reference point or social effort. Something, somewhere, must serve as a source of unity and diversity, of continuity in change, of order in progress. In the abstract, the Constitution was designed as an American answer to this universal need. Yet the Constitution takes on meaning only through men—not the living alone, but those who move through its parts to leave bits of themselves as exhibits of what this and that word meant. Something must total all these bits, must be the outer sign of American race experience, must serve as a kind of cultural apotheosis in which they can see an image of its best aim.

Among our constitutional bodies, only the President can do this. He can do it because the constitutional principles of *unity, duration, separation*, on which his office was built, are peculiarly suited to the psychological process involved in what has just been set forth.

Because the President is one man, located to one side of the Legislature, and is visible to all, he is also the man to whom all look for an assertion of the paramount national interests against every local rivalry, however honorable, and every claim for priority, however reasonable. What this makes of him, among many other things, is a judge of "case of controversies"—to use Supreme Court language—a judge of clashing rights between Cabinet officers, bureau chiefs, legislators, rigors, Governors, Mayors, party stalwarts and above all, that vast congeries of nationwide private organizations whose number and power suggest a nation organized as if by constitutional design along mixed syndicalist-Federalist lines.

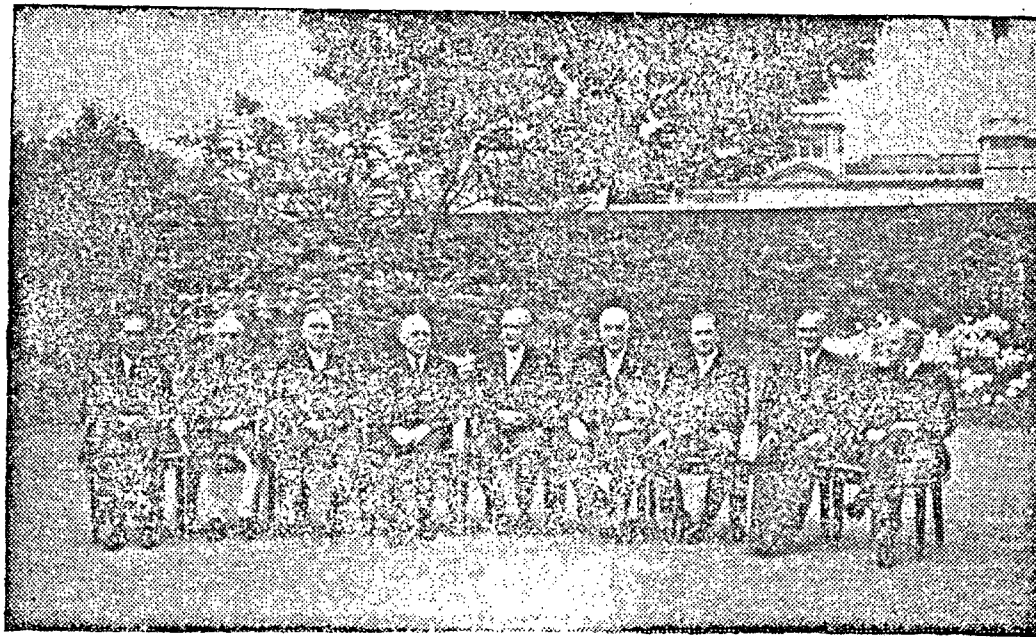
Each of these in their reciprocal shock sets the Government itself ajar or brings it to a standstill. And there is no other place except the Presidency to which the people in their collective character can look to study the national balance. Nor is there any person except the President with the resources to measure out a rule of equity that sets the tone of American policy. It is that "nobody gets everything, nobody gets nothing, everybody gets something."

In addition to the way the constitutional principles of unity, duration and separation work to get an individual President at the summit of national life, there is an intangible source of support that he draws from all Presidents who have ever held his place before him. Call it, if you will, the mystique of the Presidency—the sense that the living alone is not all that is real; that the past does not come into being and then pass away forever; but that past, present and future dwell side by side in any single moment of the Presidential experience.

The Commonwealth Conference

Prime Ministers of nine Commonwealth Countries met at London and had a Conference from 27th June to July 6. After 10 days' deliberation they issued a communique which "welcomed" Russia's decision to cut her armed forces, her willingness to increase contacts with other countries and her expressed desire for improved relations.

"A progressive improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the other great Powers would help to remove the fear of war and serve the interests of world peace," the statement says. In the words of Mr. Aneurin Bevan "one of the principal virtues of the Commonwealth consists in the fact that as a result of a confluence of historic influences, it is not geographical, it is not religious and it is not racial. If it is not a oneness, it is favourable to it. If a myth it be, then it is one of the good myths and, therefore, should claim our support." The countries represented at the conference were: India, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan, Ceylon and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.



COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS IN LONDON

This picture, taken in the garden of 10, Downing Street, shows: (Left to Right) Mr. Bandaranaike (Ceylon), Mr. Nehru (India), Mr. Holland (New Zealand), Mr. St. Laurent (Canada), Sir Anthony Eden (United Kingdom), Mr. Menzies (Australia), Mr. Strijdom (South Africa), Mr. Mohamad Ali (Pakistan) and Viscount Malvern (Central African Federation).

The following is the text of the communique:

"During the past ten days, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have together reviewed the current state of international affairs. Their discussions have again revealed a sense of

common purpose in their approach to the major problems of the day. The peoples of the Commonwealth all share the common heritage of parliamentary democracy.

"They respect aspirations for freedom and self-government and they take pride in what

they themselves have done in helping to fulfil those aspirations.

"This meeting has been held at a significant stage in the development of international relations. A new element has been introduced by the growing recognition of the devastating power of thermonuclear weapons.

Other developments of importance have taken place in the world including changes in the Soviet Union. The common understanding which the Prime Ministers have reached in their review will form a valuable background which will assist each Government in the formulation and pursuit of its national policies.

"Despite the high hopes with which the world emerged from the last war, new international tensions developed. These have given rise to increasing fears and suspicion. They have resulted in vast expenditure on armaments and economic distortions which have delayed the full development of the world's natural resources for the common good.

"The Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth are united in their desire for peace. They seek friendly relations with all the peoples of the world and have no aggressive intent or design. War would bring disaster for many and world war could mean destruction for all. The policies of all Commonwealth countries will, at all times, be devoted to preserving and consolidating world peace.

"The Prime Ministers emphasised the importance they attach to the search for a comprehensive disarmament agreement. The Commonwealth Governments will strive for a progressive improvement in the standards of life of their own peoples and will assist in similar efforts in other parts of the world.

"Since the end of the war in addition to furthering their own economic development they have done much to assist the development of other countries through the United Nations and such organisations as the Colombo Plan, the Commission for Technical Co-oper-

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ation in Africa, south of the Sahara, and by other means.

"They will continue in their efforts to secure prosperity as well as peace for all the peoples of the world.

"In the course of the meeting, the Prime Minister reviewed the significant developments in the Soviet Union in the context of international relations and world affairs. In this assessment they were helped by the reports made by those Ministers who have recently visited the Soviet Union or have held, elsewhere, personal discussions with the new Soviet leaders.

"The Prime Ministers considered the recent decisions of the Soviet Government to reduce the numbers of their armed forces, their willingness to facilitate increased contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries and their expressed desire for improved relations with other Governments.

"They welcomed these developments. A progressive improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the other great Powers would help to remove the fear of war and serve the interests of world peace.

"They believe, however, that the removal of the causes of tension and the creation of mutual confidence and goodwill are essential if peace is to rest on foundations. Governments of the Commonwealth countries will persevere in the search for just and lasting settlements of outstanding international problems.

"Unless such settlements can be reached the resources which might otherwise be used to improve the lot of man will continue to be devoted to armaments: and the fears which impel the peoples of the world to accept the burdens of defence will continue to disrupt and weaken mankind.

"The Prime Ministers noted with regret that since their last meeting no progress had been made towards German unity. They were

informed of current proposals regarding the political and economic activities of the North Atlantic Alliance and the development of closer economic co-operation in Europe."

"The Prime Ministers considered the situation in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their interest in the peace and stability of this area. They welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure observance of the terms of the armistice agreements between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States."

"They agreed that all practicable steps should be urgently taken to consolidate the progress thus made and to seek a lasting settlement of the dispute."

"The Prime Ministers were informed of the situation in Cyprus and welcomed the unceasing efforts of the United Kingdom Government to find a solution acceptable to all concerned."

"The Prime Ministers reviewed the situation in the Far East and South-East Asia. They noted the part which was being played by certain Commonwealth Governments in seeking to maintain peace in Indo-China. They looked forward to a continuing relaxation of tension in the Formosa area and expressed the hope that unremitting efforts would be made to this end. Peaceful settlements of the problems in this area are imperative for stability in the Far East and for removing the dangers of conflict which would frustrate the hopes of peace."

"The Prime Ministers heard with interest a report from Prime Minister of New Zealand on his recent visit to Japan."

"They were informed of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and of the negotiations on constitutional development in Singapore."

"The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that Ceylon and certain other countries have recently been admitted to the United

Nations. They recognised the important part which members of the Commonwealth had played in securing this extension of the organisation. They expressed the hope that its membership could be broadened still further so that it might command a wider allegiance throughout the world.

"The Prime Ministers agreed that it was of first importance for their countries to maintain and increase their economic strength. Each country through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources and earning power could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area and move steadily towards the agreed objective of the widest practicable system of trade and payments."

"The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the United Kingdom's determination to maintain and improve its capacity to serve as a source of capital development in Commonwealth countries."

"They received reports on the development programmes of certain members of the Commonwealth."

"The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. They agreed that the civil use of nuclear energy constituted a valuable new sphere of co-operation within the Commonwealth, as well as with other countries, and they noted with satisfaction the progress already made in this field. The Commonwealth countries are already a major source of world supplies of uranium and thorium and resources in these materials are increasing."

"In most of these countries research organisations have been established to develop the use of nuclear energy as a source of power."

"During the course of the meeting the Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that in accordance with their declared policy the Ceylon Government proposed to introduce, in due course, a republican constitution for Ceylon. He also

stated that it was their intention that Ceylon should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth."

The other Prime Ministers took note of this statement and expressed their agreement to Ceylon remaining a member of the Commonwealth.

"The Prime Ministers considered the particular position of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in relation to meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Taking into account the 20 years attendance first by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and now by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, they agreed that they would welcome the continued participation of the Prime Minister of the Federation

of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers."

"Apart from the consideration of matters which are of common concern to all Commonwealth countries these meetings also afford opportunities for discussion outside the formal sessions. Advantage has been taken of these opportunities on this occasion."

"The continuing exchange of views on matters of common concern is an important element in the relationship between the member countries of the Commonwealth. It is of the utmost value that this should be supplemented, at intervals, by personal contacts between the political leaders of the Commonwealth countries and in a rapidly changing world the need for these direct consultations has assumed a new importance."

We, The People of Egypt

By

MR. ITZHAK IVRY

The much heralded constitution of the new rulers of Egypt is at last with us. It was announced publicly on January 16th before a large crowd in a huge green tent, on the Square of the Republic in Cairo facing the Abdin Palace. But the Square of the Republic has as much to do with a republic as the preamble to the constitution beginning "We, the people of Egypt," has to do with the will, the decision, or the freedom of the people of Egypt.

Yet the opening taken from the American constitution, as well as the hodge-podge text promising a "socialist democratic system of government," taken from many constitutions and systems, signifies a certain direction which may best be characterized as National

Socialist one, a regime of one party, a one ruler totalitarian dictatorship.

The earlier Egyptian constitution of the Farouk era (1923) was modelled upon the Belgian constitution—the constitution of parliamentary monarchy. Yet to compare Egypt's parliament at its best with the Belgian one would hardly be fair to the parliamentary system. The new Egyptian constitution has copied some of the powers of its president (chosen every six years) from the American president is, thus, the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and he nominates the members of his cabinet. But he can dissolve the "Council of the Nation" (a one-house parliament chosen every five years).

Gamal Nasser is clever and prefers to be

called "president," like many a dictator of a Latin American republic. Although the president is elected, the constitution does not mention political parties (as in the past); and no date is fixed in the constitution for the election of the Council. The Electoral Law, Nasser has promised, is to be published later; and the elections are sure to be a one-state affair: the party of the Revolutionary Movement's present rulers or the military officers' junta. In other words, the election will give Nasser, now at the height of his popularity after the Czech arms-deal and the Aswan Dam loan by the West, a "constitutional" prolongation of his dictatorial one-man rule for another six years. The date of the election is June 29th, when Nasser is assured in advance of getting all the votes as president as well as an approval in toto of the constitution. (Col. Nasser was since elected as President.)

The "free Socialistic Republic" of Egypt is solemnly declared in the constitution to be "an integral part" of the Arab nation: Egypt is a sovereign independent Arab state. It is a democratic republic. The Egyptian people are an integral part of the Arab Nation." This declaration, the first of the 196 of Nasser's constitution, is important, for it is the first time that Pan-Arab dreams of Arab unity and conquest have been embodied in an official and basic state document. Anyone who has read Nasser's heated argument for Pan-Arab and glory in his "memoirs" of the Egyptian struggle for freedom and the Palestinian defeat, knows how strongly the former member of the Fascist "Young Egypt" group and pro-Nazi "Green Shirts" feels about the union of all Arab countries, with Egypt as the head of the Arab empire. Thus, in his speech of January 16th on the Egyptian constitution, Nasser said: "Our forces are stationed at the frontier to protect the country from Zionist aggression. Standing astride this interoceanic, intercontinental crossroads, we are conscious of our responsibility in world

affairs. Everything that affects any part of the Arab world, affects Egypt, too. The Arabs must strive for unity. Because of their disunity they have lost Palestine." Egypt's concern and meddling in north Africa is thus not a passing phase of Egyptian politics but a basic tenet in the muddled beliefs of the ruling military junta—the belief in Pan-Arabism as a goal to be realized by so-called "Egyptian neutrality," or by playing off the West against the East.

The Fathers of the Egyptian constitution are not above using religion, too, in order to further their nationalist Pan-Arab goals of an Egyptian empire: forgetting the Coptic minority and all the theories of ancient Egyptian descent, the new constitution fixes Islam as the religion of the state. Although the junta broke the back of the fanatical "Moslem Brotherhood" by the end of 1954, when mass arrests followed a so-called "assassination-attempt" on Nasser's life; abolished the religious courts and even tried to restrict the powers of the El Azhar University, the "Vatican of Moslem theology," they apparently have decided to utilize Islam abroad in furthering Egyptian imperial aims. The same man who, on January 16th, read aloud after Nasser's speech the full text of the Egyptian constitution—the Minister for Islamic Affairs, Anwar el Sadat—was very active as Gamal Nasser's envoy extraordinary in the capitals of Arab and Moslem states, trying to organize a Moslem Congress and so plant the seeds of Egyptian intrigue as well as steal the thunder of other Pan-Islam politicians and schemers in Baghdad, Karachi and London. For a disservice to Iraq, the original center of this idea, is a service to Egypt. And the largely anti-religious junta would gladly follow in the footsteps of Nasser. He would only be too glad to use Islam for what it is worth and sign a concordat with the head of El Azhar University, the Mufti of Egypt, as Mussolini did with the Vatican when the Duce's power in Italy was assured.

Other promises in the constitution are "equal rights for women, and liberty for the individual, including freedom of expression, religious worship and freedom of the press." The promise to give Egypt's "female citizens" the right to vote is not as revolutionary as it seems, for the real voting right of the "female citizens" will be as fictitious as that of the "male citizens" of the lower class. The constitution's article on women's right contains a pledge to "secure for the female citizens the means for reconciling their family duties with their public responsibilities." This nebulous formulation reminds us of Nazi opinions about the chief duties of women as child-bearer and housekeeper. If you add to this the traditional Moslem approach towards women (Nasser himself has never been known to take his wife to a public function), the picture becomes clearer. Even the new constitution does not admit the right of women to hold public office or participate in the new "parliament." Small wonder that Doria Shafik, the leader of a small group of middle-class suffragettes in Egypt, declared herself disappointed with these "constitutional half-measures." She declined to praise Nasser as the "liberator" of Egyptian women and her criticism of the new constitution was not permitted to be published in the censored Egyptian press (another example of how seriously the constitutional promise of freedom of the press will be taken in the Egyptian "republic".)

The new constitution was promised to the people three years ago. The committee that was to prepare it was headed by the first post-revolutionary Prime Minister of Egypt, Ali Maher, and was supposed to represent "all the parties." There was a violent discussion in the committee about the relationship of state and religion and the rights of women. In March, 1954, the Council of the Revolution (the military junta) declared that parliamentary life would be renewed in July of the same

year. Censorship was temporarily abolished. It is rumored that General Naguib who was then still chief of the junta caused this statement to be published and that it cost him his position. Young, scheming Gamal Nasser, enemy of democratic institutions and any other form of civil government except that of the corporate or Fascist state, took over; censorship was renewed and the committee working on the constitution silenced. It is probable that the junta undertook the formulation of the constitution with the help of some university professors of constitutional law, and thus the new constitution was born, full of nice words but limitations destined to strengthen the junta's rule and Gamal Nasser's dictatorial powers as "first president" of the "republic."

The constitution's promise of freedom and democracy is as real as the highly advertised and long-promised land reform. By the middle of 1955, no more than 105,000 acres of land—mostly confiscated from ex-King Farouk—were distributed to landless fellahin. The government also bought another 95,000 acres from the large private estates for distribution. This insignificant change in the position of the landless fellahin (whose numbers exceed four millions) is supposed to show great benefit for agricultural Egypt from the successful revolution of the military officers. Since these figures were published, no more has been heard about further division of land among the landless fellahin. Everything is now postponed for another five years, at least, when the great plans for the Aswan Dam are supposed to begin bearing fruit by putting at the government's disposal another two million acres of irrigable land.

Many western observers are misled by Nasser's eagerness to proceed next spring with the realization of the Aswan Dam, and they see in it proof of his vision and reforming spirit. Most fellahins do not make more than thirty cents a day, and the birth rate is about

370,000 annually. As in India, the real problem is the over-rapid growth of the population—a problem that even industrialization and cheap power, water power or atomic power, will not solve in the long run.

An argument advanced by Western diplomats who believe that the Aswan Dam loan by the International Bank—with the blessings of the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom—will tie Egypt to the West, is that this gigantic project may prevent Egypt's concentration on its plans for war against Israel. This argument might hold water if it were not for two decisive factors that these diplomats gloss over: the real character of the Egyptian regime which is progressing, or rather regressing, from a military dictatorship to a Fascist totalitarian state; and, secondly, the character of the Czech-Egyptian arms deal not only in its military aspect but also in the economic and political one. Armaments of this size and quantity: involving a debt of at least \$100 million to be paid in Egyptian cotton, cannot be wasted or put in cold storage too long. A Fascist state or a military dictatorship that has no sound economic solution for the plight of its people has no other way of satisfying the ambition of its rules except by resorting to war. The long suppressed fellahin, as well as the former political parties—especially the fanatical and terrorist Moslem Brotherhood—can best be kept under control by speeches about an "emergency", assertions of danger from the Zionists, and actual resort to a "holy war" or "Jihad".

Under such conditions, a gradual adoption of Nazi tactics and policies towards the Jewish minority of Egypt is almost a certainty. Already news has reached the capitals of the West about a "Jewish department that confiscates Jewish property under the pretext of the non-payment of taxes." The official, radio, South el Arab ("Arab Voice"), is saying less and less about the famous distinction between "the bad Zionists" and "the good Jews." In broadcasts to other Arab countries, especially to Iraq, Tunis and Morocco, Arabs and Moslems are called upon to punish "Jews and agabonds." Even the crucifixion of Jesus is invoked as proof of the inherent "barbarism of Jewish religion and of Jewish plans for world domination." Indeed, the Nazi Jew-hating texts of the late 1930's before Hitler ve the sign for the annihilation of European

Jewry during World War II, and the pattern of the ruling Egyptian junta's propaganda are almost identical.

That the "National Socialism" of Egypt is not the antidote to the danger of Communism and the communization of Egypt need hardly be explained here. It may well be that Egypt's military junta think they can out-smart the Russians at their own game. But the key men in the military junta, including Gamal Nasser himself, are much more mindful of the danger to them of Western democratic ideas, dubbed "Western Imperialism," and are more permeated with a hatred of the British than they are afraid of the evils of Communism. (JEWISH FRONTIER)

SUEZ CANAL

President Nasser on July 26 announced the Egyptian Government's decision to nationalise the Suez Canal Company.

Nasser announced that Egypt would build the Aswan high dam with the 35 million pounds per year revenue of the Canal Company.

He said the Government had approved a law nationalising the company "in the name of the nation."

The company would be transferred to the State with all its assets and commitments.

The Suez Canal which was opened in 1869, took the Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps 15 years to build.

Disraeli brought Britain into the picture with smart financial deal in 1875, when the Khedive of Egypt offered for sale his 177,000 shares. Disraeli borrowed four million pounds from the Rothschilds in the name of the British Cabinet—and waited for Parliament to sanction his audacious stroke.

The British Government holds 353,504 shares out of a total of 800,000.

The Canal is governed by a Board of 32 Directors—16 French, nine British, five Egyptian one American, and one Dutch.

The Suez Canal shortens the journey to the Far East by 4,000 miles. More than half a million people pass through it every year, and a third of the ships are British.

In this connection we refer our readers to the article on Suez Canal published in the July 1955 issue of this journal. [Editor, "I.R."]

Buddhist Art & Architecture Before 250 A.D.

By

DR. KALIDAS NAG

Gautama Buddha (563-483 B.C.) the founder of Buddhism like Mahavira (599-527 B.C.) the last preceptor of Jainism flourished in the 6th century B.C. or almost at the end of the later Vedic age which synchronized with the Avestan age of Iran inaugurated by the Sage Arathustra. Both the Indian and the Iranian branches of the Aryan religion was then dominated by the exclusive priestly classes performing Soma or Haoma sacrifices supposed to be magic potencies, involving slaughter of animals.

MAHAVIRA AND BUDDHA

A vigorous intellectual revolt against such cults was directed by Mahavira and Buddha who brought to a climax the moral and humanitarian speculations of the Upanishadic age (700-500 B.C.). They solemnly called the people away from magical rites to the ethical religion of Truth, Nonviolence and Renunciation. Completing the great mission of a long life of 80 years when Buddha attained nirvana, his mortal remains were cherished by his devoted disciples in earth-mounds or chaityas. A few of these tumuli were discovered by Emperor Asoka (272-232 B.C.) who appeared about 250 years after the Master.

EARLY STUPAS

So, the earliest Indian architectural remains, so-called, were the earthen stupas or topes encircled sometimes by wooden railings which were faithfully copied by the stone-carvers of the Maurya period (322-185 B.C.). Asoka was our Archeologist-emperor who identified and commemorated by a pillar the actual birth-place of the Buddha in Lumbini, Nepal, and possibly the relic-casket Sarira Nidhana of the Buddha found in Piprawa (Nepal) also belongs to the age of Asoka, who decorated the

Buddha Gaya site and laid the foundation of the Sanchi stupa so famous in later ages. But why did the growing number of devotees leave no trace of any figure of the Master in sculpture or in painting? It may be due to the strong aniconic tradition of the Vedas permitting no anthropomorphic figure of the Lord. Yet, we read in a later text Divyadana that King Prasenjit of Kosala ordered his court artist to hand down to posterity, a worthy figure of the Master ("Tathagata pratima pale chitrayath") But the ineffable grace of the Lord baffled the ingenuity of the artists who abandoned their futile works.

WOOD AND METAL CARVINGS

We know thereby that pratima of figures either carved in wood or modelled in clay in gold or silver—from early days of Indian art—was not unknown in early Buddhism and also in the first Brahmanical epic the Ramayana which opens with stanzas charged as it were with Buddhist compassion. So among the Buddhist Jatakas or Birth-stories we find one entitled "Dasaratha Jataka" and another "Baveru Jataka". The latter showed how the Indian merchants were doing business with far-off Baveru or Babylon then ruled by the Assyrian and the Achemenead emperors.

INFLUENCE OUTSIDE INDIA

Whether Buddhist thought and culture went beyond Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean world, we are not sure yet. But some Western philosophers like Prof. George Conger has accepted the possibility of exchange of ideas (not only of commodities) between India of Buddha and Greece of Pythagoras. Early foreign visitors to India were called Yavanas (or Ionians) by our oldest grammarian Panini (500 B.C.). So, Alexander respected Indian philosophers, called by him "Gymnosophists".

The Indus valley seals and statues show the articulation of the somatic traits of the ancient (proto-historic) male and female deities with their associated animals like the Bull, the lion, etc., later on incorporated into Buddhist art. So the early terra cotta figurines of the mother-goddess reappear in the metal plaque of Lauria Nandagarh in Nepal where Asoka erected a huge monolithic pillar with the lion capital. Asoka and his successors of the Sunga-Kanva Andhra epoch (185-72 B.C.) were also pioneers in carving the grand rock-cut temples dedicated to the Jain, the Buddhist and other sects. As Pataliputra continued to be the capital amidst the change of dynasties we find the remarkable series of sculptured caves from Barabar and Rajagriha in Behar to Udayagiri and Khandgiri in Orissa both the provinces being equally hallowed by the footprints of the pioneers of Jainism and Buddhism. From Eastern India, these cave temples gradually covered the whole Vindhyan belt of Central India and Western India too—right up to Saurashtra where the Maurayas left many monumental remains.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES

Knowing, as we do, that Asoka completed his Buddhist pilgrimage and his art creations a century after Alexander's invasion of Iran (330 B.C.) and of India (327 B.C.), scholars naturally try to discover foreign influences on early Indian Art. Pandits of comparative art have theorized about borrowings from Sumerian, Assyrian, Iranian and Greco-Roman arts. The idea of pillar with animal symbols of bull, Lion, Horse, etc.,—is reported to be of Mesopotamian origin. Thus the Asokan and post-Asokan art and architecture have been labelled partly Achemerian, Hellenistic or Roman.

But we should not forget that the art was dominantly Indian, summarizing and synthesizing the richly variegated textures, tones, and forms of the multilingual and multiracial

subcontinent. Bihar and Orissa, Andhra, Karnataka, Saurashtra Gandhara and even trans-Himalayan forms, styles and idioms were used with a masterly hand by the native artists. They were seasoned artists and craftsmen in wood, ivory, metal and such media.

So they could easily transfer the art motifs to stone under Asoka's patronage, preserving them thereby for posterity. Anga-Vanga-Kalinga of the Mahabharata period re-appear, as it were, in these early Indian arts. The Mauryan architectural carvings of the facade of the Lomar Rishi cave (Bihar) imitate in stone reliefs the profile of a thatched cottage. So Indian prototypes could be found for most of the motifs in art and architecture later, carved in durable stones betraying earlier wooden forms. Our ancient terracotta objects are daily yielding new clues although most of such pottery specimens crumbled for ever like the metal objects in gold and silver through melting. But in spite of the ravages of centuries we still luckily possess designs and elevations of buildings on stone or terracotta objects which throw new lights on the evolution of the native genius in arts and crafts.

PRE-BUDDHIST GODS

Pre-Buddhist gods like Brahma, Surya, Indra and Kubera and female deities like Sirima (Lakshmi) and Yakshi figures appear in the early sculptures of Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Bharhut, Bhaja and Sanchi. The Buddhist monuments of these sacred sites reproduce in plastic form the various literary and oral versions of the myths and legends—Buddhist as well as pre-Buddhist. In the 3rd century B.C. Asoka quoted only a few scriptural texts in his inscriptions; but his artists and their descendants, mostly illiterate, conserved with rare devotion, the variegated repertory of arts in royal Palaces, in pleasure gardens of the rich, in the cottages of the poor and in the sanctuaries of the woodland hermits, Jain, Buddhist or Brahmin.

Indian art was rarely creedal and largely cosmopolitan a character emphasized by the universal message of Buddhism. It started naturally with the individual quest of a great soul Siddhartha who discovered suffering to be the greatest common measure of mankind. So he staked his life for discovering the means of escape from this general conflagration into the Nirvana of supreme peace.

THERA THERI GATHAS

The Pali poems of the male and female disciples (Sthavira-Sthavira) recorded their fragmentary autobiographies in the elevating Thera Theri Gathas. Such poignant tales of individual salvation of the Theravad (Hinayana) Buddhism soon developed into the Sarva satta cult of universal salvation (in Mahayana or great Vehicle) irrespective of sex and caste, colour and clime. Thus Buddhism came to be the first world religion extending all over India and greater India to the Mediterranean and, across the Himalayas, to China, Japan and the Pacific World.

MATHURA SCHOOL

In Bodhgaya and Sarnath, Sanchi and Bharhut (200 – 100 B.C.) we find Sakyamuni in Heaven or on the Earth, represented by symbols only like the Tree, the Chakra, the Stupa and so forth: for the aniconic tradition was still strong. But in some other centres—especially in Mathura—the ancient Yaksha type was transformed into giant standing Buddhas like the Statue dedicated by Friar Bala. The earliest Indian type of seated Buddha—with appropriate mudras or ritualistic gestures—was of the Mathura school which influenced the major groups of Buddha figures from Sarnath to Amaravati, Anuradhapura (Ceylon) to the Dhyan Buddhas of Borobudur, in far off Java, Indonesia and Indo-China.

INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF BUDDHIST ART

The exotic 'Greco Buddhist' types of Gandhara prove not only the international character of the Buddhist art but also the fact that foreigners like the Indo-Greek (Bactrian), the Indo-Parthian and the Indo-Scythian (Saka-Kushan) rulers from Melinda (Menander) to Kanishka were so strongly attracted by Buddhism that they turned ardent champions of Buddhist art and culture and commerce expanded right up to Bharukachha (Bharoch on the Western coast where the Andhras (200

B.C. – 250 A.C.) built up a vast empire extending from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

ART MOTIFS FROM ROME

The rock-cut temples of Bhaja (2nd century, B.C.) Karle, Nasik, etc., are high water marks in the artistic creations of India, then in very close commercial and diplomatic relations with the Roman Empire (as attested by Ptolemy, Pliny and Ptolemy), and Rome then converted whole of Greece into a Roman province (150 B.C.). So new types of Roman coins, seals, etc., and other art motifs of the Roman Orient, began to appear in India. Roman art from Alexandria, Palmyra, Seleucia began to penetrate Iran, India and China (Hirth: China and the Roman Orient). As the French archeologist Foucher reconstructed the 'Greco-Buddhist' chapters of Indian art, so Mr. Rowland traced the extension of "Romano-Indian" art from North West India to Khotan and Central Asia, China and Japan. The East and the West thus collaborated during these centuries of Mahayana expansion from Afghanistan and Central Asia to Amaravati, Jagayyap, etc., and Nagarjunikonda (Kistna Valley). Indian Ivory figures have been founded in the ruins of Pompeii (70 A.D.).

Stucco painted images and ivory carvings from Buddhist Afghanistan, (Now in Musee Guimet, Paris) showing ruins of colossal Buddha figures and stupas of Begram, Hadda and other places—serve now to explain how India was then on the crossroad of West Asian and far Eastern art currents. Early Buddhist iconography, thus helps us to understand the early Christian iconography: and Mon. Foucher has demonstrated this new line of research in his brilliant paper "Hariti the Buddhist Madonna."

In the early Gandhara Buddhas we find Sakyamuni appearing as a Greek Apollo dressed in the Pallium or Toga of the Augustan era contemporary with the Andhra Empire where we get the beginning of Buddhist paintings in the early caves of Ajanta (2nd century B.C.). Through potteries, metal relic caskets and sculptures, the Indian designers and painters collaborated in developing along with plastic art a new school of painting. In this Andhra-Kushan epoch we find the beginning of Mahayana cave paintings in later Ajanta, Bagh, Sigiriya (Ceylon) Baiyan and Khotan

where non-Buddhistic deities appear as Mahayana Bodhisattvas with garland bearers (Roman) and plying figures (Singo-Iranian). The stone pictures of the Crottos of Yunkan and Lungmen flowered into the cave paintings of the Chinese grottos of the Thousand Buddhas or Tuen Huang. So Khotan and Serindia have been identified as radiating centres of the Japanese pictorial traditions of the Horiyui frescoes strongly resembling Ajanta in technique and inspiration. So from the South-Indian school of Amaravati arose the creative schools of sculpture and architecture in Champa (Vietnam) Cambodia, and Indonesia right up to the Island of "Celebas."

The biggest Buddhist temples were built in central Java, influencing the art of Indo-China. So the classical art of the Gupta Pala periods

(300-1200 A.D.) was the logical culmination of the earlier trends of art creation which we have just surveyed covering the Maurya-Sunga Andhra-Kushan periods.

These multi-patterned yet basically the same Indian art could now be well illustrated by significant designs on dated inscriptions and cointypes, and above all by the rich repertory of architecture, iconography, sculpture and paintings for which an illustrated dictionary of Asian arts should be published. The historic yet transcendental Sakyamuni of India was thus transfigured into Avaloketawara of divine compassion: Amitabha of infinite Light and Bhaisajya or Supreme Healer to whom suffering humanity paid homage on the 2500th anniversary of his Nirvana.

Trials of the Judges and Expulsion of the Jews

By
"SOCRATIST"

Professor Tout in his *Advanced History of Great Britain* has the following mordant morceau (P. 186, paragraph 13.)

"Despite Edward the First's new laws, the government was only properly carried on when the King was himself in England. Between 1286 and 1289 foreign troubles carried Edward to Gascony. During his absence, the Judges sold verdicts for money and the Ministers were so corrupt and oppressive that Edward, on his return, appointed a special commission to hear the numerous complaints brought against them by his subjects. All the Judges but four were heavily fined and dismissed from office. Soon after this stern act, Edward issued orders that all Jews should be expelled from England. They were unpopular because they were in the habit of lending money at high rates of interest, and were glad to pay highly for the royal protection. Gradually, the feeling against them became very bitter, and in 1290 Edward drove them from the land altogether."

The *Indian Express* of June 30th 1956 has

the following as explaining the Sarvodaya of Vinoba Bhaveji "Karukallur, June 27th, 1956. Acharya Vinoba Bhave to-day criticised the modern courts for delivering judgments based on recorded evidence only, and said they only tended to increase the hatred and animosity among the people. Man does not commit to paper and create evidence for all his doings, and the judgments delivered are based on such evidence. Cheyyur, June 26th-Greed, miserliness, and desire to hoard wealth are the parents of Theft—they create thieves. Theft is an offence in our vocabulary, but we do not include miserliness in the list of offences. So as long the tendency to amass wealth is there, theft will also be there. Imprisonment for theft resulted only in feeding sumptuously with all conveniences the culprit, while those for whose sake he committed the theft continued to starve. The sentence should be to gift two or three acres of land to the culprit, make him do hard labour on it, and maintain himself and his family from the produce."

3. The President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, at Bhagalpur on June 1956 said "India has given two slogans to the people of the country and the World. The first was the slogan of Bhoodan raised by Acharya Vinoba Bhave which stipulated service before self, and the other was Mr. Nehru's slogan of Panch Sila which postulated the principles of peaceful co-existence."

These apparently unconnected obiter were recalled to my mind on perusal of Barrister Gauba's most fascinating and pungent publication. (*Battles at the Bar* by K. L. Gauba. Price Rs. 12 and annas 8 only. N. M. Tripathi Ltd. Princess Street, Bombay 2, 1956.) Charles James Fox said "God save a Nation which has such Judges." Pandit Nehru said "No Judge is going to come in our way. We may honour our judges within our limits, but no judiciary can stand in judgement over the sovereign will of parliament representing the Will of the entire community. Where the welfare of India is concerned, no judiciary can come in the way." The Republican Jim Thorne said "We shall keep the King to dish the Tories. The King can do no wrong; and we shall be King—see?" The State is constantly enlarging the scope of its activities and the number of its servants. The Party in power which is powerful proposes to increase them indefinitely. If their dream be ever realized, the whole machinery of industry and trade will be controlled by the State, just as Insurance and Banking have already been taken over. On grounds of Public Health, all laundries will be nationalized. On grounds of price control, sale of foodstuffs has already been resumed. On grounds of Information and Publicity, Radio and Wireless are a monopoly. Transport has already been nationalised.

House-building is to be controlled. Food, Air, Earth, Water and Shelter are the basic requirements of human life and all these are practically nationalised. Even in the sphere of personal immortality by way of raising and training and leaving a family behind, the octopus grip of the State on Education and the frequent changes therein, and the proposal by unmarried experts to castrate or sterilise by bureaucratic methods the helpless masses, including the worst methods of moral pressure bordering on intellectual blackmail make one aghast as what the condition of things will be at the end of the century.

Coming back to our author, the book is the "best" of him as he says in developing his thesis that the "Court of Last Resort is Time. All cases lost and won, all sentences even after execution have to suffer its Review. A heretic may be burnt, a rebel may be hanged, a scientist may be dismissed, a lawyer may be suspended but such an event not always marks the end of the controversy. It is sometimes just the beginning."

The first case headed *Love* is a trifle. The second dealing with the defence of A. S. Bokhari in a Treason Trial shows how readily and clumsily the British Public School reject Policemen concocted cases to make out that the patriot was not inspired by love of country and non-violence but really by religious fanaticism and lawlessness. The case of the White Elephant is not suitable for recalling to a public which has outgrown the taste for chronique scandaleuse. Per contra, the account of the famous Libel Action by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair is rather meagre. Certain statements as to the hearing and result do not agree with one's personal recollection of the events as talked about in London more than thirty years ago. Of course, Mr. Justice McCardie behaved scandalously as Mr. Gauba says. Of course, one juryman whose female relation was set upon by the mob in revenge for the unspeakable obscenities committed by the British Police during the riots on Indian women, boasted loudly that he would give crushing damages of upto fifty thousand pounds in the hearing of the court. The dissentient juryman, the celebrated Professor H.J. Laski was accused by Sir Michael of having sat at the feet of Gandhiji in a book and by an Indian lawyer sycophant of Sir Micheal in court itself of being influenced by revolutionary Indian students in the London School of Economics to non-suit Sir Michael. But was it Sir George Lowndes or Ex-Chief Justice of Madras Sir Walter Schwabe who appeared for Sankaran Nair. Also, £ 20,000 damages and costs mentioned by the author were really £ 500 agreed damages plus costs. Sir Sankaran Nair had to compromise and not press for a fresh trial as he was already crippled between the Govt. of India which did not support him and the public of India which would not succour a man who had attacked Gandhiji. The close of the Jankidass-Karanjia Libel Case by an unconditional apology shows that even if you throw stones at others, soft

words can turn away their wrath at the end a wearisome protracted litigation. In the Rail Car Murders Gauba treads dangerous ground when he says his client would have escaped the net of the law spread wide for sinners if he had been a big fish or an Englishman. In the Colaba Trunk Murder, Mr. Gauba fought a good fight and got his men off. In the Kishori Murder Case, the lesson is that no counsel can advise with confidence unless the accused has been candid and is prepared to accept the advice, probably even going to the length of the old offender who, when asked to plead to the charge said "It is for my counsel to plead and for your Lordship to judge that also." The case of the Rana of Bhajji who was arbitrarily declared insane and detained in an asylum for eight long years confirms this reviewer's conviction that the most tortuous and wicked department of the old Government of India was the Political Department and the most hypocritical of the Viceroys was Lord Linlithgow who pretended to encourage Indian agricultural development to safeguard his large financial and textile interests in India. That the Rana did not get the substantial damages he was entitled to is not a matter of surprise when even the poor unfortunates who were wrongly convicted by erroneous decisions of Judges and who were so declared by a committee presided over by a High Court Judge in Madras State are still to receive compensation while the said Judges are drawing their fat pensions in England and elsewhere. That the "Government promises never matured" is also not a matter for surprise. The cases of the Handsome Major who failed to account for funds and the Loquacious Oxford Graduate who was charged with cheating are not of special interest.

The cream of the book is the Khwaja Case in which the Special Receiver who was the right-hand man of Sir Douglas Young was prosecuted in spite of unseemly irregular interference by the High Court to receive a sentence of twenty years and to be acquitted finally by Sir Arthur Trevor Harries on the ground that Chief Justice Sir Douglas Young and Justice Monroe whose sanctions he had obtained had not been examined. Whether Mr. Gauba is correct in his "general impression that the High Court wanted to bury the

controversy as former judges of the High Court were concerned" is not for me to say. This was complicated by an application under Section 220 of the 1935 Govt. of India Act by Mr. Gauba to His Majesty to enquire into the conduct of Sir Douglas Young. The result of this unorthodox punch according to Mr. Gauba was that he was summarily sent to jail for contempt for six months and incidentally Sir Douglas Young and Mr. Justice Monroe discreetly decided to resign. The Bruce Street Dacoity is only of interest to show that the driver of a High Court Judge took his Lordship's posh car to transport dacoits armed with revolvers. The story of the Pakistani Spy is a trifle, as are the stories of Ex. A, The Cow, and the Divorce Cases.

The Case of the Gujerat Princes who were finally told that in the view of the Supreme Court, everything can be made non-justiciable by statute, leads one to the melancholy conclusion that it will be idle for the ordinary citizen (if any remain) to found a claim for justice on the splendid promises of the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights included in them. Almost every citizen will soon be in the State's employ. As already said with nationalisation, the private sector will not be the individual or public opinion, but the Top Secret archives of bureaucratic Secretariats at Delhi and elsewhere and the ant-hills of castrated Ganymedes working there. The Judges themselves will become effete as they will not be subject to the vigorous though occasionally over enthusiastic attacks of virile watchdogs of public and private morality like Mr. Gauba. An old Liberal Statesman said "It is not possible to argue a man into slavery in the English Language." I make bold to say that it is quite possible to do so in Hindi or other Indian language and when the last remnants of respect for the sanctity of the Individual depart with our present esteemed Prime Minister, we may look out for the rise and fall of autocrats like Stalin. When Bhodan is stretched to qualify a man for three acres of land if he steals, and to deprive a man of his accumulations if he is thrifty, the great incentives to self-control and orderly civic life will be destroyed. We will go back to rank barbarism when every man's hand will be against his neighbour.

God Save our Ind.



Toy Festivals of Japan

By

Sri. C. SESHACHALAM, M.A. B.L.,

Travel, to a surprisingly large number of people is a calamity at best, an avoidable calamity. To others, however it is a wonderful opportunity for adventure into strange lands and new environment. Travel brings exhilarating experiences, which on homecoming one can hardly resist from sharing with others—as witness, this Talk! Incidentally, this is not a scholarly thesis nor a documented dissertation: it is just a traveller's tale, from one who has kept his eyes open, and ears even more so!

Few countries in the world have the enchanting charm of Japan. The hill-sides are verdant, landscapes fascinating, gardens brimming with exquisite beauty. Men, women and children are clean, well disciplined, courteous and avowedly dedicated to the cultivation of delicate grace, charm and sensitive artistry. The Japanese are nevertheless a paradoxical and inscrutable race. The people, their outward appointments and surroundings are so patently picturesque, theatrical and studied that one cannot help wondering if they are not a nation of "poseurs"—all of them merely players on a stage, a stage superficial, fantastic and designed perhaps for nothing more serious than the creation of pleasing effects only. The Japanese are on the one hand mercurial, on the other conventional and solid: at once, logical, profound, conscientious: and irrational, indifferent. A Japanese individual can be steady, solemn and taciturn, as well as whimsical and loquacious. Recent world-war-II records declare them "aggressive, revengeful and cruel," whereas individual experience proves them to be capable of gentle, yielding and even merciful response. Against this incongruous and inscrutable background Japanese social institutions and festivals become an interesting and absorbing study.

Festivals usually highlight national characteristics, being occasions for free and easy uninhibited demonstration of sentiment and maintenance of tradition. The Japanese are great holiday-makers. Their first love in this

direction is dedicated to the loveliest of all nature's creation—the Flower. The old Calendar was based on flower sequences, the year being divided into the time of the camellia, the plum, the cherry, the lotus, the chrysanthemum, the maple and so on. Japanese women are adepts in the art of "flower arrangement" and spend hour upon hour till they achieve a picture of perfection. Plum-blossom time, heralding the birth of spring inspires the Japanese to heights of art-life, to poetry and romance. The Cherry-blossom season of Japan is world renowned. "Viewing-the-blossom" is a ceremony with the Japanese. The mere serene contemplation of the delicate line and soft colours of the carefully tended mile-long avenues of cherry blossoms of Tokyo moves the Japanese to the very depths of beatitude.

There are other festivals in Japan, which unlike the foregoing, are noisy, crowded and quite boisterous. The River festival in summer animates not only the waters of the Sumida but both her banks and her bridges, which then throb with packed life, attended with feasting and wine, revelry and song advancing far into the night and ending with elaborate colourful Fireworks on a huge scale. The "Omi-Koshi" is another summer celebration with a Shinto religious background, full of frenzied vigour and serves to settle matters of social offences by summary retribution.

The Festivals of Toys and Dolls reveal other sides of the Japanese way of life. Child is the Father of Man. But in the designing and making of toys and dolls, it is Man who, for the moment transforms himself into Child—thinking with the child's mind living in the fairy-land of the juvenile. The Japanese is world's master toy and doll maker. Ingenuity, finery, inventive genius, beauty and low cost are successfully combined as nowhere else in the world. Toys embodying well-known principles of mechanics, sometimes worked with running water or the flame of a candle, and life-like Dolls moving with the aid of ingenious devices attract and enchant the children of Japan.

Hundreds of opulent emporia on Tokyo's fashionable Ginza and huge multi-storeyed Department Stores of the big towns, as well as millions of small wayside shops all over the land overflow with the world's most attractive and interesting toys and dolls. One of the most noteworthy features of the Japanese Department Store is that, giving convincing effect to the intense love and affection towards little children, they are welcomed with open arms and given the free run of the extensive floors of toys and dolls, encouraged to come and enjoy themselves. The open roof-tops, a hundred feet above street level are veritable fairylands for Japanese children complete with Ferris wheels, amusement park, miniature gardens, aquaria and even token Zoos. It was on one such roof-top that I chanced to see "Indira" Nehru's baby-elephant-present to the children of Japan and on a Sunday too, for all Stores are open fully on Sundays, closing on week days by turns.

Japan's traditional Toys and Dolls are frail playthings but full of beauty and suggestiveness. A little wooden mallet with a tiny ball fitted into a socket at the end of the handle is to the Japanese child the Magic Mallet of the great deity Daikoku, the God of wealth, who by one stroke of this Magic Mallet confers favours and fortune on his worshippers. A Bunch of tiny bells attached to a wooden handle is the model of the sacred "Suzu" used by a virgin priestess for her dance before the Gods. A little Shinto priest in authentic ceremonial garb claps his hands as if in prayer when a string is pulled. Tori Kago, a tiny gilded cage houses a bird which chirps. Kobiki, the sawyer goes to work most realistically operated by a little lever below the platform. Jishaku spins a magnetic top in mid-air entirely unsupported. Tombo is an extremely clever mechanical Dragon-fly. In the hands of an expert it rises, hovers, darts hither and thither, sails slowly to quite a distance and even comes back like a boomerang.

Coming to Dolls and Images, they are legion indeed: TENJIN is the deity of fine calligraphy; UZUME, the laughter-loving; EBISU is the deity of the market-place and the favourite of the fisherfolk. DARUMA is an ancient disciple of Buddha in uninterrupted meditation. And the most fascinating of all is OHINA-SAN, a darling costume model delicio-

usly symbolic of Japanese girl-beauty, a work of art. It is life-like, startling—no two faces similar, but individualised and the close personal possession of each child. Can a Doll have life? "YES" answered a Japanese girl, "if you love it enough it will become alive, taking a soul into its small body." In old Japan, the HINA was handed down from generation to generation preserved in excellent condition for well over a hundred years, each in its own container. Incidentally the box-making industry in Japan is an art in itself, every box a treasure to encase another treasure. If a HINA or Image gets broken or damaged (which is rare during the owner's lifetime) it is regarded as dead, treated with the utmost respect; not discarded or thrown away as rubbish; nor even laid on running water like dead Japanese flowers. Broken Dolls are respectfully dedicated to KOJIN, a somewhat mysterious divinity in a shrine under an Enoki tree.

In modern Japan Christmas and New Year is toy-time as in other lands, but every MATSURI is a children's Holiday and no mother thinks of festival celebration without buying her child a toy or two.

HINA MATSURI or the girls' Festival is celebrated on the third day of the third month. The entire first week of March therefore is gala time for the small girls who break out into their finest fineries in elaborate coiffures and bright kimonos, looking very much like walking Dolls themselves! As soon as she can walk, a Japanese girl has a doll strapped to her back guiding her to a disciplined and docile gait. Soon the doll gives place to little baby brother or sister, which compels stately and dignified carriage. HINA MATSURI is celebrated in all homes, rich or poor, and the HINA Images prized heirlooms added to with the arrival of each baby daughter are arranged in rows upon rows starting with the Emperor, Empress, Nobles, Court Ladies etc, in elaborate accurate costumes, each with tiny lacquer-and-gold tables complete with bowls, plates and trays all in miniature and under silk canopies. The family keeps open house for a week with food and gifts, somewhat like Navaratri Kolu in India. The HINA are later returned to careful storage till the following year's Matsuri.

TANGO NO SEKKU is the Boy's Festival on the fifth day of the fifth month. It is a

very old institution in the Samurai tradition intended to impart warlike qualities. Boys are presented with figure representing warriors and heroes; ancient swords, bows, arrows spears etc: and handed down from one generation of children to another. Along with these, images and dolls of wrestlers and national warrior-heroes, their banners and pennants and all the decorative paraphernalia that once enriched the Samurai's train are set out in state array. This festival which comes off in May is also called the Festival of Flags, because decorations with the leaves of the IRIS and paper and cloth flags are to be seen on houses in great profusion. These flags are shaped like a fish, the NOBORI, (i.e., the carp;) suspended from tall poles. Being hollow they fly vigorously when inflated by the passing breeze. Now like many other motifs the NOBORI Carp is symbolic. Legend has it that the Dragon Carp after a long struggle succeeded in swimming past the Dragon Gate Rapida, lived a thousand years and finally rose into the sky. The NOBORI symbol therefore represents something more than the mere spirit of warfare: it typifies tenacity of purpose and indomitable courage, swimming against the

the stream, stemming strong currents, mounting waterfalls and attaining to a great age. The Boy's Festival is a ritual of hero-worship and glorification of the celebrated two-sword Samurai tradition of the old swashbuckling era. Certainly the Japanese catch them young and instil into the youthful minds the strong desire to excel in human endeavour, sacrificing limb and life, burning with patriotism and culminating even in harakiri.

Samurai as a state-recognised institution was suppressed around 1875—the special glory and splendour of military aristocracy have departed. But in the Boy's Festival, the shadow stays. In the Girl's Festival on the other hand, due to the advent of democracy and the emancipation of women, the substance has departed leaving behind the glamour and the glitter.

Common to all Japanese Festival is the unostentatious insistence on smooth discipline, pronounced art-consciousness and muted grace, with everything in its appointed place as ordained by unwritten law, custom and tradition. (A.I.R. Madras).

Love Affairs of Napoleon

By

Mr. S. R. SANTHAKUMAR

The entire world knew Napoleon Bonaparte, as a dazzling warrior of unbounded energy. But only a handful of us knew this man of might, as a passionate lover. How many loves had Napoleon? A question, on which every biographer of this great man, pondered over. Napoleon himself, as a prisoner, asked the same question. On the silent rocks of St. Helena, he counted his loves with his fingers. He arrived at a total of seven. But Mr. Turquan and Mr. F. Masson, notable biographers of Napoleon, say that the great soldier had omitted many of his "loves." But let us ourselves excavate some interesting pieces of Napoleon's torrid and historic "love life."

At the age of twenty-seven, Napoleon, was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Interior for Paris, and it was he who

was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The lava, erupted by the volcano of French Revolution, was omnipresent and the blood besprinkled by the blades of guillotine during the reign of terror was still wet on the pavements of Paris. Such was the time and tension, when the "man from Corsica" took the new post. It was a hard nut to crack for an ordinary man. But it is hardly hard for a man of extra-ordinary ability like Napoleon. Immediately after the assumption of office, he flashed a fiat to confiscate all arms in the possession of the civilians. Millions of swords, sabers, dirks and muskets poured into his arsenal.

One sunny morning a lad of twelve years, with engaging manners, Eugene by name, entered the chamber of Napoleon with watery eyes.

"Sire, this morning men of your excellency, had forcibly taken away from my home, a sword, the only article we had to cherish the memory of my late father. Please, for Heaven's sake return it, General." The boy spoke in a melancholic symphony of tone.

Napoleon stood silent and observed the face of the boy with the care of a Psycho-analyst.

"Who asked you to bring back the sword of your father?" Napoleon asked.

"My mother"

A pause passed. The rosy cheeks of the boy were trenched by tears. Napoleon, moved much. He wiped out the boy's tears and ran his fingers with condescension into the wavy hairs of the youngster.

"My dear boy!", Napoleon said, "here lies the heap of arms, confiscated from the civilians this morning. You are at liberty to take out your father's sword."

The boy was mightily delighted. He, within minutes, singled out his father's sword.

"You can take it home, my boy," said Napoleon. The boy ran out of the chamber with the sword in his hands and a smile on his face.

An hour later a middle-aged woman approached Napoleon. "I have come to thank you for the kindness showed towards my son, General!", said she. She was way-ward, gracious and vivacious, but not so beautiful. Somehow, the great man was magnetised by the new woman. He stood dumbfounded for a minute.

"Sire, will your goodness, honour this lady in lurch with a visit to my humble home?" asked the woman in her honeyed voice.

"Why not?" Napoleon exclaimed.

Then the General paid a visit to a little house in an out-of-the way suburb. This woman, who during the reign of terror, has learned to conquer men by her charm, welcomed the conquerer with great gaiety and served him sandwiches. After the meal, he hurled on her a volley of questions and received sagacious answers.

The words of the woman spoke volumes of her intellectual charm which the polished man of the world could not resist till his demise. He fell desperately in love with this woman, a widow six years older than him and the mother of two children. Despite the reproa-

ches and resistance of his sisters and kinsfolks, Napoleon did lead the woman of his choice to the altar!

A few years later, this lady, who before her alliance with Napoleon was brazenly flirting in Paris saloons, was crowned as Empress of France. The whole of Europe stood wonder-struck!

What was the name of the lady with whom luck was so lavish? Her name, of course, was Josephine!

Wherever Napoleon happened to be, whether it was the boiling battle field of Rivoli or the sun-heated deserts of Egypt, he would not fail to write letters, deeply dipped in passion and sentiments, to his Josephine.

"Sweet incomparable Josephine! Thousand glowing kisses to you. But you must not give me kisses for they burn my blood!" Thus wrote he, in one of his letters.

"I hope before long to crush you in my arms and cover you with a million kisses, each more burning than the sun of the Equator. I want you in my heart, in my arms. Quick! Fly!! Fly!!!" In another epistle the love-sick Napoleon pulsed thus.

But this love was not properly reciprocated. More than once, Josephine demonstrated her infidelity to Napoleon. Whenever he went out to distant battle fields, she flirted with one Captain Charles, a young and handsome officer, who used to frequent Josephine in his beautiful hussar jacket, extravagantly covered with gold lace. Brothers of Napoleon informed him of the coquetry and insisted Napoleon to divorce the "adulteress". For the first time in his life, the Emperor thought about the necessity of a break with Josephine. But the combined tears of her and her two children, broke the thought of Napoleon. Again, there began a reign of harmony between them.

Napoleon did opine that without Josephine he would be Allaudin without his wonderful lamp. But ultimately, he has to push down Josephine from his side for he wanted a son to form a dynasty and Josephine proved to be incurably barren! When at last, he died at St. Helena, the last word he uttered was the name of Josephine! But Napoleon's love with this joyous woman was not his first love!

Desiree Clara, an extremely beautiful mademoiselle of fashionable appearance and one of

the two heiresses of a fabulously rich silk merchant of Marseilles, was the first lover of Bonaparte. He for the first time in his life, discloses her, his vast designs to achieve greatness. On the green meadows of Paris, Napoleon laid many a kiss on the rosy lips of Desiree. But at the end, Desiree achieved nothing but disappointment. Between Desiree and Josephine Napoleon chose the latter as his mistress. Desiree wept like a child for having missed the chance and considered her dream, a broken one. But, Napoleon promptly and properly mended the wounded heart of his forsaken fiancée. He, using his powers of persuasion, made Marshall Bernondotte, an illustrious soldier-statesman of France, to marry Desiree and by offering the crown of Switzerland to Bernondotte, he made Desiree a queen!

His next affair was with an actress at Milan and Napoleon brought her to Paris. But to the great disappointment of Bonaparte, she eloped with a violinist. Others filled the void. Each in her turn received her dismissal with a state pension and pride of having been an innamorata of the "luminary" of France!

Madame Maria Walewska, a very young and exceptionally charming Polish countess, met Napoleon at a ball, during the campaign of Friedland. This blue-eyed, teen-aged blonde (at this time Napoleon's age was thirty seven) hailed from an ancient line with a historical background. Unfortunately, the family of this girl had fallen into so deep an abyss of adversity, that she was married off to a wealthy old count, whose youngest grand child was ten years older than the new wife!

Napoleon became captivated by her stature and disposition and judged her to be of a yielding nature. Again and again, to the astonishment of others, he gripped the hands of the Polish countess and gave vent to his feelings through the medium of dance. The dance came to an end and Walewska, like every body left the ballroom. Napoleon went to his bed with a heavy heart and in that night, he did not have a wink of sleep. Maria Walewska, with her finely chiselled features, ceaselessly danced on the floor of Napoleon's mind, stampeding his tranquillity. Napoleon was again caged by a girl!

"I admired only you and longed to be with you alone. Send me an answer quickly in order that the fire which is consuming me, may be appeased. N." This is the craving of

Napoleon, in his letter to Walewska which he sent through Duroe, one of his steadfast friends. After an hour, he returned with the same letter of Napoleon! What had happened? Walewska refused to receive the letter!

Napoleon was non-plussed!

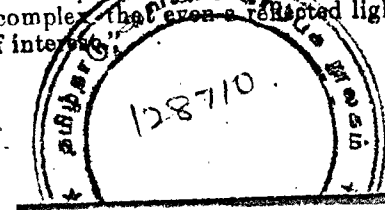
Never in his romantic career, he had such an inveterate rebuff. Not a single woman, whether she happened to be a princess, an actress or a beauty queen, refused to enter his bed-chamber at his slender nod of invitation!

Many men in that moment would have dropped their attempt but not Napoleon! He wrote a stream of letters to his new Polish innamorata. But nothing developed favourably.

At last, the architect of diplomacy, in his last letter, promised Maria Walewska, that he would guard Poland with the same care with which he was guarding his nation against the hordes of Cossack savages, the only external threat to the Polish people at that time. Now, in the interest of the people of Poland, Walewska complied with the "request" of the Emperor. She spent three weeks with him in a castle in Poland. The poor husband with tears running down his wrinkled cheeks used to descend the stairs from his bedroom for opening the door to "receive" Walewska, who would return home after having given gay hours to Napoleon.

This is the last of Napoleon's love affairs. Observers began to regard this as a proof of real affection, and the whole affair had been extolled into a sentimental romance. But later incidents proved the estimation of these observers to be false. Within a few years, Napoleon left her aside to marry another girl, princess of Austria and in 1816, after the death of Napoleon, Walewska married another man. Napoleon, when he was forced by unavoidable circumstances to reject Walewska ordered his treasury to give her a pension of ten thousand francs a month!

Many men of letters, labelled the above affairs as "sordid and unworthy of recording." But it is undeniable that these escapades, though excitable, throw some light on the nature of the most mettlesome man of last century. As Brigadier General Colin R. Bal-lad, C.B., C.M.G., a much quoted military biographer of Napoleon wrote, "It was the nature so complex that even a reflected light would be of interest."



The Message of the Epics

By

DR. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

If we try to understand the true national genius of India in the past and the rich legacy of culture and traditions handed down to us through the centuries, we naturally turn to the two outstanding epics—Ramayana and Mahabharata—for inspiration and edification. But at the very outset we will find that the two epics are unlike each other. While the Ramayana transports us into a region of pure poetry, the Mahabharata stuns us with its encyclopaedic proportions and variety of themes. It defies, as it were, all attempts at determining the essential undercurrent of thought that permeates the entire work.

But even as early as the 9th century A.D., Anandavardhana, a literary critic of Kashmir, tried to discover the central thread running in the works of Valmiki and Vyasa. His main conclusions embodied in his celebrated work, the *Dhvanyaloka*, are original and brilliant and of more than a passing interest even to a modern student of the epics. In what follows, an attempt is made to summarise Anandavardhana's observations on the two national epics of India.

Valmiki and Vyasa may be characterised as the two greatest poet-sages India produced. Of these, as regards Valmiki, there are no two opinions that he is first and foremost a poet, that in fact, he is the *adi-kavi*, the father of the poetic tradition in India. His epic is a *mahakavya* as also the *adikavya*. Therefore the Ramayana deserves to be estimated only by literary standards. But Vyasa is not on the same footing as Valmiki. His work is more than a uniform epic (*kavya*); it is a systematic exposition of scriptural truths (*sastra*). Not only is tradition quite emphatic on this point, but he who runs may read. Hence the criteria of literary estimate that would serve to explain the greatness of the Ramayana cannot adequately explain the greatness of the Mahabharata when taken in themselves. They must be supplemented by other criteria but in such a way that they will not conflict with the conclusions arrived at on the basis of literary criteria. It is in drawing this happy synthesis between the two conclusions that Anandavardhana's greatness lies.

Now what are the substantial literary criteria that one would resort to in evaluating

any poem (*kavya*) *par excellence*? According to Anandavardhana, considerations of metre and music and even imagery (*alankara*) are purely extrinsic. The intrinsic factors are *Rasa* and *Dhvani*. The former is the name given to poetic content while the latter indicates the suggestive manner in which feelings and emotions are aroused in the reader. In other words, the aesthetic emotions in a poem are far more pivotal than tricks of style and glitter of ornament.

The secret of the appeal of a poem of magnitude (*mahakavya*) consists in the clever infusion of the various *rasas* by the poet in a suggestive way; but lest the fundamental unity of the poem be impaired, it is necessary that a single *rasa* or sentiment should be made dominant throughout. Now nebulous and hazy, now outshone by another *rasa*, yet standing out pre-eminently at all significant points in the poem—such is the nature of the dominant sentiment (*angi rasa*). A clever critic should be able to trace its existence from the outset right upto the close of a *mahakavya*. This then is the key to the secret of a successful poem according to Anandavardhana.

Applying this formula to the Ramayana we find that pathos (*karunarasa*) is the ruling sentiment. From the moment of Valmiki's sorrow at the sight of the shrieking curlew (*krauncha*) when its mate is killed by the hunter's arrow, we can discover this *karunarasa* constantly in the Ramayana; now in the pathetic lamentations of the blind parents whose only son and support has been shot dead by Dasaratha, now in the old King's grief at the unavoidable exile of his fond son, now in the sobs of the queens at his sad demise, now in the pitiful cries of Sita as she is helplessly carried away by Ravana, now in the dying groans of Jatayu, now in the pangs of Rama lorn by separation, and finally in the untold suffering of Sita discarded by her husband to the mercies of the wild. Such is the steady and even flow of pathos or *karuna-rasa* in Valmiki's great epic.

What about the Mahabharata? The critic cannot as easily pronounce his literary judgment. His task is more difficult than in the case of the Ramayana because of the gigantic dimensions of the epic. But even so,

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Anandavardhana tackles the problem boldly and his remarks are very illuminating. At the outset he draws our attention to the fact that the Mahabharata embodies heterogeneous elements, that it is both a *sastra* and a *kavya* rolled into one. Nevertheless he seeks to apply the canons of literary criticism explained above and his conclusion is that in the Mahabharata also the closing note might serve as an indicator of the sentiment intended by the poet as dominant throughout the work.

The Mahabharata as we all know ends in a note of despair, all the victors too meeting their end as victims of fate ultimately. The great Pandava and Vrishni heroes of the cataclysmal war themselves die in ignoble circumstances. Not even Krishna can escape his doom. Bhima's gigantic strength and Arjuna's unmatched valour, Yudhisthira's righteous conduct and Krishna's divine diplomacy—all turn out to be as much a waste as Duryodhana's determined resistance with such redoubtable warriors as Bhishma and Drona, Karna and Asvatthaman, fighting on his side.

It is of course easy to dismiss the whole thing with the remark that in a conflict between right and wrong, between good and evil, the side of the right and the good does emerge triumphant according to Indian ideas. But a little more reflection will show that neither of the parties who take part in the fight is wholly right or wholly wrong. If Arjuna is a great hero, does not Karna at least on the other side lay claims to an equal, if not greater greatness? Karna in his own way reaches to towering heights of self-sacrifice and grandeur and there is hardly a foible in his majestic and imposing personality. Is not Bhishma, the old lion-like warrior, also a saint, an embodiment of truth and wisdom? Does not Drona, the teacher, elicit profound respect from Pandavas and Kauravas alike in respect of his learning and age? Were the means adopted by the Pandavas in killing these saintly heroes wholly just? If we say that Abhimanyu was unjustly killed, did the Pandavas also not pay it back in the same coin a thousandfold? In the material plane, again, how far do Krishna's actions merit the term just, whatever their mysterious implications may be in the spiritual altitudes?

Even if we suppose that the beastly insult to Draupadi at the hands of the Kauravas and their persistent refusal to share the kingdom with their brethren accounts adequately for all the retribution that followed, how are we to account for a similar fate that over-

took even the Pandavas? Did not Draupadi herself lose all her children? Such, in short are some of the insoluble problems that confront us as we complete a reading of the Mahabharata. The problem of fate and free-will, the problem of good and evil, the problem of justice and injustice, and a host of other perplexing dichotomies are posed prominently throughout the Mahabharata.

Now the question is whether Vyasa is contented with posing these problems and does not bother about their solution. It is Anandavardhana's firm conviction that Vyasa has also indicated unmistakable solutions to these problems and our estimate of Vyasa is bound to be defective so long as we do not take pains to discover the solutions proposed. These solutions are sometimes indicated after the manner of *sastra*, but most often they are brought out poetically. It should be our endeavour to take note of both and to see their essential identity.

Anandavardhana thinks that the final note of the Mahabharata is an unmistakable pointer as to the intention of Vyasa, which is to emphasise the need for cultivating a sense of detachment towards worldly pleasures. However promising they may look in the beginning, they are bound to land one in an abyss of despair in the long run. When the greatest heroes could not escape their inevitable doom, how much more true this must be in the case of ordinary men! To get over the inevitable doom, there is only one succour and that is in following the path of *moksha* or supreme Beatitude.

Such is the impression one gets finally by reading the concluding episode of the Mahabharata. When we look upon the epic as a *sastra*, we say that its central teaching is *moksha* as *parama-purushartha* or ultimate value. This has the support of all traditional commentaries on the great epic. But when we look upon it as a *kavya*, we would state the same truth differently, and say that the dominant sentiment of the Mahabharata is *Santa* or tranquillity. Anandavardhana says: 'Vyasa deserves every one's esteem as the foremost sage who attempted to rescue his fellowmen wallowing in the mire of ignorance by the light of his sound and steady knowledge. He has stressed this idea of the desirability of detachment in several places of his epic. To quote only one such passage:

Just in the same proportion as worldly pursuits turn out to be unavailing, one's sense of aversion to them is engendered; there is no doubt about it.

(Santiparva, CLXXIV, 4)

Nuclear Weapons and International Law

By

PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY,

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When Japanese fishermen had been disabled by Bikini explosions and fish in that area made dangerous, the world was shocked from a humanitarian point of view. Rajaji's adherence to it is farsighted. Opposition to it from a political ground may also be left to the proper quarters. Are these experiments with thermo-nuclear weapons affecting the lives and property of citizens of other states contrary to International Law and custom?

FACTS OF THE CASE

A Washington message ran thus under date March 18, 1955:—

The Hydrogen device tested in the Pacific on March 1st exploded with a force equivalent to between 12 and 14 million tons of TNT and sent out a shock wave felt 176 miles away.

The blast was 600 times as violent as the HIROSHIMA atom bomb which caused 60,000 deaths and was equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT.

It was five times more powerful than the explosion of November 1, 1952 which was believed to have been the first American Hydrogen bomb.

It can be taken as established from the irreparable harm done to Japanese fishermen and Japanese property that the experiments with thermo-nuclear weapons have caused irreparable damage to foreign lives and property.

POSITION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

International Law is still in many parts uncertain and fragmentary. Yet it has a fascination for trained minds.

Under Art. 38 of the statute of the International Court of Justice the Court shall apply "(C) the general principles of law recognised by civilized states."

Dr. H. Lauterpacht now a Judge of the International Court of Justice, has established after an elaborate study of private law sources and analogies of International Law, that the phrase "general principles of Law" in Art. 38 (C) of the statute refers to a rule of uniform application in all or in the main systems of private Jurisprudence. ⁽¹⁾

The maxim *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non leas*.

1. Vide also to SASTRY "Studies in International Law", 1952, pp. 29 following.

das "is applicable to relations of states not less than to those of individuals." ⁽²⁾

The observations in the *TRIAL SMELTER Arbitration* between U.S.A. and Canada are relevant. U.S.A. claimed damages for injury caused in U.S.A. to crops, pasture lands, trees and agriculture as well as to livestock as the result of sulphur dioxide fumes emitted from the smelting plant of the consolidated mining and smelting Co. of CANADA at TRALL in British Columbia. Substantial damages were awarded. This Arbitration is an authority for the principle that no state has the right "to use or permit the use of its territory in such a manner as to cause injury by fumes in or to the territory of another of the property or persons thereon."

The irreparable damage done to Japanese fisherman and property by Bikini explosions is thus punishable under International Law.

FREEDOM OF OPEN SEAS

Needless to marshall the history of the doctrine of FREEDOM of the seas from the Middle ages, through *H. GROTIUS MARE LIBERUM*, to the seventh principle of the Atlantic CHARTER of August 14, 1941. ⁽³⁾

Even in the enunciation of the Proclamation of President Truman of September 28, 1945 on the CONTINENTAL SHELF is stated:—"the charter as high seas of the waters above the continental SHELF and the right to their free and unimpeded navigation are in no way affected." ⁽⁴⁾

Thermo-nuclear explosions contaminate a far wider area beyond the territorial waters of that state. The answer of Sir W. Churchill that notification of a wider area of sea as dangerous to shipping for a limited period but not closed to shipping, is specious.

These thermo-nuclear experiments tantamount to a wiping off of freedom of the open sea. It is thus a violation of International Custom and is against the general principles of law sanctified by recognition by all civilized states. ⁽⁵⁾

2. Oppenheim. Vol. I-VII Ed. p. 313.

3. Vide for history SASTRY, STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, pp. 136-140.

4. Vide also Report of the third session of the International Law Commission 1951.

5. Gist of a talk before the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, on 22-12-'55.

WORLD OF BOOKS

EISENHOWER THE PRESIDENT-by Merlo J. Pusey. New York, Macmillan Company. Price Three dollars 75 cents

This book is most opportune at a time when we are wondering whether our Prime Minister was "snubbed by the President" in postponing a meeting and whether Eisenhower will withdraw from the contest for the Presidency of the United States. When a military commander of great prowess like Hindenburg or Grant or Eisenhower puts up his name for the Presidency of a democracy, one wonders first whether it is permissible and next when he has succeeded what will be the outcome of a term's occupation of the post. Like Abe, Ike became a national figure in spite of his complete lack of previous "political experience." The Cabinet Team was chosen with the sterling commonsense of a born leader of men. The Middle Course in Foreign Politics with the middle-of-the-road philosophy in the Domestic Program was naturally motivated to solving the human problems of the Individual Citizen within and without the United States of America. Even in the vexed question of Security and Screening, a beginning has been made to reconcile the demands of security with those of freedom and justice. The ultimate Measure of the Man is that without political trumpeting he has improved the treatment of the Negroes. He worked for a moral climate and is well on the way to pass down as a legendary figure in History in achieving his objective.

REPORT ON CURRENCY AND FINANCE, for the year 1956. Price Rs. 4.

This Report keeps up the high standard of the Reserve Bank of India who are the publishers. The graphs and tables, some of them coloured to make things more clear are excellent. Naturally, in a Government publication, everything seems to be in excellent order. But, one wonders, whether as recently happened in Britain, the Civil Service Advisers who by convention should not be attacked, are not following the old bureaucratic routine and concealing a situation which is getting inward. The real measure of value is currency based on an industrial product like gold and that seems to show a degree of inflation which still gives cause for increasing alarm.

THE METHOD OF SOCIOLOGY by Florian Znaniecki, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois, published by Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York.

This book by the Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Illinois, published in 1934, seems to be a reprint. In the old essay called 'Brains' 'sir' I recollect Dr. John Brown saying that four things which are necessary for success are 'capax' or 'capacity', 'perspicax' or 'analysis', 'sagax' or 'selection and synthesis' and 'efficax' or 'know-how efficiently in execution'.

The first chapter deals with the 'Selection and Determination of Scientific Data' with special emphasis on 'Theoriest approaches' and discriminating between 'Facts and Theories'. The second chapter deals with the 'Selection of Cultural Data' and naturally warns against over-emphasis on organizational aspects of life like marriage or sex. The third chapter on the 'Data of Sociology' deals with the 'Theories of Actions, Relations, Persons and Groups' culminating in 'Definition of Social System'. The fourth chapter as in history distinguishes the sources for the study as 'Personal Experience, Observations, Records, and Generalizations'. The fifth chapter gives 'Ontogenetic Analysis, Phylogenetic Classification, and the Problem of Quantification'.

Altogether this is an excellent work and useful alike to the beginner and the advanced research student.

THE CENTRAL PHILOSOPHY OF BUDDHISM by T. R. V. Murti, M.A., D. Litt. Publishers: George Allen & Unwin, Museum Street, London.

The erudite author after a historical analysis of the origin and development of the Madhyamika Philosophy plunges into the dialectic thereof. He concludes with a comparison of the Madhyamika with the classical approaches of Kant, Hegel and Bradley. He very justly points out that as Nirvana is not empty nakedness, Sunyata is Absolutism and no Nihilism or Positivism and that its value as the basis for world culture is great by way of preparing for the background for the spiritual regeneration of the world.

THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM.

Translated from the original manuscript by F. W. Bain. Price Rs. 1 As. 8. reprinted from Methuen's Edition of 1919. 1955 *Jaico Publishing House* (Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi) 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras 2.

This charming phantasy is characterised by a charming style, and queer, ludicrous, kaleidoscopic expectations. It develops beautifully the theme that essentially woman is not superior or inferior or equal to man but only different and that no one can say whom she will choose and why. The only solution is that of Mahadeva who became Ardh-Nari explaining why Doctor Eggler, the leader of the recent Swiss expedition to Mount Everest confirmed that in those empyrean heights, men ceased to think of women.

BULLETIN ON NARCOTICS. VOL. VII. NO. 3—4 September-Dec. 55, United Nations.

This issue keeps up the high standard of United Nations Publications from Geneva. The scientific impartial survey of the Quasi-Medical use of Opium in India and its effects by Sir Ram Nath Chopra and I. C. Chopra is outstanding. It is asserted with authority that "Opium addicts in moderation are not liars or moral wrecks as has been described by some observers." Per contra there has been an instance of a moral and sexual degenerate who was expected to collapse some thirty years ago now having become a healthy old man holding a responsible position in North India as a result of a controlled dose of opium every evening followed by a night diet of rich creamy cow's milk. The Technical articles on Morphine etc., are good. The usual sections on Official Documents and Bibliography are also sound.

"HINDUSTAN TIMES"—BUDDHA JAYANTHI NUMBER

The beautifully illustrated Buddha Jayanthi number (price Re. 1) issued by the Hindustan Times, New Delhi, has many interesting articles on various aspects of Buddha by wellknown personalities like, Nehru, C. R. Dr. Katju, Dr. Radhakrishnan and several other well-known writers. It is printed on art paper with many illustrations. It is a book worth possessing as it gives a source of great inspiration for all.

DANCES OF YUGOSLAVIA by Ljubica and

Danica Jankovic, published under the auspices of The Royal Academy of Dancing and The Lung Physical Education Association. A Chanticleer Edition, Crown Publishers, New York Price \$ 1.00

A poet said "Let, who will make the Laws of a country, let me sing its songs and let me dance in joy singing those songs with a happy and contented people." The National Dances of Europe series which already contains dances of most of the European countries has had this most attractive edition relating to the Dances of Yugoslavia. The coloured pictures giving the costumes and the musical instructions are absolutely ravishing. So the high cost of one dollar when translated into Indian currency of about Rs. 4-8 is amply justified for this lovely book.

FOUNDING THE LIFE DIVINE—The Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo by Morwenna Donnelly, Publishers: Messrs. Rider & Company, Stratford Place, London, W. 1. Price: 12s 6d.

This is an introduction by an English woman whose prize-winning book in 1942 was *Beauty for Ashes*. The luminous crypt of the soul is visible only by sadhana leading finally to the Divine Presence. There must be no despondency in our undoubted elation. Like the Phoenix coming out in beauty out of the ashes, Morwenna Donnelly has created a synthetic painting from the hard dialectic of Sri Aurobindo.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN INDIAN HISTORY—by K. M. Panikkar, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar needs no introduction to the general public. His exposition and criticism of Mockinder's "Geographical Pivot of History" is most elucidating. The chapters reveal Panikkar's profound clarity of analysis and bold dogmatism in synthesis. The 'General' chapter is followed by the chapter on 'India's Geography.' 'The Himalayas in Indian Life' follows naturally with reference to times when the invasion by other peoples and contact with them was by land only. The chapter on 'The Sea' is clarified by the fifth chapter on the 'Routes of Invasion.' The illustrations are most illuminating.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA**AFRICA****INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Mr. Arthur Lal, India's permanent delegate at the United Nations has told a meeting of the Asian-African at United Nations Headquarters on the 25th of July that India would continue her efforts to seek justice for racially oppressed people in South Africa.

Mr. Lal told the meeting that South Africa had rejected offers of negotiations made by both India and Pakistan on the question of people of Indian origin.

Early in June this year, in separate letters addressed to the South African Government, both India and Pakistan had, it is learnt offered to negotiate on the long-standing dispute.

According to informed sources—the meeting of the Asian-African group is not open to the Press—South Africa rejected the offers on the ground that a public speech made by Prime Minister Nehru in 1954 did not indicate a friendly approach towards the problem.

Mr. Strydom's refusal to meet Indian representatives virtually amounts to a rebuttal of the General Assembly's directive, as it had recommended that India and Pakistan should have direct negotiations with the South African Government.

CANADA**INDIANS IN CANADA**

"India had taken up with Canada through normal diplomatic channels the question of removing certain discriminatory restrictions on Canadian citizens of Indian origin bringing their relatives to Canada," Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry told Dr. Rama Rao in a written reply in the Lok Sabha on July 27.

MALAYA**INDIANS IN MALAYA**

The Malay Indian Congress (M.I.C) should either boost its ordinary membership or be written off from the Alliance Party partnership. This decision of the National Council of the United Malay National Organisation and the Malayan Chinese Association was recently conveyed to the M.I.C. President, Mr. V. T. Sampantham who has promised the UMNO-MCA organisations that within the next four months he would have the ordinary membership of the M.I.C. raised to at least one-third of the total Malayan Indian population.

CEYLON**INDIANS IN CEYLON**

Ceylon Prime Minister Bandaranaike said on July 18 that he had increased the staff in the Department of Registration of Indian and Pakistani Citizens in order expeditiously to dispose of applications for citizenship from persons of Indian origin still pending with the Government.

Answering questions at his weekly Press conference in Colombo he said that want of staff was the main "bottleneck" which had hitherto caused delay in disposal of applications.

The Prime Minister had stated some time ago that he proposed to complete disposal of applications within one year.

Of over 2,35,000 applications covering nearly eight lakh persons of Indian origin who sought Ceylon citizenship the Ceylon Government had disposed of nearly two-fifths by the end of April last.

TANGANYIKA**INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA**

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President, who visited Dar-E-Salaam in July on his way back to India from his European tour said that the experiment of moulding Tanganyika into a nation was bound to succeed. "Tanganyika is fortunate in being associated with both U.N. and the Commonwealth, which have been instrumental in bringing self-government to many countries."

The Vice-President, who was addressing a meeting of over 7,000 Indians there under the auspices of the Asian Association, wished the people of Tanganyika god-speed in their development towards self-government as a "harmonious co-operative human community." He added, "The experiment of moulding Tanganyika into a nation must succeed." The demand of the times was that narrow loyalty to groups or races should be overcome.

Turning to Indians, he said he was glad to learn that people of Indian origin settled there were also making their contribution to the experiment and he felt this was quite appropriate.

"This is your home. To this country your patriotism and loyalty is due," he declared. The Vice-President hoped the Indian community would completely merge itself in the new nation that was in the making and would not demand any privileges whatever.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 1. Goan villagers flee countryside due to harassment by military men.
—Cease-fire talks on Algeria open at Lille (Northern France).
- July 2. Explosions in New York Atomic Laboratory take place.
- June 3. Nehru receives "Freeman of London City" at Guildhall, London.
- June 4. Mr. Nehru meets S. African Prime Minister Strijdom in London.
- July 5. Plot to overthrow Nepal Government foiled:
—India Government floats three loans for a total sum of Rs. 150 crores.
- July 6. Mr. C. V. Narasimhan succeeds Dr. Lokanathan as Secretary of the ECAFE.
—Syria decides to federate with Egypt.
—India takes over Nicobar Island air base from R.A.F.
—Commonwealth Conference ends: The nine Prime Ministers issue a joint Communique.
- July 7. Nehru in Dublin.
- July 8. Ike re-assures continued support to General Chiang Kaishek.
—Tamil Nad Congress Committee advises congressmen to keep away from Dakshina Pradesh controversy.
- July 9. Earthquake in Greece kills many persons and causes large-scale damage.
- July 10. President Eisenhower announces that he would seek re-election.
—Nehru receives doctorate at Irish University.
—Mr. Sheermom Cooper America's Ambassador in India resigns.
—Harijans enter Jaffna temples.
- July 11. The Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. meets in Moscow.
- July 12. Eden announces in the Commons internal self-Government for Cyprus.
—Soviet Union announces willingness to accept levels proposed by the West re-reduction of armed forces.
—Mr. V.K. Menon appeals to the Disarmament Commission to ban nuclear tests.
- July 13. Nehru in Germany: Dr. Adenauer, the Chancellor gives a dinner party to Nehru and assures German help for India's economic development.
- July 14. Nehru-Adenauer talks begin at Bonn.
—President Heuss gives a banquet to Nehru.
- July 15. International Seminar of the World University services concluded its sessions at Poona.
- July 16. The Supreme Soviet appeals to World Parliaments & Governments to end arms race.
—Lok Sabha meets: Select Committee Report on S.R.C. Bill is presented to Parliament.
- July 17. U.N. Disarmament Committee calls on its five-member Sub-Committee to make another bid to reach agreement.
—Earthquake in Burma.
- July 18. U.S. House of Representatives unanimously re-affirm its opposition to China's entry into the U.N.
—Mr. Nehru, Marshal Tito and Col. Nasser at Brioni.
- July 19. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld U. N. Secretary-General arrives in Jerusalem.
—Austrian expedition conquers the 26,342 foot-high peak Karakorum.
- July 20. U.S. & U.K. withdraw offer of aid for Egypt's Aswan Dam.
—Security Council favours admission of Morocco to U.N. membership.
- July 21. Earthquake in Cutch: Over 100 lives reported lost.
- July 22. Nehru returns to India after a four-week tour abroad.
—President Prasad inaugurates Tilak's centenary celebrations in New Delhi.
- July 23. Tilak centenary celebrations throughout India.
- July 24. Atomic scientists of India, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt and Indonesia meet at Bombay.
—Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister resigns: Mr. Nehru takes charge of the Ministry of Finance.
- July 25. French Government obtains vote of confidence.
- July 26. Egypt announces to nationalisation of Suez Canal Company.
—The Security Council unanimously endorses Tunisia's admission to the United Nations.
- July 28. Britain freezes all Egyptian assets.
—Nehru unveils life size portrait of Tilak in the Parliament House in New Delhi.
—Russia gives up oil concession in N. Iran.
- July 29. Representatives of Britain, France and U.S. meet in London and discuss the Suez Canal situation.
- July 30. Eden announces that export of war materials to Egypt has been stopped.
- July 31. Dulles flies to U.K. for Suez talks.
—England retains the "Ashes" in the Fourth Australian Cricket Test.

READERS' DIGEST

AN EMPIRE IN CRISIS

According to *Jana*, the news magazine of international affairs, published in Colombo, the British Empire is today facing a crisis more acute than any it has faced since World War II.

The most overt signs of this crisis are to be seen in the threat to the chain of British military bases from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. In Cyprus, Britain is holding down a people in revolt by terror at a daily cost alike to British lives and moral prestige.

In Aden last month strikes and demonstrations demanding self-government announced that this colony too had been affected by the ferment of the Arab world. In Singapore the resignation of Chief Minister Marshall seems to mark the end of attempts to reach independence for this colony through negotiation and progressive constitutional reform. Finally in Ceylon, a newly elected nationalist government has asked for the removal of British bases from Trincomalee and Katunayake.

Apart from these disturbing events, what is more important still is the fundamental revolution that is taking place in the Asian and African world to which the Commonwealth must adopt itself—or break as under.

The effects of this national revolution are to be seen not only in the demands for the liquidation of British bases but also in the fight against British economic and political domination in the Middle East and in the struggle for political emancipation and against white superiority in Africa.

The increasing success of Russian diplomacy and economic aid is another factor to be reckoned with.

It is therefore time for Britain to recognise that she can no longer hold the Commonwealth together merely with the political and strategic pre-conceptions she had inherited from an older imperialist era or with the hokum of anti-Communist propaganda.

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Writing on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting *Jana* warned:

"If the Commonwealth is to continue to have significance for its Asian and African members, if it is to survive the centrifugal forces which now assail it, it must undergo a more radical transformation than the constitutional metamorphoses such as the Statute of Westminster and the admission of Asian republics which have hitherto been regarded as land-marks in its development."

RETREAT ON MULTI-LINGUAL STATES

"What was thought of as politically expedient in February last has become politically inexpedient now, for the Congress runs the risk of losing heavily in the coming elections if Congressmen attach any sanctity to the Amritsar resolution. If the High Command's mind has changed, it is in response to a general mood against forcing the pace towards mergers," says the *"Eastern Economist."* When the Amritsar Congress passed the resolution favouring the idea of multi-lingual states, some leaders in the South took it seriously and began to do propaganda for Dakshina Pradesh. This has provoked a counter-campaign by the dominant section led by the Madras Chief Minister Kamaraj.

"Finding that there are strong elements in Madras opposed to the Congress as well as to the idea of Dakshina Pradesh, he has come out openly against it after a period of implied support to it. He must have realised, as Dr. B. C. Roy had to realise, that a merger move would cost the Congress dearly in terms of votes. Mr. Khandubhai Desai's recent advice to Congressmen in Madras not to indulge in any public controversy over the issue of Dakshina Pradesh was offered on the ground that the Amritsar resolution was no mandate but only an indication of the mind of the Party."

In the opinion of the *Eastern Economist* "the politician in India—at any rate the Congress politician—has a remarkable instinct for expediency. As one living from one election to another he cannot possibly forget that the year of grace of 1956 is the pre-election year."

INDIA'S INTELLECTUALS

The average Indian intellectual is astonishingly receptive to Soviet words and blind to Soviet deeds, says Mr. G. S. Bhargava in the American Weekly *The New Leader* of New York. In view of the prevailing intellectual climate, political leaders and writers find it useful to open any discussion with a sort of ritualistic denunciation of the West, regardless of the subject under consideration.

Few Indians turn to the reasoned opinions of the British *Economist* or its scholarly analyses of Russian affairs. They much prefer the superficial *obiter dicta* of the *New Statesman and Nation*, which is Nehru's own literary mentor. At the first Colombo conference of South Asian prime ministers in 1954, Nehru introduced the *New Statesman* to Indonesian Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo as a source of ideological inspiration. At the Foreign Ministry in New Delhi, its political sermons are read more assiduously than the *Bhagavad Gita*. But it would be erroneous to suppose that India's intelligentsia would feel at home with the communist party.

Their sympathy for Chinese and Soviet Communism rarely inclines them toward militant party activity, espionage, etc. Many of them might even side with Nehru in the event of a showdown with the Communists either at home or abroad. Some, like the Congress party leaders who join front organizations promoting "friendship" with Russia and China, are strongly opposed to domestic Indian Communism. Others tend to go along with the party during "soft," non-militant periods.

A product of two disparate cultures, the Indian intellectual has long been a split-personality.

Unwilling to break with India's medieval past, he is yet thoroughly modernized in his ways of living; he looks back nostalgically on the glory that was India centuries ago, but at the same time clamors for the good things of Western civilization. He is half-rural and half-urban, half-Indian and half-British. He loyally serves the present system, as he did the British *Raj*, but he is emotionally weary of it. Hence his fascination for the "millennium" offered by Moscow and Peking and his

hear-no-evil, see-no-evil, speak-no-evil attitude toward Communism abroad.

Prime Minister Nehru's foreign policy can be largely explained by his belief that to fight the communists effectively at home, he must take a pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese stand abroad.

Moreover, the current rise in India's worldwide prestige—Krushchev even recommended that it be formally acknowledged one of the Great Powers—tickled the vanity of Indian intellectuals, who suffer from a deep-seated inferiority complex. The intellectuals also enjoy being ranged with "progressives" the world over against the "reactionaries," and find this much more stimulating than such prosaic pursuits as the fight for economic and social reforms at home.

Indian middle class dualism dates back to the early British period. English education broadened the Indian mental horizon and implanted a deep admiration of British literature. It also implanted a burning desire for political reform and the Indian national movement was in a curious way, pro-British and anti-British at the same time. Nehru has eloquently characterized the two historical Englands which have engendered in so many Indians a curious love-hate attitude:

"The England of Shakespeare and Milton, of noble speech and writing and brave deed of political revolution and the struggle for freedom, of science and technical progress, [and] the England of the savage penal code and brutal behavior, of entrenched feudalism and reaction."

Indian intellectuals have somehow permitted the two conflicting sentiments to co-exist in their minds.

Without this mental compromise, political animosity would long ago have snapped British-Indian cultural links and launched India on the road to Communism or extreme Hindu reaction.

Many Indian intellectuals are also beset by a feeling of "two Americas" and "two Russias," one of which they accept and one of which they reject. It is this unresolved conflict that often makes them baffling, inconsistent and even infuriating in the present world struggle between Communism and democracy.

SOVIET CUT IN ARMED FORCES

Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister has said Russia cut her armed forces because "there is no-where a possibility of a war breaking out" according to Moscow Radio some time back.

The Radio was broadcasting a recorded interview given by Marshal Bulganin to a correspondent of the Mexican newspaper, *Excelsior*.

Marshal Bulganin said, Russia had unilaterally begun disarmament fully believing that nobody wants war. "In Europe, Britain will not start a war, the French do not want it, the Germans cannot make it.

"We hope that the Western Powers will follow our example and do likewise. If clear indications of understanding are given and there is goodwill the results will be positive."

Marshal Bulganin said he was convinced that disarmament which "interests the whole world without exception" could be arranged "if the big countries give help and support to this clamour from the peoples."

He said Russia made "concrete proposals" on disarmament last month "but as soon as we did this, the Western Powers accused us of making disarmament in conventional weapons too dependent on the prohibition of nuclear weapons."

He told the Mexican newspaper that the Soviet Union had reiterated a proposal to ban nuclear energy for war-like purpose. "We were told that our proposals could not be accepted because we would not agree to the West's air inspection plan.

"In reality we do not accept air inspection as a form of control because it is impossible to fly over territories as large as the Soviet Union and the United States—all over the world in fact, since the United States have military bases everywhere.

"This fully proves that air inspection cannot give any positive result. That is why we rejected it. If any country has aggressive intention, these can be hidden from air control. I would call air inspection, ground reconnaissance and not control", Marshal Bulganin added.

Marshal Bulganin said he thought the most valuable Russian contribution to consolidating peace was "the goodwill for peace of the Soviet Union and the demonstration she has been giving to the world that she is willing to collaborate with all countries desirous of basing

their relations with us on peaceful and friendly principles".

He added that only "certain groups in the United States and their followers in other countries do not recognise the efforts made by the Soviet Union in endeavouring to alleviate the international situation and close the cold war."

Asked for a more explanation about Russian aid offers to Latin America, Marshal Bulganin cited China as an example to illustrate the difference between American and Russian aid. "That given by the United States is help. Ours is collaboration" he said.

"Collaboration is based on mutually beneficial conditions to which all political intentions are alien and any military obligation even more so. Collaboration, I repeat, is based on mutual respect, equality of rights and reciprocal interests with regard to all countries regardless of whether they are rich or poor, big or small". The Soviet Premier declared that "any help given by the United States is subject to conditions of a military and economic nature.

"Point four of (former President) Truman's declaration on aid to under-developed countries has turned into intervention in these nations as has happened with Turkey and Iran and many others. We are against all this.

The Soviet Premier said that "on these fundamental principles" Russia was developing relations with India where "we are erecting a large steel mill which will produce a million tons a year.

"It is not necessary to convince anybody that collaboration between the Soviet Union and India has nothing in common with the aid given by the United States to Latin America" Marshal Bulganin said.

He told Senor Hugo Latorre Cadal, the newspaper's correspondent, that Russia could collaborate with Latin America in the same spirit—this collaboration would be based on long-term credits.

Apart from technical collaboration "we could also collaborate in drawing up industrial projects, in their building and development, in their initial technical management and in the training of adequate indigenous personnel" Marshal Bulganin said. "This collaboration is inspired by the idea that the best way of serving is that of equality of rights without infringing the sovereignty of any of the parties."

MACHINES AND MEN

What is to happen to the human workers who are displaced (temporarily perhaps, but displaced still) by machines which can do their jobs more quickly and more cheaply? This is a problem as old as industry and the *Manchester Guardian* discusses it at some length in a recent issue, and offers its considered solution which is equally valid in India as in England. The provocation for this article is the strike at Coventry of twelve thousand men who fear that machines are about to steal their bread and butter unless something is done soon to give fresh heart to the men and women who see their livelihood threatened by the new process that are loosely called "automation."

But strike is no solution and every strike will make the position harder for the worker. For whom are the machine going to work? What is the pressing question?

We think of industry too much in terms merely of production, as if the problems of producers (managers or workpeople) were the only problems. But there is no virtue in producing anything unless it is produced for some purpose, and automatic machinery will be justified only if it can (and does) produce more of the goods that people want more cheaply, and so raise living standards all round. In this, of course, the workers in any given factory have as direct an interest as the rest of us: they have the same wants as anybody else, and if new machinery can help to satisfy them more readily they will gain with everybody else, even if they do have to move to different jobs. But that is in the fairly long run.

It may be asked why workers should show enthusiasm for machines "which seem to bring no immediate prospect but hardship and short commons."

Looking back over fifty years, we can see that the coming of the typewriter widened immensely the whole range of office employment, and found jobs by tens of thousands for women who would otherwise have had little chance of earning an independent living.

Whatever its advantages for the future the fact remains that men thrown out of work still remain the unfortunate victims of this neces-

sary process. What can be done to remedy this evil? As automation progresses the finding of alternative work exactly, or even nearly, similar to the work the "redundant" used to do is bound to be impossible. Yet the individuals who are helplessly displaced need help. For this, the *Guardian* says two immediate steps are necessary — one by the trade union itself and the other by the Government.

The unions must surely recognise that the resettlement of workers displaced by automation cuts across existing lines of demarcation, and that it can be achieved only by a combined operation in which all unions co-operate in training schemes and in the acceptance of members from other trades. The Government, for its part, must equally surely recognise that more is needed to move men to new jobs than the existing agency services of the labour exchanges.

The *Guardian* goes on to add if it would be possible for unemployment insurance, perhaps for an additional premium, to pay substantial resettlement grants to take care of capital losses on an enforced change of job?

THE "SWARAJYA" WEEKLY

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has stressed the "great need" for "a Gadfly weekly paper" in India which is not overweighted by finance and the consequent fear of losing money, which can close down any time and start again any day without serious loss, and which is governed by a sense of truth and public welfare and does not look to mass popularity or votes or the power derived from pleasing people."

Mr. Rajagopalachari gives his blessings, in an article in the inaugural issue, to the new Madras weekly "Swarajya", under the editorship of Mr. Khasa Subba Rau. "News may be served by the Daily Press," "but a good, high class weekly has the privilege of educating the public in thought and appraisal, which I fear, the Daily Press is not adequately or at all doing."

"The rotary machine has come and with it the doubtful blessing of large capital. The independence of the Press has been adversely affected by this revolution in the Indian Press. The small well-conducted high-quality weekly can supply a felt want and render great national service."

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN INDIA

Vast expansion of scientific research facilities is envisaged in the Second Five Year Plan.

The Plan provides for an outlay of Rs. 20 crores for the development programme of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In addition, the University Grants Commission is expected to provide a sum of Rs 17 crores to the universities for building up research facilities and for higher technological education.

Under the First Five Year Plan a sum of five crores was spent on building and equipping national laboratories. The total expenditure on the activities of the Council of Scientific and Industrial research during the period amounted to more than 7 crores.

A distinctive achievement of the First Five Year Plan, says a contributor to *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, was 'the setting up of a chain of national research laboratories' now widely recognised an indispensable part of the country's industrial equipment.

"There are national laboratories now for physics, chemistry, metallurgy, fuel, glass and ceramics, food technology, drugs and electrochemistry. Leather, road and building research institutions have been organised. There are research institutions for electronics at Pilani and for salt at Bhavnagar. A national botanical garden scheme is in operation at Lucknow.

In addition to research departments in 33 universities, India has now apart from the national laboratories functioning under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 88 research institutions and research centres and 54 associations in the field of technological research."

A field of research in which India has made significant strides and ranks among the first half dozen nations is the nuclear science

"Production of electric power from nuclear energy and the application of nuclear science in agriculture, industry, medicine, health and other peaceful uses is aimed at. As a result of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission, set up in 1948, it has now become possible to embark upon large-scale research and industrial projects. A Department of Atomic Energy was set up in 1954 to take charge of development work in this field. In the programme of research and in training

scientific personnel, the Department has met with considerable success. The scientific staff of the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay—200 in 1955—is expected to increase to 800 in 1959."

AMERICA: A HUMAN WELFARE STATE

The American Labour Review contains an article on the above subject by Mr. Walter P. Reuther who toured India recently. How America is fast becoming a human welfare state is described by Mr. Reuther as follows:—

"In the last twenty years, we have had a peaceful revolution in the United States. And it has been no less a revolution because it has been peaceful.

If I have to pin a label on this revolution, I would like to call it the "human welfare state." The essence of the philosophy of the human welfare state is to be found in its fundamental concern with the human consequences of economic disorganization—in stark contrast to a philosophy which tolerates large-scale unemployment, impoverished old age, illness and disability as the impersonal and inevitable workings of a private enterprise system.

The human welfare state marks the abandonment once and for all of the philosophy of survival by the law of the jungle, of survival by the force of tooth and claw with victory going to the rich, and the powerful.

The human welfare state means that human beings who are ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-educated are the problems of the whole community, whether that community is the local community, the national community or the international community. We have asserted this principle as a living reality in American life on the ground that the alleged economic laws which condemned one-third of a nation to poverty were not immutable and beyond human will and human understanding.

The genius of the American people lies in their capacity to carry through programmes to deal constructively with these problems preserving at the same time their essential liberties, freedoms and moral dignity.

They thus respected another ancient dogma by proving that the attack on poverty by government is consistent with the maintenance of free institutions. Indeed, we proved that not only are free institutions not weakened but that in point of fact, they are strengthened.

GRAMDAN: A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

In the beginning of the bhoodan movement, Vinoba asked only for the donation of one-sixth of one's land to the landless labourers of the village. "If you have five sons, regard me as your sixth," said Vinoba to the villagers. But some villages in U.P. and Bihar agreed to donate all their plots of land, big and small, for redistribution among the people.

This new phase of the bhoodan movement (writes Shriman Narayan) which is called Gramdan, received great stimulus in Orissa, particularly in Koraput district, where more than 900 villages have so far been donated to Vinoba. The gramdan movement is, indeed one of the greatest revolutions that the world has seen in the course of its history. Vinoba himself regards it as "a great landmark" and "the last lap" in the march of bhoodan yajna. Imagine all the agriculturists of a village donating all their land to bhoodan in a spirit of self-sacrifice and mutual affection and then receiving back plots in accordance with the needs of their families.

Could there be a greater revolution than this wonderful conversion of human minds and hearts. The people in general have a great attachment for land and do not mind spending their all to safeguard their rights in the courts. But an appeal to their good sense by a noble soul makes them part with all their land in the village and receive with good grace and in all love only a few acres which would be necessary for the maintenance of their family according to its size.

In one of the gramdan villages in Koraput, a man who had owned 24 acres before, got only 3½ acres at the time of redistribution, while a person possessing no land at all received 5 acres because of a larger number of members in his family. And the beauty of it all is that the owner of 24 acres receives 3½ acres at the hands of Vinoba with great thankfulness and in a prayerful spirit.

ACTIVITIES OF MISSIONARIES

The Madhya Pradesh Government appointed a Committee to report on the activities of the Missionaries in that State. The Committee was presided over by Mr. M. B. Niyogi, the former Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court. The following are the disclosures of that committee briefly summarised.

"Christian missions functioning in India have received foreign money to the tune of Rs. 29.27 crores between the years 1950 and 1954, according to the Niyogi Committee report on missionary activities in Madhya Pradesh. The Committee which bases this figure on information supplied by the Government of India, has taken it from the statistics of the Reserve Bank, also mentions that of this amount over Rs. 20 crores came from U.S.A. and nearly Rs. 5 crores from U.K. and the rest from other countries.

The Committee which according to itself, was compelled "to view the subject of missionary activities as an integrated part of the larger picture on the broad canvas of world history," sums up the situation in these words: "The papacy representing the Catholic Church and the American democracy are united in their frantic drive for gathering proselytes to Christianity to combat Communism, the former to extend its religious empire and the latter to obtain world leadership.

The Committee, whose Chairman, Dr. M. B. Niyogi, is a former Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court, says: "Missionary organisations are so widespread in this country that they seem to constitute a State within a State." This 'State within a State' is manned by more than 4,800 foreign missionary personnel which is 500 in excess of the returns for 1951. Of these, 402 foreign personnel are working in this State where there are about 30 different missions actively functioning. These missions are active almost all over the State, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes, who form over 57 per cent of this State's 21 million people "are the special targets of aggressive evangelisation." Particularly, their activity in the merged States, before their merger "has not been healthy, and their methods not savoury." Two or three times there were rebellions in the States and even the Political Department manned by European Christians, "was compelled to put restrictions on the entry of missionaries and their movement in the former States." There is recorded evidence of a Catholic Father Superior giving the Commissioner of Chhatisgarh Division, an undertaking that his mission "would confine itself only to religion and not dabble in politics."

Still attempts at mass conversion went on and the ways of evangelism included schools, hospitals, orphanages, money lending, promise of gift of ploughs, bullocks and milk powder received from abroad. Discussing the question of mass conversions, the report says that as a rule, groups have been converted and individual conversion is an exception rather than the rule.

The Niyogi Committee has said in its report that "the manner in which the missionary movement goes on in certain places is clearly intended to serve some political purpose in the cold war."

The Committee said. "If an activity is found to be political but concealed under the cloak of religion, the continuance of such activity is fraught with danger to the security of the State. Moreover to exploit the need and distress of people for adding to the numbers of what is styled as world community for the purpose of promoting the cause of world peace and justice as conceived by a foreign nation is interference in the internal affairs of India, and it is repugnant to the principles of Pancha Shila."

The Committee said that a strict watch must be kept on the activities of missionaries among the hill tribes "in view of the suspicion that the Christians under missionary control might be used in critical times to promote foreign interests." The demand of a separate State of Jharkhand, the recent hostile attitude of the Nagas, Karens and Amboneses pointed in the same direction, the report said.

The Committee said that it was of the view that an enquiry into the activities of foreign missionaries was not an attack on the Christian community as had been contended in some quarters. "Christian Indians are as rightful citizens of India as Hindus or any other community. We share with some of the thoughtful Christians themselves that it is highly undesirable for an important community like the Christians to be in some form or another under foreign domination."

It was a matter of great satisfaction, the report said, that amongst a large section of Christian people there was a realisation that the goodwill of the majority community in any country was the safest guarantee for the fulfilment of constitutional obligations, even more than law courts or executive authorities."

NEUTRALS AND U.S.A.

On the question of the neutrals and their relations with U.S.A. there has been no consistent or unified opinion among responsible authorities in Washington. Different men at different times have expressed different opinions. And sometimes the same men have voiced varied views.

The Administration's difficulties in defining its position are apparent from the following statements:

President Eisenhower on June 6: "We were a young country once and (for 150 years) we were neutral.... Now today there are certain nations that say they are neutral. This doesn't mean... neutral as between right and wrong or decency or indecency."

Secretary of State Dulles on June 9: (Neutrality is) an obsolete.....immoral and short-sighted conception."

Vice President Nixon on July 4: "We cherish... the friendship of.....nations who share our dedication to democracy.....even though they have not seen fit to ally themselves with us..... But (toward the) brand of neutralism that makes no moral distinction between the Communist world and the free world.....we have no sympathy."

The net effect of these statements says the *New York Times*, has been to cause criticism by the neutralists. Indians for example, pointed to the evident conflict between the President and the Secretary of State. Prime Minister Nehru said: "Apparently Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles want all peoples to think as they do.... I object to Communist regimentation. I object equally to non-Communist regimentation."

For at a recent press conference Secretary Dulles was asked whether he still thought neutralism was "immoral." Mr. Dulles replied: "I did not say neutralism of all kinds was immoral.... I think there are very few, if any (immoral neutrals), although I do believe this: that countries which denounce genuine collective security pacts are seeking to promote a somewhat wrong view of neutrality."

The debate has clearly not increased the United States' popularity among the neutralist nations. But for all the talk, as a practical matter, says the *Times*, the United States has taken a tolerant view of neutralism, for the moment at least. The Administration is continuing to give economic aid to Yugoslavia, India and other neutralist nations.

ON FREEDOM FOR INDIAN WOMEN

In an editorial titled "Toward Freedom for India's Women," the *Baltimore Sun* says:

"Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on a visit to the United States many years ago, was amused to find herself mistaken for a fortuneteller, and not quite so amused to discover that India was thought of as a land of serpents, palm trees, tigers and suttee....."

"Mrs. Naidu tried to explain that she represented another India, a rational India. She was its greatest representative of her sex; but she was no feminist. Feminist movements, she believed, started from an admission of inferiority. For all of India's women she wanted the kind of full freedom she herself, in fact, enjoyed and employed: First as a Cambridge student in her teens writing lyric poetry highly acclaimed by the turn-of-the century critics; then, in 1925, as president of the Indian Congress Party; again as leader of the Congress when Gandhi was jailed for Salt March; finally, as first Governor of the United Provinces after Indian independence. When she died in Lucknow five years ago, Mrs. Naidu was esteemed and loved in India next only to Gandhi."

"More than any other one thing the example of Mrs. Naidu is responsible for the current attempt of her rational India to enact laws which would free India's women from most of the remaining disabilities of law and custom. This legislation would allow Hindu women to share in the estates of their fathers, permit divorce of Hindu couples, outlaw the customs of dowry and allow civil marriage between Hindu and non-Hindu, without any renunciation of religion."

VAISHNAVA THEOLOGY

The newly started quarterly the "*Indian Philosophy and Culture*" of the Vaishnava Research Institute, V.T. University, Brindaban U.P. has many interesting and instructive articles on Philosophy by eminent scholars. Dr. R. Naga Raja Sarma, one of the contributors, in his article on "Vaishnava Theology: Its place in the sun", observes:

"*Vaishnava Theology cannot be merged into any other theological forms, moulds, or patterns. It is distinctive, sui generis, and autonomous. Vaishnava-Theology is based on the solid bedrock of Philosophy and Metaphysics. Every theological system should be based or*

grounded on corresponding metaphysical system. Vaishnava-Theology is grounded on Realism, Pluralism, and Theism. Such a system of metaphysics has been propounded and championed by Madhva. Ramanuja also has advocated Vaishnava-Theology though metaphysical differences there are between the systems of Madhva and Ramanuja.

I feel confident that the Vaishnava Theological-University-Research Journal would endeavour its utmost to present the doctrines of Vaishnava-Theology in their proper perspective. There are systems of Christian Theology, Islamic Theology, and many other forms of Theology in the world. They cannot be merged into one another, nor into any one so-called universal Theology. Vaishnava-Theology shines by its own inherent brightness or brilliance. It is not in need of any artificial embellishments from any external sources. While economic or political ambitions are dangerous, philosophical or metaphysical ambitions are the most dangerous. The ambition is to regard oneself as absolutely identical, and one with the Supreme Lord of the Universe.

Vaishnava-Theology knocks this ambition on the head. It teaches humility. It communicates correct type of knowledge. It imparts moral and religious wisdom. Man must feel humble in the presence of the Lord. It is the Lord alone who has the power to liberate man from *samsara* from the tantalising troubles and turmoils of transmigration.

If freedom from bonds of Karma is to be secured, the Lord of Brindaban should be worshipped in unsullied devotion. His Grace should be earned. Grace could be got only by realization of the immanence of the Lord, (Sakshatkara). Realization can be secured only by practice of yogic-methodology. Power-philosophy would never enable one to secure Divine Realization. That is the message of Vaishnava-Theology to modern mankind, erring, struggling, and stumbling in intellectual and spiritual darkness. *Light would be shed only by Vaishnava-Theology. It must have its place in the Sun. H.H. Swami Bon Maharai working under divine guidance and inspiration is sure to preserve and protect Vaishnava-Theology in its pure, pristine, unalloyed and unsullied form.*"

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

IKE ON SUEZ CRISIS

On the 27th of last month Col. Nasser announced his decision to nationalise the Suez Canal Company. While the consensus of opinion in the East is in favour of nationalisation, vested interests of Britain, France and America are opposing it and the western powers especially U.K. and France raise a hue and cry and even threatened with war if necessary.

President Eisenhower, commenting on the Suez Canal crisis, told a Press conference on August 1, that it must be made certain that the rights of the world were not abused.

Mr. Eisenhower rejected the suggestion of a woman reporter that the proposed internationalisation of the Suez Canal was comparable to internationalising the United States Panama Canal.

Mr. Eisenhower said that the conditions were not the same and realised that the Constantinople Convention of 1888 had laid it down that the Suez Canal should always be an international waterway.

Mr. Eisenhower said that the great problem was to make certain of the continued efficient use of the great Suez waterway which was important to neighbouring countries and vital to United States economy and to the welfare of the United States people.

Mr. Eisenhower was asked to discuss the message he had exchanged on the Suez situation with Sir Anthony Eden and Premier Mollet.

Mr. Eisenhower said he never publicly mentioned the substance of messages exchanged with the leading statesmen of other countries, but only the substance of his replies. He could only say that they were faced with a very grave issue important to every country in the world that had a sea-coast and probably to the rest.

Care should be taken to ensure a just and fair solution and they must make certain that the rights of the world were not abused. No other mention of the Suez crisis was made during the conference which was devoted mainly to the domestic political situation.

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WILL THE WEST FIGHT FOR SUEZ?

Dr. Mahmoud Fawzy, Egyptian Foreign Minister, conferred at Cairo on July 31 with Mr. Ahmed el Shukairy, Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League, on a "united Arab front" on the Suez nationalisation issue.

The Arab League spokesman told reporters later that the Arab countries would take "concerted action" to face any possible Western measures against Egypt following the nationalisation of the Canal.

Answering a German correspondent's question as to what Egypt's attitude would be in the event of Western military action against the Suez Canal, Wing Commander Babri, Egypt's Director of Political Affairs, replied: "We will fight."

The British are equally busy. Britain has warned British subjects in Egypt to leave the country. The Queen of England issued a proclamation on August 2 calling up specialist soldiers on the British Army reserve for emergency duties in the Eastern Mediterranean. The French National Assembly has also voiced its readiness to handle the situation by declaring "the behaviour of Col. Nasser constitute a permanent threat to peace." Britain, France and U.S.A. propose a 24-nation conference including India, Russia and Egypt to be held in London on August 16 to consider the establishment of international control over the Suez Canal.

In a communique issued on August 2, the Western Big Three condemned Egypt's nationalisation of the waterway as "arbitrary and unilateral."

Outstanding developments are likely to take place in the next few weeks.

PERILS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

About a year ago, Prime Minister Nehru requested the Defence Science Organisation of the Government of India to make, with the material available, an objective study of the consequences of the use of nuclear, thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The results of the study, made by well-known Indian scientists, have been presented in an epoch-making book entitled "Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects," released at New Delhi on August 1.

Utterances of the Day

BEVAN ON EISENHOWER

Mr. Aneurin Bevan at Corwen asked in a speech on July 21, how President Eisenhower could describe himself as a Christian when he claimed the right to "poison" others by hydrogen bomb explosions.

He also accused Church leaders in Britain and the U.S. of "blasphemy" for failing to give a lead on the banning of hydrogen bomb tests.

In an address to 3,000 people Mr. Bevan said: "I ask this question in all seriousness of President Eisenhower who invokes the benediction of God upon the American nation on frequent occasions: how can he describe himself as a Christian or the U.S. as Christian when he claims the right to go and let off these hideous weapons and poison their neighbours?"

"Can anyone find in the Christian creed justification for that?" Mr. Bevan asked.

He added: "I solemnly say to the Churches of mankind, to the leaders of religion here and in the U.S. that they are guilty of blasphemy."

They described the Russians as a nation of God-haters, as a nation of atheists.

He commented: "Well, comrades, strip from your minds all the delusions you are fond of harbouring, strip from your minds all the little false conceits and false righteousness we all have and just consider—it is from the God-haters that the proposal has come to ban hydrogen bomb tests and it is by the God-lovers that the proposal has been rejected."

"Is there any Christian Minister who has a reply?" Mr. Bevan demanded.

In the past, he said, discussions about disarmament had broken down on the principle of mutual inspection. In the case of thermo-nuclear explosions an inspection was not needed because as soon as any nation let off a hydrogen bomb it was known."

NEHRU ON TILAK

India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, unveiled in London at the India House on July 13, a portrait of the Indian leader, Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak, whom he described as "the father of the Indian Revolution."

The Prime Minister said the youth of India, today were, in a sense, apt to minimise the contribution of the greater leaders of the Indian Freedom Movement. "They forget the circumstances, the difficulties and the environment in which those leaders worked," said Mr. Nehru.

V. K. MENON ON U.S.'s ARROGANCE

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, India's Minister without portfolio, said that "those who fought a war to keep their territories have no right to tell India what to do" at his speech in New York on July 16. Mr. Robert A. Smith *New York Times* leader writer asked him questions on the television.

Mr. Menon replied: "We came to the United Nations, because Pakistan had invaded Kashmir, a part of India. All we had asked for was United Nations' good offices to have the invaders removed. Our initial complaint was that we had been invaded, and that there had been a gross violation of international law."

When Mr. Smith asked why India "opposed a free plebiscite in Kashmir," Mr. Krishna Menon replied sharply: "I object to misrepresentation of facts. Why don't you read the report of Sir Owen Dixon (U.N. Representative on Kashmir in 1951) which said Pakistan had invaded Kashmir."

...Sir Owen Dixon had said in his report that he would be prepared to hold that the entry of the tribesmen, as well as that of Pakistan into Kashmir, was a violation of international law.

When Mr. Smith asked: "Whose territory is it?" Mr. Krishna Menon said: "There has been no plebiscite in Texas, which the U.S. fought a war to keep. Those, who had fought a war to keep their territories, have no right to tell India what to do."

...Texas, one of the American States, declared itself independent of Mexico in 1830, and was annexed by the U.S. in 1845. The Mexican War followed.

Earlier in the same questioning, Mr. Krishna Menon said India had repeatedly declared that peaceful conditions must be established for a plebiscite, and if such conditions were established, the question could be settled. He pointed out that, on the contrary, Pakistan had entered into military alliances with the U.S., Britain, and other countries, and had "brought the cold war to our brink."

PRESIDENT PRASAD ON TILAK'S COURAGE

Broadcasting on July 22 President Rajendra Prasad paid tribute to the memory of Tilak. He said: "It was his example, his ideas and his writings which inspired the latter-day Congress leaders and gave them not only their ideology, but also their principal slogan 'Swaraj is our birth right.'"

Political and Personal

GOA FREEDOM STRUGGLE

There is growing understanding in the world of the strength of India's case in regard to Goa and most Asian and African countries have expressed their support to India. This was announced by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha where a number of questions were answered on July 27 regarding the latest position in Goa.

The Prime Minister said that the Government of India had received information from various sources to the effect that "there is a strong national movement in Goa for its liberation, which is gathering momentum every day."

"The Portuguese authorities," he added, "unnerved by the rising tide of nationalist and anti-Portuguese feeling have been adopting ruthless methods for the suppression of the movement. Since June, they have arrested a large number of persons, estimated conservatively between 80 and 100. A number of prominent citizens of Goa have been arrested on the merest suspicion of their being connected with the nationalist movement or having taken part in alleged acts of sabotage by nationalists."

C. R. ON EGYPT'S DECISION

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stated that there was "no meaning in international passions being roused" over the Suez Canal nationalisation issue.

"You denied your 'aid without strings' and Col. Nasser has naturally turned to another source of finance as an alternative," said Mr. Rajagopalachari in a speech at Madras on July 30.

"Contracts entered into by previous Governments and conditions attached to them are, no doubt, good legalistic argument, but they are out of place in the present period of world progress. The Suez Canal Company is a company registered in Egypt. It owes its existence to the concession granted by the Egyptian Viceroy, Mohammed Said to Ferdinand de Lesseps on 30th November, 1854, and ratified by the Sultan of Turkey on 19th March, 1856. Egypt now is a free State among the States of the modern world. It should surprise no one if it decides to take over a business within its territories and run it as a nationalised concern, although concessions granted a 100 years ago would require the maintenance of the *status quo* until November, 1968," he said.

BAKSHI GULAM ON KASHMIR

The Kashmir Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, ridiculed Pakistan's claim that Kashmir should form part of Pakistan because a majority of the State's population was Muslim.

Addressing a meeting at Nohama, about 12 miles from Srinagar, on July 18 he said more than four crores of Muslims led a happy and prosperous life in India. "India has, for centuries, been a centre of Islamic learning and culture. I am proud to be a citizen of India where great Muslim sages were born and died."

The Kashmir Premier concluded: "We acceded to India because our cherished ideology can flourish only in association with India. Religion has nothing to do with this decision of ours."

EDEN ON RUSSIA'S CHANGE

Prime Minister Eden said on July 23 that possession of the Hydrogen Bomb by the two major world powers (U.S. and Russia) will compel some "military re-thinking on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

He said he believed that in the Communist countries "there is a growing opinion which would not take kindly to a return of the condition of things which we and others now describe as Stalinism."

"We in the West would make a mistake if we did not accept this and understand it," he said. "Here is a quite normal process in the history of revolution."

He believed there was an increasing desire in the Communist countries for a greater share in material things. There was a possibility that the departure from the "rigidity" of the Stalin regime might lead the Communist world into some unexpected path.

Mr. C. D. DESHMUKH

The acceptance of Finance Minister Deshmukh's resignation by the President was officially announced on July 24. Prime Minister Nehru has himself taken over the Finance portfolio.

A communique issued from Rashtrapati Bhavan said, "The President has, under Clause 2 of Article 75 of the Constitution of India, accepted with regret the resignation of Shri C. D. Deshmukh of his office as Minister."

A communique from the Cabinet Secretariat said: "The Prime Minister will hold charge of the Ministry of Finance with effect from to-day."

Educational

HIGHER SECONDARY EDUCATION

A proposal to set up a Board of Higher Secondary Education for the whole country is under consideration of the Union Education Ministry with the object of speeding up reorganisation of secondary education.

The Board will aim at bringing about a uniform standard at the end of the higher secondary stage and facilitate the conversion of secondary school into higher secondary schools.

The All-India Council for Secondary Education which met at New Delhi during the last week of July discussed the details of the proposal and appointed a committee to make recommendations for such a Board.

The Board will conduct examinations for a period of five to ten years, which will give time to State Boards of Secondary Education to come into existence and to prepare for the conduct of future examinations for their respective States. If an all-India examination is conducted during this interim period, it will help in stabilising the standards that are expected of the Higher Secondary Schools. An all-India certificate will also make it easy for the universities and technical education boards to recognise the certificate.

The successful implementation of the scheme of reorganisation of secondary education depends on the universities providing for the three-year degree course and the polytechnics altering their rules of admission, so as to give these students the benefit of a year of study. Only a few universities have so far decided upon a three-year course and some universities have decided to introduce it in the course of this year or the next. Several universities are having the subject only under consideration and have not taken any decision.

The Education Minister Maulana Azad, has in a personal letter asked the universities to take early steps in regard to the introduction of the three-year degree course and institution of a pre-university course.

CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

The Government of India is understood to have decided to set up the National Children's Museum envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan in New Delhi.

The Museum, for the establishment of which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is expected to be made available during the Plan period is likely to come into being within a year.

DR. C. P. R. ON UNIVERSITIES

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, who returned on July 24 after attending the Commonwealth Universities and the International P.E.N. Conference at London, said the conference discussed mainly the ever increasing demand for admission to universities and ways of meeting it without affecting the standard of education.

He added that representatives of ten American universities said that they were opening new courses to meet the demands of students desiring higher education.

The English universities also discussed the question of imparting higher general education as a preliminary to specialised university courses. India, Dr. Ramaswami Ayyar said, faced a similar problem as a result of the new three-year university course contemplated by the university and secondary education boards.

He said the conference also discussed the effect of television and broadcasting on the quality and quantity of literature especially dramas and short stories.

SANSKRIT EDUCATION

The Council of Sanskrit Education in Hyderabad has sent a memorial to President Rajendra Prasad requesting him to direct the Government of India to recognise the Council and sanction a non-recurring grant-in-aid of Rs. two lakhs for the construction of a building to house the Vedantayardhini Sanskrit College and the Oriental Research Institute. An annual grant of Rs. 17,8,00, covering one-third of its budgeted expenditure, was also requested, as well as a recurring grant of Rs. 2,000 for each *patasala* to be started by the Council.

The memorial stated that the Council has been recognised by the Hyderabad State and the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams. Its financial commitments were a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. Six lakhs for the construction of buildings to house the College and the research institute and Rs. two lakhs for putting up quarters for teachers, and a recurring annual expenditure of Rs. one lakh for ten *patasalas* at Rs. 10,000 each and Rs. 52,600 for the Vedantayardhini Sanskrit College.

Legal

TILAK MEMORIAL

The court room in the Bombay High Court where the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was tried on charge of sedition and twice sentenced to terms of imprisonment was the scene of celebration of the 100th birthday anniversary of the Maharashtrian national leader.

The Chief Justice of Bombay Mr. M. C. Chagala, unveiled a tablet which enshrined the words which Tilak spoke soon after he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on a charge of sedition in 1908.

Tilak's words were: "In spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of mankind and it may be the will of providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

MR N. CHANDRASEKHARA AYYAR

Nobody is so much in demand for consultations as Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar of Madras. A former Judge of the Supreme Court he has been summoned to Delhi this time not for acting as Supreme Court Judge, but for consultations in connexion with the work of delimitation of constituencies.

A Statutory Commission is expected to be set up for the work after the States Reorganisation Bill is passed by the Union Parliament.

SIR RAYMOND KELLY

Sir Raymond Kelly, Chief Judge of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court since 1949, died at Melbourne on July 26 after an illness. He was 58.

Sir Raymond was born in Calcutta and took his law degree at Adelaide University in 1920. He was called to Bar in South Australia in 1921.

LORDS RETAIN DEATH PENALTY

The House of Lords on July 10 rejected by 238 votes to 95 a bill to abolish the death penalty for murder in Britain already passed by the Commons. The effect of this will be to delay the Bill for a year if the Commons insist on its becoming law.

MERCY PETITIONS

The Home Minister, Mr. G. Pant, told Sardar Iqbal Singh in a written reply in the Lok Sabha July 28 that out of 56 mercy petitions against death sentences received from different States since April, 1956, the death sentence of 15 prisoners has been commuted to imprisonment for life. Eleven cases were still pending, he added.

MR. A. V. VISWATHA SASTRI

Mr. A. V. Viswanatha Sastri, a retired Judge of the Madras High Court has been appointed judge of the Andhra High Court.

An official announcement from Rashtrapati Bhavan dated July 27 states that the President has approved the proposal of the Chief Justice of Andhra High Court that Mr. Viswanatha Sastri may be requested to sit and act as judge of the Andhra High court under Article 224 of the Constitution.

JUSTICE WARREN TO VISIT INDIA

Chief Justice Warren and his wife will be visiting India in the middle of this month as guests of Government of India. Justice Warren, a Republican of very liberal views, is one of the most-respected figures in American public life. During the last two years he has been Chief Justice, the Supreme Court has made many important pronouncements, most far-reaching of them being its outlawing of segregation in public schools. This has angered White supremacists in Southern States so much that recently one of them burnt a cross in front of the Justice's residence in Washington.

The Warrens are now holidaying in Europe and will come to Delhi from there.

REVISION OF INSOLVENCY ACTS

The Law Commission has taken up the revision of the Presidency Towns and Provincial Insolvency Acts and will make recommendations as to the line on which these Acts should be amended, revised consolidated or otherwise brought up-to-date.

The Commission has invited individuals and organisations interested in the subject to send their views.

COMPANIES ACT

Mr. K. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Deputy Registrar of the Supreme Court, who completed his term of office on the 31st July has been appointed as Officer on Special Duty with effect from the 1st of this month to be in charge of framing the rule under Section 643 of the Indian Companies Act, 1956.

Under this provision the Supreme Court, in consultation with the High Court, is required to frame rules for providing for all matters relating to the winding up of companies. The Court can also frame rules in respect of other matters, such as voluntary winding up of companies, holding of meeting of creditors and members, etc.

Trade and Finance

INSURANCE IN INDIA

Mr. M. C. Shah, Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, told Pressmen at Madras on July 14 prior to his departure for Bombay, that the proposed Life Insurance Corporation was expected to start functioning from September 1, 1956.

Explaining the new set-up after the establishment of the Insurance Corporation, Mr. Shah recalled the statement he had made at Bombay at the beginning of last month, and said that there would be five Zonal centres and about 30 Divisional Offices in all these Zones. There would be between 160 and 180 branch offices to start with, increasing ultimately to about 250 so as to have at least one office in each district.

CENTRAL GOVT LOANS

The first public borrowing by the Central Government for the Second Five Year Plan, amounting to Rs. 150 crores, was completed on July 18.

This was in the form of three loans of varying maturities which were opened on July 15 and closed at 11 a.m. on July 18 according to a Reserve Bank of India announcement.

The three loans were: 3-1/4 per cent bonds 1962, 3-1/2 per cent National Plan Bonds (third series 3-1/2 per cent 1967), and 3-3/4 per cent loan 1964. The issue price was Rs. 98 to per Rs. 100 for the first loan, and Rs. 98-8-0 per Rs. 100 for the other two loans. No specific amount was fixed for either of the three loans.

The then Union Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, had stated that the government during the current financial year would borrow Rs. 100 crores by way of market loans.

During the second Plan period the Government of India are to borrow Rs. 700 crores through market loans on an average of Rs. 140 crores a year.

The total amount of loans maturing during the period of the Second Plan is Rs. 430 crores and the plan states that gross borrowings in the five years "will therefore, have to be of the order of Rs. 1,130 crores" an average of Rs. 226 crores a year.

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

India signed on July 12 an agreement with the Export-import Bank, which is a lending agency of the U.S. Government, under which she will get a loan of 375 million dollars from the Bank for her development purposes. The loan is repayable in 73 annual instalments either in dollars or rupees. If repaid in dollars, it will bear interest at three per cent and if in rupees four per cent.

The Indian Ambassador in U.S. Mr. G. L. Mehta, signed the loan agreement on behalf of India. The loan is part of the economic assistance which India is getting from U.S.A.

FUTURE OF HYDERABAD BANK

The question of merging the Hyderabad State Bank with the State Bank of India was under the consideration of the Government of India, Mr. Vinayakrao Koratkar, Finance Minister, told the State Assembly during question-time on July 24.

The Minister told Mr. Venkatarama Rao that any change in the management of the Hyderabad State Bank would not have any adverse effect on Government loans to the Bank. The assets and liabilities would be considered when they would be divided. The Hyderabad Government had more assets in the Bank than liabilities.

Mr. Virupakshappa, Deputy Finance Minister told a member the amount of Hali Sica currency still in circulation in the State was Rs. 3,53,00,000.

AID THROUGH UNITED NATIONS

The Government of India have strongly supported the proposal for creating a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) on the ground, among others, that it will be free from the kind of political objections from which bilateral aid sometimes suffers.

The Indian Government's comments on the proposal for SUNFED which will be the first international agency for extending grants-in-aid as distinct from loans and technical assistance to under developed countries, are incorporated in an interim report submitted by the 16-nation 'ad hoc' committee appointed by the U.N. General Assembly in December 1955. Mr. Yavar Jung, India's representative, is the Chairman of the Committee, which was asked to receive and analyse the views of member States of the U.N.

Women's Page

WORLD'S LIVING GREAT WOMEN

Smt. Vijayalakshmi, Indian High Commissioner in London, was named one of the 17 "women of achievement" by the American Federation of Soroptimist clubs.

The Federation made up of women's clubs in 27 countries presented these, the first awards, at a convention held at New York on July 31.

The Indian diplomat was described by the Federation as "undoubtedly the outstanding woman of India today and among the world's most celebrated as well."

Other award winners include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and Miss. Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud.

MISS SCHLESIN

Indian Opinion, the journal founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903, announced the death on July 16 in a Johannesburg hospital of Miss Schlesin, known as "the Mahatma's daughter", who was Gandhiji's Secretary when he was in South Africa.

Miss. Schlesin, who first came into contact with Gandhiji when he began practising as a lawyer, later became his ardent follower and Private Secretary. In his Autobiography, Gandhiji devoted an entire chapter to describing his Secretary's character and personality.

When Gandhiji left South Africa, Miss Schlesin returned to the University to complete work for her degree. Afterwards, she devoted the major part of her life to educating non-European population in South Africa.

WOMEN AND FLYING

Women have no doubt taken to flying like men, but only a few venture unlike men.

There were only three women among the 141 candidates interviewed by the Selection Committee of the Madras Flying Club for the award of the Government of India Scholarship for Flying.

DOCTORATE FOR MRS. PANDIT

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in Britain, was admitted an honorary Doctor of Law by the Court of the University of Wales at the University College last month.

"MISS UNIVERSE"

Miss. U.S.A., 20-year-old Carol Morris, was named as winner of the "Miss Universe" contest held in Long Beach, California on July 21. Miss. Germany was second.

WOMEN PANCHAYAT

Women will manage the affairs of Vavveru village near Nellore. The villagers elected members of the fair sex for all the eight seats on the Panchayat Board.

This is the first instance wherein a local body in Andhra will be run exclusively by the fair sex.

Vavveru panchayat area includes Buchi-reddipalam from where Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Andhra Chief Minister, hails.

Mr. C. M. Trivedi, Andhra Governor, in a message to the all-women Panchayat Board of Vavveru, Kovur Taluq, congratulated the members of the Board.

He said voters of the village had set a solitary instance in Andhra and probably in the country, of electing all women to the Board.

He wished the members would do substantial work in improving the village.

NURSES IN WELFARE STATE

Twenty-two student nurses of the College of Nursing, at New Delhi on July 26, received caps at a function, which synchronised with the 10th anniversary celebrations of the College.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Health Minister, who presided said the nursing profession occupied a pride of place in India. Nurses had to play a definite role in a Welfare State, she added.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru in a message sent on the occasion said he was glad that more attention was being paid to the training of nurses in India.

"Nursing is an essential part of our health services. Unfortunately, enough attention has not been paid to it in the past and this profession has been rather neglected. There would be nobler profession than that of nursing. In India, especially, it should appeal to our women folk who have, I think, a natural aptitude for this work of care and healing," Mr. Nehru added.

WIDOWS IN GUJARAT

Over 1,200 widows in Gujarat had defied social barriers and remarried since the Widow Remarriage legislation was enacted 100 years ago, Mr. Gotubhai Dhruv, Leader of the Gujarat Sansar Sudhara Mandal (Social Reform Organisation) stated in Ahmedabad on July 20.

General

DR. ADENAUER'S OFFER

The West German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, offered German help for the economic development of India, in his speech at dinner he gave for Prime Minister Nehru.

Dr. Adenauer expressed his admiration for India's achievements through her Five-Year Plan and said "if India wants our co-operation we shall be pleased to give our best."

The West German Chancellor assured Mr. Nehru while the latter was there on the 13th of last month that he saw it as a moral duty of technically advanced nations to make available their technical development to other people.

He thanked Mr. Nehru for his understanding of the German problem. He said: "We are particularly grateful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, for the great understanding which you have always had for the fate of divided nations and for the fate of my fatherland and for your consequent policy of doing nothing that could hamper the re-unification of divided nations, which is in the interest of world peace."

CZECH PRAISE FOR 'DEVIDAS'

Critics praised the art in Mr. Bimal Roy's film "Devdas", the first Indian production to be shown at Czechoslovakia's Ninth International Film Festival at Karlovyvary.

Their general opinion was that although India has produced better films "Devdas" scored through its simplicity, fine photography and first class acting.

All paid tributes to the performances of Dilip Kumar who is attending the festival—as the hero of this story of thwarted love and Vijayalaxmi as the tragic sweetheart he leaves behind on his death.

The Communist Party newspaper 'Rude Povo' said, "Though not so great as the same producer's 'Do Bigha Zamin', it is nevertheless a proof of great artistic maturity of Indian films."

AMERICAN AID TO PAKISTAN

Although one-fourth of India's size, Pakistan is receiving two and a half times more American aid than India, according to Mr. George V. Allen, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. Allen's statement, in the course of an interview to the National Broadcasting Corporation television network programme, is revealing.

In reply to a question whether India as a neutral country was "playing across the board, trying to get aid from the East and the West," Mr. Allen is reported to have said: "When I went to India three years ago, American aid to India was four times as much as American aid to Pakistan, because India and Pakistan have about the same general standards of living, about the same needs and India is four times as large as Pakistan. And on a per capita basis, worked out that was the ratio of our aid. In the last three years, the ratio has changed almost on the other side."

"This year, I believe our total aid to Pakistan will be two and a half times as much as to India and may be it is increasing on the whole. Well, you say India is gaining by playing one side against the other. I am telling you that is often said but in actual fact, it does not work out that way."

DALMIA-JAIN CONCERNS

The Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Mr. M C, Shah, told the Rajya Sabha during question-time on July 30, that a proposal to appoint a Commission to inquire into the working of the Dalmia-Jain concerns was under the consideration of the Government.

Asked what would be the terms of reference of the Commission, and the basis of selection of personnel, Mr. Shah said no decision had been taken regarding this, and the matter was under examination.

In reply to further questions, he said investigation of the "misappropriation of funds of the Bharat Insurance Company to the extent of Rs. 2.25 crores by R. Dalmia" was nearing completion.

RUSSIA'S HELP TO ASWAN DAM

Soviet Ambassador to Egypt, Evgueni Kisselev, confirmed that the Soviet Government was prepared to help finance the construction of the Aswan high dam.

The Ambassador made this statement to newspapermen after the inauguration by Egyptian President, Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, of the pipeline bringing oil from Suez to a new refinery at Mostorod near Cairo.

Mr. Kisselev said: "I can only repeat the statement made by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Dimitri Shepilov, who has already made it known that the Soviet Government was prepared to finance the Aswan high dam project if Egypt asked for this financial aid by the Soviet Union."

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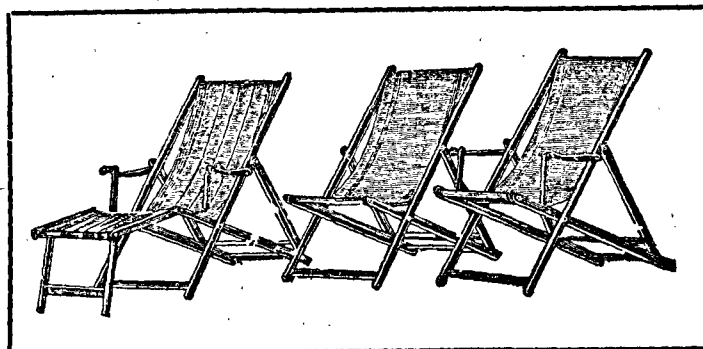
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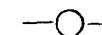
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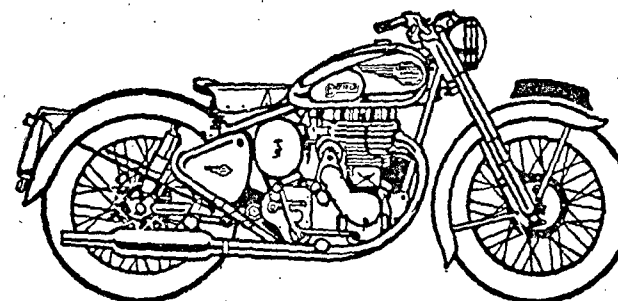
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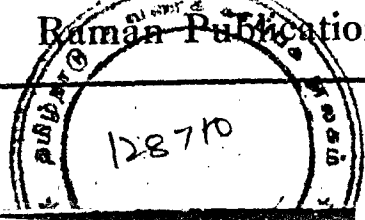
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