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SEPTEMBER, 1956



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INDIAN REVIEW

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Vol. 57]

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[No. 9

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By Sri. C. Rajagopalachari

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By Dr. K.L. Shrimali

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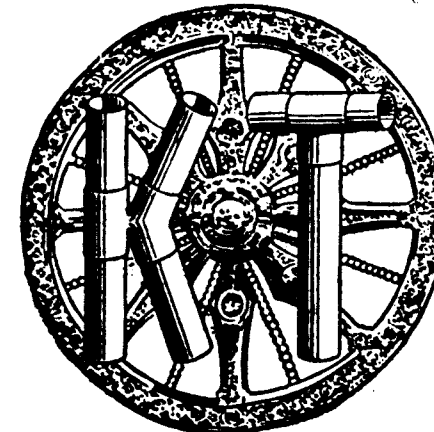
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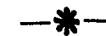
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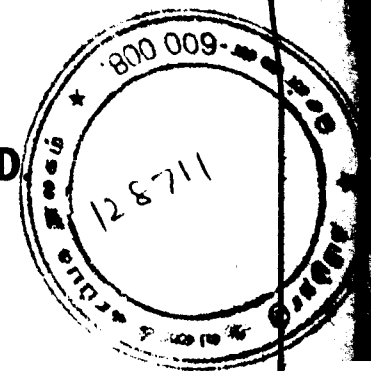
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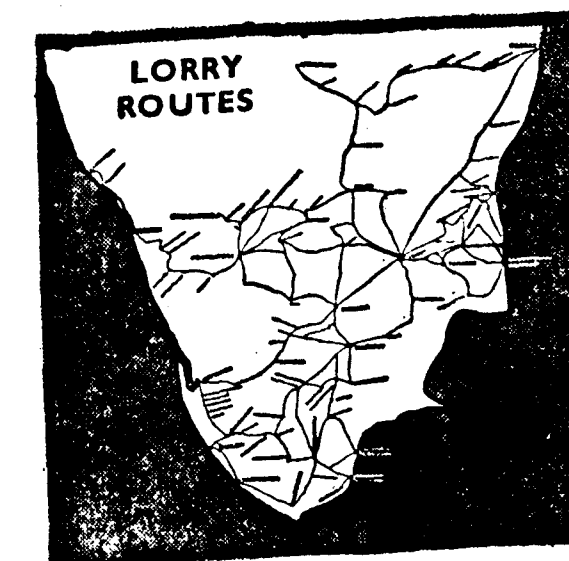
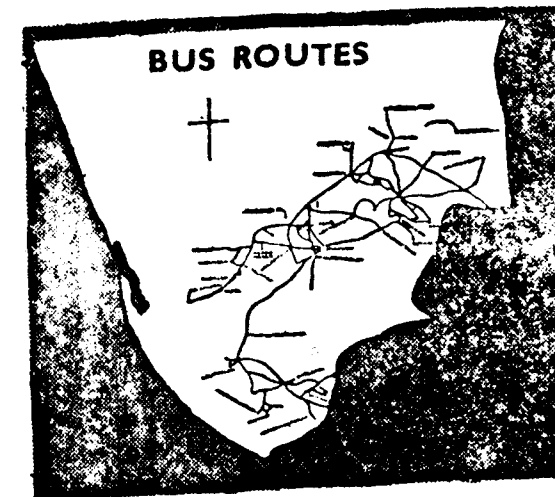
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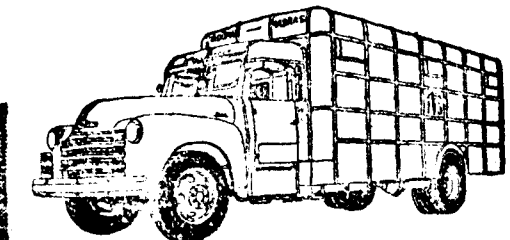


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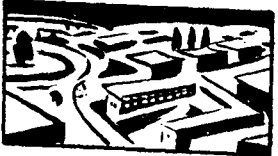


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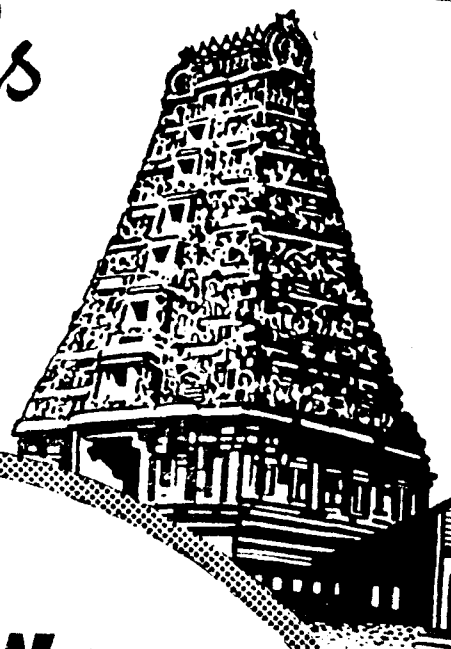
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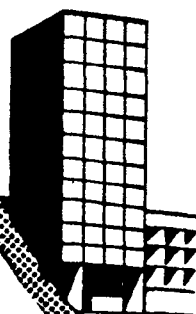
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SEPTEMBER 1956

[No. 9

To the Youth of India

By

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Our National Festivals are not merely days of jubilation. They are days of reminder of our national duties and of our status and responsibility in the world.

On August 15 in 1947 we got independence. On that day all the peoples of the world had a conclusive demonstration that foreign rule is not possible in any part of the world except with the consent of the subject people. The day when that consent is removed and the hypnotic spell cast by the conqueror is dispelled, the unnatural rule imposed by the foreigner breaks down by its own want of sustaining power. The 15th August is therefore a day of political disillusionment for all ambitious and aggressive nations and a day of emancipation for all colonially subjected peoples.

For ourselves these annual national days should be occasions for reminding ourselves of the hopes and presumptions on which the Fathers of Indian Freedom based their sacrifices and struggles. Let us realise the dangers ahead and behave as men and women who still revere Gandhi and Tilak and Naoroji and all the others who built our independence and entertained the grandest hopes on our behalf.

The final point of success in self-government is that each one of us governs himself, suppressing the beast in him, the greed and the liar in him. Individual self-control is not something apart from the political well-being of the nation. The quality of natural self-government is the sum total of the individual self-mastery that education, example and daily practice have produced among the men and women that make up the nation.

The character of the voters and in particular the character of the members of the party

that obtains the votes of the majority decides the character of the national government just as the character of the monarch in the olden days decided the character of his rule and the happiness or the want of it among the people over whom he held absolute sway.

There should therefore be a big national effort to improve the quality of the individual citizen alongside of our efforts for material achievements in the economic field. A sense of true values should be inculcated in the young. Unflinching loyalty to conscience, distinguished from perverse obstinacy, must be developed. Otherwise Swaraj will only be a majority government formed out of a crowd of bad people. National self-government is a great thing but the Constitution Act is no substitute for the good government for which all governments are intended. Every young man should, for himself, without waiting for others, resolve to be a good citizen. He should abhor dishonesty as he abhors unclean food. He should habituate himself to think clean thoughts and detest unclean thoughts as he maintains bodily cleanliness and dislikes a dirty shirt. He should hate to be ungentlemanly in action under any circumstances. Young men should take pride in practising self-control, control of mind by the better sense that is ever gently whispering to us and control of desires and of bodily activities by a well-directed and firm mind.

Then only will the government of our country be good for all time. The whole can never be better than the parts. Young men can earn the title of being cultured or educated only by learning the way of a pure and upright life. May the first generation of young men in Free India be like the early Romans, a race of sturdy men of virtue whose character earns a page of recorded history!

Problems of Education in India

By

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI,

Deputy Minister for Education, Government of India

The most important and urgent problem in the field of education in India is to provide free and compulsory education upto the age of 14 as laid down in the Constitution. Apart from the constitutional provision, a democratic society is morally committed to a system of free and compulsory education.

The aim of democracy is the development of the individual. A democratic society cannot function effectively as long as it allows millions of its children to remain without schooling and majority of people illiterate. Freedoms of speech, assembly and worship as also the power to vote and to determine the policies of a country which are considered basic in a democratic society become meaningless when people fail to understand the conditions under which they live and the problems which confront them.

In order that people in a democratic society may be able to make use of the fundamental rights, they must be able to communicate with each other, to think and to decide things together. Literacy is a prior and indispensable tool for the functioning of a democratic society and India like other Western countries must go through the first phase of the educational revolution by building up a system of free and compulsory education.

As far as education is concerned, the Second Third-year Plan does not present a very bright and promising picture. The target laid down in the Constitution is receding further and at the rate at which we are progressing, it seems doubtful whether the Directive of the Constitution can be fulfilled even by the end of the Five-year Plan. By the end of the Second Five-year Plan we shall have facilities of schooling only for 62.7 per cent children of the age group 6-11 and only 22.5 per cent for the age group 11-14.

This slow growth of elementary education should be a matter of great concern to the State on whom the Constitution places the responsibility for the fulfilment of the Directive

of the Constitution. The local community effort is desirable and our people should be closely associated with the programmes of educational development, but the ultimate responsibility for elementary education will have to be borne by the State which includes the Central as well as the State Governments. They must jointly mobilise all their financial resources to implement the Directive of the Constitution.

Educational expansion at the elementary stage cannot be left entirely to the resources of the local bodies or of the State Governments. Some of the States are already incurring more than 20 per cent of their total Budget on education and they may have genuine difficulties in finding additional funds through taxation for opening new schools. Moreover, some of the States are economically backward and do not possess adequate natural resources for further development in the near future.

As far as elementary education is concerned, the nation cannot allow differences in educational standards to be perpetuated between one State and another on account of differences in economic resources. The Central Government will, therefore, have to take its due responsibility for the implementation of the Directive of the Constitution and for equalising educational opportunities all over the country.

Another complicated problem which confronts the Government is with regard to the place of languages in our educational institutions. The solution lies in making a rational approach to the problem. It has now been generally accepted that mother tongue or a regional language should be the medium of instruction. There may be a few isolated schools which still retain English as the medium of instruction at the elementary or secondary stage but all the States have introduced mother tongue or regional language as the medium of instruction. There is no difference of opinion on this subject as mother

tongue or regional language has been universally recognised as the most suitable medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary stage.

There is not the same unanimity with regard to the position of Hindi and English. Hindi has been accepted as the official language of India not because it is older or richer than other Indian languages but because it is spoken by a majority and understood by a vast majority of the Indian people. We have to choose one language which may serve not only official purposes but which may also serve as a means of inter-communication between people of different linguistic groups.

Education has so far been confined in this country only to classes. With the expansion of mass education there is bound to be greater need for inter-communication between different linguistic groups. While we recognise linguistic groups and do everything that is possible to develop regional languages, we should not forget that the linguistic groups are only parts of the whole. The strength of a democratic society is dependent in a great measure to the extent that it allows free intercourse between different groups. Free social intercourse is most essential for the growth of a democratic culture. The different linguistic groups cannot live in isolation from each other. They must have one common language which all people in the North, South, East and West can understand.

We cannot obviously have English as the language for inter-communication between people of different regions. It could serve the purpose when the Government could be run with a small number of people and culture was confined only to the classes. A democratic society requires greater and greater participation on the part of the people in the affairs of the Government and in the healthy development of culture. We cannot escape the conclusion that Hindi should be taught to all the children in India. It will be a great cementing factor for national unity and help us in reintegrating our culture.

With regard to English, there was some opposition to it in the past which was partly due to the fact that it was a language of a foreign power which ruled our country. This reaction was natural when Indian nationalism began to assert itself. Even at that time, there

were patriotic leaders in our public life who realised the importance of English in our educational system.

After independence we can take a more dispassionate and objective attitude towards the whole problem. There are two weighty reasons for the retention of English in our secondary schools. (1) English is no more a language of one country only. It is now becoming an international language. India is destined to play an important role in international affairs because of her rich cultural heritage and traditions. We can make our contribution to the growth of world society and human civilisation only through English language. (2) English is also a language of science and technology. India has decided to make use of science and technology for its national progress and for raising the living standards of its people. The original literature in science and technology in Hindi or other regional languages is almost negligible. In order that our students may have access to original sources, it will be essential to have proper understanding of English language.

By the time a student leaves the High School, he should, therefore, acquire knowledge of three languages—regional language, Hindi and English. The students whose mother tongue is Hindi should learn another Indian language and in this way parity may be established between the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking regions. There is sometimes an apprehension that the study of three languages in addition to other subjects will make the curriculum too heavy for the child. The fear is baseless since we have before us example of several countries where children have to learn three languages at the secondary stage. In any case, the study of three languages is essential in a society like ours which stands for cultural freedom, national unity and international understanding.

Another difficult and yet the most urgent problem is to establish greater co-ordination between the Centre and States so that we may develop a national system of education which may reflect the beliefs and values which we have accepted for our society. While the States may maintain their autonomy in the sphere of education as provided for in the Constitution, every effort will have to be made by the Centre as well as the States to develop

common national policies and programmes of education.

With this end in view, the Central Government has set up various agencies, such as the Central Advisory Board of Education, University Grants Commission, All-India Council for Technical Education, All-India Council for Secondary Education, National Council of Rural Education, etc. The Government is already considering to set up an All-India Council of Basic Education.

In order that these Boards and Councils may be effective in bringing about the necessary reforms and changes in our educational system, greatest co-operation and understanding between the Centre and the States will have to be established. If the individual States and the Centre do not act in unison in implementing national programmes of education, national unity will be weakened.

Education has always been a powerful instrument in the development of national outlook and for building up national unity. If the

Central Government takes greater and greater responsibility for financing educational schemes, it should not be misconstrued as interference in the sphere which constitutionally belongs to the States but a realisation of the fact that different parts of the Indian Union are inter-dependent. If the national character of our problems, such as removal of gross inequalities in educational standards between the rural and urban areas and between backward and industrially advanced States and between various communities in the same State requires Central assistance or direction, it should be welcomed by the States.

We must develop a greater and clearer understanding of the values of centralisation and decentralisation and strike a proper balance between these two conflicting tendencies, which have certain advantages as well as disadvantages. This is a stupendous task which has to be accomplished through a spirit of tolerance, intelligent understanding and wise statesmanship.



The Naga Problem & its Implication

By

Mr. AMIT KUMAR NAG.

Some parts of our Naga tribal area are in turmoil. Frequent clashes between Naga insurgents and our armed forces are reported. And the law and order situation still remains beyond control.

Curiously enough, only a little while before the disturbances began, it had looked as if a new era of peace was about to open in areas now disturbed. The Naga National Council leaders' talks with the Assam Governor, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, were believed to have been distinctly hopeful.

Most political observers in Assam are agreed that the root of the trouble lies in the so-called "People's Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland". Though the Govt. of India has denied its very existence, there is reason to believe that this "Free Naga Republic" was in point of fact proclaimed about a year back by one Mr. Hongkhin and fourteen other "Kiloners" or Naga admini-

stering elders. According to usually reliable reports, this Kiloner Hongkhin is also said at one stage to have sent an ultimatum to the President of India, putting forward his "Government's" claim on Naga-inhabited Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency. In any case, there is no denying that ever since there have been reports of the proclamation of the "Free Naga Republic" trouble has been brewing in the Naga tribal tracts of India and Burma.

To understand the political aspect of Naga aspirations, one must, however, know the social, cultural and economic conditions which govern the lives of the Nagas.

The Nagas are divided into more than thirty tribes, who have different dialects, religious practices and customs. Ordinarily one tribe cannot understand the dialects of other tribes. In spite of such practical differences, all the Naga tribes share some

thing in common which regulates the general trend of their aspirations. Religious or social ceremonies like the 'feasts of merit' are observed generally by all Nagas. Even most of them believe in the earthly existence of tiger men, medicine men, etc.

No one knows definitely the origin of the Naga tribes, but it seems certain they have diverse origins and do not stem from a common stock. According to a school of sociologists, the Nagas were born of a Negroid people who entered Burma and Assam through the Malayan Archipelago. As a memento of their old habitation on sea-shores, probably, they still prize conch-shells and cowries as valuable decoration of their persons. Legends, however, say groups of Nagas have been wandering into their hills for more than a thousand years. But some Nagas seem closely akin to similar animist tribes of northern Indo-China and Formosa. And their nearest kinsmen are the Dyaks of Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo). Certainly there are links between the Naga tribesmen and the people of the Indonesian islands thousands of miles to the south-east.

In this connexion it is interesting to recall a Rengma Naga tradition according to which, a young man whose name is not known came from some other "world" and alighted in the country now known as Assam. Wandering in the forests here he met a young woman, with whom he was so much pleased that he took her to be his wife. They lived comfortably together, and in course of time had four sons Ram, Krishna, Aham and Naga and from them took birth respectively the Mikirs, the Kacharis, the Assamese and the Nagas.

Very little is known about the early history of the Nagas. It is interesting, however, to note that Tavernier in the latter half of the seventeenth century refers to people in Assam, evidently Nagas, who wore pigs' tusk on their caps and very few clothes, and had great holes for earrings through the lobes of their ears, fashions that survive to the present day.

The custom which has attracted most attention and which differentiates the Nagas from other primitive tribes is their strange craving for human heads. Head-hunting is still prosecuted by the Nagas living beyond the administrative out-posts, and human sacrifices are occasionally offered to ensure a good rice

harvest. Even last year, reports reached the outside world of a bloody head-hunting raid in a hill near the Burma border. Fifty-seven people were killed and an entire village burned.

According to a Government gazetteer of the early twentieth century, among other quaint beliefs, the Nagas think that certain men possess the power of turning themselves into tigers, while the legend of Amazon is represented by a village in the north-east corner of the Naga hills, peopled entirely by women, who are visited by traders from the surrounding tribes, and thus enabled to keep up their numbers.

In the eastern side of the Dikho river there are certain chiefs who enjoy some privileges and exercise authority over their villages, and chiefs are also found among the Somas, the Tangkhuls and the Konyaks. The ordinary Naga village is, however, a very democratic community, and the leaders of the people exercise comparatively little influence. They are noted for their skill in war or in diplomacy, or for wealth, but their orders are obeyed only so far as they are in accord with the inclination of the community at large, and even then the wishes of the majority are not considered binding on the weaker party.

It is shameful for Naga boys to sleep with their parents when they reach years of understanding. All the unmarried Naga boys of every village sleep in 'morung' (bachelors' community house). A boy enters "morung" when he is six or seven years of age and sleeps there till he marries and sets up house on his own. It is in the "morung" that he fags for other boys and is taught his duties in life and generally hammered into shape. The "morung" is a club strictly preserved from feminine intrusion. Here the old men tell of the greatest deeds of the past, and the coming generation is taught to carry on the old traditions in the future. Besides, the "morung" is also a sanctuary and no criminal whether of that village or a fugitive from another, can be touched within it. In the opinion of competent observers, when the past is no longer gloried in and future seems dark and uncertain the "morung" falls into decay.

It is shameful for Naga girls, too, to sleep with their parents when they approach adult age. There are dormitories for girls in few villages.

Most of the Naga tribes practise shifting cultivation. Only the Angamis and the Tangkhuls do terraced cultivation which is believed to have extended from Manipur. A Naga's very life depends on his crops. It is, therefore, not surprising that from childhood to old age he spends most of his days in fields and that almost all the ceremonies of his primitive religion are designed to protect and improve his crops. Every man works his own or rented field. Whenever communal labour is needed, every Naga village or group of villages forms field companies which consists of boys and girls or men and women of roughly equal age.

Spinning, dyeing, weaving, painting on cloth, pottery, wood-work, leather-work, metal-work, etc., constitute the home industries of the Nagas.

Now, how to understand the nature of the Naga problem? To approach it, one must know the effect on the Nagas of contacts with other peoples and civilisations.

With the establishment of British rule in the Naga Hills, army outposts, administrative stations and Christian Missions were founded there. It is generally known that the foreigners residing in the hills influence the culture and mode of life of the indigenous inhabitants in numerous ways.....by administration, by missionary propaganda, by display of a culture that is regarded in some way as "higher," by objects of trade imported from without, by the introduction of diseases, by medical work, by communications that make travelling easy and safe, and by countless subtle influences that react on the mentality of the tribals usually to the detriment of their pride in their customs, traditions and history. Proselytising activities of the Christian Missions and the administrative measures of the imperialist regime precipitated discontent all over Naga land and as a result revolts broke out. A brave daughter of the Naga Hills, Guedello by name, who afterwards became famous as Rani Guedello, was the leader of some of these unsuccessful revolts. She was undergoing a sentence of life imprisonment. But fortunately the achievement of Indian independence was followed by her release.

Meanwhile, when the Simon Commission came, a number of educated Naga youths requested the Commission to create an independent Naga Dominion within the British Empire.

But the outbreak of the Second World War changed the political panorama of dependent Asia. It proved to be a blessing in disguise to large tracts of West Asia. The Nagas were also thrown into the vortex of world politics during the war. They became aware of the strategic importance of their territory. The victory of ill-fed Azad Hind soldiers of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose over the better-equipped whitemen of the Allies changed their notion that the Britons were invincible. Many Naga tribals helped the national liberators and identified themselves with the great cause of India's freedom. And from the I. N. A.'s example they received tremendous inspiration. Soon after the war some Nagas made a decision to convert their land-locked country into a "sovereign Nagaland." The birth of Pakistan.....so long considered to be an absurdity according to all known standards of politics.....fired their imagination. The demand was voiced by the Naga National Council, which was started *ab initio* as an organization of social workers with a view to repairing war damage. At the end of the war the NNC came to control a big slice of government machine: for instance, it captured all the twenty-five Tribal Councils set up by the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills before independence and thus got among other things, the power to collect taxes. Since then the NNC's ambition has been to build up an independent Naga buffer state on the border of India, Burma and China.

Shortly before the transfer of power, the late Sir Akbar Hydari, then Governor of Assam, attempted to tackle the problem on a political plane. His negotiations with the NNC leaders led to the formulation of a nine-point "agreement," the preamble to which recognised the rights of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes.

Later on, when in pursuance of the Mountbatten Plan, power was transferred to newly-created Dominions of India and Pakistan, the NNC leaders demanded that the Government of India and the United Nations recognise the "sovereign independence" of Nagaland. The Govt. of India naturally refused to recognise this claim of the Nagas. Thereupon, in May 1951, the Naga National Council organised a so-called "plebiscite" on the issue of a "sovereign Nagaland." A considerable section of the Nagas actually participated in the

"plebiscite" which was arranged to draw international attention to the demand. Then early in 1952, the NNC called for a boycott of the general elections and succeeded admirably. Not a single inhabitant of the Naga Hills District filed nomination papers for the District Council or the Assam Legislative Assembly.

Thereafter the Prime Ministers of India and Burma undertook a joint tour of the Naga tribal areas of the two countries. And that tour had for a time raised hopes of an early settlement. Besides, the Assam Government directed an abortive "police action" against the Naga extremists. Causing surprise to many observers, the Naga National Council emerged with consolidated strength in the bargain. The march of a battalion of Assam Rifles during the police action to the village of Khonoma, the birth-place of the NNC Chief Zapu A. Phizo, had really helped the NNC. Because it struck out a remarkable parallel which fed fat to psycho-political aspiration of

the Nagas. It was after all Khonoma where the Nagas gave a gallant and successful resistance to the British invaders in the memorable seventies of the last century.

The rest of the Naga story is difficult to tell now. Events taking place in coming months will decide the course of history for us. Anyway, international attention has been focussed on the Naga impasse. If my memory betrays me not, years back a Belgian delegate to the United Nations referred to the Naga problem vis-a-vis India only to silence Indian delegate's strong arguments against continuance of semi-colonial rule in UN trusteeship territories.

However, contrary to arguments put forward by NNC to have its demand fulfilled, history and tradition prove beyond doubt that the Nagas are also Indians. But good statesmanship demands that adequate steps should be taken to keep the Nagas within our national political orbit.

Non-Violent Democracy

By

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The famous Greek thinker and philosopher Aristotle made the world familiar with the term Democracy, and it was the great U. S. A. President Abraham Lincoln who defined Democracy as a government of the people, for the people and by the people. This definition brings out clearly the following principles to our mind, 'that democracy is a form of state in which the government is not a rule over the people, but it is conducting of their common affairs by their mutual agreement, consultation and consent.' That, democracy has a basic faith that the state exists not because God has sent a ruler to rule over the people by divine sanction, nor because a ruler or a set of rulers have captured the sovereign authority of the state by an exercise of physical force for the satisfaction of his or their infatuation for fame like Napoleon and Hitler—the great murders of mankind, or their greed for worldly treasures, nor because the people have entered into a contract between themselves to entrust their power to govern themselves into the hands of a Monarch or an

Assembly of persons, conditionally or unconditionally; but because the people have an ultimate good to achieve and, as a political representative for their common interests, is therefore maintained with a view that it will promote that good and all its actions will be conducive to the realization of that End. It, thus, exists as a faithful servant of the people, and never as their Master.' 'That, if the people are wedded to the doctrine of democracy they must run the government by themselves without delegating the authority to govern over themselves even for a moment. It does not rule out the possibility of political agents being appointed by the people to serve them for a particular period. This can be always done, with the conditions that the exercise of sovereignty is not transferred to them, they are not permitted to live a life costlier and more comfortable than the commonest amongst their masters leads and lives, they are not extraordinarily honoured and respected in a way in which none of his masters is ever adored. Ultimately the demo-

cracy enjoins upon the people the sacred duty of being ever watchful, thoughtful and tolerant towards one another in spite of their serious differences on points important and unimportant pertaining to the conducting of the affairs of their common interest.

Democracy is a creed which, under every circumstance, accepts the principle of the right of self-determination for every people. It is the fundamental rule of democracy that every people shall have the final authority with regard to the determination of its good and realizing thereof ultimately. This is also the essence of the term freedom used in the modern times. Democracy is freedom in its ultimate analysis. It is freedom from tyranny, want, poverty, exploitation of mankind, and ultimately it is a freedom from laziness and lethargy on the part of the people who claim to be called democratic.

Democracy is not merely a form of government, it is also a form of social, economic, moral, and spiritual order. It is based on the spiritual equality between man and man. It is the common partnership in the life which is a whole. Rather we must say that democracy before being political is primarily a socio-economic and spiritual order. For the realization of democracy in the political sphere for a particular people it is essential that it has already been realized in the other spheres, i.e., the socio-economic and ethical. Unless a people have developed a close feeling of sincere fraternity and unless they have begun to realize the oneness or the fundamental unity of the human soul or life it is not possible to build a sound democracy with those people. May be that they may come together by some political or economic necessity, such a democracy would be a mere form without a soul or reality.

Democracy being thus defined in short, we must also consider about the means that a democracy may adopt for its proper realization. Democracy, as the above discussion makes clear is a creed of respect for the human life, i.e., the life of 'A' is as sacred as the life of 'Z'. It, therefore, is quite evident that democracy is a matter of common-consent achieved by argumentation, persuasion, appeal to reason and compromise. The last one i.e., the compromise means finally toleration. Toleration is no courtesy. It is mere respect for one's own thought, because if one does not tolerate, i.e., if one is not prepared to

show any respect for another's thought, one is not entitled to it for that. Others will be prepared to respect our ideas only when we show enough regard for the views they maintain. Compromise is rooted in Non-violence.

A democracy can never be violent. It can never find its sanction or protection in violence. Force is not the basis of a democratic state or society. Its laws are not obeyed by virtue of the sceptre it holds in its hand. They are on the contrary followed only so long as people rightly or wrongly are convinced that they are conducive to their good, i.e., the good of the people as they themselves understand it. The power of a democracy is rooted in its capacity to convince. Democracy should not be associated with the conception of Majority-Rule. Majority rule is the third-step, the first and second being respectively Monarchy and Aristocracy. But Democracy is the Fourth-Step. Majority rule finds its sanction in the physical numbers. It is not based on any intrinsic doctrine. When the people began to realize their power, they discarded the first forms. At this stage the power of the state fell into the hands of those who could manage and manipulate to secure the force of numbers, i.e., the force of majority. Majority rule is still a rule, but democracy is an end of rule in any form whatsoever. It is not an advancement upon the form of Majority-rule but is altogether different and a new conception. It discards both the bases of the principle of majority-rule, the idea of force of numbers rooted in the dictum "The greatest good of the greatest number", and the conception that the security of a state depends upon the physical-force it has at its disposal.

Democracy is the latest discovery in the human thought. In the political sphere it gives rise to a state without force and coercion. The state here exists neither for the good of one, nor for the good of a few, still nor for the good of the greatest number, but it does exist for the 'Common-good of all.' It is therefore no more a tyranny of the majority over the minority. It is radical in its conception for it replaces the authority of physical force in the society with the willingness to achieve the good which is common to all, i.e., which is never against the good of any individual what-so-ever, or prejudicial to it. The conception of good has, thus, gone under a revolutionary change. Only that is good which serves the real interests of 'Each and All' at the

Man and Machinery in Gandhian Economic Thought

By

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Since the Industrial Revolution in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the world has rolled rapidly into an era of material invention and technical progress and industries are fast being mechanised. Increased use of machinery in production is attendant with large scale production of goods. Large scale production or industrialisation presupposes concentration of the means of production thereby accumulation of riches in a few hands or groups under capitalism leading to grievous inequalities in income, although these evil effects are not recognised in the mad race generated more as a result of imitation than the reality. Scientific invention seems to have reached its climax with the introduction of atomic power. Such inventions are now sought to be harnessed to the production on the largest scale ever imaginable in the hope of raising the standard of living of the masses. Increasing use of mechanical power leads to increased unemployment as is evidenced even in the highest industrialised countries like America and England. Its evil effects are readily felt in a country like India having quite different conditions than those of highly industrialised countries of the West. To raise the standard of living and at the same time providing increased employment is rather a trifling task and in the words of Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, "You must remember that there is all the time a conflict between living standards and more employment. If you lay greater stress on employment, the result is possibly lowering the level of living. If you lay greater stress on raising the level of living, you may have more unemployment. You have to balance the two."

It follows that under industrialism it is well-nigh impossible to provide employment for all. It is this, one of the major issues, that made Gandhi indifferent with industrialism and increased and indiscriminate use of machines. His attitude towards use of mechanical power is generally misunderstood. It is very wrong to think that Gandhi was hostile to all types of machinery. What he objected was the "indiscriminate multiplication of machinery." On being asked, "Are you against all machinery?", Gandhi replied, "How can I be,

when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine; a little tooth pick is a machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery not machinery as such."

Modern economists say: Let us have as much of machinery as we can and save labour. This will mean more leisure which can be turned to creative purposes. But the experience has been otherwise. Labour-saving devices have meant either more work to satisfy newer tastes and fashions or just widespread unemployment, or a combination of both. Hence Gandhi disapproved of this reasoning, "The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown out on the streets to die of starvation. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might."

He did not believe in raising the standard of living of some, may be many, and allowing the rest, to remain without work and thus with no standard of living at all. Consistent with this concept of standard of life he rests content with a moderate standard of living all having some means of their livelihood. If the motive of scientific truths and discoveries ceases to be the mere instruments of greed, labourers will not be overworked and machinery will be helpful, "Scientific truths and discoveries should first cease to be the mere instruments of greed. Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help." He, therefore, wanted to limit the use of machinery, "I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation."

He conceived also of exceptional use of heavy machinery, keeping always in mind the fact that the supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man. For instance, I would make intelligent exception. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine. It is one of the

few useful things ever invented, and there is a romance about the device itself.

"Singer saw his wife labouring over the tedious process of sewing and seaming with her own hands, and simply out of his love for her he devised sewing machine in order to save her from unnecessary labour. He, however, saved not only her labour but also the labour of every one who would purchase a sewing-machine".

He realised the necessity of factory for making these Singer Sewing Machines, etc., but such factories ought to be nationalized. "But I am socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalized or state-controlled".

He also anticipated such factories working for the benefit of humanity, and not for greed, under the most ideal conditions. "They ought only to be working under the most attractive and ideal conditions, not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking the place of greed as the motive".

Thus employment for all under attractive conditions is the crux of his thesis and with this end in view unavoidable machines may be used with advantage. "It is an attraction in the conditions of labour that I want. This mad rush for wealth must cease and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery. The machine will, under these conditions, be as much a help to the man working it as to the scale, state, or the man who owns it. The present mad rush will cease and the labourer will work, as I have said, under attractive and ideal conditions".

Thus the Sewing Machine is not the one and only one exception but such like other machines may be used. "This is but one of the exceptions I have in mind. The sewing-machine had love at its back. The individual is the one supreme consideration. The saving of labour of the individual should be the object, and honest humanitarian considerations, and not greed the motive. Thus I would welcome any day a machine to straighten crooked spindles. Not that blacksmiths will cease to make spindles—they will continue to provide the spindles but when the spindle gets wrong every spinner will have a machine of his own to get it straight. Therefore, replace greed by love and everything will come right".

The reply of Gandhi, to a question, "Where would these exceptions end?", was, "Just where they cease to help the individual and encroach upon his individuality. The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man".

Critics argue that Gandhi's views were in the nature of expediency and they do not hold good now and that he never said anything for the future but everything referred to by him were pointed to the specific period of his time. Replying to a correspondent to his question as to whether Gandhi was likely to change these views after gaining independence, he said, "No. These views represent my permanent convictions. My opposition to machinery, railways, etc., does not mean that as soon as we are independent we should uproot all of them. They will be used for the benefit of the nation instead of the strategic military purpose they are primarily meant to fulfil to-day."

One of the benefits of large scale production through industrialisation is said to be production of cheap goods. Gandhi critically refutes such a misleading notion and holds that the mill-made goods are the dearest because a handful of workers in the mills get higher wages throwing thousands of their fellow labourers unemployed. He, therefore, believed that things like coal and Khadi become dearer because of the round about process of production and distribution and if production and distribution are simultaneous they are cheap. "Strange as it may appear, every mill generally is a menace to the villages. I have not worked out the figures, but I am safe in saying that every mill-hand does the work of at least ten labourers doing the same work in their villages. In other words, he earns more than he did in his village at the expense of ten fellow-villagers. Thus spinning and weaving mills have deprived the villagers of a substantial means of livelihood. It is no answer in reply to say that they turn out cheaper, better cloth, if they do so at all. For, if they have displaced thousands of workers, the cheapest mill cloth is dearer than the dearest khadi woven in the village. Coal is not dear for the coal-miner who can use it there and then, nor is khadi dear for the villager who manufactures his own khadi".

Yet there is another point in his argument.

The mills not only displace village hands, but they damage also the health of the masses by making such mill-products available for consumption, as white sugar, mill-flour and polished rice, etc., "But if the cloth manufactured in the mills displace village hands, rice mills and flour mills not only displace thousands of poor women workers, but damage the health of whole population in the bargain. Where people have no objection to taking flesh diet, and can afford it, white flour and polished rice may do no harm, but in India, where millions can get no flesh diet, even where they have no objection to taking it, if they can get it, it is sinful to deprive them of the nutritious and vital elements contained in whole wheat meal and unpolished rice. It is time medical men and others combined to instruct the people on the danger attendant upon the use of white flour and polished rice."

Gandhi concluded thus, "I have drawn attention to some broad glaring facts to show that the way to take work to the villagers is not through mechanization but that it lies through the revival of the industries they have hitherto followed".

Thus the cure of the malady lies not exclusively in the efforts to raise the standard of living by increased production through the use of innumerable machines in isolated factories but in adopting the ideals of life and working always to achieve these ideals. To increase wealth is only an item of that plan for to quote Ruskin, "The true wealth of a country lies not in its output but in its men." Production is just a means to an end and to arrive at that end production must be coupled with equal distribution. Under the present circumstances equal distribution appears to be a dream. To translate these ideals into practice Gandhi held the view that the ideal of equal distribution can only be achieved if production and distribution are direct and simultaneous. It is in turn possible if as far as possible domestic system of production is adopted and all these village crafts and industries are revived which were in use in the country before the commencement of Industrial Revolution in India. In this scheme of things no individual may remain unemployed though living with a lower standard of living in the initial stages.

If the humanity is to be saved from the danger of machines like atom bombs we have

to realise the potency of soul force advocated by Gandhi. There is no escape. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru although believing in industrialization and increased use of machinery observed, "But all this industrial civilization has created terrific problems in society and in the individual. Of course, the final picture of that problem is the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb the result of the industrial revolution. It is important that in any industrial policy that we may have, we should keep in view, call it if you like the moral factor—I would prefer to call it the cultural aspect which includes morality in a broad sense. A man must remain a man, not become a machine even though he might have much money afterwards. He must have human qualities, human growth and all that which the machine is gradually putting an end to. I am all for the machine, but I am not afraid of the machine. I am pointing out that unless you balance this growth, the machine might as well kill the man through atom bomb or something else". Gandhian formula to balance this growth lies in adopting the iron principles of Truth and Non-violence. Gandhi sincerely adhered to eastern civilization which is founded on renunciation and contentment, while the western civilization has acquisition and greed as its guiding principles. One lays stress on duties, the other on rights. In fact one is altruistic, the other selfish. To achieve these ends he stood for revival of the Varnashrama Dharma in its spirit not in form, "I do not know, however, when we shall be able to revive true Varnashrama. Its real revival would mean true democracy. . . . I personally believe in Varnashrama, though it is true that I have my own meaning for it." He saw immense potentialities in it, "Varna thus conceived is no man-made institution but the law of life universally guiding the human family. Fulfilment of the law would make life livable, would spread peace and content, end all clashes and conflicts, put an end to starvation and pauperization, solve the problem of population and even end disease and suffering." Defining the varna Gandhi said, "So far as I know anything at all of Hinduism, the meaning of varna is incredibly simple. It simply means the following on the part of us all of the hereditary and traditional calling of our fore-fathers, in so far as the traditional calling is not inconsistent with fundamental ethics, and this only for the pur-

pose of earning one's livelihood." The result will be, "You will realize that if all of us follow this law of varna we would limit our material ambitions, and our energy would be set free for exploiting these vast fields whereby and wherethrough we can know God." But varna has nothing to do with caste. Down with the monster of caste that masquerades in the guise of varna. It is this travesty of varna that has degenerated Hinduism and India." Thus Gandhi denounced emphatically the prevailing distorted caste system eating away the very sap of human solidarity. By varna he means only four varnas. Answering a question as to how many varnas are there Gandhi said, "Four varnas, though it is not a rigid division inherent in varna itself. The rishis after incessant experiment and research arrived at this four-fold divisions—the four ways of earning one's livelihood."

Regarding Ashrama he said, "Ashrama is a necessary corollary to what I have stated to you, and if varna today has become distorted, ashrama has altogether disappeared. Ashrama means the four stages in one's life."

To achieve the ideals of life we require knowledge. To acquire knowledge it is difficult to know the entire meaning of the numerous books of knowledge and therefore Gandhi held, "Rather than wade through these infinite complications our sages taught us to learn one thing, 'As with the Self, so with the Universe'. It is not possible to scan the Universe, as it is to scan the self. Know the self and you know the Universe. But even knowledge of the self within presupposes ceaseless striving not only ceaseless but pure, and pure striving presupposes a pure heart, which in its turn depends on the practice of yamas and niyamas—the cardinal and casual virtues."

Yamas, the cardinal virtues are Ahimsa (non-violence), Satya (truth), Asteya (non-stealing), Brahmacharya (celibacy), Aparigraha (non-possession). The Niyamas or the casual virtues are, Saucha (bodily purity), Santosha (contentment), Tapa (forebearance), Swadhyaya (study of scriptures), Ishwarpra-

nidhana (resignation to the will of God). The five principles of yamas are closely associated with each other and Gandhi expanded them into eleven known as Ashrama Vows. "Patanjali has described five disciplines. It is not possible to isolate any one of these and practise it. It may be posited in the case of Truth, because it really includes the other four. And for this age the five have been expanded into eleven." These eleven principles in the form of Ashrama Vows are: Truth, Non-violence, Chastity or Celibacy, Non-possession, Control of the Palate, Non-stealing, Fearlessness, Removal of Untouchability, Breadlabour, Equality of Religion and Swadeshi. It is in these contexts that Gandhi's views on Machinery as also any other economic ideals are to be judged.

Consistent with these, Gandhi's views on machinery may be summed up, "I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this body, which is not helpful to salvation, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view, I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself is the purest piece of mechanism: but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul, it has to be rejected."

It is unfortunate that Gandhi's economic ideas have become a matter of arm-chair talk on the very soil which nourished Gandhi and his ideals. It is high time when his ideas should be given fair trial whose prospects capture even western minds.

Emphasizing on the potentiality of the Gandhian economy Mr. Wilfred Wellock stated, "were Indian statesmen to take their courage in their hands and declare their intention to build boldly on the foundations laid down by Gandhiji, and were they to call upon the nation to give them the utmost backing in this task and upon the youths of India to devote their talents to this great creative revolution in their villages as workers, as teachers, as technicians, the face of India and the outlook of her people could be completely changed inside thirty years."



The Chinese Puzzle and its Solution

By

Mr. RAM KUMAR LUTHERA, M.A., P.E.S.

The cold war between the Eastern and Western blocs continues as ever before, and hardly a day passes when we are not made to feel that we are almost on the brink of the third world war the like of which the world has never seen or experienced before. It shows itself in policy statements, in political speeches, and in the meetings of the U.N.O. It is Korea one day, and Indo-China the next; Formosa one day and Mongolia the following day and, so on, the web continues to be more and more complicated each day. As a matter of fact, it has been going on like this for over a century and a half. It first began when the French revolutionaries began their imperialistic campaigns under the garb of a liberation mission: since then there has been only a shifting of the emphasis from one aspect of the quarrel to another. At one time it was racial and religious, at another geographical or economic. Now it is mostly political or ideological. One camp, predominantly Slavonic and communistic, does not see eye to eye with the other which happens to be mostly Saxon and capitalistic.

Ordinarily, this state of affairs, as in the past, might not have been of much concern except to the parties concerned or their immediate neighbours whose bread and butter, or even hearths and homes, seemed to be threatened, particularly if the weapons of their warfare had continued to be moulded on the traditional pattern. Sabre rattling, and even machine gun firing, if indulged in not too frequently or for long periods of time, could be expected to provide fun to the onlookers and excitement to the actual participants, as it did to the feudal lords and their levies in olden times, or as even a semblance of it does to children in modern times, and in addition, give some exercise to the arm of Mars. The righteous and the pacifists could then lay unction to their soul by referring to the Biblical saying that they who take to the sword shall (should) perish by the sword. But now that we are rapidly moving toward the one world that we live in, and more so in the military sense when a single thermo-nuclear bomb thrown by one belligerent threatens to extinguish quite a big junk of the world, leaving the remaining parts to be destroyed with

a few similar if not stonger bombs thrown simultaneously by the other, a war between the two blocs at any time becomes a serious menace to the whole of mankind. The present cold war which threatens to become hot at any time thus becomes a matter of grave concern to every one, be he oriental or occidental, black or brown, high or low, communist or capitalist.

The factors which have contributed to the coldness between the two blocs, as already suggested, are many and some of them go back to the times of the fathers, and even grandfathers, of even those who happen to be the oldest among us. I have however no mind to tire my readers with their analysis; the task can best be left to students of modern history. For the layman it is enough to say that most of them originate from distrust. We in the Punjab know what havoc can be wrought in the lives of two individuals when once deep distrust begins to divide them. Even innocent and innocuous actions assume obnoxious colours in the eyes of a distrustful husband or an irate wife, and they may come to blows or separate simply because the wife moves back and forth while kneading dough (aata gunndhi hildi ai) or because the husband makes queer faces when munching his lunch. In this case, the lives and happiness of only two individuals are involved or possibly of their children and to some extent their neighbours and friends who might be adversely affected by a bad precedent. But the potentiality for mischief is magnified millionfold when it involves two great powers in modern times when each power claims to be armed with bombs of all varieties beginning from A to H and possibly beyond as well. If social and moral considerations can dictate the course to all near and dear ones to remove distrust and bring about rapprochement in the former case the search for some means of rapprochement between the two potentially belligerent blocs becomes an imperative duty.

Seers conceived and statesmen, in course of time evolved organisations like the League of Nations to let the disputant nations to air their differences in its meetings rather than fling themselves at each other's throat at the slightest provocation, but mutual distrust

undermined the very foundation of the organisation, and within less than a generation brought it tottering down. There is now the U.N.O. with the same noble objective of ending all war, but so malignant is the influence of distrust that disunited nations air their views in the meetings of its committees and councils not in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and co-operation but of perverse stubbornness. And so, as fates would have it, the goal of universal peace seems as distant, and the spectre of a world-ending war as near, as ever before.

Mahatma Gandhi had a very simple but sovereign remedy for all ills following from distrust. He called it 'change of heart.' Under its healing influence, hearts, instead of burning each other out, would begin beating in unison, radiating amity and goodwill all round. But the difficulty with this remedy is that it is much too simple and airy for sophisticated minds; it has no appeal for those who stand for the capitalistic creed or those who swear by the materialistic conception of history. In such cases perhaps treatment of each symptom as and when it shows itself appears more rational and convincing. Thrice during the last four years, it has been tried with some measure of success, and, as Mr. Dulles has recently revealed, the disputants have been brought back from the brink of war. Mr. Dulles may no doubt protest that it was his getting-tough-attitude and the threat of using thermo-nuclear bombs that deterred the Soviet bloc from precipitating the crisis each time, once over Korea, then over Indo-China, and lastly over Formosa. But the verdict of history will give more credit to the mediation, or at least the conciliating influence of friendly powers like India which saved the situation for peace.

There is however one difficulty with mediation; it is effective only when the disputants are just on the brink of war. Now no sane person can expect the mediatory powers to wait patiently till an international crisis gathers sufficient momentum to let their influence come into full play. Much less can they hustle the disputants to the brink of war and then exhort them to desist from going further. The first would be hypocritical, the second mischievous. Attempts at conciliation through councils and committees have already been vitiated by the deep distrust that keeps the parties asunder. We seem to have reached a dead end.

May I however venture to suggest that the one great symptom of trouble between the two blocs is the problem of the recognition of the government of the People's Republic of China as a sovereign entity in the comity of nations, and that it is capable of what the sophisticated minds call rational treatment. As a matter of fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that it is the one problem which has kept the international atmosphere vitiated for the last six years or so. It has been a puzzle to the people of China, as it is to many others, why their government, now firmly established for the last six years, is not formally recognized and why, in consequence, they are not given their due place in the councils of the U. N. O. as a matter of course. It is also a puzzle to many why Chiang Kai Shek continues to be bolstered up in the name of China even though his regime is nothing more than a living corpse flung far away in Formosa. It may be good friendship to stand by an old comrade even when he is discredited by his own people, but it cannot be sound policy to ignore the elementary rules of international law and deny the *de jure* status to the *de facto* government of a self-respecting nation for any length of time. So for all attempts at getting the government of the Chinese Republic into the U.N.O. have been set at naught with the use, or misuse, of the veto which five permanent members of the Security Council have been vested with and there is little prospect of that body, constituted as it is at present, ever abjuring the misuse of that right. I now venture to suggest that the matter which has hitherto deadlocked the two blocs for an unconscionably long time may be referred to the International Court at the Hague for adjudication. After all, the question of the sovereign status of the government of any country is a question of international law, and therefore rightly falls within the purview of the International Court, particularly if it happens to be a point of dispute between the claimants or their supporters. Even otherwise, it is desirable that legal issues should be left to be decided by court of law which can be expected to decide them without political bias or prejudice; to leave them to be decided by councils or committees is not only the denial of justice but also the perpetuation of a grave wrong to the detriment of world peace and prosperity.

The Problem of Disarmament and Prohibition of Atomic Weapons

By

Mr. N. SMETANIN

If a poll were taken anywhere in the world on "What is the most pressing International Problem?" there can be no doubt that the majority would answer: the problem of disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons.

And, indeed, the armaments drive in the countries that are members of the NATO, SEATO and MEDO blocs has assumed truly dangerous dimensions. Let us cite comparative figures for the United States.

In the 1913-1914 fiscal year military expenditures per head of population were three and a half dollars, in 1929-30 seven dollars, and in 1954-1955 250 dollars. In other words, in the indicated span per capita military expenditures increased more than 70-fold. The picture is about the same in Britain, France, Italy and other European allies of the United States, and also in Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines and other Asian countries following the political line of the USA.

The armaments drive had led to two perfectly obvious and inevitable consequences—greater burdens for the people and a greater threat of an outbreak of another world war. That is why the appearance of the so-called "Truman Doctrine," which gave impetus to the armaments drive, simultaneously gave rise to the powerful movement of the peoples in different countries for disarmament and prohibition of the atomic bombs the most barbarous weapon of our time.

This people's movement forced the governments of the Western Powers and the United Nations to take some steps to show that the will of the peoples is not being ignored. That is how the United Nations Disarmament Commission, and its Sub-Committee made up of representatives of the United States, the USSR, Britain, France and Canada, came into being.

More than 10 years have passed since these bodies were set up, and it is therefore permissible to see what they have accomplished. Unfortunately, the commission has done nothing practical towards the reduction of armaments and the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Whose fault is it that the disarmament problem has not been solved as yet?

The Press and statesmen in the West say the Soviet Union is to blame. If, however, you will examine how the Sub-Committee has functioned in recent years you will see clearly that such accusations against the USSR are groundless. In a nutshell the work of the Sub-Committee amounts to this: from the outset there have been two positions in the Sub-Committee—the position of the Soviet Union and that of the Western countries. There were considerable differences in the propositions submitted by the two sides, and on that basis the Western Powers asserted that since the Soviet proposition was unacceptable to them, the Soviet Union was therefore to blame for the fact that the disarmament problem has not been solved. Yet the Soviet side, desirous of solving the problem none the less has step by step met the desire of the Western Powers half-way. But no sooner had the Soviet side agreed to one of their propositions, the latter promptly repudiated it and advanced another, again declaring that it was now up to the Soviet Union, if you please. In particular, at the sub-committee's last meeting, held in London early this year, the Western Powers rejected the levels for the armed forces of the five great Powers they had themselves proposed earlier and many provisions they had earlier defended, the scheme for the organisation of control they had advocated and their own position on the question of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Harold Stassen, the American representative reduced the disarmament problem to one of air intelligence, and since the Soviet Union naturally could not agree to posing the question in that way, the Western propagandists again declared that, you see, it is again up to the Soviet Union. "The Soviets," say the Western propagandists, mainly the Americans, "don't want an effective system of control"—that is what they call air intelligence.

The Soviet Government has shown up this shabby game of hide and seek on such an important question. First of all it stated outright that the Sub-Committee on disarma-

ment had become a drag on the reduction of armaments. Secondly, the Soviet Union proposed a new approach to the disarmament problem, namely, not to wait until an international agreement on the question is reached in the U.N., but to proceed at once to reduce the armed forces and armaments. As its first step in that direction, the Soviet Government resolved to cut the armed forces by 1,200,000 over and above the 640,000 demobilized last year. In his messages to the heads of the governments of the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Western Germany and Turkey, Prime Minister N. A. Bulganin urged those countries to follow the Soviet example and help concretely to solve the disarmament problem.

How did the Western Powers respond to the Soviet Union's new initiative?

As regards public circles in the West, they have heartily approved the Soviet Government's decision and appeal. William Worby, British M.P., for instance, said that these acts of the USSR Government were an important contribution towards further lessening international tension and promoting confidence between states, and the French newspaper "Monde" expressed the hope that the Soviet Union's new step would make it possible "to revive the disarmament talks." As regards the reaction of officials, and of the Press which reflects their viewpoint, however, judging from their many utterances, what they are concerned with above all is how to minimize the importance of the Soviet Government's new step. The palm must be handed to the American Press. And what arguments do they use to disparage the Soviet decisions? Some of the columnists assert that the unilateral actions by the USSR "hinder"

general agreement on disarmament. Nothing should be done until there is a general agreement on disarmament, say these commentators. Others "argue" as follows: the Soviet Union is stronger than the United States, and the United States should therefore not follow suit if the Soviet Union reduces its armed forces. Those who argue thus forget that the Soviet Union has agreed to the Western countries' proposals on equal armaments levels for the United States and the USSR, and it was the United States that went back on it. Still others say that the Soviet Government's decision is mere propaganda. However, for some reason they do not urge the United States, Britain and the others to take up similar propaganda. Every unprejudiced person can see clearly the untenability of the "arguments" of those who reject the new Soviet proposal. The real reason for all this opposition to the Soviet initiative is that, as some officials have openly stated, the Western Powers have no intention of disarming, but, on the contrary, they intend to intensify the armaments drive. That is the sense, for instance, of Western-German Chancellor Adenauer's utterances at Yale University in the United States. "The practical measures taken by the USSR towards disarmament," he said, "will have no effect whatever on the West's defence efforts."

The Western Powers are thus attempting in every way possible to avoid settling the problem of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is hard to tell how long they will follow that path, but one thing is certain: sooner or later the disarmament problem—a major problem of our time will be solved. That is the will of the peoples, and it cannot be ignored endlessly.

The Czechoslovak Republic

By

"A HISTORIAN"

Czechoslovakia is a country of medium size, situated in the heart of Europe. Her 12,800,000 inhabitants live on an area covering 128,000 km. She thus occupies 14th place among the countries of Europe as regards size, only seven of them, however, having a denser population (100 inhabitants per square kilometre). The

country has an elongated shape from west to east, a length of 750 km and a circumference of 3,500 km. She has a common frontier with the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, measuring a total of 2,650 km and also with Austria and Western Germany.

Czechoslovakia is interspersed and—except in her south-eastern part—bordered by medium-sized mountain ranges, which give place to fertile plains in the interior and in the south. It is only the rocky High Tatras in North Slovakia which present a typical high mountain aspect, their Stalin Peak with its 2,663 m being the highest mountain in the whole country. Most of Czechoslovakia's territory lies relatively high—the average level being 480m.

Large rivers counterbalance the disadvantages of the inland position of the country. The largest are the Vltava, the Elbe, the Morava and the Vah, while the second largest European river—the Danube—merely touches the Czechoslovakia, forming her frontier with Hungary over a distance of 182 km. Navigable rivers connect the country with the North, Baltic and Black Seas; a canal system interlinking these rivers will make Czechoslovakia an important crossroads in the European river transport of the future. It is almost as far from the Czechoslovak frontier to Hamburg as it is to the Black Sea, to Stettin as to Trieste).

The whole country lies in the mild climate zone. Average yearly temperatures range between 8 and 10 degrees C, temperature variations in summer and winter increasing from west to east. The original flora has been transformed by human husbandry. Huge forests used to cover the larger part of its area, and even today, after clearing, still take up 31 percent.

Czechoslovakia is divided, naturally as well as administratively, into two parts: the western part consists of the so-called Czech Lands—i.e., the former Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia—Slovakia forming the eastern part. Both the nations, the Czech and the Slovak, possess equal rights.

Czechoslovakia is a People's Democracy. State power rests with the citizens, who execute it through elected National Committees. These National Committees act as the representative organs of State power and are responsible for public administration in their areas. Local National Committees (11,632 in the Czech Lands and 3,354 in Slovakia) form the basic link in this system, carrying out in the administration of each individual community. Above them are District National Committees which supervise their work and administer their particular districts. Czecho-

slavakia, as a whole, is divided into 19 regions which are, administered by Regional National Committees. The individual departments of public administration in the localities, districts and regions are conducted by elected representatives of the people who are in charge of administrative staffs.

Supreme state power is vested in the National Assembly, whose members are elected every six years by general, direct, equal and secret ballot. The National Assembly enacts laws, State administration, approves governmental decrees, and once in six years elects the President of the Republic. The Assembly is composed of representatives of all political parties and nominates members of the Government, who are approved and appointed by the President of the Republic.

The capital of Czechoslovakia is Prague, which has a million inhabitants. Although almost every branch of industry can be found in her suburbs—in particular heavy engineering—Prague, lying as she does, picturesquely on the banks of the Vltava, has retained imposing evidence of past centuries, thanks to which she has gained the reputation of being one of the most beautiful cities in the world. On the left bank of the river Vltava, beneath the grandiose panorama of Hradcany, there is spread out the best preserved ancient part of the city. Not only here, but also in other parts of the town and in its very centre we can find numerous Gothic relics of the period of Charles IV, who, in the 14th century, enlarged the city to such an extent that its size was sufficient to meet the requirement of development right up to the middle of the last century. The Baroque stole, too, which in Prague in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century underwent a development all its own, has imprinted the city with a typical character by its countless secular and ecclesiastical buildings. Prague has always been and still is the natural centre of Czech national life and has always been noted not only for her imposing buildings but also for the spiritual ferment within her walls. Prague University, founded over 600 years ago as the first university in Central Europe, is perhaps the best evidence of this. Numerous museums and art galleries exhibit a multitude of works showing the high craftsmanship, skill and artistic ability of the people which produced them.

Mountain ranges of medium height, beautiful valleys and plains, glades and forests, or-

chards and gardens, romantic rivers, ponds and mountain lakes make her one of the most picturesque countries in the world, justly called "the Garden of Europe". There are no over-populated cities in the country; the second largest city, Brno, has 280,000 inhabitants and Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, has 200,000. The many smaller towns are beautiful with their clean streets and neat squares; many of them, with their churches, castles, fortresses and ancient houses, are silent witness to Czechoslovakia's thousand years of cultural history.

In many respects Czechoslovakia can claim first place among the nations of Europe. The country has no illiterates. The vast majority of villages has electric lighting, while the tele-

phone network was extended all over the country by the end of 1953. Every fourth inhabitant own a wireless set, and the commencement of television broadcasting from Prague has considerably boosted the sale of television sets. Considering her number of inhabitants, Czechoslovakia has one of the largest bus services in the world. The glorious Czech cultural tradition has been carried on by a number of contemporary artists and enhanced by a large number of theatres and cinemas. Mobile cinemas and travelling theatrical companies, mobile libraries and ambulances visit the most remote parts of the country, so that also in cultural, social and medical matters Czechoslovakia belongs among the most advanced countries in the world.

Omar Khayyam: A Voice of Sacredness

By

Principal B. S. MATHUR, M.A.

Ah Love! could you and I with
Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme
of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits — and
then
Remould it nearer to the
Heart's Desire!
—Omar Khayyam—

Indeed, a fine piece of poetry with sense and imagination, a piece of ideal poetry, doing both—teaching and delighting simultaneously. Also moving and moving with a terrific passion towards a revolution.

Omar sees through the sorry scheme of things. He wants an end of it. His eye is keen on a new brave world of joy nearer to the Heart's desire. Love is his instrument for the fulfilment he aims at. He is not wrong. We all are aware of things as they are in the world—a complete darkness which we all want to break through but which we are not able to just because we have in our possession not the required intensity of love and imagination. We have to shatter it to pieces through love. That is not the consummation. There must be a joyous world, a land of love and dream.

Man has to conspire with Fate. This conspiracy certainly unfolds man as capable of

taking to a life of infinite pains. The aim is creation. Creation needs in ample measure energy and we have enough of it. Only we have to use it. That is conspiring and that is, I venture to suggest, making our Fate. That is the way of achievement. That is progress, incessantly progressive and changing, and ever creating. A pleasurable adventure of love and work!

Look at this adventure of love and work! What a philosophical view of life Omar seems to go by! He prescribes it for us and there is nothing wrong on it.

Creation is nothing new; it is just a remembrance putting things in a new way. But we must have imagination, courage and pains to fulfil the new pattern. Mere love won't do. Love might give us tremendous courage and imagination. Love might lend a new colour to our life; it might be a life of dedication through love. Hence the value of love. Also love implies a conspiracy in a new fashion. People must conspire; let them conspire through love or for love or by love. They must conspire. That matter—that conspiracy—that union which will create a new world of our dreams.

But that is not all. We have to analyse our Heart's desire—that is the eternal desire of man to change and to be better through

that change. That analysis requires a good deal of cogitation and imagination born of experience and knowledge, treasured in books and in the world. And so a synthesis of love and knowledge is of the essence to march endlessly towards the ideal.

Beyond love is knowledge, an eternal pursuit of truth. Love is just an instrument, the ending end being Truth, nearer to the Heart's desire. Omar definitely fastens upon love and heart and he neglects reason. Essentially, he was a poet and not a philosopher. Man must be both—a lover and a philosopher. This man is the need of the hour. Man must love as he has to live in society; he must think as he has to change the society he lives in.

Here is enough work. Omar asks man to see through the misery that breaks man, the frustration that restrains him from new fulfilment. Man cannot stop; hands of progress cannot stop. This is the philosophy, communicated to us by Omar. According to Omar love can take us on to a successful revolution. I don't think, Omar sets a great store by Fate. We can, of course, through endless work, conspire for Fate.

Then to the rolling Heaven itself I cried,
Asking, "What Lamp had
Destiny to guide
Her little Children stumbling in
the Dark?"
And—"A blind Understanding!" Heaven replied.

Omar is quite philosophical. He is aware of children of God walking on earth in darkness with Fate above them. Fate, some say, guides them with a blind understanding. That is the lamp of Fate. This fate has no meaning for Omar. Also frustration that seems to permeate the world does not affect them.

Then to this earthen Bowl did I adjourn
My lip the secret Well of
Life to learn.
And Lip to Lip it murmured—
"While you live
Drink! for once dead you
never shall return."

Critics take Omar as blind for drinks. To my mind that is not nearing truth of his heart. Omar was all-out for work, his philosophy of work. And so he asked people to drink into the atmosphere of work. Man must

die but before death he must do his bit, he must achieve his aim. He has a great mission to carry through. He has, as I feel divinity inside that must body forth in his dreams, thoughts and deeds. That way man will go near his Maker. That is our mission: that is our burden.

This mission of the manifestation of divinity in life is the 'secret will of life to learn.' And he learns it, rather proposes to learn it, through his earthen bowl. The earthen bowl points to power of love that fascinates him. He does not like to escape from life. People think of his drinks and think of him as escaping from life. Literature is to escape or to conquer. It might be for both. Indeed, it is both—escaping from life and facing it to conquer. I find this with Omar. He drinks and asks others to drink just to face life, not to escape from it. Of course, for the moment, there is an escape from the frustration of life but ultimately it comes to a positive conquest of life.

Omar has suggested in the course of his poems this kind of escape. He has, therefore, enough of realism—"While you live drink." He never thinks of life beyond death. He wants to achieve a revolution in this life on earth and so he says—"For once dead you never shall return."

Certainly, Omar has unlimited emotions and he fastens upon them but he suggests, however faintly, a synthesis of emotions with reason. One can venture to suggest that he was a philosopher in the making but he was finding it rather impossible to do away with his emotions. Here is God's plenty so far as we think of wisdom. Man cannot banish his emotions. They give us the necessary inspiration without which there is no fulfilment. To be successful in life, we have to achieve a synthesis of emotions with reason. Let us learn this from Omar Khayyam. Indeed, a great lesson!

I find almost this very feeling in Rabindranath: synthesis of emotions with reason in a delicate fashion. Here is this idea from him:—

Servant:
Have mercy upon your servant, my queen!
Queen:
The assembly is over and my servants are all gone.
Why do you come at this late hour?

Servant :

When you have finished with others, that is my time.

I come to ask what remains for your last servant to do.

Queen :

What can you expect when it is too late ?

Servant :

Make me the gardener of your flower garden.

Queen :

What will be your duties ?

Servant :

The service of your idle days.

I will keep fresh the grassy path where you walk

In the morning, where your feet will be greeted

with praise at every step by the flowers eager

for death.....

Indeed, nothing but beauty and emotions in plenty you have here apparently but beyond them one finds reason and devotion in equal intensity. The poet has a concrete picture of his emotions but behind them he has an idea of service to inculcate. Certainly a sacred effort! Omar also tries to present his ideas emotionally and musically but behind those ideas one invariably sees reason and sense, tremendous enough to cause a revolution in our dreams, thoughts and deeds.

Omar seems to think through his emotions and music. There is magnificent inspiration in him. There might appear no reason at all as one reads his poetic lines but when those

lines have done their duty there is splendour of thought, very elevated thought quite rare in poets of his type. Poetry must put before us a complete picture of emotions and these emotions when recollected in tranquillity have to present something logical to elevate and move us. Poetry begins in emotions and it must end also in emotions. And emotions will certainly culminate in accomplishment. This is what Omar's poems do quite in a magnificent fashion.

There is always a mystery about the words of a poet. That mystery he must create else he is not a poet. He may be a simple being but he must create about him a being of magnificence. Then only people will take to him and to his words. The Bible is simple in language but always there is a mystery about its contents and naturally the appeal is tremendous. Out of that mystery there rings a voice that must be heard : out of that there is heard eternal music that must captivate and elevate.

We can easily fasten upon this music in the poems of Omar Khayyam. Only we must have that divine drink that he had in an extraordinary measure!

You know, my Friends, how bravely in my
House
For a new Marriage I did make Carouse:
Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed,
And took the Daughter of the Vine to
Spouse.

And the result is the splendour of his poetry, having always a voice and an appeal.

The Minicoy Island

By

"A CHRONICLER"

A little-known island of the Arabian Sea where women enjoy greater privileges than in many advanced communities on the Indian mainland lies at the extreme south of the fabled group of coral atolls as the Laccadives.

This is Minicoy, tiny islet situated about 230 miles off Malabar coast on the same latitude as Cape Comorin, often described as the south western most outpost of the Indian Union. Crescent-like in shape and barely three square miles in extent, the island is six miles

long and half-a-mile wide at its broadest. The 80-year old, 150-foot high Lighthouse of Minicoy, which was transferred by the U. K. Government to the Government of India in April this year, is situated half-a-mile from the southern extremity

About the middle of the island lies the village. The panchayat hall, which constantly keeps the Tricolour flying, a Government hospital, and a wireless receiving and transmitting station, are among modern additions

to the traditional life of the village. The population of the island is estimated at 4,000, though on an average a thousand adult males are always away, serving as sailors in distant ports of India and even overseas.

Even today money is a small consequence to the Islanders. They are concerned about the wants of daily life and necessities of social conventions. All trade within the island, and largely even with outside world, is by barter.

The people do not place an aggressive emphasis on notions of "property" and live a corporate life to an amazing degree. Policemen are conspicuous by their absence over the entire island. Indeed there is not a single policeman, let alone a police force posted on the Island.

MATRIARCHAL CUSTOMS

The Islanders are Muslims by religion. Women, however, do not observe 'ghosha', and indeed enjoy a considerable degree of social and economic freedom. The prevailing law of inheritance on the Island is matriarchal. Property is owned by the joint family—the Tarwad—as in Malabar District. All land on the island, however, being the property of Government, houses form the only kind of "real" property, and even this is only a recent development.

The island law decrees that no man can have any claim to a house. Houses vest in the women of the family, the males having only the right of residence till marriage. On marriage a man passes on to his wife's house and takes his wife's family name.

GIRL CHOOSES HER MAN

Women have an advanced position in Minicoy society. Though early marriage is prevalent, every girl has the liberty to marry the man of her choice. Women are generally more literate, and before the Government Primary School was started on the Island women of each family themselves taught their children to read and write. During the last general elections twice as many women as men exercised their right to vote.

Women also have considerable influence over the civic affairs of the Island. Organised under different headwomen the women of each ward meet at exclusive club houses, known as "varangis", where no man is ever admitted! Here, they discuss local, domestic, social and economic affairs, while their deft hands twist coconut fibres into ropes. The

result of these "varangi" discussion influence the decisions of the Men's clubs called "attris" which meet under an elected headman called "Moopan" and guide the civic and economic affairs of the Island.

COCONUT WEALTH

The Island itself is idyllic in its charms, though a shallow soil and a high water-table severely limit its flora. The abundance of coconut trees constitutes at once an adornment as well as the wealth of the island. The main occupations on the island are fishing and copra industries.

Unfortunately, rats cause considerable destruction to the coconut crop. Sustained efforts on the people and the Government are being continued to eradicate these pests which are proving an impediment to the growth of the coconut industry.

In contrast, the fishing industry is developing fast. While the average catch brings in Rs. 500/- worth of fish, successful catches worth Rs. 3,000/- by a single day's fishing expedition by one boatload of fishermen have been recorded. The fish are processed by boiling in salt water and later smoking and drying in the sun. The processed fish are exported not only to the mainland of India, but to Ceylon and Malaya also, mostly by country craft.

GOOD BOAT-BUILDERS

The Islanders are good at boat-building, and show much enterprise in designing and decorating their long, slender 'snake-boats' which can compete in speed, beauty of shape and artistic colours with any boats of their kind built in other parts of India. Boat-racing is naturally the most popular sport of Island, but the islanders have also their traditional folk dances, of which they give impressive demonstrations to visitors.

There is a high sense of sanitation among the Islanders. Men and women, of all ages, religiously use the sanitary enclosures distributed at various points in the village and even children are trained not to pollute open drains or public passages. Any case of transgression is frowned at very severely. There are separate tanks for bathing, washing and drinking-water purposes and reports of washing or bathing in drinking water tanks are rarely heard of. There are separate bathing places for men and women.

Bilingual Bombay

By

Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The creation of a bigger bi-lingual state of Bombay comprising of the whole of Gujrati-speaking and Marathi-speaking areas is, undoubtedly, a great achievement from several points of view. In the words of the Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, it was "a national solution of a national problem." "This Parliament," observed Shri Pant, "has many an achievement to its credit, but none greater than this achievement." The Home Minister explained how the Government of India had tried its best to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of Bombay, Gujrat and Maharashtra. But they were convinced that the only abiding and permanent solution of this vexed question could be the establishment of a bi-lingual state. In view of the spirit of "Isolationism, separatism and linguism," which has been prevailing in some parts of the country in regard to discussions about the Re-organisation of States, the creation of large States, if possible of a composite character, could provide the necessary corrective to the existing state of mind and tendencies. Intervening in the debate during the third reading of the S. R. Bill, the Prime Minister also pointed out very emphatically that "all this talk of pure linguistic provinces, was something which the House that they had to think in terms of the economic and industrial development of India and the Second Five-Year Plan. "If there was no progress industrially, the boundaries, no matter where they were, would not bring about industrial development." The primary thing was, therefore, to create a "political atmosphere in the country for such a development." It is from this point of view mainly that the decision about the bi-lingual State of Bombay has been welcomed spontaneously throughout the country. In fact, the Bombay State is India's best governed State, wellknown for its high traditions of administrative efficiency, and it would have been almost tragic to break it up into three units merely for the sake of creating unilingual States.

From the standpoint of economic and industrial development, the Bombay State,

will, undoubtedly, be the richest State in the country, with an area of 1,88,240 square miles and a population of 47.8 millions, the State of Bombay will be the biggest in size and second biggest in population among the new fourteen States which will come into being from November 1. The Bombay State will have the biggest annual Budget of about Rs. 100 crores, the biggest cotton belt, the highest number of textile mills, the highest number of radio stations (five), the largest number of Universities (seven). It will be a state with two very important ports of Bombay and Kandla and with immense potentialities for future economic and industrial development. Bombay city will continue to be the nerve-centre of both the Marathi and Gujarati areas and the two linguistic communities which have been living together for over a hundred years will continue to live in a spirit of co-operative endeavour and goodwill, supplementing each other's good qualities of head and heart. The Bombay State will be able to achieve a balanced development of both its industrial as well as agricultural resources.

This experiment in bi-linguism does not mean a haphazard mixture of two linguistic areas merely to avoid unilingual state. It definitely implies that whole of the two linguistic regions should merge together in one State in order to combine the advantages of carrying on education and administration in the regional languages as well as the planning of economic resources of the whole State in an efficient manner. For example, in the bi-lingual State of Bombay, the Marathi and Gujarati areas will have the convenience of conducting the administration in the local languages and yet the big State comprising of both these areas will have the advantage of planning its life in a co-ordinated and integrated manner. Thus, such a bi-lingual State, without losing the conveniences of unilingual States, will be able to reap substantial benefits of regional economic planning within the larger framework of the National Plan. If this experiment succeeds, as it must, it will pave the way for similar plans in other regions at a future date.



Late Dr. P. Rama Rau: Eminent Radiologist

We deeply regret to record the death in the early hours of 11th August morning, after a short illness at his residence in Poona-mallee High Road Madras, of Rao Bahadur Dr. P. Rama Rau, one of the most eminent radiologists in India, and a prime builder of the rotary movement in this country. Dr. P. Rama Rau was aged 57.

Born on Sept. 22, 1899, Dr. Rama Rau had his early education at Madras at the Royapuram Medical School, and he then set up private practice in Georgetown as a physician and surgeon. In 1931, he went to Vienna where he specialised in medical radiology and electrology, and was first in the University of Vienna examination as orientation student among medical men from all over the world.

After taking a specialist diploma in radiology, he travelled extensively in Europe and the United Kingdom, and returning to Madras he gave up general practice and started specialising in X-ray diagnosis, and deep X-ray therapy.

Dr. Rama Rau was the first Indian private radiologist to possess his own radium. He started the Madras Radiological Institute which is one of the best equipped of its kind in the whole of India, and among his patients had been people of all ranks and status from all over India and Ceylon.

As a delegate from India, Dr. Rama Rau attended the third International Congress of Radiology in Paris in 1931, and the fourth International Congress of Radiology in Zurich in 1934.

He went on a tour round the world in 1937 visiting clinics doing specialist type of X-ray work, and exchanging scientific knowledge with eminent radiologists in the world in various countries in Europe, and in the United States, Japan, China, and Malaya.

In 1949 he once again visited Europe and the United Kingdom and the United States, and attended as a delegate from India the International Congress in Rheumatology which was held in New York.

Dr. Rama Rau did much pioneering work in the field of radiology and his contributions to this sphere were fittingly recognised by the American College of Radiology, which made him an Honorary Fellow, such a distinction being conferred on an Asian for the first time.

Dr. Rama Rau contributed extensively to

medical and radiological journals, and twice he held office as President of the Indian Radiological Association.

Not only in the field of radiology has Dr. na Rau been occupying a pre-eminent position in India, but he was a most popular figure in the public life of the city.

He was a Free Mason holding a high rank in the craft, and was a staunch supporter and regular attender at all masonic functions.

As President of the Madras Rotary Club, he organised, during the war years, the fete, "London Calling" which not only helped to improve the morale of the people just about the time of the threat of Japanese invasion, but also raised a considerable amount of money which was utilised for the entertainment of troops.

As Governor of the Rotary International (India and Ceylon), which office he held in 1943, Dr. Rama Rau devoted a large part of his time to spreading Rotary ideals of service himself setting a fine example.

Dr. Rama Rau was very generous hearted and made several endowments to the University of Madras and the University of Ceylon towards the cause of medical education.

His personal charm and his friendliness won him popularity among a large circle of people in all walks of life.

The Mail of Madras in its editorial on his demise quite aptly observes:

"The death of Dr. P. Rama Rau means a loss not only to the medical profession in Madras, and to radiology throughout the world, for his was an international reputation in a sphere which he made particularly his own, but also to a very large number of people, in many walks of life, who were happy to call "Ramu" their friend. His benefactions knew no bounds of race or community, and the injunction "when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do...in the streets, that they may have the glory of men" was the motivating force of his life. It can be said of him, in the words of Dr. Samuel Smiles, his qualities depended, not on fashion or manners, but upon moral worth; not on personal possession, but on personal qualities. He was a gentleman. As the Psalmist says, he was one that walked uprightly, worked righteousness, and spoke the truth in his heart."

WORLD OF BOOKS

COMPANY ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE NEW COMPANY LAW. By Tanubhai Desai, Advocate, and Indulal Shah, Chartered Accountant, Price Rs. 4-8. N. M. Tripath, Princess Street, Bombay 2.

This may be considered a companion volume to the same Publishers' book on the Companies Act by R. H. Pandia. It is an excellent vade mecum and as the New Act is extensive in its ramifications with an inquisitorial system of checks, restrictions, sanctions, inspections, and penalties, this comparative simplification will be very valuable both as an introduction and an aide-memoire. The subject matter is neatly analysed under Chapter Headings of Effects on Existing Companies, Rights and Duties of Directors, Rights, Duties and Liabilities of Managing Agents, Meetings, Procedure, Accounts, and who is an Associate of Managing Agent. The appendices are exhaustive and clear. An Englishman told me that when an Indian joins a company or club, he looks at the rules and regulations, whereas an Englishman is more concerned with its Aims and Objects. A proliferating bureaucracy of academic theorists with the narrow and obstructive mentality characteristic of Imperial Secretariats incapable of even running a small retail tobacconist's business are to be let loose on freedom of private enterprise in trade and commerce and industry. It would be more honest to take responsibility instead of merely the power to tease and obstruct by nationalising all economic life as in Totalitarian countries and abolish the Private Sector altogether.

HE WHO RIDES A TIGER. By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Originally published in 1954. Price Rs. Two. Jaico Edition, Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras 2.

This is a characteristic didactic novel by the well-known author. Starting with the iron entering the soul of Kalo, the blacksmith when the blackmarketeers in rice started and continued the 1943 Famine with the connivance of the Governor the tale proceeds to its tragicomic climax of a Hindu wife asking her husband to marry an extra wife to prolong her husband's life and a self-born Linga produced by germinating gram below. There is a bitter undercurrent of attack on priests and Brahmin

craftiness and trickery from the beginning to the end of the book. Its prototypes are the downfall of the gods by Sir Hugh Clifford describing the anti-Brahmin movement which led to the desolation which is Angkor Vat in Cambodia and nearer home the distortions of mythological story tending to excite people against the Brahmins of Madras State. A very readable but rather explosive story.

ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Seventh Edition, published in New York by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

This is a welcome reprint of the classic work of Professor Ogg who died in October, 1951. Professor Ogg had the unique gift of making the dull bones of an analysis of administrative and political machinery read like a novel. Even the first illustration showing the path of a Bill through Congress till it becomes Law sounds like the pig which goes in at one end of the machinery in Chicago slaughter house and comes out as nourishing sausage at the other end free of all bones and skin and hair.

Part I naturally starts with the 'Elements of Constitutional Government.' Part II in the best Dicey style describes the inter-connection of 'Political Opinion, Organization, and Action.' Part III is concerned more with structural details and concludes with an account of the Civil Service and the National Judiciary. Part IV on 'The National Government: Functions and Services' naturally devotes much space to the problems of 'Foreign Relations, National Defence, Territories, Dependencies, and Special Jurisdictions' which have arisen since President Wilson was persuaded to give up the old isolationist policy of the United States. Part V in a Federal organization like the United States of America describes the 'State Government and Administration' in outline. Part VI deals with 'Municipal and Local Administration.'

The most attractive modern methods of statistical, tabular and symbolic representation of facts have been utilized. There is no page which can be described as hesitant, dull or obscure. This is a "must" for all students of Political Science, all politicians and men and for all libraries.

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GLORY THAT WAS GURJARA DESA (A.D. 550-1300), Parts I & II by K. M. Munshi. published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Bhavan's Book University - Price: Rs. 1-12-0. each.

These two volumes dealing with years A. D. 550-1300 as the Foreword says are in one sense a second edition of the "Imperial Gurjaras" published in 1944 and in another sense an independent work. The subsequent period upto 1526 is also touched upon. Beginning with a geographical account in Chapter I 'Gurjaradesa,' the traditional mythological Royal genealogies are described leading on to the Founding of the Gurjara Empire. The life and culture of those days with its climax under Mihira Bhoja is followed by an account of the Second Empire. The story is carried along in Volume II to describe the impact of invasions of the Muslims drunk with religious and racial fervour. The Third Empire of Gurjaradesa, culminating in Kumarapala, was as usual a prelude to the disintegration under his successors with a final downfall. The Chapter on the life of Chaulukyas is a masterpiece of epitomized erudition. The Appendix and the References are full and lucid. The two volumes can only be described as excellent.

LABOUR AND CAPITAL. From the writings of Sri Mohendranath Dutt compiled by Ranjit Kumar Ghosh. Published by Sri Peary Mohon Mukherji, Secretary, The Mohendra Publishing Committee, 3, Gour Mohon Mukerji Street, Calcutta-6, Printed by Nemai Charan Ghosh at the Diamond Printing House, 79 A, Durga Charan Mitter Street, Calcutta-6. Price: Re. 1/-.

This short compilation can give nothing more than a rough idea about the economic principles and policies as propounded by our venerable social philosopher, Sri Mohendranath Dutt, who wrote on "Education," "Status of Toilers," "Homocentric Civilization," "Nation," "New Asia," "Federated Asia," "National Wealth" and "Nari-Adhikar (Hindi)." The book suffers from an attempt to compress much matter in disjointed notes but can at the same time be recommended as thought-provoking.

BHARAT MILAP. From Tamil Ramayana of Kamban by Sri C. Rajagopalachari - The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India

This is a re-print of a broadcast by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. With his characteristic sureness of touch, Rajaji has explained the difference between Valmiki who had appreciated first-hand the divinity in King Rama as in other human beings and Kamban who was trying to understand why God Vishnu could not escape the appearances of human frailty when he incarnated on earth.

POESY. By L. N. Sahu, published by Santilata Sahu, Deulasani, Cuttack, Price Rs. 2.

This little volume showing excellence of approach in thought and ideation descends to pathos when translated into English as in "Now that Vikram Deva is gone,

Where shall I rest in Waltair?" (page 87). Didactic denunciation of drunkards closes the centum of prose-poems.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MODERN INDIA.

By Ramananda Chatterjee, published by Jyotirindra Nath Das on behalf of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6.

This re-print comes in very handy when the dreams of Rammohun Roy of a united, free, excellent, spiritual, materially-prosperous India is being fashioned out under various Five-Year Plans.

DISASTER STRIKES THE TACHENS. The report of an investigation by the Red Cross Society of China into crimes committed by Chiang Kai-shek's troops, instigated and protected by the United States, during their withdrawal from the Tachens and other islands—Peking.

This is a Communist Red Cross Society "exposure" of the atrocities of Chiang Kai-shek's troops during their withdrawal from the Tachens and other islands. It ends with the usual cry of the victor as in the Japanese War Crimes trials "to take practical action against this heinous crime committed against humanity by the U.S. Government."

IN THE LAND OF LINCOLN. By H. N. Sinha, Ph. D. (London), Principal, Agra College, Agra; published by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., Agra. Price: Rs. 3-8-0

This is an account of conditions in the United States of America. It deals with the 'Home and Habits' of the people, the position of 'Education and Research,' the conditions of 'Government and Politics,' fittingly con-

cluding with an account of 'American's Reaction to the World.' As he concludes, it is the common American with the common Indian and the common every man in every country who must assert himself against organized, centralized regimentation of thought and work as President Dhebar has even recently had to point out.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By M. K. Gandhi, Abridged and Simplified with Topics for Essays by Bharatan Kumarappa with Grammar Exercises by Dr. C. N. Zutshi, M. A., D. Litt. (Col.) Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price: One Rupee Eight Annas—Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad-14.

This is a beautiful abridgment specially prepared for use in Indian schools of Gandhiji's well-known autobiography. The printing is excellent, the paper is good and the adaptation suggesting topics for essays and grammar exercises leaves nothing to be desired. The book can with confidence be prescribed as a text book in schools and colleges.

A STUDY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA. By G. S. Bhargava, published by Siddhartha Publications Ltd., 35, Faiz Bazar, Delhi-7. Price As. 12.

This is frankly a political pamphlet to warn people of the dangers of the Communist Movement which like the chameleon takes on various shapes without however relaxing in its one-pointedness to revolutionize a democracy into a servile State.

AMERICAN SHADOW OVER INDIA. By L. Natarajan, Price Five Rupees. People's Publishing House Private Ltd. Asaf Ali Road Delhi.

This brings up-to date the book which created so much controversy in 1952. Looking a gift horse in the mouth has become necessary since the sad experience of the Trojans with the Greek gift of a wooden horse. Shylock's offer of an interest-free loan may really be the

inch of a concession which precedes the impossible, the repulsive ell of the exaction of a pound of flesh from near the heart. This theme in respect of the at-the-first-blush generous social, cultural, economic, political help lavished by the U.S.A. really concealing designs of economic and cultural exploitation is ingeniously developed. The reverse side of the Medal is that this book itself is ill-concealed propaganda. Unless India that is Bharat becomes a real neutral like the Swiss Confederation, she will have to make the best of a weak bargainer by following Lord Bacon's position of taking aid from both sides and giving a just neutralistic decision. A very readable book.

GANDHIJI'S FIRST STRUGGLE IN INDIA by P. C. Ray Chaudhury, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rupees Two. Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad-14.

We are too apt to forget that it was oppression of the poor by commercial British interests that first roused Gandhiji to fight for freedom. The seed of Indian Swaraj was truly shown in Champaran but there are grave apprehensions that it is being choked by weeds. Let us hope that the socialistic pattern of society will arrest the grievous process by which economic oppression by foreigners tended only to be replaced by economic oppression by indigenous exploiters.

SHAKESPEARE. By C. J. Sisson, published for The British Council and the National Book League by Longmans, Green & Co., London. Price Two shillings.

The British Council has done excellent service for the cause of international understanding and literary culture by printing this monograph on Shakespeare. How his contemporaries in the Elizabethan age viewed him, how the rationalistic Eighteenth Century dissected him, how the romantic Nineteenth Century synthesised him and how the eclectic Twentieth Century can enjoy him are well set out.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

GOA

INDIANS IN GOA

Portugal announced on 24th August that it refused to allow facilities for protecting Indians in Portuguese Goa because India refused to grant equal facilities for protecting Portuguese in India, notably in Bombay.

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry, in a communique, said the Indian authorities prevented the efforts of a Brazilian representative to safeguard the interests of the Portuguese in India.

The communique said 80,000 Portuguese in Bombay were at present entirely deprived of all consular protection despite attempts by Portugal to safeguard their interests.

The Portuguese authorities retaliated by refusing to grant to an Egyptian representative facilities for protecting the Indians in Portuguese Goa, the communique added.

The communique said this reprisal came after India refused to allow a Brazilian representative to set up an office in Bombay to look after Portuguese citizens.

EAST PAKISTAN

HINDUS IN E. PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Foreign Office branch at Dacca has denied that efforts were being made to expel Hindus from Jessore and other places in East Pakistan, said Mr. Sadath Ali Khan Parliamentary Secretary to Mr. Nehru, replying to a question of Mr. D. C. Sharma, in the Lok Sabha on August 20th.

This denial, he added, was contained in the reply sent by the Pakistan Foreign Office at Dacca when the Branch Secretariat of the Ministry of External Affairs at Calcutta took up this matter.

MALAYA

INDIANS IN MALAYA

The Malaya Indian Congress has passed a resolution on August 23rd calling for citizenship rights for all Indians who have lived five years in Singapore or are registered citizens of the United Kingdom.

Another resolution adopted by the Congress at its annual general meeting demanded safeguards for minority communities and protection of future interests of domiciled Indians in the event Singapore became independent.

In this connection it may be recalled that the Federation's Minister for Commerce and Industry and Vice-Chairman of United Malayas' National organisation, Dr. Ismail, appealed to Malays to look upon Indians as their colleagues and not as enemies.

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Mr. Panampalli Govinda Menon, said at Trichur on August 23rd that whatever might be the future policy of the Ceylon Government with regard to the Indian nationals wishing to go to Ceylon, those serving there already should be allowed to continue till the expiry of their period.

Mr. Menon who was inaugurating the Ceylon Indian Malayalees Evacuees' Association at Peringottukara at Trichur, said if the Ceylon Government decided that they would not in future give appointments to Indian nationals, they would be justified; but their decision with regard to those who were already employed there was questionable, because most of them had served there for long periods.

Stating that the problem had become a matter of life and death to thousands of Malayalee families, Mr. Menon said it should, therefore, be directly taken up by the Union Government. Then only, a lasting solution to the issue could be evolved, he added.

S. AFRICA

INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

A conference claiming to represent the "entire Indian community of Transvaal" decided to seek the support of the Asian-African nations to influence U.N. members "to take necessary steps to cease violating provisions of the U. N. Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights."

The two-day conference which concluded at Johannesburg on August 26th had been convened by the Transvaal Indian Congress to protest against recent Government proclamations which will uproot 20,000 Indians and more than 60,000 Africans, Chinese and Malays in Johannesburg in terms of the Group Areas Act.

The Group Areas Act was the "pivot of apartheid calculated to uproot and ruin the non-white peoples and force them into ghettos," the conference said.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Aug. 1. Sudan Government officially supports Egypt's action in nationalising the Suez Canal Company.
- Aug. 2. Britons in Egypt are asked to return: Military measures are taken in East Mediterranean. Queen of England proclaims mobilization of Reservists in the Army.
- Aug. 3. Dr. Zakir Hussain is re-elected President of the World University Service.
—Dr. Lokanathan is conferred the Most Noble Order of the Crown of Siam.
- Aug. 4. Syria mobilises for war.
- Aug. 5. Thousands of Indians are asked to leave their home in Johannesburg.
- Aug. 6. Million Egyptian youths volunteer for Army training.
—Union Cabinet decides on bilingual Bombay State.
- Aug. 7. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal is dead.
- Aug. 8. Riots in Ahmedabad protesting against the announcement of a bilingual state of Bombay.
- Aug. 9. Lok Sabha adopts official amendments to S. R. C. Bill providing for a bilingual state for Bombay by 241 to 40 votes.
- Aug. 10. Lok Sabha passes States Re-organisation Bill without division.
- Aug. 11. Marshal Tito backs Egypt on Suez issue.
- Aug. 12. Egypt rejects U.K.'s invitation to attend the London Conference.
- Aug. 13. East Pakistan Legislative Assembly is prorogued.
- Aug. 14. Arab League supports Egypt's Nationalisation of Suez Canal.
- Aug. 15. India celebrates 10th Independence day: Dr. Rajendra Prasad takes Salute in Madras after his state drive.
- Aug. 16. The London Conference on Suez Canal Question meets: 22 Nations except Egypt and Greece attend.
- Aug. 17. The Democratic party in U.S.A. chooses Mr. Stevenson as a candidate for the coming Presidential election.
- Aug. 18. Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee supports Bi-lingual State of Bombay.
- Aug. 19. K. Hanumanthayya, Premier of Mysore resigns: Mr. K. Manjappa is sworn in as Chief Minister.
- Aug. 20. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon presents a five-point plan to settle the Suez Canal Question.
- Aug. 21. French troops kill 90 Moslem insurgents in a fight in Algeria.
- Aug. 22. Saudi Arabia warns U.S. over Suez that oil will be withheld if Egypt is attacked.
- Aug. 23. The London Conference on Suez concludes.
- Aug. 24. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, ex-Finance Minister accepts Chairmanship of University Grants Commission.
- Aug. 25. Rajya Sabha passes the States Re-organisation Bill.
- Aug. 26. Mr. Justice Govinda Menon of Madras is appointed Judge of the Supreme Court.
- Aug. 27. Pak Premier wins Coalition vote, National Assembly votes confidence in him.
- Aug. 28. Egypt agrees to receive Menzies Team.
- Aug. 29. The Declaration of Peaceful co-existence with N. Viet-Nam is signed.
- Aug. 30. Lok Sabha passes Price-Page Bill —Mr. Ghulam Mohamed, former Governor-General of Pakistan is dead.
- Aug. 31. T. T. Krishnamachari is appointed Finance Minister.

READERS' DIGEST

NUCLEAR TESTS

The *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* called for efforts to limit the "wasteful" and "dangerous" test explosions of nuclear weapons.

One newspaper felt that the announcement by Sir Antony Eden, the Prime Minister, that Britain would try out her own first hydrogen bomb next year pointed up an anomaly enforced by the United States Congress, while the other felt it was Britain's responsibility to limit the tests.

The *Times* said: "It is impossible not to deplore that great Britain and the United States, nominal partners in maintaining their share in the world deterrent, must separately conduct the vastly wasteful demonstrations of its potency; but this anomaly derives from an American statute, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and only the American Congress can change it.

"Every explosion dissipates into thin air a product equivalent to the fruitful work of men over years. It should surely be possible at least to agree upon some limitation of the frequency of these tests" the *Times* said.

The *Manchester Guardian* asked "If the British Government is really seeking every opportunity for limiting bomb tests, why has it never proposed direct discussion with Russia and the United States?"

"Does it want to go on to more and more tests? A mounting number of tests is exactly what critics of the Government want to prevent" the newspaper continued.

"Each test adds to the accumulation of radiation and increases the hazard to future generations" the paper said. But the Government now discounted the danger with the same assurance as when in December, it dismissed the idea of trying to limit tests.

"It leaves a dissatisfied impression of being neither wise nor candid," the *Manchester Guardian*, added.

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LISBON'S OFFER TO U.S.A.

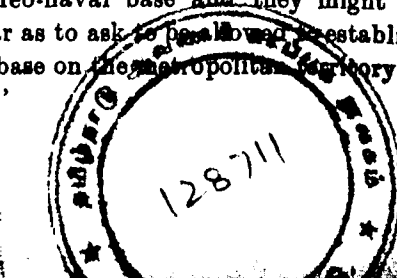
The reason behind the U.S.A.'s somewhat partisan attitude in regard to the Goa issue and Mr. Dulles' readiness to oblige the Portuguese Foreign Minister is indicated in a report in a French daily "*La Cite*", published in Brussels.

The paper recently published a message from its Lisbon correspondent under the caption: "Lisbon to U.S.A.: We agree to give you aerial bases on condition that you recognise Portuguese sovereignty over Goa."

The message said: "It is understood unofficially but from generally well-informed sources that the Portuguese Government have under consideration renewal and extension of the Luso-American agreement under which the U.S. will be able to obtain an aerial base in the Azores, if Washington adopts a firm attitude favouring the sovereignty of Portuguese over Goa.

"Negotiations over this agreement are to commence shortly between the two countries. As a result of a certain information, the American military authorities attach very great importance to this problem, since the prospects of maintaining bases in Iceland seem to be jeopardised by political conditions in that country.

"The American authorities would even like to have permission to convert the exclusively aerial base of Langens (American Base No. 4) into an aero-naval base and they might go even as far as to ask to be allowed to establish an aerial base on the metropolitan territory of Portugal."



ON NEUTRALITY

The *Washington Post* says in its leader in one of its recent issues that the United States should "find something else to talk about" than neutralism. Because, if the outpouring of gratuitous advice on the subject continued Asia would become a continent full of countries which are neutral against us.

Protests from Allies "may have been what induced Mr. Dulles to contradict and undo as only he can, the President's understanding remarks on the position of neutral countries", the paper says in the leading article.

"The circle became complete when Mr. Dulles sought to undo Mr. Dulles, and this time he was right." "Dispensing morality on neutralism was unlikely to change the mind of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, or make any converts at all."

The statements of Mr. John Foster Dulles, Vice-President Nixon and others were "likely to leave a long string of animosities and bruised feelings", the newspaper said.

"Is it not time, in short, for us to stop this shadow-darker type of wheedling—to find something else to talk about or keep our official mouths shut? the paper concluded.

THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

Writing to the *Mysindia* of Bangalore, Mr. B.R. Rao gives his impressions of the Moscow University. The writer gives a detailed account of the various sections of the University.

Moscow University was founded in 1755 A.D. It was confined in the olden days, i.e. during the time of the Tsars, to people of high birth. It is only since the Revolution that university education has been open to all in the same manner as general education in the schools.

The law that prevailed in Russia during the Tsars' time declared, for example, the sons of barbers and washermen and such other workers unfit for admission in the schools. They had no right to enter the public schools.

The new University buildings were built between 1949 and 1955, i.e., after world war II. In 1940 the University was awarded the order of Lenin, the highest order in the State. In this new University there are six faculties in biological studies. The other six faculties are housed in the old buildings of the University in the City of Moscow.

The site of the new University is a little outside Moscow city and on elevated ground called Lenin Hill. The area of the site is 750 acres, and there are 22,000 students who are studying in the University at present. Out of these students, 16,000 are residential students in hostel buildings, and the other 6,000 students come from Moscow. Out of these 22,000 students 1,740 are post-graduate students. There are 2,500 teachers in the University. 59 nationalities are represented in the University.

The main building is a huge structure of the height of 720 feet with a proportionate base. There are 38 floors in this building. In this huge structure, the importance of art is not lost sight of. It is both artistic in taste and very large in size. I am told there are at least 4,000 rooms in the entire University buildings. The main hall of the University can accommodate 1,560 students, with a separate light for each seat.

The hall is beautifully decorated with costly silk for the walls. Every room in the University is air-conditioned, with a central heating system. In Russia, chandeliers in big halls are a speciality. In the University hall there are eight huge chandeliers, each weighing two and a half tons.

The students are all paid scholarships ranging from 300 roubles to 750 roubles per month. Only 4 per cent of the University students do not receive scholarship. That is because they have failed in their examinations.

The president of the University, called the Rector, gets a salary of 9,000 roubles per month. Doctors of Science get 6,000 roubles per month. The lecturers get 1,800 to 3,000 roubles per month. They are provided with quarters in the University area. For example a lecturer pays 150 roubles for a beautiful four-roomed flat. The student of Moscow University is not granted any degree; he is granted a diploma certificate however high he passes.

The Rector is appointed by the Government, as also the Professors. 51 per cent of the students are women. The lecturers work six hours a day and 36 hours a week.

The Library is a big one and contains 40,000,000 books. There are books dated 1774 which are printed on handmade paper. There are 148 halls, each of which can hold 600 students. There students are shown cinemas also for recreation. There is a separate

kitchen establishment for each 40 students. Television sets are provided in the University.

Each student has to pay 22 roubles for rent, 100 roubles for dinner, 100 roubles for breakfast and 100 roubles for supper. The scholarship student is paid generally satisfies his needs, for maintaining himself in the University.

PEOPLES CAPITALISM

An editorial in the current issue of *Collier's* magazine New York, pays tribute to the strength of America's economic system, which it notes is due in large part to the confidence shown by the growing millions who directly and indirectly are investing in U.S. businesses. The editorial says:

"The phrase people's capitalism as applied to the American free enterprise system gains new authority from a survey just completed by the Alfred Politz Organisation for the New York Stock Exchange.

"The survey shows that 8,530,000 Americans own stock directly in public corporation. One-third more American own stock today than four years ago; the number of new owners has been increasing at the rate of half million per year. In addition American life insurance companies, with 103 million policyholders, own \$1.235 million in common stocks and \$1,729 million in preferred stocks. Trusts, estates, investment companies, labour unions, and pension funds hold much more.

"It is pretty hard nowadays to find a man, woman or child in America who does not hold a direct or indirect money stake in an American corporation.

"This unparalleled participation by American in the ownership of private enterprise is, of course, a reflection of the present high level of prosperity and of a widely shared confidence that this prosperity will continue."

THE INDUS RIVER BASIN

The rights of any country with respect to a river pertain only to that section that lies in its territory and under its sovereignty. More precisely, the rights of the country, according to *The Political Science Quarterly*, "pertain to the river bed rather than the water, as it is limited by international law in what it may do with the water; and what it can do with the water may be done only as long as the water is in that part of the river bed in the particular states territory. A river that crosses the borders of a country remains under that

country's jurisdiction only as far as the border of the next country....In cases where the river itself forms the boundary some treaty provision is usually made consigning the sections of the river that form the boundary."

Now this principle is unexceptionable. The difficulty is in its application. The disagreement between India and Pakistan in the case of the Indus River Basin is becoming wider and more acute. The divergence of views involves about one tenth of the total area of the watershed, but a much higher proportion than that as far as the irrigable area of the watershed is concerned. The writer of the article puts the case for each country but offers no solution except that as a result of arbitration by the International Bank of the dispute may be resolved. What is the dispute? Pakistan maintains that this area in India borders upon but is not part of the watershed area of the Indus system, and that although this area can be irrigated from the Indus system—this area is to be considered separately, merely as "Commandable" from the Indus; Pakistan has suggested that it can be irrigated just as well from nearly Indian rivers. India has maintained that the area is part and parcel of the watershed area of the Indus and it is entitled to be counted when apportionment of the Indus waters is made on the basis of area which can and should be irrigated from the Indus River system."

The International Bank entered the Indus Basin dispute after David Lilenthal pointed out that this dispute was a serious threat to peace, and suggested that here was a field of activity for the Bank.

At the initiative of Eugene Black, the Bank's President, a preliminary conference was held in 1952. A thorough survey of the Basin was made by engineers from both countries and of the Bank. But the negotiations broke down. In February 1954, Mr. Black, in identical letters to the Prime Ministers of the two countries, suggested they adopt as basis for agreement the Bank's plan, worked out by the Bank's own engineers. This plan proposes the division of the Basin, giving India virtually full control over the three eastern rivers, and Pakistan virtually full control over the three western rivers. The Bank rejected the setting up of any permanent authority over the Basin as a whole. After some initial hostility to the

plan by both India and Pakistan, the two countries agreed to a conference based on the Bank's proposal. Though negotiations are still in progress, the Bank's plan has been accepted in principle. Final agreement was originally hoped for by the end of September 1955; but, inasmuch as it was not "possible to bring the discussions to a successful conclusion by the specified date", the discussions were extended, first until March 31, 1956, and thereafter apparently without a target date.

THE MISSIONARY IN INDIA

Writing in *Swatantra* "L.N.S." brings two charges, against foreign agencies in India which deserve prompt attention. They are serious charges and it is up to the affected groups to clear themselves of this allegation. "There is now a wide spread appreciation" he says "that the fight that is being put up by the Nagas with weapons and modern equipment is inspired and supported by foreign agencies put to weaken us and present us with problems which defy solution in normal peaceable ways."

The second charge is equally serious "that under the evil inspiration of the departed power, and on the analogy of the demand for Pakistan, a move was organised in Travancore to peg out a claim for a Christian state in India as well. The reason for it was stated to be the fact that in Travancore the Christians were the largest community, and that since democracy is the rule of majority, therefore, it was a perfectly logical demand"

There is ample evidence, he goes on to say, that the Government has been slack in allowing undesirables to get in and flutter over donecotes.

"And it is adding insult to injury when such a right is claimed under the provisions of our own constitution. Our constitution is for our benefit, and not be

exploited against us to undoing by outsiders."

Much play is made the writer continues of the alleged benefits and advantages which have flowed from the activities of missionaries in our midst. Schools, colleges, hospitals orphanages and allied benefactions of the missionaries are rankly employed as means to an end.

They are no better than decoys employed to seduce the weak-minded, bemuse the unwary and silence the doubting Thomases among us. The proof of this that prominent Indian leaders detest them in their private talks and praise them in public, because they have not the guts to speak out their minds."

What the situation requires is an orientation of our national policy.

Proselytisation must be declared an offence like solicitation, the influx of foreign missionaries must be put an end to, and the Churches in India must be nationalised. As a preliminary there should be prepared an inventory of the assets of the churches. It is not generally realised that at a time when we are expropriating all kinds of Zamindars, a solitary and gigantic zamindar is assuming shape silently.

He Concludes:

The game of the foreign churches is simple. It is to stamp out all their rivals in their own homelands, and yet profit by the plea of co-existence abroad. Thanks to the apathy of the Hindus, taken by and large, both kinds of excesses and inroads by natives and foreigners are tolerated with equal unconcern. Unless therefore public opinion bestirs itself, we are in danger of losing our case by default.

INDIA AND KASHMIR

Indo-Pakistani differences over the tricky problem of Kashmir are discussed at length in the pages of the current issue of *The Round Table*. The Pakistani position is set forth as follows:

The fact of the matter bluntly is that Mr. Nehru is not willing to part with Kashmir, because the possession of the disputed territory allows him a stranglehold, from which Pakistan wants to extricate herself. For Pakistan this is indeed a matter of life and death. There can be no comprehensive and satisfactory defence scheme for Pakistan without Kashmir. Furthermore, the upper reaches of the rivers on which Pakistan's agriculture depends flow through Indian-held Kashmir. Agreements may exist between the two countries for an equitable and fair distribution of water from these rivers, but their proper implementation depends on good faith and goodwill: and unfortunately neither of them is there. For more than eight years now the Kashmir issue has hung fire. All arguments, devices and expedients have been exhausted, but Indian obduracy is not yet conquered.

We omit, of course, such irrelevant remarks as that "Mr. Nehru's present desperate effort to find one or other pretext to repudiate his international commitments only further emphasises the weakness of his case."

The case for India prevents a new realism in the approach our admittedly difficult problem. The writer from India says:

It is to be hoped that Mr. Nehru's fears of aggression by Pakistan will prove to be exaggerated; it is equally to be hoped that his tireless iteration of the danger will not be without some beneficial effect in terms of Indian unity.

For opinion abroad, however, perhaps the most significant even of the quarter under review was the Indian Prime Minister's announcement that over a year ago he had offered to come to terms with Pakistan on the basis of the present cease-fire line. Although discussed in private often enough, this had never been revealed before. Pakistan has rejected the offer with contempt, and reaction in India has not been wholly favourable either. On

the other hand, world opinion may see in Mr. Nehru's offer further evidence of his new realism. Extremists on both sides of the border apart, nobody can seriously believe that India can occupy Pakistani-held Kashmir any more than Pakistan can hope to secure the Indian-held part of the State. It is not impossible that India's move was shrewd, for if India has so long been blamed for keeping the Kashmir question alive, it may now be Pakistan's turn to be asked why the offer of a compromise is being rejected out of hand. To anyone living in India it is clear that the Government would really like to get on with the second Plan and forget all else.

FUTURE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

On the eve of the Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers in London, Sardar K. M. Panikkar urged in the columns of *Manchester Guardian* a plea for a converted declaration of faith and a better knit organisation. As it is what holds the members together is not now a sense of common blood or shared history, but of a common impetus. The idea of a Declaration of faith aptly expresses this kind of binding force. But is it to remain merely a friendly association, meeting now and then and exchanging views and maintaining a close relationship by exchange of information? If there is no common outlook, it is clear, says Panikkar "that an international organisation based on vague ideas of goodwill and fraternity cannot function effectively for long."

Every member State looks at the Commonwealth from a different angle.

"To India, for example, the Commonwealth is valuable as establishing a bridge between Europe and Asia, undoubtedly an important aspect of Commonwealth relationship. To some other States, the association may represent primarily a continuance of their historic tradition, of loyalty to the Crown, the maintenance of the bonds of race, religion, and common history. Defence and economic considerations may weigh with others. But whatever the reasons, membership of a worldwide political organisation, with the guarantee of complete and untrammelled freedom is something which every member State values and cherishes.

Obviously it is necessary that while recognising these differences of approach, we should try to strengthen the bonds and not allow them to grow weaker either by indifference or by an attitude of timidity in the face of the problems that the new stage of development presents to the Commonwealth."

Every major change in the conception of the Commonwealth has been the result of prolonged discussion and debate, whenever new problems have presented themselves. The time is ripe again for such discussions, says Mr. Panikkar.

"For the Commonwealth undoubtedly faces new problems: the emergency of the African States, the possible weakening of the likemindedness which has so far given the Commonwealth its unity, the differing approaches to the major problems facing the world, and, not the least important, a tendency to take the Commonwealth for granted. No political institution, however stable in appearance, can be taken for granted. It has to be worked for, its basic motivations renewed from generation to generation, and the ideals for which it stands, reconsidered and restated. This is something which we cannot avoid doing now, if we attach value to the Commonwealth."

THE DAILY PRESS IN INDIA

Contrasting the newspapers of fifty years ago with those of to-day, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar observes in welcoming the new *Swarajya* weekly of Khasa Subba Rao "that that readers do not seem to have the patience to study reasoned arguments in leading articles but want compressed news and views. Headlines and slogans are therefore increasingly resorted to. Weekly periodicals, fortnightly and monthly journals and quarterly magazines for many years fulfilled the role of guiding and instructing public opinion not only in the political but in the social, literary and artistic spheres. Naturally the events of every day loomed large in the daily newspaper and short views of men and events or difficult to avoid in cursory approach. Magazines like the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Spectator* and the *Saturday Review*, and the various periodicals inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, concentrated on a reasoned and

objective discussion of events, tendencies and programmes with a view to educating the people in the things and attitudes that are of basic value. The best types of such magazines realise that politics cannot be the whole of life. They pay due advertence to the claims of literature, art and philosophy and the work for the creation of an intelligent and discriminating public opinion and taste not easily swayed by catch-words and tendentious news or personal propaganda either by way of un-deviating praise or continued oburgation of persons or movements."

In their desire to obtain the maximum circulation and to take the wind out of all other sails, the daily newspapers, he says, fortified by their ample resources, have begun to issue magazine supplements which rely on generous illustrations, slogans and short and oversimplified articles which are effectually and speedily destroying the older journals and reviews. "One of the most disconcerting features observed and commented on by the members of the Press Commission was the obvious elimination of the magazines owing to the impossibility of competition with such supplements. A contemplation of this feature was responsible for the recommendation in favour of a price-page schedule which is now sponsored by the Central Government."

Every right-thinking person, he points out, "should therefore welcome the emergence, in spite of severe competition, of a review devoted to the consideration of the permanent and lasting, rather than the fleeting and temporary, aspects of contemporary life."

INDUSTRIES IN CHINA

China will produce three times as many machine tools this year as in 1955, says a writer in *Hsinhua News*. The reason is that all-round development of the national economy is putting evergrowing demands on the machine-building industry.

This year, the industry would start to build—for the first time in China 15,000—kilowatt turbine generators for the power industry, rolling equipment for the steel industry, heavy trucks, tractors and high precision instruments.

The Vice-Minister of China called on the workers to learn from the advanced technique and experiences of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and other countries.

"We must develop our machine building industry into a full-fledged independent industry eventually capable of making powerful hydro-electrical power equipment to be used on Yellow River and the Yangtze and electric and diesel-powered locomotive."

In order to achieve all this more research institutions would be established to train engineering specialists and special organisations set up to study and spread the workers' new experiences.

Gross production of China's key industrial enterprises rose of 24.7% in the first quarter of this year compared with the same period last year. This is revealed in data published by the State Statistical Bureau on April 14. The figures are based on reports from 3,501 key State and joint State-private industrial enterprises. Their aggregate quarterly plan was overfulfilled by 5.3%.

High on the list is the First Ministry of Machine Building which topped the same period of last year by 77.7%. The output of power generators, electric motors and machine tools was nearly doubled. Production of wheel ploughs increased more than 36 fold.

Increases by other minorities over the same period last year are the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry 55.2%; the Ministry of Heavy Industry, 26.1%; the Ministry of the Coal industry, 25.6%; the Ministry of Light Industry, 23.7%; the Ministry of Textile Industry, 18.5%; and the Ministry of the Electric Power Industry, 11.9%.

High precision electrical surgical knives for operations are among the modern medical instruments to be produced in China for the first time this year, according to the Ministry of Light Industry.

Altogether the country's light industry plans to produce 1,300 new products on trial basis, including various kinds of paper, rubber products, medicines and medical equipment and canned goods.

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE IN BENGAL

"Bengal has maintained her distinct originality in every cultural sphere of life. In the field of architecture the same truth is repeated" says Mr. Bimola Kumar Datta writing in the latest *Visvabarathi Quarterly*.

Sculpture and architecture in Bengal are so closely inter-related that it is very difficult to treat one without the other. As the art of ancient Bengal and India is purely religious it is expressed in all its capacities through the main medium—the temples.

As for sculpture architectural specimens are essential, so, for the reconstruction of early architectural types, sculptures both of stone and terracotta are the main source. Generally on the door-jamba, lintels and by the sides of the main opening we find the sculptures or terracotta plaques. But in some brick temples as in the Jor-Bangla temple, Bishnupur, Bankura, the entire outer surface of the temple is decorated with terracotta figures. The carvings are mostly on brick panels and in some recent ones in lime and plaster. Panels of processions line the base, panels crowded with soldiers, horsemen and elephant riders. Above them appear square or rectangular panels depicting in Vaisnava temples Radha Krishna in various attitudes or Visnu in some of his incarnations and in Saiva or Sakta temples the exploits of Siva and his consort Durga or Kali. With them are mixed panels of rosettes or geometrical patterns; and in some instances miniature temples are piled one above the other. Illustrations from stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are also often to be found.

The extremely graceful, rhythmic and dynamic movements of the sculptures are noteworthy contributions of the folk-artists of Bengal. These artists derived their inspiration not from the standard rules and regulations of the *Silpa Sastras* or *Pratimataksana* texts but from keen observation of the daily lives of the people around. Nowhere in the whole field of art and architecture has the simple dignity of rural Bengal life been delineated with such visible pride of feeling and such masterly success in execution. Here is the art of the people of Bengal; realistic, intensely human and artistic. The terracottas offer too, valuable data for the reconstruction of the missing of the early history of the land.

RURAL CREDIT IN INDIA

Mr. Donald G. Groom writing in the *Aryan Path* says that our ultimate objective should be to have a village development fund for every village, the fund to be available for supervised credit. Responsibility would rest with the whole village; supervision would be given by village-level workers. The fund could be provided by an allocation of a proportion of the land revenue of that village for a few years. It could be held in cash or grain or both. An essential feature must be that each year some savings of the people, in the form of grain or cash, are added to the fund.

The benefits from such a credit scheme will appear obvious in the light of what has been mentioned about the present system. Small, short-term credit must be available to those without security to offer—they are often the most reliable and hard-working people. There is need for more experience, and the scheme has to be worked out in greater detail, though complete uniformity may not be possible. It is good to have the centre of responsibility for credit in the village itself. It is good to link credit with a current programme of development in the village. The village should be treated as a unit in which there is equal opportunity for credit for all.

Problems do arise which cannot be solved overnight. This is the problem of the demand for credit for weddings as well as for food to tide over a difficult time. These are not productive uses for credit, but some provision has to be made; otherwise there will be a loophole for the moneylender. Perhaps a special fund created out of the profits of the development fund can be made available for such purposes, and the limit set to such credit by circumstances might well be beneficial discipline.

OPTIMISM IN LIFE

The *Theosophist* has an article on this difficult question "an optimistic approach" to life by Ninian Finlayson who gives a brief and vital summary of what life is to humanity; an optimistic, joyous and inspiring teaching given in a simple way as follows:—

Life is an ever-becoming. As the acorn becomes the oak, majestic in its stature, far other in form and function from the seed out

of which it grew, so also is the life which is within man urging him onwards to the unfolding of his latent powers; to the becoming of that splendour—limitless and eternal—of which, through his identification of himself which the vehicles he is using, he has lost sight. A faint glimmer of awareness is always there; it never quite dies away. To the extent one is able to open the door of one's consciousness to the eternal reality, to just that extent will the life be able to flow in.

So for those of us who have come to some understanding of life through Theosophical teachings, our outlook must be full of optimism and joy. Theosophy does not remove all obstacles from our path on the journey to the complete awareness of life, but it does give us an understanding of what life is and what the obstacles are that hinder us in the unfolding of our spiritual nature. Monadic life in the process of involution allied itself with the material of each plane of Nature, as it vivified each in turn, until the field was ready wherein the spiritual seed could be planted. Mankind in its psychic and physical bodies is the field and self-awareness is the seed—the seed which is destined to blossom forth as spiritual man.

Our approach to life, therefore, should be one of humility, simple and free, open to widening fields of perception and understanding. The struggle, to which we should give our attention, is to disentangle ourselves from our vehicles and to identify ourselves with our true spiritual nature. As the seed is neither the soil nor the water nor the air which it uses for its unfoldment, so man must learn that he is not his physical body nor his mind, but that he is will, love-wisdom and intelligence. He must approach this task with deep and sincere reverence for the life of each of the planes, recognizing it as one with his own. He must learn to use these as the seed uses earth, water and air in becoming the magnificent tree, a living expression of the sun-shine of life.

He concludes:

There are many branches but one tree. There is unity in the midst of obvious diversities. Through the realization of unity we may so impress the world of thought that mankind as a whole will become more aware of their purpose in life, their goal, their true nature.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON SUEZ CANAL

Of the 24 nations that were invited to the London Conference which met on the 16th of last month 22 nations except Egypt and Greece attended. The U. S. Secretary of State Dulles was the dominating figure in the Assembly. The conference finally passed after a majority of 18 votes Dulles' plan, which reads as follows:—

The Governments approving this statement, being participants in the London conference on the Suez Canal concerned by the grave situation regarding the Suez Canal: seeking a peaceful solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the U. N.; and recognizing that an adequate solution must, on the one hand, respect the sovereign rights of Egypt, including its right to just, fair compensation for the use of the canal, and on the other hand safeguard the Suez Canal Convention of October 29, 1888 join in this expression of their views:

1. They affirm that as stated in the preamble of the Convention of 1888, there should be established "a definite system destined to guarantee at all times and for all the powers the free use of the Suez maritime canal.

2. Such a system should assure:

(a) efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the canal as a free, open and secure international waterway in accordance with the principles of the convention of 1888.

(b) insulation of the operation of the canal from the influence of politics of any nation.

(c) respect for the sovereignty of Egypt.

(d) a return to Egypt for the use of the Suez Canal which will be fair and equitable and increasing with enlargements of its capacity and greater use:

(e) payment to the Universal Suez Canal Company of such sums as may be found its due by way of fair compensation.

(f) canal tools as low as is consistent with the foregoing requirements, and except for (d) above no profit.

3. To achieve these results on a permanent and reliable basis there should be

established by convention

(A) Institutional arrangements for co-operation between Egypt and other interested nations in the operation, maintenance and development of the canal and for harmonizing and safeguarding their respective interests in the canal.

To this end, operating, maintaining and developing the canal and enlarging it so as to increase the volume of traffic in the interest of the world trade and of Egypt, would be the responsibility of a Suez Canal Board.

Egypt would grant this Board all rights and facilities appropriate to its functioning.

The members of the Board, in addition to Egypt, would be other States chosen in a manner to be agreed upon from the States parties to the Convention with due regard to use, pattern of trade and geographical distribution.

The composition of the Board to be such as to assure that its responsibilities would be discharged solely with the view to achieving the best possible operating results without political motivation in favour of or in prejudice against any user of the canal.

The Board would make periodic reports to the U. N. (b) An Arbitral Commission to settle any disputes as to the equitable return to Egypt or fair compensation to the Universal Suez Canal Company or other matters arising in the operation of the Canal.

(c) Effective sanctions for any violation of the convention by any party to it, or any other nation, including provisions for treating any use or threat of force to interfere with the use or operation of the canal as a threat to the peace and a violation of the purpose and principles of the U.N. Charter.

(d) Provisions for appropriate association with the U.N. and for review as may be necessary.

A five nation committee headed by the Australian Prime Minister Menzies handed over the Dulles Plan to Col. Nasser personally, on Monday 3rd Sept. The world awaits Col. Nasser's reaction.

Utterances of the Day

Mr. NEHRU ON RE-ORGANISATION OF STATES

Speaking on August 15 on the Controversy over State re-organisation Mr. Nehru said that during the last seven or eight months "we saw many strange sights, often of conflict and fighting between brother and brother." He added: "We faced an enemy (the British ruler) and made him a friend. But we did not have patience and understanding to settle our own problems peacefully and brother started raising his hand against brother."

The Prime Minister said that the Indian people faced the guns of British imperialism without raising their hand against them. The people had been moulded under Gandhiji's teaching to carry on the struggle through peaceful methods. But the young men to-day seemed to have been moulded in a different way, which was opposed to the way which brought the country freedom.

Mr. Nehru said that this redistribution of States was neither a big political issue nor an economic one. "I agree that it is an emotional question. People have interest in it and their feelings are aroused. We have to respect these sentiments. But I do not understand how this question can be solved by raising our hand against each other by fighting, or by burning Government building."

The President gave assent to S. R. Bill on 31st August. (Ed. I.R.)

PRESIDENT PRASAD ON NATIONAL UNITY

In his Independence Day message to the nation, President Rajendra Prasad spoke at Madras:

"While the task of reconstruction and multiplying our national resources so that poverty disease and ignorance are banished from this fair land of ours, is urgent and pressing, the other task which is no less urgent and insistent and to which we have to address ourselves is to encourage and foster the sense of national unity. We must know that our efforts to increase our material prosperity will not only be jeopardised but actually set at naught without achieving national unity. In recent months, we have been busy giving final touches to the process of reorganisation of States. Let it not be forgotten that this task was undertaken in wider national interests and not merely in the interest of any single region. It is, in fact, a sphere in which the national and the regional interests should be, and are one and the same."

CHOU'S PRAISE FOR INDIA

Speaking at Peking on August 27 the Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai said:

"India plays a role not only in Asian peace. She has contributed outstandingly to the promotion of peace in the Asian-African region and in the whole world and to the safeguarding of Egyptian sovereignty at the London conference."

"The three countries, Laos, India and China will become still more friendly and united in the future and will make still greater contributions to world peace and the struggle against colonialism."

Referring to the joint statement signed by Laos and China, the Chinese Premier said it was "helpful not only to the friendly relations between the two countries, but also to peace in Asia and the rest of the world. We hope the friendship between our two countries will develop still further."

EARL WARREN ON AMERICA AND INDIA

"Americans not only love their own freedom, but they want freedom for everyone," said Earl Warren, Chief justice of the United States, at a luncheon meeting of the India-America Society at Bombay on August 17.

"I am sure that people here, just like the people in our great cities, are devoted to the cause of peace and do want nothing more in this world than to live in a world that is at peace, with honour and independence for everyone. I believe that your people have the same ideals that the people of our country have, and know that you are devoted to the humanitarian causes as our people are."

DULLES ON EGYPT

U.S. Secretary Dulles said at London conference that in the U.S. Plan "there is no disregard of Egypt's sovereignty. What is suggested is that Egypt should make a treaty."

"While every treaty involves a certain surrender of sovereignty, that execution of a treaty is in itself an exercise of the highest sovereignty."

"What we are proposing is courteously to inform Egypt of certain facts, and ask her whether or not she is prepared to enter into negotiations for a Convention, which will take account of those facts. If she will do this, then she is exercising her sovereignty in a situation, deeply impressed with an international interest."

Political and Personal

Mr. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: NEW FINANCE MINISTER

The appointment of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Commerce and Industry Minister, as Finance Minister of the Government of India, has been officially announced and to take effect from this month.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry is split into the Ministry of Heavy Industries and the Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industry. Home Minister Pant will look after the Ministry of Heavy Industries, while Sardar Swaran Singh will be in charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industry.

Under normal conditions, perhaps, a new man may have been thought of in order to break the theory that finance is the preserve of experts. But it is realised that the present is not the time for experiment. Moreover, it is about this time of the year that the revision of the current year's budget and the formulation of the next year's budget proposals are undertaken and obviously the Prime Minister could not devote all his time and attention to this subject.

Mr. Krishnamachari's knowledge of the country's financial and economic affairs is recognised on all hands. Mr. Krishnamachari has been taking a keen interest in the establishment of the new steel project, and, therefore, he will continue to hold the Ministry of Iron and Steel also.

Except for the few weeks Mr. Nehru has been in charge, this is the first time since Independence that the Finance Ministry will be headed by a full-fledged member of the Congress Party. While Mr. Deshmukh was an Associate Member of the Congress Parliamentary Party, his two predecessors, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty and Dr. John Matthai did not have any Party affiliation.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT TO PAK PREMIER

Ch. Mohammed Ali secured a new lease as the Prime Minister of Pakistan when 40 out of the 80-member National Assembly voted confidence in him at a meeting of the Muslim League—United Front Coalition Parliamentary party held at Karachi on Aug. 24.

THE APPLEBY REPORT

Dr. Paul H. Appleby, who was Dean of the Maxwell School Citizenship at Syracuse University, New York, and Budget Director in the cabinet of Governor Harriman of New York, and who is a wellknown expert on public administration, has made his second report on the administration at Delhi and it has given rise to sharp criticisms. Because he disapproved of the undue importance given to the Auditor-General of India in spending money already apportioned for different projects, and points out that "far too much of the dynamism and imagination characterising the setting of objectives is smothered in procedures dominated by small thinking."

Dr. Appleby's suggestion that as the administration expands with increased activities, procedures too have to be adapted to suit the required tempo of work, needs urgent consideration as the Second Five-Year Plan gets under way.

SHERMAN COOPER ON GOA

Mr. John Sherman Cooper, former United States Ambassador to India, said in San Francisco on Aug. 24 that Portugal could make a great contribution to international peace by relinquishing control over its possessions in India.

Describing Goa as a Colony of Portugal, Mr. Cooper said one of the main reasons why U.S. attitude was misunderstood in India and in Asia was its association, however indirect with Colonialism.

He is reported to have listed the offer of military aid to Pakistan and the U.S. attitude towards Goa among the main points of difference between the two countries. In giving military aid to Pakistan, the U.S. should, he said, have considered its repercussions on another friendly country like India since the U.S. desired friendly relations with both.

CHANGES IN CENTRAL CABINET

Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant: Minister of Home Affairs and Heavy Industries.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari: Minister of Finance and Iron and Steel.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, and Commerce and Consumer Industries.

BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

Prof. K. G. Saiyidian, Educational Adviser, Government of India, inaugurated the discussion on "The programme for Basic Education in the Second Five-Year Plan at the Educational Conference for the Southern Region held on Aug. 25 at Sri Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam.

Prof. Saiyidian, in his address, stated that they could only have a National Plan of Education, and their problems of basic education, secondary education and higher education must be considered as an integral whole. If they were to improve education they had to tackle it with a desperate sense of urgency, and they should be assured that the right kind of teachers, adequate equipment and intelligent guidance would be made available for this purpose. With the meagre resources available, the quality and the quantity had become rival claimants in the matter of improving education. Politics entered into this controversy, which stood only for educating the electorate. So long, as more funds were not forthcoming, they could choose the sensible policy of providing for schools affording quality education within whatever resources were available.

To make schools effective agencies, the speaker pointed out that Basic education offered a solution. It was really creative and revolutionary although even some of its most devoted advocates had not fully understood it. If through Basic education they could put life and meaning into the work of the existing schools, however slow the process, they would have the satisfaction of knowing that they were moving in the right direction.

SRI PRAKASA'S
CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Mr. Sri Prakasa, Chancellor of the Madras University, addressing the annual convocation of the Madras University on Aug. 23, said that the true aims of education in a democratic set-up were: equality of states for all professions, recognition of the non-emotional and intellectual nature of the working of a democracy, the finality of democratic decisions, and the vital need to ensure full justice to minorities.

GENERAL EDUCATION COURSES

The introduction of general education courses in all universities in the country has been recommended by the committee set up by the Government of India to go into the question of general education.

The main recommendations of the Committee were placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on Aug. 27 in reply to a question by Mr. Krishnacharya Joshi.

Passing an examination in general education courses should be made a condition in the case of all students before graduation, the Committee says.

Dr. Bhagavantam, Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, was the leader of the Committee. It had recommended that general education courses might be introduced through two schemes (1) main scheme should have an ultimate aim and (2) the alternative scheme which can be initiated immediately.

The main scheme covers basic studies in the fields of natural sciences, social sciences and humanities together with training in communication skills. These studies are to be compulsory for all under-graduates preparing for a degree in a non-professional faculty. One-third of the total time available for studies for the three-year degree course should be devoted to general education courses.

Under an alternative scheme the Committee has suggested that six periods per week in the first year and the same number of periods weekly in the second year of the degree course should be devoted to general education courses. It has also recommended expansion of libraries, laboratories and other teaching aids for successful implementation of the general education programme.

Mr. C. D. DESHMUKH

The former Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, has accepted the Education Minister's offer of the Chairmanship of the University Grants Commission. For the present he will receive a nominal salary of Re. 1. He has resigned his membership of Parliament so as to be effective from August 27, on which date he took up his new office.

Mr. Deshmukh is the first whole-time Chairman of the University Grants Commission, as provided by the University Grants Commission Act which came into force on March 3 this year.

MORE SUPREME COURT JUDGES

The Lok Sabha passed on Aug. 20 the Home Minister's Bill to increase the number of Judges of the Supreme Court from eight to eleven.

Commending the Bill for the acceptance of the House, the Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, said the work of the Supreme Court had increased considerably during the last few years and there were heavy arrears. In order to cope up with the present volume of work, the strength of the Court had to be increased.

Members who took part in the debate welcomed the Bill.

MR. GOVINDA MENON

The President is pleased to appoint Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon, a Judge of the Madras High Court, to be a Judge of the Supreme Court of India with effect from the date on which he assumes charge of his office, says a Press communique issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs dated Aug. 26.

Mr. Justice Govinda Menon has been Judge of the Madras High Court since July 1947 and assumed his new office on Sept. 1.

INTERNATIONAL LAW CONFERENCE

Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India, represented the Indian branch of the International Law Association at the International Law Conference held at Dubrovnik in Yugoslavia.

The agenda of the conference included the questions of revision of the United Nations Charter, limitation of air sovereignty, international company and monetary law and the use of waters of international rivers.

LIMITATION ACT

The Law Commission has presented its report to Government on the Limitation Act, 1908, embodying the recommendations as to the line on which it should be amended, modified or revised, it is learnt.

It is understood that the recommendations are designed to secure considerable simplification of the law. Anomalies brought to light by the decisions of courts have been sought to be removed by suggesting appropriate amendments. The number of articles has been reduced from 183 to 60.

JUSTICE N. S. RAU ON PLURALITY
OF STATUTES

Inaugurating this year's series of lectures to apprentices organised by the Madras Bar Council, on Aug. 25 Mr. Justice Nittoor Srinivasa Rau, Judge of the Mysore High Court, expressed the view that there was now a much greater volume of legislation than was warranted and much of it was ill-considered and ill-drafted.

It was true, he added, that the enlargement of the field of State activity had increased the need for legislation; but even then there was a greater volume of it than was necessary. "It has been said this is a period of inflation of legislative currency. I am also tempted to remark that ill-considered legislation plays the same part as bad currency, not exactly in driving out good legislation but in attracting much more than a fair share of litigation."

ADOPTION OF HEIRS

Hindus may adopt both boys and girls as their heirs and a Hindu widow may adopt a child in her own right, according to the provisions of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha on Aug. 23.

The Bill, seeking to codify and amend the law relating to adoption and maintenance amongst Hindus, was introduced by Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Minister for Legal Affairs. This is the fourth part of the Hindu Code. Three earlier parts relating to marriage, succession and minority and guardianship have already been enacted.

LAWYERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court, addressing the students of the Madras Law College said that every human right recorded in the Constitution was there because people had sacrificed for it, and so lawyers, at least a group of them, should stand up for, and determine individual rights.

He asked them not to take their independence for granted, or their freedom as just their natural heritage, because "someone, even in your own land, is not getting adequate justice at this very moment."

TRANSFER OF NIZAM'S MONEY

The Government of India is making an appeal against the decision of the British Court, which dismissed the case filed by India against the transfer of the Nizam Government's money to Pakistan, said Mr. B. N. Datar, Minister in the Home Ministry, in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 27.

Trade and Finance

NEW LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION

The names of the members of the Life Insurance Corporation which came into existence on September 1, was announced by Mr. M. C. Shah, Minister in the Ministry of Finance, in the Lok Sabha.

The headquarters of the Corporation will be in Bombay. The Minister announced the Government's decision to establish 33 divisional offices and about 180 branches in the five zonal areas.

Mr. H. M. Patel will be the Chairman of the Corporation in addition to his duties as Secretary to the Ministry of Finance.

The other members of the Corporation are: Mr. Mohammed Hasham Premji, Prof. D. G. Karve, Mr. Dhiren Mitra, Mr. S. M. Ramakrishna Rau, Mr. Chakreshwar Kumar Jain, Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai Mehta, Lala Raghuraj Swarup, Mr. L. K. Jha, I.C.S., Mr. B. K. Kaul, I.C.S., Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan, Mr. A. Rajagopalan, Mr. K. R. Srinivasan, Mr. V. H. Vora and Mr. D. P. Guzdar.

Under Section 4 (1) of the Life Insurance Corporation Act, the Central Government is required to appoint persons not exceeding 15 in number as members of the Corporation.

WORLD BANK LOAN TO TATAS

Mr. Baliram Bhagat, Deputy Minister of Finance said on Aug. 26, that the particulars about securities on which the Government agreed to guarantee the World Bank's loan to the Tata Steel Company had not yet been finalised.

He told Mr. M. Govinda Reddi in the Rajya Sabha that the amount of the loan granted by the Bank was Rs. 35.71 crores. The rate of interest was 4½ per cent per annum, inclusive of one per cent statutory commission charged by the Bank. Repayment was to begin on December 1, 1959; and end on June 1, 1971.

The loan, he said, was sought to implement the steel expansion programme of the company. It was planned to expand production from 7.8 million tons to 1.5 million tons by the end of 1958.

MR. H. V. R. IYENGAR

Mr. H. V. R. Iyengar, I.C.S., Secretary to the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry has been appointed Chairman of the State Bank of India in succession to Dr. John Mathai who resigned from that office recently.

TRANSFER OF ASSETS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Mr. A. C. Guha, told Mr. R. P. Garg in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 17, that transfers of assets from India to foreign countries could not be made without the prior permission of the Reserve Bank. As such, he did not think that largescale transfer of assets to foreign countries by Indians were taking place.

Mr. Garg: Has the Reserve Bank helped certain Princes to transfer their assets to enable them to purchase houses in foreign countries?

Mr. Guha: They must have done so with the permission of the Reserve Bank. The Bank would not surely fritter away the country's foreign exchange resources.

AMERICAN FARM SURPLUSES

The Indo-United States Agreement for the purchase of American farm surpluses will provide a firm basis for launching the Second Five-Year Plan. The principal articles India would buy are cotton and wheat and the supplies whose value may be in the neighbourhood of 350 million dollars are to be spread over a period of three years.

The advantage of this American offer is that it will provide stocks of essential commodities so vital for checking inflation and at the same time save the already scarce foreign exchange as payment will be only in rupees.

EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION

The Government of India formally took over the management of the Rs. 10 crore Eastern Shipping Corporation Ltd. on Aug. 16, from the Scindia Navigation Company, who were managing the Corporation since its inception on Mar. 24, 1950.

The managing agency of Scindias was declared terminated and the management of the Corporation was taken over by Mr. R. R. Saxena, appointed by the Government as the new Managing Director.

INDIAN TEAM FOR I.M.F. MEETING

The Indian delegation to the next meeting of the International Monetary Fund towards the end of September will be led by Mr. B. Rama Rao, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. The delegation includes Mr. B. K. Nehru, Joint Secretary in the Union Ministry of Finance, and Mr. Venkatapiah of the Reserve Bank of India.

Women's Page

PROVERBS ABOUT WOMEN

"Hereafter proverbs relating to the peculiarities of women, particularly about their conduct or harshness, shall not be quoted in the House" ruled the Speaker, Mr. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 24.

The Speaker strongly disapproved of the tendency to refer in "derisive terms" to any member or Minister on grounds of sex and said: "This creates a lot of trouble."

Mr. Iyengar made the observation, following an objection taken by the Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, to a Hindi proverb quoted by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava (Congress—Punjab) on women administrators during the discussion on the Government Premises (Eviction) Amendment Bill.

The proverb was "Aurat Hakin ghazab Khuda" (when women becomes an administrator, God's terror, and wrath descend).

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur protested to the quoting of the proverb and said: "I have far too much dignity and I treat even a remark like that with the contempt that it deserves. But I think that it should be brought to your (Speaker's) notice."

Pandit Bhargava defended the use of the proverb and said it only meant that a woman in power was sterner than man.

To this the Health Minister angrily replied: "The interpretation is wrong" and what it said was "If a woman is an administrator, God help the people—it is the curse of God."

BOMBAY BEAUTIES

A bevy of Bombay beauties modelled Indian fashions for "Vogue" representatives were in Bombay last month at the invitation of the Government of India.

The Indian Fashion Show arranged by the Tourist Club of India was very much liked by visitors from London.

The Films Division took a special news reel of the show which will be released in theatres all over India. Metro Goldwyn Mayer also shot the film to be shown outside India.

KUSUM KUMARI DEVI

Mathushri Kusumakumari Devi passed away at Jamshedpur on August 14, at the age of 85. Shri Kusumakumari Devi was the consort of Shri "Pagal Haranath" of Sonamukhi, District Bankura, West Bengal, who has a large following of devotees of various castes and creeds.

PUNISHING WOMAN FOR ADULTERY

The Lok Sabha refused on Aug. 10 to give consideration to a private member's Bill, seeking to do away with the discrimination in the Indian Penal Code in favour of women in regard to punishment for the offence of adultery.

The Bill, sponsored by Mr. Fulsinji B. Dabhi (Cong.) met with overwhelming opposition.

The Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Datar, who opposed the Bill, said the time had not yet come for changing the existing law as the social conditions of women in the country were far from satisfactory and "almost miserable."

There was a trend of opinion that the offence should be excluded from the purview of the Penal Code and that it should be treated only as a social wrong to be punished by social obloquy. If this was taken into account, he said, it would not be proper especially in the present conditions of Indian women to make any change in the law at all.

MRS. INDU DAVE

One of the University of Georgia's few doctorates in education was awarded recently to a woman from India—Mrs. Indu Dave.

A university alumnus commented that a doctorate of philosophy in education is rarely awarded by the school and it is particularly interesting that one was earned this year by a woman from India.

Mrs. Dave, a native of Undal is the mother of two sons, Arvind, 17, and Asok, 11. She left them in school in India when she came to the United States two years ago, already with several degrees from Indian universities.

WOMEN AND WORLD PEACE

Women can do more to win world peace than men, the retiring United States Foreign Operations Administrator Mr. Harold Stassen told a Women's Press Club audience at New York.

Women can also assure "that the search for the basis for a durable peace is persistent and patient, that the cynicism of the male does not prevail and that undying hope spurs determined effort in the darkest months" he said.

LATE Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE

We regret to record the death of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal on the 7th of last month. Mr. Mookerjee was a very popular Governor and he used to contribute to the pages of this journal very often.

Both the Houses of Parliament adjourned on 8th August as a mark of respect to his memory.

The Prime Minister said the adjournment of Parliament was a special tribute to the late Dr. Mookerjee. It adjourned not because a Governor of a province had died but because "Dr. Mookerjee played a part of public eminence in other respects" and this should not be considered a precedent.

Prime Minister Nehru said that he wished to associate himself with the Speaker's remarks. Dr. Mookerjee was a colleague of theirs in the Constituent Assembly whom many of them knew, not only knew, but had a great affection. He was not referring to him as Governor—although he had been a successful and very popular Governor—but whether he was Governor or Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, he never lost his character as a simple citizen of India. He was a man of scholarship and learning, a man of deep humanity and a man whom I have not known to speak a harsh word or to lose his temper. Inevitably he was liked.

Mr. Nehru added: "I have not known a more unostentatious person than Dr. Mookerjee. He lived unostentatiously and quietly and he died unostentatiously and quietly."

Dr. Mookerjee was a great public servant and a great man and a fine example of a great Christian. "We honour him for all this," the Prime Minister said.

FOOD PRICES: GOVT'S. DECISION

The Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, told members of the Rajya Sabha on 30th August during the debate on demands for supplementary grants that in a short time he would be able to report a further reduction in the prices of foodgrains.

"There may be a crash," he told members who had expressed anxiety about rise in prices and added: "Those who have hoarded stocks will come to grief."

WORLD THEATRE CONGRESS

The first World Theatre Congress under the auspices of the International Theatre Institute will be held in Bombay from October 29 to November 2.

The International Theatre Institute is a non-Governmental organisation affiliated to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Organising Committee, said that the object of holding the first Congress in India was to attract more Asian representatives to the Theatre Institute. At present, only India and Japan were the two Asian representatives in the Institute.

The main theme to be discussed by the Congress will be how to make theatre popular among the people and youth in particular. A Reception Committee for the Congress has been formed with Mr. S. K. Patil, M.P. as its Chairman.

COMPOSITION OF INDIAN ARMY

Dr. K. N. Katju, Union Defence Minister, said the Indian Army was today fully representative of the people, without any class or caste distinctions.

The Minister was addressing the cadets of the Sainik School, formerly known as the Prince of Wales Military College, Dehra Dun on Aug. 28th.

Dr. Katju recalled that the Sainik School was opened in 1922, four years after World War I. In those days, the Indian Army was only Indian by name because all the officers were British. A few Indian officers were also trained at Sandhurst. Since then, India had travelled a long distance. Indianisation had gone ahead, and today the Army was a true mirror of the Indian Republic.

The Union Defence Minister rounded off his four-day inspection of military establishments in Dehra Dun with an address to J.O.C.'s and other Ranks at the 58th Gorkha Regimental Centre.

He recalled India's friendly ties with Nepal, and hoped that this bond would be further strengthened.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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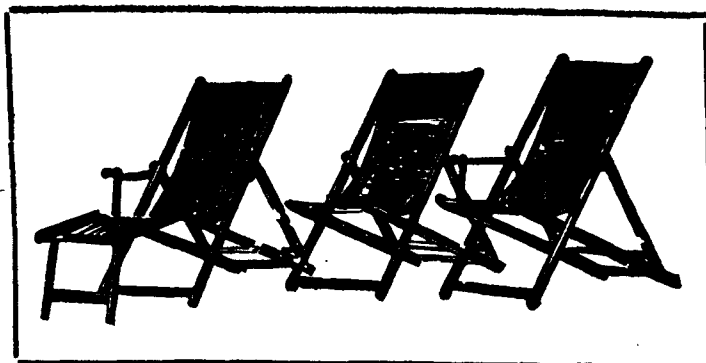
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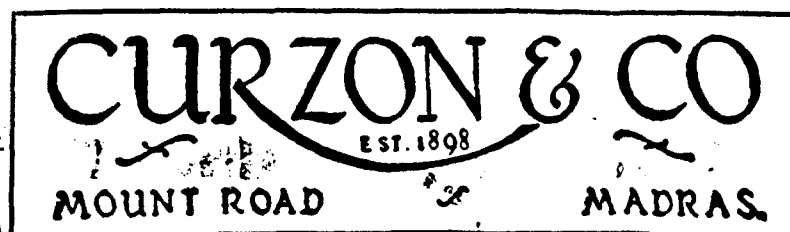


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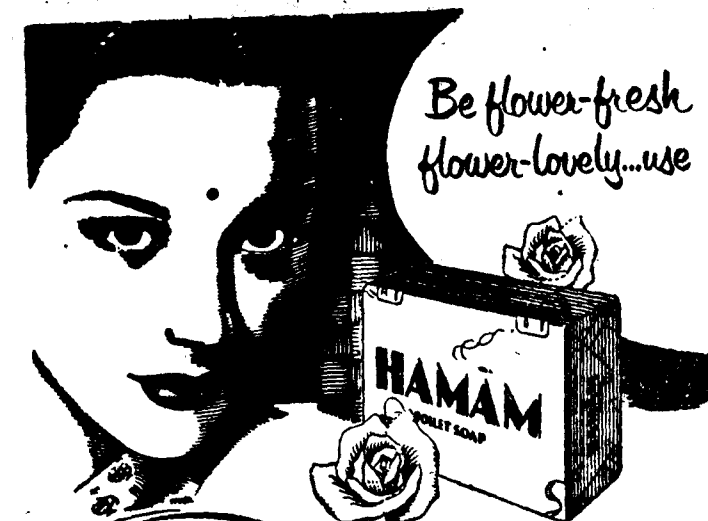
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