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OCTOBER 1956

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By Prof. K. R. R. Sastry

The Indian Life Insurance Corporation
By Shri Manilal C. Shah

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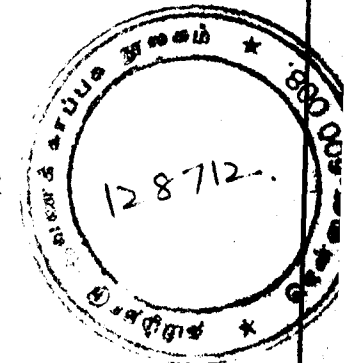
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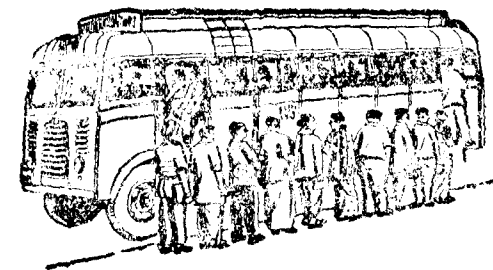
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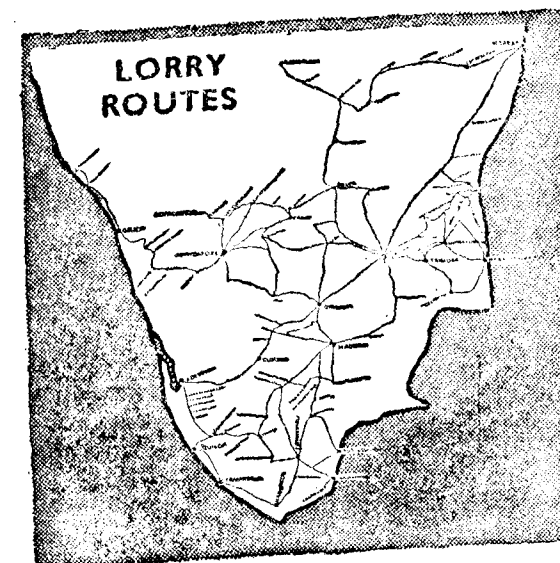
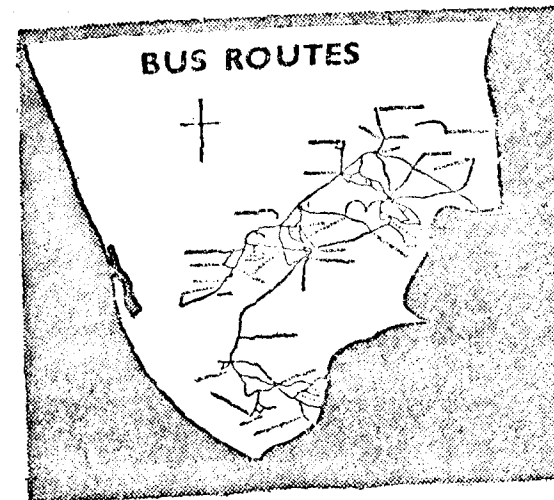
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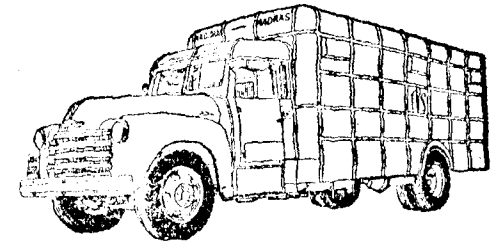


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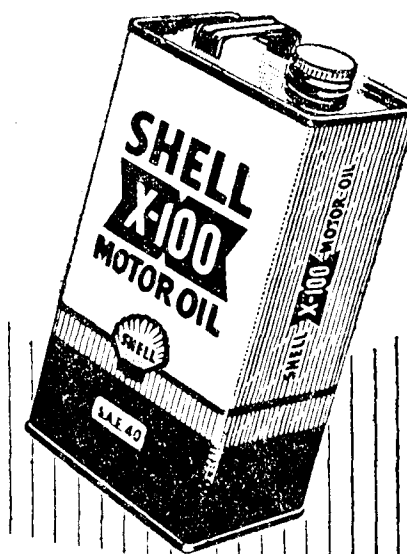
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The Three Inter-Oceanic Canals

By

Prof. K. R. R. Sastry,

Principal, University Law College, Jaipur.

In the sound generated by the Suez Canal Crisis, it is natural that echoes are heard near the Panama Canal. Though Suez and Panama have important agreements, there is a *vague-ness* regarding the rights and duties of the territorial sovereigns and users of the Canals during war. The Kiel Canal stands as a case *sui generis*.

The law relating to these interoceanic canals is *conventional* in origin but it has been modified by the growth of internal *practice* and hence of custom as evidence of a general practice. Sooner the position of these waterways is brought under an uniform pattern guaranteeing freedom of navigation under United Nations, the better.

Under the most important article (Art. I) of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, "the Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce or war without distinction of flag." Subsequent articles provide for securing the *neutrality* of the Canal in time of war. Practice during the two-world-wars warns us that the territorial *sovereign could close* it to the vessels of the enemy.

The Panama Canals, 47 miles long, connects the Atlantic and the Pacific. On November 18, 1901, Great Britain and U.S.A. concluded a treaty called the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. While there are various stipulations relating to the neutralization of the Canal substantially

as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, there is no clause guaranteeing the free passage of the canal in time of peace without distinction of flag and without reference to the possible belligerency of U.S.A. Nor is there any clause forbidding U.S.A. to erect fortifications commanding the Canal. The phrase "in time of war as in time of peace" which appears in the Constantinople Convention, was not repeated in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

On November 18, 1901, the Hay-Varilla Treaty was concluded. Under it, the Republic of Panama granted to the United States, "in perpetuity the use," occupation and control of a Zone of territory for purposes of the canal together with the use, occupation, and control in perpetuity of any lands and waters outside of the Zone which might be necessary and convenient for the same purposes." It further granted to U.S.A. in such Zone and in the auxiliary lands and waters, "all the rights, power and authority which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the Sovereign of the territory." The Treaty further conceded to the United States the right to police the specified lands and waters with its land and naval forces and to establish fortifications for such purposes."

Practice of U.S.A. during the two World-Wars was just like Britain's closing the Suez Canal to enemy shipping.

Connecting the Baltic with the North Sea,

the Kiel Canal was constructed by Germany mainly for strategic purposes. It was finished in 1895, 61½ miles of waterway.

Under Article 380 of the Treaty of Versailles the Kiel Canal was to be kept free and open to all vessels of nations at peace with Germany.

On November 1st, 1936, Germany *unilaterally* denounced these articles (380-386) of the Treaty of Versailles.

A judgment was delivered by the Permanent Court of International Justice in reference to the passage of a British Ship, the *S.S. Wimbledon*, carrying arms to Danzig through the Kiel Canal. The Court emphasized that even the passage of a belligerent warship through Kiel Canal would not compromise the neutrality of the state in whose jurisdiction the waters lie.

Under conventional and customary International Law, the territorial Sovereign can always take all legitimate measures for the protection of his waterway and his own neutrality. They may involve some inconvenience on ships using the waterway. Thus Egypt, the territorial sovereign of Suez Canal, can place restrictions as exercise of the rights of visiting and searching ships bound to and from Israel which has a relationship of belligerency with Egypt.

While she was projecting military adventure in 1937, Germany closed the Kiel Canal to warships of foreign states. It has to be concluded that under conditions of modern warfare, the territorial sovereign can put *restrictions on freedom of passage* through interoceanic Canals as Suez, Panama and Kiel.

The Indian Life Insurance Corporation

By

Hon. SHRI MANIAL C. SHAH

Minister For Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Government of India

The 1st September, 1956 is an important day in the history of Indian Life Insurance. The step which we have taken is unique in the annals of Life Insurance the world over; for in few countries, if any, is there a Corporation managing life insurance on a monopolistic basis. It all the more behoves us to ensure that the consequences of this momentous step are of lasting benefit to the country. This calls for dedicated service on the part of all those connected with the Corporation from the highest to the lowest.

Let me first of all recount what Government have done since the 19th January when the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance was promulgated and all life insurance companies in India came under Government

management. It is not necessary for me to recall the reasons which prompted Government to nationalise life insurance business. They have already received adequate publicity.

When the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance was promulgated, Government assumed temporary management of 180 insurance companies—Life and Composite, Indian and Foreign, differing widely in size and strength—and of about 70 Provident Societies. The total business in force was of the order of Rs. 1,250 crores and the total funds were Rs. 380 crores.

It thus became our responsibility to ensure efficient administration of all these units. As, in terms of the Ordinance, it was only the management which vested in Government and not the ownership, it was necessary to continue

the companies as separate entities. For purposes of efficient management, Custodians were appointed to administer them on Government's behalf. Co-ordination of the work of these Custodians during this period was indeed a difficult task because the varying pattern of internal organisation, the widely differing size, strength and standing of the Companies made it imperative for individual attention to be paid to their problems. Some companies were insolvent and had to make up our minds as to the basis on which claims could be settled safely having regard to the claims of the existing policyholders. It is, therefore, a matter for satisfaction that during this difficult period of transition and inevitable dislocation new business has been maintained at satisfactory levels.

Coincidental with the assumption of management of these companies was the necessity to discharge our responsibility to Parliament by seeking endorsement to Government's proposal to nationalise life insurance. The Life Insurance (Emergency Powers) Ordinance was considered by Parliament which endorsed the step Government had taken. Thereafter, Parliament took up consideration of the Life Insurance Corporation Bill. The Select Committee which was appointed to consider the Bill, gave much thought to all the difficult and many controversial issues which were involved. After consideration of the Select Committee's report, Parliament enacted the Life Insurance Corporation Act.

Our next task, after Parliament had passed the Life Insurance Corporation Bill, was to implement it. The Act provided for the Corporation to be brought into being on an "Appointed Day" to be fixed by Government. It was felt that Government should not retain control over the management of these companies for a day longer than was necessary and should attempt to set up the Corporation as early as possible so that it could take in hand the difficult and onerous task ahead. Accordingly,

the 1st September was settled as the date on which the Life Insurance Corporation would come into being. This decision meant that the time for the preparatory work was only a few weeks. The task was indeed a formidable one, as it had to cover all aspects from the choice of divisional offices to small details like the finalisation of proposal forms.

The Life Insurance Corporation Act itself has laid down that there shall be five zones, with headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Koper. We devoted considerable thought to the location of Divisional Offices which will, for all practical purposes, function in the same manner as Head Offices of the erstwhile insurance companies. In their choice we were guided largely by the areas these offices would serve and the prospects of the new business. It was felt that the best compromise between the natural desire to have a large number of Divisional Offices and the paramount necessity of keeping expenses down would be to begin with 33 Divisional Offices spread out over the country. Under these Divisional Offices there would be a network of branches—some 180 in number—so that policyholders wherever they might be living, would have some office or the other of the Corporation not far from their place of residence. With this network of Divisional and Branch Offices, it is our hope that the Corporation will be able to render prompt and efficient service to the policyholders.

To enable these offices to start functioning on the appointed day much preparatory work was necessary. A comprehensive review of office procedure was undertaken and, as a result, an Office Manual has been drawn up. Forms of accounts have been devised. The other forms have been revised; and in particular, the new policy form on which a great deal of thought was bestowed.

A difficult problem was the arrangement for servicing the existing policies which number some 50 lakhs. The working of insurance

companies had hitherto been highly centralised. Practically all work was being done at the head offices, the branches being concerned only with procurement of new business. But as stated earlier, it was our intention that the divisional offices should be responsible for all servicing. We, therefore, faced the formidable task of splitting up the records of each of the 250 odd units according to divisions; every account book and every register had to be gone into and new books and records prepared according to the divisional offices in whose territory the policyholder lived. To avoid a break-down in service, we thought it best that this task should be spread over a period of months. As the fresh registers, etc., for a division were got ready, the records would be transferred along with the men attending to that work. Meanwhile, the head offices, or I should say, the former head offices, have been grouped together into convenient "service units." We hope that the transfer of the entire servicing arrangements to the divisional offices would be completed soon. So far as new business is concerned, the divisional offices would service them from the outset. We had, therefore, to transfer, some staff from these cities to the divisional centres. Some have moved and the others would move later when decentralisation is complete.

The staff problem too was a complex one. The total number of whole time staff was in the neighbourhood of 27,000. Most of them were working in the four cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi—a legacy of the concentration of head offices at these four centres. Very few head office trained staff were available in the places where the new Divisional Offices were to be located.

In addition, the Central Zone consisting of U. P. and the proposed Madhya Pradesh have very few head offices situated there. This Zone, therefore, had to meet a particularly acute shortage of head-office-trained staff there. On the other hand, Bombay, which now does more than half of the business of the

country, will under the new conditions have a large surplus. Thus a transfer of staff from Bombay to the Central Zone has become inevitable.

While making transfer, regard was paid to the wishes of the employees to the extent this is possible without allowing the paramount interest of the Corporation to suffer. In other ways also we have tried to reduce the inconvenience to the staff to the minimum. The officers of the Corporation are lending a helping hand in finding residential accommodation. Transfer travelling allowances rules have been framed which are not ungenerous.

Finding office accommodation for the Divisional and branch offices posed problems as there is a dearth of suitable office accommodation at these centres. But these difficulties were surmounted and in all the places selected, the Corporation started functioning on the 1st September.

Integrating the staff of some 250 units of widely differing patterns of management into one cadre has proved a difficult problem indeed. It has been our object to ensure, as far as it lies within our power, to give considerate and just treatment to all claims. With this in mind we remitted the problems of preparing "seniority lists" to certain independent committees specially set up for this purpose. I am sure that the employees would welcome this.

I would make an appeal both to the employees of the Corporation and the general public. Upon the loyalty and co-operation of the employees the fate of the Corporation is directly dependent. When a revolutionary measure of this character takes place, individuals working in a mammoth organisation like the Corporation are bound to be affected in one way or another. Old ties of hearth and home will in some cases be severed as transfers become inevitable; it has been our endeavour to reduce such inconvenience to the minimum but even with the best will in the

world the inconvenience involved is unavoidable.

There will inevitably have to be a rationalisation of pay scales as the existing scales vary from company to company. The Corporation will of necessity have to introduce uniformity of scales of pay having regard to present day conditions.

Service to the public is a phrase familiar enough in its application to many vocations and trades; in the context of life insurance it has a very real and ancient meaning. Services to the policyholders must necessarily be the first aim of life insurance the world over. It does not end with the issue of a policy; it merely begins there and should continue as long as policy is on the books that I am confident that the Corporation will keep before it these high ideals. It is indeed appropriate that the Corporation has chosen as its motto *सर्वार्थं सर्वहर्त्रे*.

I would say to the employees that their efforts will be watched with keen interest both in India and abroad. This socialist experiment in a hitherto untried field will engender in some quarters goodwill, in others the opposite feeling. If the Corporation—I refer to all who compose it from the highest to the junior—work as a united team, there is no reason why the Corporation should not do well.

To the members of the public, I would make a special plea. They are aware that all policies issued by the Corporation have the guarantee of the Central Government with

regard to payment. Their interests as regards ultimate payment are thus 100 per cent secure. But while security is undoubtedly an important factor in judging an insurance organisation, I have no doubt the Corporation will not rest content with merely offering security but maintain a progressive outlook responsive to the needs of all classes. The realisation of this aim will require, however, a little time. I would plead with the public for a little patience and understanding. Integration of a large number of units into one is always a difficult matter, and if during the short transitional period the public experience any difficulties, I hope they will be indulgent. The Corporation will welcome criticism but at the same time can surely ask for understanding and sympathy in dealing with its numerous problems. An enormous task has been undertaken by the Corporation and its success will depend as much on its own efforts as on the understanding and active support it gets from the public.

I would in conclusion ask them to bear in mind that when they take insurance cover with the Corporation, they will, in effect, be contributing to the success of our Five-Year Plans. Here is a lever for purposeful saving in the full knowledge that in helping yourself you are also helping in building the country. I would say that as a Nation we have the virtue of thrift engrained in us. We must, all of us, canalise it into constructive and nation building channels.

Core of U. S. Political Party System

By

Mr. RALPH ROGERS

It is in the county, (comparable with the Indian "district") that the American political party system finds its source. The county chairman of a major party is an important figure. Inasmuch as he can be voted out very

quickly, he is a hard worker for his party and constituents.

The way to political leadership has been proved to lie through county organisation. fledgling leaders have a chance to develop

themselves in this miniature of the state and nation. Also, in these county contests, the American voter gets his basic training in the practice of democracy.

There are about 3,000 counties in the United States. Most of the larger states have from 60 to 100 counties, ranging in extremes from Delaware with three and Rhode Island with five to Texas with 245.

Although patterned originally after the English county system, the U.S. county administrative offices have changed, vastly during the years. In area and population, the U.S. counties are generally much smaller than counties in England, departments in France or provinces in Belgium or Spain.

In American life, the county government controls all lands not included in villages, towns or cities, except state or federal properties. The county builds and maintains roads, levies taxes, maintains courts, operates charity relief and hospital organisations and has a law enforcement divisions headed by the sheriff.

The county governments are usually administered by a board of supervisors or county commissioners, without any single administrative head. In others, a board of three or five commissioners is elected at large.

Within the counties, the townships have their own boards, and within the townships the villages and towns in turn have local management. An opinion that America seems over-governed might appear justified upon casual examination of this system, yet it is based on the principles of democracy, with everyone given a chance to express an opinion and cast a vote on the policies and personnel of government all along the line.

The posts of county attorney (prosecutor)

and county judges are considered the prime elective offices, although the elections for county clerk and treasurer also provoke heated contests.

In most of the urban counties, the sheriff has become a sort of superior court officer, serving court orders, executing mortgage and judgment attachments and performing other similar functions. For years in the metropolitan areas, the office of sheriff had been a rich political plum. But now even the police powers of the sheriff in many states have been absorbed by the state police, who patrol the highways and enforce the law with highspeed, synchronized methods, such as two-way radio transmission from police car to headquarters and vice-versa.

A large amount of the social service work in America, the institutions and hospitals for the indigent, orphaned and aged, are administered by county officials. In the past decade, many of the erstwhile appointive welfare offices have been put on the ballot because of their growing importance and because of the large funds involved.

Virtually all counties operate their own school systems, basically for the rural districts but in many cases functioning within the limits of towns and villages. School officers generally are appointed.

It is from county offices that many state and national leaders rise, notably from the office of county or district attorney, which has been historically a stepping stone for governors, legislators and high judicial officers. The county, a minute subdivision of the state civic structure, is the key starting point of American politics and the centre of local management for the vast reaches of land outside the cities.

Population Pattern in India and U. S. A.

By

Mr. NAVIN CHANDRA JOSHI, M.Com.

Any study of a comparison in population trends of two countries is beset with many bottlenecks like lack of availability of data in a comparable form and the complexity of the problems involved in expressing it in quantitative terms which can be used for comparison of different countries. Before making an objective comparison in the various peculiar phenomena of population growth in the two countries, it would be instructive to go through some basic facts revealed by the censuses taken in the two countries.

BURDEN OF DEPENDENCY

One interesting conclusion that emerges from the census data of the two countries is with regard to the number of persons dependent for their livelihood on others. Taking 1000 to be the number of self-supporting persons in India who are gainfully employed this number supports 2,504 other persons. In this figure are included persons who are known as 'earning dependents' and their number is 373. Besides, 26 widows and pensioners who, though not a burden on their own household, are nevertheless supported ultimately by the exertion of the 1000 persons we are considering.

In the United States of America the number corresponding to 2,504 is only 1,547. In Great Britain it is even less, it is only 1,207. Thus it is significant to note that the number of persons depending for their livelihood in India is very much larger than in the U.S.A. or Great Britain. If we analyse the reasons for this stupendous difference we will unmistakably find that causes like the rapid growth of population unchecked by preventive measure and the employment opportunities available in the country have been mainly responsible

for the unfortunate large number of dependents in this country. Besides, the difference arises out of the fact that we have a much larger proportion of infants, young children and grown up children under 15 who have necessarily to be dependent on others than in United States. Out of 1000 self-supporting and gainfully employed persons the number of such dependents is 1,317 in India and 702 in United States. These figures are important in as much as they go to prove the fact that people of working age are less fully employed in India than in the U. S. A. Therefore in India there is a larger number of persons known as 'employable unemployed' who have to be provided with jobs than their counterparts in America.

CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT

We may now classify 1000 self-supporting persons who are gainfully employed in the two countries among different categories of employment. This comparison is shown in the following table :

	INDIA	U.S.A.
1. Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing.	706	128
2. Mining, manufacture and commerce.	153	456
3. Other industries and services.	141	416
	1000	1000

The first category of occupation represents broadly the man-power devoted to food production. We find that in India 706 persons out of 1000 are engaged in producing their own food and a small surplus which just falls

short of being sufficient for the other 294. In United States 128 persons produce a surplus in excess of their own food requirements which not only suffices for the needs of the other 872 but yields a margin for export to other countries. Among the various reasons for difference in the amount of food-grains produced in the two countries are small land-holdings, lack of mechanisation, low standard of living of agricultural workers, etc. Is it then not a travesty of our economy that in spite of being a predominantly agricultural country, India is not able to produce sufficient food for its people? In view of the large number of dependents in this country it is imperative that per capita production of food must be augmented. Mechanization of agriculture should be resorted to at a very rapid pace.

The difference in the figures of category No. 2 of the two countries is largely due to the extent of industrialization brought about in India and the U. S. A. Since India is not

much industrially advanced, there are only 153 persons out of 1000 employed in them and in allied occupations. Together with the figures of category 3 they show the great differences that exist regarding the amount of goods and services other than food which the people of these countries have at their disposal. They mark the distinction between affluence and poverty.

The above survey thus reveals that there is an urgent need of industrialising the country at a rapid pace in order that the number of dependent persons in it is reduced. Dependency of human beings on others for their very existence is an evil. It brings about moral degeneration of dependents and frustration in the society. Economic planning in this country must therefore take into consideration these basic facts otherwise there is every possibility of the economy going out of gear even at the end of the Second Five Year Plan period.

Two Germanys and Their Unification

By

K. TONCIC

Among the numerous comments and reactions called forth by the visit of President Tito to the Soviet Union, the reaction of the press, public and political circles including also those official of the Federal Republic of Germany occupies a special place both by its bulk and tone. The attitude towards the German problem which was formulated as follows in the joint declaration of the Soviet and Yugoslav Governments attracted the greatest attention and comments in Western Germany. "As for the problem of Germany, both Governments consider that, at the present moment when two new sovereign states have been formed on post war German territory, talks between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German

Democratic Republic are indispensable for the achievement of unity. They also consider that the other countries, primarily the big powers, should adopt the same course of action both in the interests of the German people and of the world in general."

All the contradictory opinions on German unity which prevail in the Federal Republic were manifested in the comments—and frequently even attacks on the attitude expressed in the "Joint declaration." All these shades and contrasts make it necessary, as stated by the Berlin newspaper "Telegraph," to give an objective historical survey of the problem of unification. The historical facts are as follows:

Germany emerged from the war partitioned under the occupation of several victorious powers, which was not only formulated and determined but also legalized by the Potsdam Agreement. Four occupied zones, as an expression of the victorious rights of the four big powers, existed mainly as four occupied geographical regions of a united but defeated Germany. The different views of each big power on the future of Germany, the individual often contrasting interests of each power in exerting its authority over its respective zones became increasingly obvious leaving a deep and fatal imprint on the future development of Germany as a whole.

Besides, the implementation of the specific interests and combinations of every power in its zone, took place under the conditions of cold war, and it should also be recalled that these contrasting interests and policies towards Germany contributed notably to the further aggravation and intensification of the cold war. The occupation zones drifted ever more widely apart, the frontiers between them were cleft deeper and deeper. A rapprochement of the three zones occupied by the Western powers coincided with the climax of the cold war in connection with the formation of the Western bloc opposed to the zone under Soviet occupation. The consolidation of the western bloc led to the creation of the so called "Trizonia", which was ultimately to give birth to the Federal German Republic.

Among other numerous factors, bloc tension, especially the war in Korea, US aid and the immense potential possibilities latent in the temporarily immobilized economic power of Western Germany, soon led to the "German miracle" i.e., the hitherto unprecedented rate of development in all fields of economic life, and consequent political and economic stabilization and prosperity of the Federal Republic. Relying for support on its genuine economic power the government of Western Germany, thanks to its skilful manoeuvres

along the gap which divided East and West and by taking advantage of minor rifts between the Western Governments, at last succeeded in acquiring the full sovereignty of their country while also ensuring an important place in the international community. Profiting by its potential and the position it had acquired in Europe, as well as the fact that it represents more than two thirds of the German people, the Federal Government worked out its policy on the problem of unification. Tackling the problems successively, as they came up for settlement, the Federal Government elaborated its well known attitude on the obligation of the big powers to ensure the unification of Germany ("they have divided Germany—let them unite her") and bade its time. The statements of the West German Government on the problem of unification are devoid of any reference whatever to the Eastern part, which should be united, and not simply incorporated into Western Germany. Those who disagree with such views of the Bonn Government stress the following facts:

During the decade of the divided Germany which marked such a significant progress and far reaching changes in Western Germany, life was not at a standstill in Eastern Germany either. On the contrary, great and far reaching changes occurred there: the changes which whether recognised or not, inevitably influence not only the relations between the two parts of Germany but also the future prospects of unification. The frontier between the two parts of Germany is no longer only a territorial and administrative border between parts of one and the same Germany ruled by different occupying powers. Today this is a state frontier between two countries which have in common only that they are inhabited by the same people, that they were long ago a homogeneous entity, and the common efforts and wishes to be reunited again. Everything else divides them.

Politically, in the present situation marked by the existence of blocs, they are two worlds apart; and according to the logic of development in a divided world, their very consolidation widens the gap between them. It is sufficient in this context to call attention to the role of the rapid formation of their armies.

Economically, in the present bloc situation East and West Germany are also two worlds apart. East German economy, whose potential and development it would be a great mistake to under-estimate, even from the standpoint of general European standards, was reconstructed and developed within the closed economic complex of the Eastern countries. In this context, inter alia, the policy of economic embargo which closed the vast Eastern markets, a traditional outlet for German sales, to the economic power of Western Germany, proved very favourable to the East German economy.

Socially, these are also two sharply divided worlds. The nationalization, land reform and other measures aiming at the creation of the basis for the building up of a socialist system, have widened the gap between the two Germanys. The socialist orientation, although so far having failed, owing to many objective reasons, to yield the expected tangible results has nonetheless created solid foundations enabling Eastern Germany to boldly approach its great objective of competing with the achievements and standard of living of their brothers in the West, under more favourable conditions.

Ten years of separation and different ways of life have left their imprint in all domains, and this is gradually becoming one of the principal obstacles on the road to unity. However strange this statement may sound, this conclusion is gaining increasing currency in spite of such facts as the big power conference on the German problem etc. The existence of two Germanys is an irrefutable fact today, which is not based, as is often wrongly belie-

ved in Bonn, on the fact that both German states have all, absolutely all the elements necessary for the recognition of sovereignty to a country. There are no grounds, in any constitutional law, for denying the sovereignty of either Germany from the legal point of view. But this is only one element—a legal element at that—for the existence of two Germanys, neither essential nor decisive in itself. The reality of the steadily growing general social, economic, cultural etc, division and differences between the two Germanys is far more important.

It would be hard to merge the two differently formed bodies on the one time German territory today, as this would require a long process of gradual acquaintance, contacts, exchange of views and experience. It is necessary to find a common basis for further development through this process of acquaintance and co-ordination. And this is a long drawn-out process, which if delayed, becomes even more complicated. It is incomprehensible that those who speak of unity do not realize the need to create the preconditions for unity. Refusal to see this, inevitably leads to the conclusion, that the term unity actually implies incorporation.

The recognition or non-recognition of Eastern Germany is not a vital element; it is important, if one sincerely wishes to promote the unification of Germany, to recognize the reality and draw the obvious conclusions. The problem of German unification, as stressed in the joint statement of the two governments, is not a problem of interests for the Germans only, but a problem of immense general interest; it is therefore difficult to understand the persistent policy of denial of reality and the rejection of one among the most realistic approaches to the German problem, a policy which is rightly criticized by the opposition groups as "neglecting the fundamental problem on German unification to its narrow political interests and combinations."

Academic Disquiet in India

By

DR. RADHA KAMAL MUKHERJEE,
(Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University).

For several years academic disquiet has been epidemic in the Colleges and the Universities in the country. This is associated with mass demonstration, indiscipline and direct action against teachers, examiners and the educational administration generally. All this has lowered the students' morale to such an extent that educationists as well as administrators all over the country apprehend that the educational institutions are not training the youths for their tasks of citizenship of tomorrow.

Student discipline and morale depend upon a sense of security and self-actualisation, that are in the long run linked with higher intellectual values and ideals comprising the social climate of a College or a University. Where the search for knowledge and advancement of research wane among the teachers themselves, the University ceases to be an intellectual brotherhood and fails to elicit devotion and loyalty among its alumni. Amidst the storm and tumult of crowd-feeling and behaviour of students, a teacher of great learning and character is able to quell the crisis and restore the morale of the student community. Thus the pursuit of knowledge and idealism at the higher levels are the sheet-anchors of academic discipline and efficiency.

Indian educational institutions have been built on a large scale on the model of the public school system, as it obtained in Western Europe several generations back. Their primary objective was to produce trained civil servants and administrators. As decades have passed the demand for administrators, officers and clerks of all kinds and grades has tremendously increased. The College or University has correspondingly transformed itself into a vast barrack producing stereotyped and mutilated men rather than whole persons.

Simultaneously the over-crowding of students in what are College or University barracks excludes development of personal bond with teachers and the arousal of common loyalties and devotions; while the regimentation in the routine work of classes and laboratories, punctuated by the strenuous preparation for a series of examinations full of hazards, promotes irrational fears and anxieties. These make the student community especially susceptible to the development of myths, illusions and propaganda harnessing it for the disruptive channels of indiscipline, demonstration and strike for various objectives large or trivial. In short, they lose their sense of realism and seek distant ideals rather than the rational and direct goals of life.

In a sense there is a marked incongruity between the ideals and purposes of the College or University and those that the nation envisages for building up a socialistic pattern of society. The University to-day is a nursery of anachronistic values and outmoded manners of living, causing and aggravating a deep cleavage between the intelligentsia and the masses. While social equality, justice and sharing are extolled as virtues associated with the emerging social and economic order, social snobishness and class prejudice are writ large in our Colleges and Universities. Such a disparity of values and attitudes not only creates a confusion in social aspirations, but often ranges the town against the gown and public opinion against academic opinion on any issue of discipline.

For the recovery of the students' morale and discipline there is urgent need today in the University of the development of a large variety of literary, scientific and cultural associations, giving them opportunities for active intellectual participation in the affairs

of the University, of a vital and vitalising tutorial system of instruction and guidance and of scientific deliberation on vexed social and ideological issues.

A student community given to varied types of intellectual activity, athletics and sports and constructive social work for the people cannot easily lapse into the single-track mind of the crowd.

Intellectually, the University should be the open forum of frank discussion of the policies and programmes of the various political parties for the development of a democratically organised and operative public opinion, freed

from the influences of vested interests, hidden propaganda and facile catch-phrases and myths.

Economically, the University should be re-oriented in its courses and programme of teaching so that the aching anxiety for a job of average student may neither smother high academic ideals nor supply the emotional background of impulsive and fanatical mass-thinking and behaviour. Not before such intellectual and economic orientation is achieved can a College or University be saved from academic restlessness and recurring outburst of indiscipline and emotionalism.

The Sikhs and the Congress

By

MR. TEJA SINGH

(Former Chief Justice of PEPSU)

At the time the Government accepted the regional formula for Punjab and assured the Akali deputation led by Master Tara Singh that all the legitimate grievances of Sikhs would be redressed, a prominent Sikh remarked that was the most opportune time for the Akalis to join the Congress. This person belongs neither to the Akali Party nor to the Congress, but is held in esteem by all parties and has no political ambitions. His opinion on this point was shared by almost all non-party Sikhs.

Practically the whole of the Sikh community had been backing the demand for a Punjabi Suba, but the Akalis gave it up in favour of the regional formula. They did so because they thought it would put an end to a long-standing dispute, and that if all went well and there was goodwill on both sides, there would be a chance of one community dominating over the other.

For some time, the atmosphere in Punjab remained calm, and everybody appeared to be happy that the future of the State was going to be bright. Had the Akalis been sagacious, this hope would have been fulfilled. But, unfortunately, they chose the other course.

The anti-Sikh section had not actively opposed the regional formula or the Sachar formula, but it was an open secret that they were all along sulking and were waiting for an opportunity to rake up trouble. They were aware that Sikhs had not gained anything substantial. But when they saw that Sikhs did not oppose the settlement, they began to think that they were satisfied with it, and consequently they began to suspect that it offered them some hidden gain. So they started agitation. The opponents of the Congress also joined them.

The third element that came forward to strengthen the Opposition consisted of per-

sons who for some reason or other have come to nurture personal ill-will against Mr. Nehru and those who are being supported by some foreign interests in their anti-national activities. No wonder this group, even though made up of heterogeneous elements, has been able to muster strength and by making use of the old methods of rousing communal feelings of the worst type in misleading the masses.

The vast majority of the great Hindu community regarded Sikhs as its part and parcel. They as well as their leaders were alive to the great sacrifices of the Sikh Gurus and the community made in the cause of the Hindu religion.

Now things have started changing and the ignorant masses are succumbing to false propaganda carried on by certain papers. It is this group that is taking a leading part in the anti-regional formula agitation. Master Tara Singh and his friends apprehend that if Sikhs joined the Congress and wound up the Akali Dal, there would be no organized body to counteract the activities of this group.

When the matter of joining the Congress was still under the consideration of the Akalis, Mr. Gian Singh Rarewala announced his intention to join the Congress with his friends. This started a real controversy. But I cannot help saying that it is a very unfortunate controversy and, if not properly handled, may defeat the very objectives which are dear to both sides.

In the first place, it has created a rift in the Akali ranks. Secondly, it has made both Master Tara Singh and Mr. Rarewala indulge in personal and bitter attacks on each other, and their example is being copied by their followers and some partisan papers. If they had to part, they should have parted as friends. Thirdly, things have been said in the course of the controversy which have unnecessarily dragged in the Congress. Master Tara Singh accuses the Congress of corrupting public life and of creating dissensions in the Akali ranks. The insinuation is that Mr. Rarewala

has been offered some inducement for forsaking the Akali Dal. There is absolutely no proof for this allegation.

It may be that Mr. Rarewala had been thinking of going over to the Congress for some time past, as he honestly believed that that was the right course for all Sikhs to adopt, but he did not take the step as he felt that the Congress was not fair to the Sikh community in the matter of redressal of its grievances. But when these grievances were removed, he saw no reason to keep away from the Congress. There is nothing before us to suggest that any responsible Congress leader induced Mr. Rarewala to change idea.

If Master Tara Singh expected that before admitting Mr. Rarewala, the Congress should have asked him to obtain Master Tara Singh's consent, he was wrong to do this. It is said that before Mr. Rarewala parted company with Master Tara Singh, he should have made genuine efforts to convince him of the wisdom of the step that he was taking. I agree that this was not an unreasonable demand. But to attack the Congress for the supposed acts of omission and commission of Mr. Rarewala is unwise and uncalled for.

Fourthly, the controversy has focussed public attention on the personal differences between Master Tara Singh and Mr. Rarewala and has thrown into the background the real issue, namely, whether Sikhs should join the Congress, and if so what should be done to remove their apprehensions about the anti-Sikh group. This is a vital issue and has to be decided on its own merits, taking into consideration the interests of the community and the country.

The position of the Congress is unique, because it is the only organization which is capable of welding all the different communities and sections in the country, into a nation, and is dedicated to building up a socialist and non-communal order.

As regards the ideal and goal of the Congress the Akalis have never had any divergence of opinion in the matter. They worked with the

Congress during the pre-partition days and placed their services at its disposal in the struggle for freedom. It can be said that the regional formula is yet, in a nebulous state; boundaries of the region have still to be finally decided, details have to be worked out and some Sikh grievances have yet to be examined and redressed. But admittedly the attitude of

the Congress leaders towards Sikhs has entirely changed and they want them to take their full share in the administration of the country.

In the circumstances, it is in the interests of the Sikh community to grasp the hand of friendship and offer its whole-hearted co-operation to the Congress.

Women at Oxford and Cambridge Universities

By

Mr. A. R. MURRAY

At both Oxford and Cambridge women are full members of the University with exactly the same status and opportunities as men. Since every undergraduate must be a member of a college, any account of the education of women at the two Universities must be largely an account of the women's colleges.

The two well-known women's colleges at Cambridge, Girton and Newnham, will soon be celebrating their centenary. At Oxford there are five women's colleges, founded at various dates during the last 60 years.

The third and latest foundation for women at Cambridge is New Hall, which opened in 1954. Beginning with 16 undergraduates, New Hall in its second year doubled its numbers and in its third year will have 50 undergraduates. This allows a small increase in the number of women at Cambridge, which before was limited to the number that Girton and Newnham could admit. Even so, the number of women at Cambridge compared with the number of men is small, only 1 to 11; at Oxford the ratio is rather higher, 1 to 6. For the universities in the United Kingdom as a whole, the ratio is 1 to 4.

THE TUTORIAL SYSTEM

The members of the women's colleges, like the men, go to University lectures, while

individual teaching, one of the characteristics of education at Oxford and Cambridge, is the responsibility of the college. The University arranges the course in the various subjects and holds the examination which qualify those who pass them for degrees; the college is responsible for the academic progress and for the welfare of its students; it houses and feeds them, it looks after their health, and provides amenities for their work and recreation.

In college an undergraduate will turn to her Tutor (at Oxford) or her Director of Studies (at Cambridge) for advice on her academic work, and to other college officers such as Dean or Tutor for help on other matters. In the course of the day she will go out of college to one or more lectures, and, if she is a scientist, will probably spend several hours in the University Laboratories. Some time in the day will be devoted to reading in a library or to private study, and there may perhaps be an hour of individual teaching or discussion of a written essay with a Tutor, at Oxford, or a Supervisor, at Cambridge. Some of the afternoon may perhaps be taken up in playing games, either with members of her own college or with a University team composed of players from all the women's colleges.

Into this full day must also be fitted the many other activities that must not be

neglected in a university education—the tea or coffee parties with interminable discussion of any and every subjects; the meetings of clubs and societies with their lectures and entertainments.

POST-GRADUATE WORK

The subjects which can be read at the two Universities are broadly the same, although different aspects of the same subject do not always receive the same emphasis. The two Universities also differ in the more unusual subjects which can be read for a degree—for example, Oxford has a Final Honours School of Forestry; Cambridge has a Tripos Honours examination in Archaeology and Anthropology.

At Oxford most subjects have only one examination for the degree, which takes place at the end of the third year; this leaves an undergraduate free of examinations for most of his or her three years at the University, an opportunity for wide and independent reading by the scholar, and also, of course, a temptation to idleness for the weaker students. At Cambridge the degree examinations are divided into two parts, taken in different years: it is possible to take a Part I in one subject and follow this with a Part II in another subject. This gives opportunity for an undergraduate to change to a second subject while at the University: History, for example, can be combined with Economics, or Natural Sciences with Law.

At both Universities there are also opportunities for post-graduate work. There are

courses leading to diplomas in certain specialised subjects: most graduates, however, work for a research degree, granted on the results of two or three years of independent research work presented in a thesis.

OVERSEAS STUDENTS

Undergraduates and graduates from overseas are to be found in all the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Every academic year brings students from the Commonwealth, from the United States and from other countries. New Hall is just starting its third year, and has among its 50 students three from the Commonwealth, one from the United States and one from Denmark. Many of the students from overseas, although they are graduates of their own universities, choose to take the undergraduate courses leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree, which they are allowed to take in two years instead of three. Other women students from overseas do research work at Oxford or Cambridge, often with scholarships or other post-graduate awards from their own countries.

But many whose ambition it is to go to Oxford or Cambridge have to be disappointed: there is, unfortunately, no scheme for women comparable to the Rhodes Scholarships for men, which each year send to Oxford outstanding scholars of the Commonwealth and of the United States. It seems as if both women overseas with academic interests and the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge would benefit from such a scheme.

The Gita and Shakespeare

By Mr. P. J. CHAUDHARY

What exactly does Shakespeare teach us through his plays that are obviously full of pain and passions? We refer especially to his tragedies, for in them he has studied Man deeply and most seriously. Shakespeare teaches us that desire is the source of all our suffering, the root of all unrest. Tragedy springs in life, and so, in drama, from the desiring self of man, the instinctive drives of the ego. And Shakespeare, besides demonstrating this truth in his tragedies (without stating it like a moral philosopher) has let full remarks there in the mouths of some characters which hint at the same truth. Hamlet, himself suffering from the perplexity of contending passions, praises Horatio, for his mastering of passions.

Horatio is not moral in the ordinary sense of the term but he is moral in the sense that he is beyond good and evil. He does not choose between passions but is above all passions, a self-poised soul. Shakespeare does not present Horatio as a typical moral character. Horatio seldom advises Hamlet to do this or that; rather, he, through his silent and sometimes very short remarks, discourages Hamlet's passionate moods. Once he remarks critically to Hamlet's effusions, "You might have rhymed" (Act III, Sc. 2) Once he said "Be ruled" (Act I, Sc. 4), on another occasion, "Good my lord, be quiet", (Act V, Sc. I). For Horatio every passion is bad, goodness consists in transcending one's affective nature and living a composed life of the rational spirit. Feelings should be ruled by good sense (Judgment) and actions should issue not from irrational gusts of passion ('blood') but from a detached spirit that regards everything in the light of universal good, not personal. That is, of course, the highest morality, yet it implies something beyond morality as it is ordinarily called moral from an absolute moral point of view which is adopted in Hindu ethics. For the moral is one who follows the advice which Lord Krishna gives to Arjuna, to live and act considering victory and defeat; joy and sorrow, as one.

Shakespeare views in his tragedies the class of passions and shows the pitiable plight to which passions lead the man, how they bring discord in his world and disintegrate it. Though the moral order asserts itself in the 'end, the world order e.g., the world of Othello

Hamlet and Lear, crumbles. In one of his last romantic plays, the 'Tempest', Shakespeare seems to give a more direct expression to his philosophy of life. Prospero has forsaken the world and his position in it because he finds them not worth his while; there is too much of scramble and narrowness in men. He views life as a veil of 'maya' and says.

"We are such stuff as dreams are made of... ..And our little life is rounded off with a sleep."

Yet his world-weariness is not lasting for it is not a true and ultimate attitude to life. He finds the island bare, and breaking his magic wand returns to his world to live among his own people. So that, he is now neither infatuated nor dejected by life, which he accepts with inward detachment. He will now live in the world, like King Janaka of Mithila, enjoying as witness everything and never getting entangled in anything. In this lies ultimate wisdom and true happiness. Says Gita, (II; 64): "He is happy who having been free alike from infatuation and dejection and having controlled his senses, enjoys through these senses the worldly goods."

The Western critics of Shakespeare point out that Prospero, by deciding to return to his people, revokes his stoical outlook, and, so, there is contradiction in his character. They point out that Shakespeare himself had a weakness for worldly life; he returned to Stratford after leaving his profession and bought property there to live as a 'gentleman'. So Shakespeare (the critics say) could not conceive of the quiet stoical satisfaction that Prospero might get from his resigned life in the bare island. But these critics have not a deeper and larger view of life which, we have seen, teaches us to live amongst our people without disgust for the world, in a spirit of detachment. The secret of selfless action as taught by Gita is the root of a correct philosophy of life and we believe Shakespeare, the great human poet knew this secret through his insight. Stoicism nor hedonism, but a higher and more comprehensive philosophy of life, is taught by Hindu ethics. Tagore has taught this philosophy, and Shakespeare too teaches this, though very indirectly, and quite unobtrusively like a true poet that he was.

"The Missionary in India"

By

MR. ANTONY RAJ, B.A.

The extracts from an article in the "Swatantra" by L. N. S. published in the September issue of this Review in the Readers' Digest section has provoked rejoinders from several quarters as to the vehemency of the citations. Respected and valued friends of the INDIAN REVIEW have refuted these allegations and as space does not permit to print all of them we publish the following in toto which is an answer to Swatantra. -- (Mg. Editor, Indian Review).

The author starts with an appreciation of the Report of the Niyogi Committee, presumably not knowing what kind of document it is. Here is what the Nagpur High Court has said on the proceedings of the above Committee: "Some of the questions border on an Inquisition, and may be equated to a fishing expedition, on the supposition that something discreditable may be discovered." No further comments are necessary regarding the fairness of the report.

The author is full of admiration for the efficiency with which the "Papal Empire" functions in India and elsewhere, and to that extent is embittered. Mark the word 'Empire.' Does not its very mention provoke hatred? So give a bad name to the dog and hang it. That is why the author uses the word empire to denote the spiritual power exercised by the Pope. Well, the Ramakrishna Mission has its institutions in America. In the course of administering them, the head of the Institution issues instructions, orders, etc., to its branches in America. Now, can we say that the above Institution has its empire in America?

The paragraph written under the above heading, as much else, is a masterpiece of vagueness. Who brought the Bible to India? The author could not commit himself precisely. But his subsequent assertion that "even after a century the Indian church is a Pickwickian affair" gives the impression that the author's view is (what he introduces as a joke) that the

British brought to India the Bible and the beer-bottle, etc. If that is so, we can only say: This is not history, for even a school-boy knows that Christianity was first preached in India by St. Thomas, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, therefore 1900 years ago.

In the light of this the subsequent assertion of the author that "the small number of Indians who embraced the new faith in the First Phase did so through mixed motives", is nothing but trash. Because mixed motives could only mean in this context, to please those in power, for gaining favours. In point of the history of Christianity in India, the first phase can only mean the period of St. Thomas in India, the first century A.D. Did the converts of this period join the new religion out of mixed motives? No, that would be manifestly absurd because Hindu rulers were ruling then. Then what does the author seek to show in this section?

Again, the author says that the Christians became vested interests of the new order and for this reason the converts became prize-boys of the new regime, i.e., the British regime. Now vested interests here means those privileged Indians who, in return for their privileges, supported the hated foreign regime. How many these men were and what were the privileges enjoyed by them, the author does not say. At any rate, to say the British looked to these men, who must have been a handful, for support against the teeming millions of the Indian population inhabiting this

vast country, is to say the least ridiculous. The truth of the matter is that, if the British held sway over this vast land for about a century and a half, it was with the goodwill of the whole population, as evidenced by the fact that for a number of years the first resolution passed by the Indian National Congress in its annual session was the Resolution of Loyalty to the British Government.

Then, about the prize-boys who got away with the big jobs and titles, were they all Christians? If the author had only examined the list of this category i.e., those who got big jobs and the titles of Sir, Dewan Bahadur, etc., he would surely have found that the number of Christians among them may be counted on one's fingers. When this is so, how is it that the microscopic minority of Christians alone are singled out as prize-boys?

The author also quotes the instance of a Christian gentleman who declared that the *satyagrahis* were worse than criminals. Why does the author make so much about this solitary instance? Evidently because he is a Christian. Then what about those gentlemen who have done (not merely said) far worse things, and for all these have been honoured by Free India? Here are one or two examples. One gentleman who stood by the British in their worst repression of the Congress movement, who is actually credited with having taught the British the effectiveness of the lathi charge, who not long ago questioned whether Gandhi was really a leader, was sent abroad as a cultural ambassador by Free India! Another gentleman who did propaganda for the British Government in America during the War, was rewarded with the Governorship of a major province. Why, then, blacken the Christian gentlemen only?

"The missionaries have worked among the Tribals in some parts of India. The Nagas now defy the Indian Government." What is the connection between the two? The author further seeks to convey the idea that the Nagas

are being incited by some foreign Powers. The insinuation here is that the Missionaries are involved in this. Of course the whole thing lacks a single shred of evidence. As such it is nothing but an unwarranted allegation.

As if these stabs and slanders are not sufficient, the author springs a surprise with an unheard-of myth, i.e. the demand for a Christian State in Travancore on the score that Christians are a majority in that State. I do not know the origin of the myth, but the truth is that even in Travancore the Christians are only a minority. Whatever it be it is a downright slander on the Christian community which is the bed-rock of the Congress party in Travancore-Cochin State and actually had to its credit a Chief Minister at one time. The comic part of it is that according to the author all this is a matter of recent history which he alone is privileged to know. If so, let him come out with the facts.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the author whose bitterness against things Christian is more than hatred, sees in our schools and hospitals nothing but decoys for the weak-minded. But what passes one's understanding is his remark that our leaders who detest the Missionaries in private, pay high tributes to them in public *because they dare not speak out their mind*. One does not understand the reason why they dare not. In other words, we are told that the leaders who pay tributes to the Missionaries are hypocrites.

The suggestions made by the author under this head are simply breath-taking. Propagation of a faith, which is a *right* to-day, must be made a *crime*. The Church should be *nationalized*. (We do not know what it means). Then an inventory of the assets of the Churches must be taken. *Why of the Churches alone?* Not satisfied with these, the author sees even factories in our orphanages, just to brand the Church with the hated name of *capitalist*.

Finally we are told that, unless public opinion bestirs itself, there is danger of losing the

case. What is that case? Is it the fear that the Hindu religion is in danger of losing its followers? This cannot be true. Mark his earlier assertion: "Even after a century of conversion work backed by the foreign powers, the Indian Church is still a Pickwickian affair." Then where is the danger when the

country is free and power is in the hands of the majority community, no matter which political party comes to power?

Therefore, one may be pardoned for affirming that, after reading the article in question one comes to the conclusion that it is a masterpiece of slander and vilification.

(2)

By

Sri C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The criticism recently made of the methods employed for conversion from one religion to another has nothing to do with the rights—and the duties of those citizens of India who belong to the Christian fold. Indian Christians are honoured no less because it is stated that outsiders employ wrong methods in the professional zeal to convert people to Christianity or employ themselves in doubtful activities other than religious. No one has the slightest intention to reduce the rights of worship of Indian Christians or their other rights.

I am not going into the question of whether the findings of the Niyogi Committee are correct. The Government will in due course examine the Report. I am only pointing out that Indian Christians need not misunderstand that the allegations against missionaries are allegations against them.

I believe, as every good Hindu should believe that all religions and in particular Christianity should be respected and approached with reverence equal to what we give to our own religion. Our objections to conversion or attempts at conversion are based on that very article of faith. Sri S. K. George of Trivandrum was a member of the Niyogi Committee. He has been for long a believer in the doctrine of equal reverence for all religions and he holds that Christ's teaching has been

misinterpreted in this respect. About the psychology of men who have recently adopted a new religion, what John Ruskin said in "Sesame and Lilies" may be remembered:

"Now there are two kinds of breath with which the flock may be filled—God's breath and man's. The breath of God is health and life and peace to them, as the air of heaven is to the flocks on the hills; but man's breath—the word which he calls spiritual,—is disease and contagion, as the fog of the fen. The first and last and fatalest sign of it is that 'puffing up' of your converted children, who teach their parents; your converted convicts who teach honest men. Your converted dunces, who having lived in stupefaction half their lives, suddenly awakening to the fact of there being a God, fancy themselves therefore His peculiar people and messengers; your sectarians of every species, small and great, in so far as they think themselves exclusively in the right and others wrong; and pre-eminently in every sect, those who hold that men can be saved by thinking rightly instead of doing rightly, by word instead of act, and wish instead of work!—these are the true fog children—clouds, these, without water."

Ruskin's language is characteristically vigorous but his plea is for humility in all denominations, a plea which we had better all accept and follow.

Buddhist Art and Architecture outside India

By

Dr. R. LE MAY

I often wonder how much we are influenced in our choice of religion, by our climate. Here in England we must have a religion, that demands constant activity. Even if I wish, to, I cannot see myself sitting in a grotto in one of the London parks throughout the winter or even through one of our usual summers, meditating on my own sins and those of the world, for the blood would congeal in my veins.

RELIGION OF PEACE

For Buddhism is a religion of contemplation and is eminently suited to the tropical lands of the East. It is essentially a religion of peace. So to subdue oneself, is to be at peace with one's self. Many a time I had sat in one of the monasteries of northern Thailand, in the cool of the evening and literally felt the atmosphere around me, freeing me from all worldly cares. I remember once so well, that the beautiful city of Nahan in north-east Thailand, some distance from the city across the paddy fields. It stood on a stope within an enclosing wall and had a tall, slender, graceful pagoda, whose copper sheets shone like gold, and outside the gate two beautiful leafy trees, keeping watch and ward like 'Philomon and Baucis' who in one of the Latin poems were turned after their death into the garden trees of the temple, as a reward for their faithful service.

I have shown a picture of this temple, in a book I published thirty years ago called 'Ancient Arcady' and I have recently been putting into verse my experiences of the north of Thailand. Two verses will suffice to convey my feelings, "In Buddha's peaceful temple there, I have often contemplated. Laid my head beneath his care, with the Abbot's kindly leave, and even tried the temple bells, stirred by the gentle breeze in bells—sound like the Aeolian harp in dales, amid the rustling trees."

What a vast canvas I have been asked to fill in less than twenty minutes, ranging from Japan and China to the Republic of Indonesia.

TWO CULTS OF BUDDHISM

Like most of our religions, Christianity, Mohammadanism and even Hinduism, Buddhism early in its history split into two cults, due perhaps to dualism in man, the Mahayana or the great vehicle and the Hinayana, or the so-called lesser vehicle. But the lesser vehicle, more truly represents the original teaching of the historic Buddha, and I believe that the movement on foot in Ceylon, now the most ancient home of Buddhism outside India, to do away with this disparaging term and use the word *Theravada* which I understand means original, in its place. The Mahayana school was not content with the historic Buddha and created a pantheon of Dhayani or heavenly Buddhas as well as Bodhisatvas or future Buddhas, who are the saviours of mankind. This form of Buddhism made a special appeal to the people of China, Tibet and finally Japan. But as I cannot hope to cover the whole field of Buddhist art and architecture, outside India I propose to keep to those countries of the south, who are more attracted by the 'Hinayana' or the original form of Buddhism.

I have recently published a book called 'The Culture of South-East-Asia,' which I have dedicated to India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, and which I am glad to say, has given him pleasure to read. In it I have described the beauties of Buddhist architecture and sculpture, to be found in Burma, Thailand, the new name for Siam, the Malaya Peninsula, Java and Indo-China, in a way, which I hope, will appeal to all intelligent readers who are interested in India and Eastern Asia.

OCTOBER 1956]

BUDDHIST ART AND ARCHITECTURE OUTSIDE INDIA

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BURMA

Let us begin with Burma. Early in the Christian era, the Mon people from Kalinga or Telangana on the Eastern Sea board of India, had already begun to settle in the low-lands round *Thahton* north just of Moulmein and there seems no doubt, that they brought Buddhism with them. Meanwhile, from the fifth century onwards, we find the people of Tibetan stock called the Pyu, established in Central Burma at Old Prome on the Irrawadi, and the Chinese Annals of the eighth century record that the 'Pews' are Buddhists and have a hundred monasteries with bricks of glass, embellished with gold and silver. Their burial urns bear inscriptions, showing that a dynasty named Vikrama, obviously of Indian blood was reigning there at the same period. There is little to be seen at *Thahton* now, for Mon capital was removed to Pegu in the eleventh century A.D. and although no Pyu monastic buildings, are visible, some very beautiful Buddha images and caskets in gold and silver with inscriptions in Sanskrit and based on the Gupta models of fifth and sixth century A.D. have been dug up at Old Prome.

In the middle of the eleventh century, the Burmese who are also of the Tibetan stock allied to the Pew took possession of Burma and the notable King 'Anorata' established the capital Pagan, at the confluence of Irrawadi and Chindwin rivers. He inaugurated a period of Buddhist temple building which lasted for two and a half centuries.

There is still one definitely recognized Hindu temple at Pagan, dedicated to Vishnu with ten stone figures of his ten other avatars, the Buddha being the ninth. But the mass of buildings to be seen at Pagan are clearly Buddhist. It is said that the remains of the five thousand stupas can be seen in or near the city covering an area of sixteen square miles. In the middle of them I saw and can still see great white gleaming Ananda temple which I call the

Westminster Abbey of Burma built at the close of eleventh century by the son of 'Anorata', 'Thiansata', and my readers will, I know be interested to learn that it was he who entirely restored the famous Buddhist shrine at Bodh Gaya in Bihar. His mother was Indian rather than Burmese. His inspiration came from eight Indian Buddhist Monks who gave him glowing accounts of the great cave temples of Ananta in Udayagiri hills of Orissa. There are many other splendid temples at Pagan as well as the well known Shweddagon temple at Rangoon.

MONS

Space presses and I must pass on to Thailand. Here, too, the Mons settled from a very early period. The chief port of embarkation in India in the second century A.D. was Amravati on the Krishna river in the Andhra Desha and it was from there that the traders and missionaries set forth on their perilous journeys to the land of gold. They probably landed somewhere near Moulmein and made their way to the rice plains of Thailand, through the three Pagodas Pass.

A few years before the war, I saw some temple remains which have been excavated near Cambury, to the west of Bangkok and which are clearly of 'Mon' origin. Since more Buddha images of the Amravati period have been found among them and at Negam Patam, that is Nagara Patma. Although the present great Stupa of orange tiles is 380 feet high, it is relatively modern based on the north Indian model, and is built over an ancient Mon Pagoda.

There are no Mon temples to be seen now except one that I visited at Lampoon in that part of the north of Thailand which was colonised by the Mon in the eighth century A.D. Here, there is a square monument in brick with five storeys rising from a plinth and on each side of the Stupa are fifteen niches in

five rows of three with the standing images of the Buddha in each, making sixty images in all.

It is very similar to the Shantmahal Prasada at Polunnarwa in Ceylon and was built in the first half of the twelfth century before the city was conquered by the Thai. But in Logpuri and the Cambatong many beautiful images of Buddha in bluish lime stone have been found, showing a very high quality of artistry and execution and based clearly on Gupta models.

Moreover, wheels of the Law, figures of the deer, symbolising the Buddha have also been unearthed as well as one gigantic image, 25 feet high in five pieces fitting into sockets and cut out of quartz, a very rare medium for sculpture.

KHMER STYLE

When the Khmer occupied the central Thailand about the beginning of the eleventh century, they, naturally, introduced their own style of Buddha image but, even so, the Mon influence can still be seen and the Khmer images of the Logpuri School are easily distinguishable from the parent school of Angkor. Their dominion over Thailand lasted for 250 years and during this period many fine images of the Buddha were produced though the temples of the Logpuri and elsewhere were more of a Brahmanic, than a Buddhist look about them. I often visited Logpuri and grew very fond of the temples there.

CAMBODIA

In Cambodia itself nearly all the temples known today were dedicated to the Hindu Gods, Shiva or Vishnu. But at the end of the twelfth century of the famous Khmer King Jayavarman VII built the temple Bayon in the centre of his new capital at Angkor. Jayavarman whose ancestors either came from or were much influenced by the Pallava dynasty of South India was attached to the Mahayana school and the Bayon consists of 45 great

towers, each showing four faces of the Bodhi sattva Lokeshwara.

In some way this temple which was a complete ruin when I saw it last in 1932 but which has now been restored by the French school of the Far East, is the most mysterious and awe-inspiring monument in the East and like the French author Pierri Loti I felt most frightened and fascinated by the endless faces with their eternal enigmatic smile.

The great temple at Angkor as far as I know is the most magnificent religious building in the world, was later turned to Buddhist uses. But as originally built, was dedicated to the Vishnu and so intended to be a memorial tomb of the great king Suryavarman, the second who reigned from the 1110 to 1150 A.D. It should not strictly be included in this survey of Buddhist art and architecture, but I feel I must make a brief reference to one of the man-made wonders of the world.

THAILAND

Now I return to Thailand. The Thai people came from Yunan in Southern China and brought certain Chinese ideas with them when they migrated South. It is true that they turned to Hinayana form of Buddhism of which a new influence came into Thailand from Ceylon, in the thirteenth century, but their monasteries partake of a dual nature. The usual lay-out is both of an ordination hall facing East, for the priest alone, then a Vihara for the congregation and lastly a Pagoda or memorial for the dead facing West.

The Thai Pagoda was built on a Sinhalese model and I have loaned to Oxford a rare 14th century Bronze copy of such a pagoda, but the Vihara has a tiered and tiled roof with eaves turning upwards with fangs of serpents or dragon's heads, quite unlike anything seen in India or Ceylon, and much more akin to China.

There are now, literally thousands of such monasteries temples in Thailand and Bangkok

itself might be called the city of tiled roofs. Of the Thai Buddha image also based on inspirations from Ceylon singularly, beautiful, and spiritual examples, were produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But with the foundation of Ayutthiya as the capital of Thailand in the middle of the fourteenth century the type soon became conventionalized and except for some striking imitations of Khmer Buddha images in Bronze, the output of Ayutthiya cannot be called remarkable.

MALAYA

In the Malaya Peninsula have been found some fine examples of Bronze images of the Bodhisattvas of the Nalanda Type connected with the Paa-school of Bodhi Gaya and ranging from the eighth, tenth and eleventh centuries as well as fine stone, standing images of Vishnu related to Pallava Type. But except for one temple in Javanese Style at Java on the east coast, the fact is, there is practically no early Buddhist architecture worth recording and one must go to Java to see the flowering Buddhist arts under the guiding hands of the Shailendra dynasty, who ruled there in the Eighth century A.D.

STUPA OF BOROBUDUR

It is quite impossible to describe the impression that the great Stupa of Borobudur in the heart of Java makes upon sensitive souls unless one has seen it as I have. It stands on a plane with the hill all round in a distance and the late Dr. Coomaraswamy, the well known Sinhalese scholar, describes it admirably when he says, "There is no nervous tension, no concentration of force to be compared with that, which so impresses one at Angkor.

Borobudur is like a ripe fruit, mature in breathless air, fullness of its forms is an expression on static world rather than the volume denotes the outward radiation of power.

The body of the building consists of six square terraces each side relieved by a double projection and the lowest terrace is 480 feet square. When one ascends the eastern flight of steps, turns left, one finds a row of 120 reliefs portraying the life of the Buddha. The sculptors were by no means mere imitators of the Indian models but created their own form of Indo-Javanese art which though inspired by Pala art, has a tenderness and a soft beauty of its own, fully comparable with the parent art itself. The four galleries if placed end to end, will amount to thirteen hundred reliefs which would stretch for three miles. The upper part of the building is completely unadorned, and provides a striking contrast with the rich decoration of the lower parts. This contrast is intentional and is symbolic of the difference between the world of the Senses below and that of the Mind above. These upper terraces contain five rows of the heavenly Buddhas, 92 on each side and here, I must bring this survey to an end.

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

BY DEVAMITTA DHARMAPALA

A clear and concise account of the life and teachings of Lord Buddha by a great Buddhist authority.

PRICE RE. ONE.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1

Mohenjodaro and Vedic Civilization

By

SHRI BASANTA KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA, M. A.
Retired Accountant-General.

In his book *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* Sir John Marshall has expressed the opinion that the vedic civilisation could not have come earlier than the Mohenjo Daro civilization. "If the Vedic civilization antedated the Indus," he observes, "how comes it that the iron and the defensive armour and the horse which are characteristic of the former are unknown to the latter? Or how is it that the bull which replaces the cow as an object of worship in the Indus period only to be displaced again by the cow in the succeeding ages? Or again how comes it that the Indus culture betrays so many survivals of the Neolithic Age—in the shape of stone implements and vessels if the copper or bronze and iron culture of the Indo-Aryans intervened between the two? Clearly these considerations put out of court any solution of the problem which postulates an earlier date for the Vedic than for the Indus civilization, (page 111). From the above it would appear that no copper or bronze articles were found at Mohenjo Daro. This is not the fact. As will appear from pages 29, 30 and 31 of the same book, copper and Bronze articles as well as gold and silver articles have been found in Mohenjo Daro. Even at the present age in India stone vessels are used by many persons, mainly on religious grounds. The presence of stone vessels in Mohenjo Daro should not therefore lead to the conclusion that it was older than Vedic Civilisation, because gold, silver, copper and bronze articles were also found at Mohenjo Daro.

As regards the discovery of iron in old remains, Mr. V. Gordon Childe observes: "Beds of meteoric iron occur in Egyptian graves shortly before 3000 B.C. and a little later iron ores were occasionally smelted in

Mesopotamia. But on an industrial scale iron was not smelted nor worked any where before 1400 B. C." "Man makes himself" p. 120. The age of Indus civilization according to Marshall dates from 3250 B. C. to 2750 B. C. Very little iron except meteoric iron of such distant past has been discovered. It is possible that due to the great lapse of time iron objects have corroded away. The water level of the sub-soil area near Mohenjo Daro might have been more congenial to rapid corrosion. Or it may be that articles of iron though existing in other distant parts of India had not been carried to Mohenjo Daro" where there has been excavation. "Not found in Mohenjo Daro" does not prove "not known any where."

In this connection it may be observed that if, as stated by Marshall, the Aryans were much less civilized than the people of Mohenjo Daro, it is not likely that the Aryans would know how to prepare iron while the people of Mohenjo Daro did not know it.

As observed before, Sir John is of opinion that the Vedic civilization could not be earlier than the Indus Valley civilization for the following reason also. In the Vedic civilization the cow was an object of worship; in the Indus civilization the bull, and not the cow, is object of worship; subsequently (probably Sir John refers to the Puranic period) the cow is again the object of worship. He thinks it unlikely that the cow should once be superseded by the bull and again the bull superseded by the cow. It may however be observed that not much distinction can be made between the worship of the bull and the worship of the cow. Where there is evidence that the cow is worshipped it may be inferred that the bull is also worshipped and vice versa. What appears

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MOHENJODARO AND VEDIC CIVILIZATION

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probable is that in the Indus Valley civilization the Siva cult was very much in vogue (as is proved by the large number of Sivalingas found) and as Nandi is the favourite bull of Siva on which he rides, there is a large number of representations of the bull. The cow was not similarly associated with any other God who was worshipped there and hence there were not figures of cows. It may also be observed that not only the cow but also the bull is mentioned as an object of worship in the Rigveda. Indra and other gods are referred to as Vras or Vrasabha (Rg Veda vii, 19, 1, X, 86, 15, and X, 28, 2). As regards defensive armour RVs 1-21-15 refers to defensive armour ३३ made of hides as it is stated to be stitched with needles. RVs 10-16-7 also refers ३३ of cowhide. The word ३३ also occurs in RVs 1-114-5, 6-37-8, 1-7-31-6, 10-108-8, 13-107-7. Nowhere it has been mentioned that the armour is made of metal. It may be assumed that in the Vedas armour made of skin is referred to and such armour might have existed in Mohenjo Daro but converted into earth with the lapse of time. As regards the representation of armour on figurines it may be observed that "in almost every case they (i.e. figurines) are female figures." (p. 328). Only one complete statue of a man without the head had been found (pp. 536). Hence from the evidence furnished by figurines and statues it cannot be asserted that defensive armour was not in use.

From what has been said above it will be seen that decisive evidence is lacking to arrive at the definite conclusion that the Mohenjo Daro Civilization was earlier than the Vedic civilization. Who shall now consider some grounds in support of the theory that the Mohenjo Daro civilization was really Vedic civilization, either contemporary or later.

As regards the religion of the Mohenjo Daro civilization Sir John Marshall observes in the Preface (pp. vii) "taken as a whole their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism." He also observes in this connection that clear evidence of Saivism is found there.

Now it is well known that all the various existing sects of Hindus declare that the

Vedas are the foundation of their doctrines. The preceptors of the various sects are great Vedic scholars like Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, Madhavacharya. There is no reason to doubt the competence or honesty of their statement that their doctrines are based on the Vedas. It is not reasonable to think that modern Hinduism is not based on the Vedas but on the religion of pre-vedic people who lived in India and who have been referred to in the Vedas in terms of contempt like dasas and dasynas.

Let us examine the doctrine that the pre-Vedic people worshipped Siva, the Aryans despised such worship but afterwards adopted it themselves. On the face of it this doctrine is most improbable. The Vedas have condemned the Sivadevas from which it has been inferred that the Vedas have condemned the worship of Siva. The word Sivadevas occurs twice in the Rg Veda Samhita, viz. 7-21-5 and 10-99-3. The word has been explained by Sayanacharya to mean those who play too much with the Sina (phallus), i.e., *abrahamacariyah*. There are numerous references to Rudra in the Vedas. The whole of the 16th chapter of the Suklayajurveda (called the Rudradharyaya) is devoted to Rudra who is also referred to here as Siva. In Rg Veda 10-92-9 also Rudra is called Siva. Like other Vedic gods Siva has got various names e.g., Rudra, Kapardi, Afrida, Ghisa, Mahesa, Mahadeva, Nilakantha, Vrsadhvaja, Sankara. The names Rudra, Siva, Nilagriva, Kapardi, Pasupati occur in the Rudradharyaya. It is therefore clear that Rudra and Siva are identical. They are different names of the same Vedic god. As traces of the worship of Siva have been found in Mohenjo Daro it should be cancelled that the civilization of Mohenjo Daro is Vedic civilization and that the Vedas were earlier than Mohenjo Daro. Sankaracharya was a profound Vedic scholar and follower of the Vedas. He would not have worshipped Siva if Siva worship had been condemned in the Vedas. The worship of Sivalingas appears to have referred to in Tattiriya Aranyaka 10/12

कृते मयं परब्रह्मपुरुषं दृष्ट्वा विमलमृदुलिङ्गं विरूपाक्षं
अस्मत्पुं नमोऽस्तु ॥

In his commentary on Brahmasutra 2/2/42 Srikara quotes Rg Veda Samhita 5/3/3 and says that in this verse there is reference to the worship of Sivalinga by Visnu.

According to Sir John Marshall we find from the Vedas that the Aryans were then in the village state whereas towns with well-built houses existed in Mohenjo-Daro. The fact is that in the Vedic Age there were both village and towns even as they existed in Puranic and later ages. The rsis who composed the Vedas (or to whom the Vedas were revealed) lived mostly in villages or forests (tapovan) & hence there are more references to the village civilization. But there are also references to towns and advanced civilization. Thus in RVS 4-30-20 it is stated that Indra gave a hundred towns made of iron to his worshipper Divodas. In RVS 7-3-7 the worshipper prays to Agni for the gift of 100 towns made of iron. RVS 7-15-14 refers to an extensive town made of iron for the protection of its inhabitants, RVS 8-100-9 refers also to a town made of iron. RVS 5-33-6 refers to Silver coins. Such coins can hardly belong to a village civilization. Many more references in RVS to gold coins and golden ornaments have been quoted by Swami Mahadevananda Giri in Chapter II of his book on Vedic Culture (published by the Calcutta University). They indicate a culture superior to village civilization. From this point of view the Mohenjo-Daro Civilization can well represent Vedic civilization. It would be very unnatural to suppose that the Aryans living in villages with crude civilization defeated the non-Aryans living in towns with superior civilization and continued to live in villages with crude civilization.

Sir John Marshall says (Chapter V) that a large number of female figurines of terracotta etc. have been found "both at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa" that the figurines found in Baluchistan are of two types differing from those in the Indus Valley but female statuettes akin to those of the Indus Valley and Baluchistan "have been found in large numbers over a wide range of countries between Persia and the Aegean." He also observes that "in no country in the world has worship of the divine mother been from time immemorial so deep rooted and ubiqui-

tious as in India." But he is of opinion that worship of the mother goddess is not found in the Vedas and is pre-vedic and of non-Aryan origin. But this opinion does not appear to be quite correct. In the Rg. Veda Samhita 10-125 the supreme deity is referred to in the feminine gender. She takes the forms of the various gods. She is the supreme Goddess controlling the universe. She is worshipped by all gods and men. She creates the universe. She transcends the earth and the heavens. Again in Rg. Veda Samhita 10-127 the supreme power is referred to in the feminine gender. She is the goddess resplendent throughout the Universe. She is deathless. She removes the darkness by her light. She gives rest and protection to all. There is thus clear mention of the supreme Deity as a Goddess in the Vedas. There is no reason to say that these ideas were taken by the vedic sages from the non-Aryans. It is more likely that the non-Aryans took these ideas from the Aryans among whom religious ideas were undoubtedly more highly developed. The conception of the supreme power as a Goddess is most prominent in the Candi which is a portion of the Markandeya Purana. There is no reference in this book to its Aryan origin. On the other hand there is clear reference to the Vedic origin of this conception. Thus it is said therein addressing the supreme Goddess "Thou art the embodiment of the Rg. Sama and Yajur Vedas. "It is started in the Mahabharatha that the Puranas contain an exposition of Vedic doctrines. A similar statement is found in the Srimadbhagavatam. In fact this idea is generally accepted in the scriptures. Hence Sri Caitanya says that the meaning of the Vedas lies hidden and can be ascertained with the help of the Puranas.

From the fact observed by Sir John Marshall that the Goddess cult is more widespread in India than elsewhere it should be inferred that the cult is of Indian origin. From the fact that mention of this cult is found in the Rg. Veda Samhita it should be inferred that it is of Vedic origin. From the fact that figurines supporting this cult have been found in the ruins of the Indus Valley civilization it should be inferred that vedic civilization is older than the Indus Valley civilization.

Sir John Marshall has given 3250 B.C. as the earliest date of the Mohenjo Daro

ruins. Tilak in his Orion has given astronomical calculations proving that the age of the Vedas cannot be later than 4500 B.C. Prof. Jacobi also made astronomical calculations on an independent basis and gave the age of the Vedas as 4000 B.C. to 4500 B.C. There is no reason why these calculations should be rejected. Other scholars have of course given various dates varying from 800 B.C. given by Dr. Keith to 2500 B.C. given by Dr. Winternitz. But the reasons given by them rather arbitrary. At any rate they are not so definite and convincing as the astronomical calculations. As observed by Dr. P. V. Kane in his presidential address in the 16th session of the Indian Historical Congress "Most of these Western scholars ignore the astronomical evidence in the Rg. Veda and other Vedic works (relied upon by Jacobi, Tilak and Shyam a Sastry (or try to explain it away, or do not understand it at all). If the astronomical dates are accepted the Vedas become older than Mohenjo Daro and the striking similarity between the religion of Mohenjo Daro and present current Hindu religion is explained by the fact that both are based on the Vedas.

In this connection mention may also be made of the view of Dr. S. Langdon, Shillito Professor of Assyriology, University of Oxford. He states that the "early Indian alphabet known as the Brahmi script is derived from the ancient Indus pictographic writing" (Sir John Marshall's Mohenjo Daro Indus Valley civilization Vol. II Chap. XXIII). It was Sir A. Cunningham who first made the brilliant suggestion of an early Indian pictographic system as the origin of the Brahmi alphabet (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum). Dr. Langdon has clearly shown in the table of Brahmi characters and the sign list of the Indus script printed at the end of this chapter that as many as 22 of the letters of the Brahmi script are closely allied to signs of the Indus script. Dr. Langdon is of opinion that the Aryans were in contact with the authors of the Indus Valley civilization and took the Indus Valley script which they gradually modified as the Brahmi script. As the date of the Mohenjo Daro civilization is 3000 B.C. Dr. Langdon says that it is clear that the Aryans were in India near about 3000 B.C. He further says European scholars who give a much later date for the advent of Aryans in India cannot be correct. In this connection another fact may be mentioned. Inscriptions of 17th Century

B.C. containing the names of Vedic Gods Mitra, Vedic Indra and Nasatyas have been found in the Hittite capital of Anatolia. From this fact it has been conjectured by some scholars that the Aryans in the course of their journey of India traversed this region in the 17th century B.C. Dr. Langdon thinks that this theory is contradicted by the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization which show that the Aryans were in India about 2800 B.C. and adopted the script of the Indus Valley civilization.

Dr. Langdon assumes that the Mohenjo Daro civilization is different from Vedic civilization. But the facts mentioned by him can be also explained by the hypothesis that the Mohenjo Daro civilization is the same as Vedic civilization or an offshoot of Vedic civilization. The facts given by him are two viz. Brahmi script came out of Mohenjo Daro pictographic script and that the Aryans were in India in 3000 B.C. Both these facts are consistent with the theory that the Mohenjo Daro civilization is not different from the Vedic or Aryan civilization. As regards the inscription the Hittite capital of 17th century according to the Hindu Scriptures, some princes of the remote past were banished from India and they went with their followers and settled in various parts of the world.

Gradually their descendants deviated from the Aryan culture. Mann mentions the Paundras, Oriyas, Dravidas, Carabodians, Yacanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinese Kiratas Daradas and Khasas as having originated in this way from the Aryan stock. The Mahabharata says that the Yavanas were the descendants of Turvasu, son of Yayati, the Mlecchas of another son, Anu (Adi Parva, 85th Chapter).

As an example of unwarranted statements made by Western scholars it may be stated that Dr. Wheeler and Pigott have stated that the Aryan invaders massacred the inhabitants of Mohenjo Daro. The reason for their saying so is that a few skeletons were found in the ruins. As observed by Dr. P. V. Kane in his speech referred to above, Mohenjo Daro was a very big city which from its dimensions must have contained over a lac of people. If the inhabitants had been massacred indiscriminately thousands of skeletons would have been found. But actually only 26 skeletons & skulls have been found which might have been due to depredations of robbers.

WORLD OF BOOKS

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RECONSTRUCTION IN PHILOSOPHY—by John Dewey. Published by THE NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY, A Mentor Book.

John Dewey needs no introduction to the general reader and so he has given a 1948 introduction to his old book of 1920. The historical analysis of the treatment of the parts played by 'Experience and Reason' and the 'Ideal and the Real' are extremely well-written. Naturally in the subjective portion about 'Logical Reconstruction', 'Moral Reconstruction' and 'Social Philosophy', one may express a sense of imperfect fulfilment in being told platitudes, as in the conclusion "When philosophy shall have co-operated with the course of events and made clear and coherent the meaning of the daily detail, science and emotion will interpenetrate, practice and imagination will embrace. Poetry and religious feeling will be the enforced flowers of life." Altogether it is a very good introduction to general social philosophy.

CITY OF PARADISE AND OTHER KUL-APT'S LETTERS (Second Series) by K.M. Munshi. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay (Bhavan's Book University)—Price: Rs. 1-12-0.

They say generally that law is a jealous mistress and that politics is a distracting demon. The series of letters and sketches in this volume show that His Excellency Shri K. M. Munshi is one of the exceptions to these limitations like Julius Caesar and Lord Birkenhead and Winston Churchill. The second year's letters written by him from Raj Bhavan Lucknow, deal with varied subjects as "My Restlessness", "Begum Samru", "Devanagari Script", "The H-Bomb", and "A Day with Sardar." Fittingly the series ends with a letter on "Matter and Life." And may one say without being considered flippant that the book contains much matter for profound thought and that it will help any man to live a full, good, helpful and happy life.

ON A FORBIDDEN FLIGHT—by Satyanarayan Sinha. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay (Bhavan's Book University)—Rs. 1-12-0.

One often wonders whether the cult of autobiography is not overdone. But a book like this shows that we cannot have too many autobiographies. The gifted author, Dr. Satyanarayan Sinha, as the blurb says, was a stow-away on a Norwegian boat, drilled with the Uzbeks and the Mongols, studied at a German University, fought Italians and is now a Member of Parliament. The illustrations are excellent, and the narrative is racy. There is practically never a dull moment in the author's life, and so consequently there is no dull page in the account thereof.

ON THE NATURE OF MAN—An Essay in Primitive Philosophy by Dagobert D. Runes. Price Three Dollars. Philosophical Library Inc. 15 East 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.

Doctor Runes, who had done specialized studies on Plato, Spinoza, Goethe, Jewish philosophy and Soviet Impacts on Society has now taken us to his bosom to listen to his talking aloud to himself. The work is in the best Walt Whitman style and as the blurb says is "Sometimes baffling, frequently of melancholy character, and almost always fascinating and inspiring." The clichés are almost like those of Oscar Wilde, e.g., "the Tombstone tells when you died, not how you lived....."

SOME PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL PLANNING—by Raghuvir Giri. Price Rs. 1-8. Priti Bani, Gokulpeth, Nagpur 1.

Mr. Giri who had to convalesce from an attack of spinal tuberculosis and so got a respite from his official worries as Statistician in the Directorate as Land Records, Government of Madhya Pradesh, has collected his contributions on economic problems in this brochure. He discusses Unemployment, Industries, Population and Agricultural Production from the arm-chair of a Statistician and the discussion is the more valuable from being coldly analytical instead of hotly enthusiastic.

THE MUSIC IN ENGLISH DRAMA—from Shakespeare to Purcell by J. S. Manifold. Rockliff Publishing Corporation, Salisbury Square, London. Price 21 shillings net.

This is a painstaking analysis by a modern "War Poet" on the music and the musical instruments used in English Drama. The book deals separately with Shakespeare's Theatre, Purcell's Theatre, and the Modern Theatre. There is a comprehensive bibliography on dramatic history and musicology. It is a highly technical book, written by an industrious enthusiast.

THE LIGHT OF ASIA by Sir Edwin Arnold. Issued by the Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations Committee, Bombay. Price Re. 1 As. 12. International Book House, Private Ltd., Fort, Bombay.

This is a timely reprint of the well-known work which has inspired eminent people like Colonel Olcott, Mrs. Besant, and Mahatma Gandhi.

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN INDIA by P. Kodanda Rao, Servants of India Society, Bangalore 4.

With his keen analysis and fundamental vigor of approach, Mr. Kodanda Rao has made out an excellent case to retain English as the second language instead of Hindi, to have a Unitary government rather than too much Provincial Autonomy, and to avoid the extremes of Linguism.

REPORT OF THE ANDHRA CHAMBER TRADE DELEGATION TO JAPAN AND THE FAR EAST. Andhra Chamber of Commerce, Angappa Naik Street, Madras 1. Price Rs. 2 As. 8.

This is an excellent itinerary of a very thorough and useful tour undertaken by the Andhra Chamber of Commerce for promoting trade with Japan and the Far East. The delegates spent about two months abroad and the results of the observation have been very carefully analysed with a good map and Appendices also. It is sad to read that the India's Trade Representatives abroad "are often busy with making arrangements with the visit of some Government Official, business group or other, and they do not have time to concentrate on their primary trade promotion has not been cured has been amply demonstrated in the quarrel even among congress activities." Similarly the Trade Commis-

sioners "complain in season and out of season that the quality of goods exported from India is not good or that the goods are not supplied according to sample. General complaints do not serve any useful purpose and mar the reputation of Indian business abroad by being quoted against Indian." The real truth is that those in charge of Economic Development, Trade, and Industry at the Government of India Secretariat and those sent out thence to Trade Commissions, in the majority of cases lack the Swadeshi spirit as seen by the foreign goods on which they spend their personal income and till they are replaced, real progress cannot be shown.

NEW DEPTHS IN PHILOSOPHY by Swami Madhavtirtha and published by him at Vedant Ashram, Post Vated, Ahmedabad—Price Rs. 2.

Swami Madhavtirtha has expounded with his usual felicity his ideas on Quantity, Causation, Maya, Ignorance, Science, Integration and Guru. He wants everybody to retire at 48 in which case, some of our best intellectuals and statesmen would not be helping the nation. A thought-provoking book on the whole.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE ANGLO-SIKH WARS, edited with an Introduction by Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, PEPSU, published by Sikh History Society, Amritsar - Patiala, Price: Rs. 15.

Source books of the study of the Indian History are always interesting especially as for many generations, only the biased summaries of propagandist English writers were available to the general public. In the first part of 160 pages, Dr. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, PEPSU, has untangled the tortuous skein of British diplomacy and intrigue leading to the final conquest of the Punjab. As he frankly concedes, the British succeeded in the Punjab not only because of their superior skill and training but also because of the lack of national spirit and territorial loyalty in the chiefs of the country. That this defect chiefs in the Punjab after Independence. The letters of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Hardinge, Lord Gough, Herbert Edwardes and Robert Napier printed in the Appendix show that howsoever much Britishers may disagree, among themselves, they were one-pointed in promoting the interests of the nation.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Some of the notable speeches and writings of India's Vice-President are printed in this volume. They deal with various subjects ranging from Politics to education and culture. The subjects covered bespeak of the Vice-President's versatility. In the early years of this century the House of Natesans Madras published the speeches and writings of national leaders and Englishmen who were friendly to India. Among them are, Dhadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerji, Gokhale, Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu etc. Speeches and writings of John Morley, Sir William Wedderburn, Hume, Besant and others were also published. It is appropriate that the Govt. of India is also now issuing similar publications which are of value not only to us all but also to posterity.

INDIA 1956.

This useful annual compiled by the Research and Reference division of the Ministry of Information gives reliable information on the rapid changes that have been taking place in India in recent years. The chapters deal with the history and geography of India and a survey of the mechanism of government and administration are given. Full of maps and statistics the book is a valuable guide to persons in all walks of life.

DECIMAL COINAGE.

The Indian monetary system will be undergoing a revolutionary change with the introduction of decimal coinage from April 1957. In this book the new coins are explained in words and figures and the process of the change-over to the new system given.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES AND MONUMENTS.

This is a photographic survey of the Buddhist sculptures and monuments in India. The full page pictures of the various phases of Lord Budha's life and the photographic reproductions of the scattered Buddhist relics and monuments remind of the golden Buddhist age in Indian history.

GUIDE TO MANDU.

Issued for the Tourist Division of the Ministry of Transport, this book introduces Mandu, the 'City of Joy,' situated on a high plateau in Madhya Bharat. The history of Mandu and the places of interest around it, are informative.

GUIDE TO KHAJURAHO.

The temples of Khajuraho, the most creative examples of Hindu architecture, are located in Central India. The beauty of the carvings which adorn the walls of the temples bear testimony to the architectural genius and aesthetic taste of their builders. The book gives an authentic history of the Hindu temples of Khajuraho and the places of interest around it.

PLACES OF BUDDHIST INTEREST.

The Ministry of Publications, deserve public gratitude for collecting in a small booklet useful information regarding the places of Buddhist interest. It is not only a tourist guide but it also centres attention on the history and architectural splendour of these Buddhist centres.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Price Rs. 5 each

Ram Mohun Roy Lord Sinha

Sir D. E. Wach Sir W. Wedderburn

G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras-1.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A special meeting of the South African Indian Congress which met recently has decided to ask the Afro-Asian nations "to take necessary steps in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations to call a halt to the outrages of the South African Government."

The Congress will also brief member-countries of the United Nations fully on "the deteriorating situation of South Africans of Indian origin."

The Congress called upon Indians in South Africa to organise relentlessly on a wide scale "to meet the threats of uprooting and displacement with courage and determination, for the upholding of their dignity and self-respect and to co-operate and work with all sections of the South African population in the defeat of apartheid."

The Group Areas proclamations to which the Congress refers, are designed to uproot about 20,000 Indians and 60,000 other non-whites in Johannesburg alone.

U. N. DEBATE ON S. A. INDIANS

Pakistan has joined India in requesting reconsideration by the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly of the question of treatment of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa, it was officially announced at New York on Sept. 12.

The Pakistan explanatory memorandum backing up its request for reconsideration was identical to that of India.

BURMA

INDIANS IN BURMA

The Government of India are now making it a contractual obligation on the part of the employers in Burma to arrange the necessary foreign exchange facilities for the employees to transfer their savings to India. Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, told Mr. S. V. Ramaswamy in the Lok Sabha on Sept 12.

There are 575 Indians who were under contract service in educational and other institutions under the Burma Government—211 engineers, 202 doctors, 111 lecturers and miscellaneous categories, 51.

U. S. A.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN U. S. A.

Of the more than 43,300 citizens of other countries in the United States for educational purposes last year, 1,818 were from India.

Included in the category are students at institutions of higher learning, doctors' training at U. S. hospitals, and teachers and researchers who were at U. S. colleges and universities as visiting faculty members.

CEYLON

REPATRIATES FROM CEYLON

Mr. C. P. Matthen asked in the Lok Sabha on Sept. 8 whether Government would take steps to declare persons coming to India from Ceylon as evacuees and to rehabilitate them.

Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, said that the State Government had not appraised the Central Government of any acute unemployment problem on account of repatriates from Ceylon. They had stated, however, that most of the repatriates applying for employment were overaged for Government service and had been advised to seek employment in semi-Government or private concerns.

INDO-CEYLON AMITY

Mr. B. Chakravarty the outgoing High Commissioner for India in Ceylon, on Sept. 24 urged the Indian community in Ceylon to build up good social relations with the people of Ceylon. This, he said, was the surest means of advancing Indo-Ceylon amity which had existed for thousands of years.

MALAYA

TAMIL LABOURERS IN MALAYA

Mr. V. T. Sambandam, Minister for Labour in the Alliance Cabinet, who is also President of the All-Malayan Indian Congress, said in a statement that two pilot schemes enveloping an area of 1,000 State lands in the State of Selangor near Port Swettenham, were being examined for accommodating the Indian Tamil labourers on settlement rights.

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

Tamil Associations in Malaya have submitted a memorandum to the Reid Constitutional Commission.

The Memorandum was prepared at a recent meeting of representatives of 109 Tamil organisations in Malaya. The organisations claimed they represented 500,000 Tamils.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1. President's rule in East Pakistan.
—Life Insurance Corporation comes into Force.
- Sept. 2. Lok Sabha approves extension for another six months, President's rule in T.C. State.
—120 persons are killed in Rail Disaster in Hyderabad State.
—U. S. Chief Justice Warren leaves India.
- Sept. 3. Mr. Menzies meets Col. Nasser to discuss Dulles' plan on Suez Canal Dispute.
—Mr. N. Chandrasekara Iyer appointed Chairman of Delimitation Committee.
—New Excise Cloth Duties Bill is passed in the Lok Sabha.
- Sept. 4. Mr. K. C. Reddi inaugurates New Council of Utilization of Coal Resources.
- Sept. 5. India signs a Trade Pact with Burma.
—Jordan-Lebanon Talks re. Military Pacts.
—U. N. Conference at Geneva adopts 40-Nation Convention on Slavery Abolition.
- Sept. 6. The New Ministry of East Pakistan Sworn in.
- Sept. 7. Mr. Nehru explains position for not sending any troops to Cyprus.
- Sept. 8. Mohamed Ali resigns Pak Premiership.
- Sept. 9. New Govt. is formed in Pakistan: Mr. Suhrawardy becomes Premier.
- Sept. 10. Egyptian Govt's counter proposals re. Suez Dispute are published.
—Mr. Menzies returns to London from Cairo and reviews Cairo Talks to Pressmen in London.
- Sept. 11. Fresh Anglo-French Talks on Suez begin.
—Report of Enquiry Committee establishes Netaji's Death.
- Sept. 12. Indians in S. Africa present Memorandum to U.N. re. position of Indians.
—Mr. Bhimsen Sachar is sworn in as Governor of Orissa.
—Pakistan's New Awami League—Republican Party Coalition: Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Awami Chief sworn in as Prime Minister.
- Sept. 13. The Lok Sabha adjourns *Sine die*.
- Sept. 14. British Plan for Self-govt. for Cyprus is approved by Parliament.
- Sept. 15. President Nasser accuses Mr. S. Lloyd Foreign Secretary of instigating mass walkout of Non-Egyptian Pilots from the Suez Canal.
- Sept. 16. Pandit Nehru's assurance re. future set-up in Naga Area.
—Egyptian Presidents' declaration re. entry of ships with Western Pilots will be resisted.
—New Govt in Cambodia: Prince Shanovk heads.
- Sept. 17. P.S.P. Party rules out opposition Joint Front at the National Executive Party meeting at Bombay.
—Egypt introduces 3 convoy system.
- Sept. 18. Sardar K. M. Panikkar is appointed Indian Envoy in France.
- Sept. 19. 18-Nation Suez Conference meets again in London: Mr. Dulles outlines the proposal for the Users' Association.
- Sept. 20. World Atomic Conference of 87 Nations meets in N. York.
—Mr. S. K. Dey is sworn in as Minister in the Central Cabinet.
—Mr. B. R. Sen is elected Director-General of F.A.O.
- Sept. 21. The London Conference on Suez adopts a declaration announcing the creation of a Co-operative Association of Suez Canal Users.
—Mr. U Than Aung is appointed Ambassador for Burma in India.
- Sept. 22. Viet Nam joins the International Monetary Fund.
—Prof. Soddy, Noble Prize winner of the invention of Isotope is dead.
- Sept. 23. Britain and France ask the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council to call for meeting for considering the Suez issue.
—King Saud, Nasser and President Al Khatly meet in Riyadh.
- Sept. 24. All India Conference of Legislature Congress Party whips in Parliament and States meets at Srinagar.
- Sept. 25. Nehru in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) is given a rousing reception: King Saud and Nehru confer.
- Sept. 26. Isrealites and Jordanians come to a clash resulting in heavy casualties.
- Sept. 27. Security Council Session on Suez. Debate adjourned.
- Sept. 28. Joint declaration on Suez by King Saud and Nehru at the cor day talk of Nehru in Saudi A.

HEADLINES' DIGEST

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SUEZ CRISIS

Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez canal following the cancellation of financial aid by Britain and the United States for the construction of the Aswan dam has provoked a crisis that may possibly lead to a war of unlimited magnitude unless the situation is handled with tact and goodwill. As we write, the London conference of the powers concerned is seized of the problem and it is hoped that American caution and the good offices of India and other neutrals may not fail in their efforts to avert a third world war. Curiously enough British and French opinion is not helpful and the *New York Times*, like the rest of the American press, is frantically anti-Egyptian or rather anti-Nasser. Whatever the views of the *New York Times*, its summing up of the background of the Suez crisis is fairly dispassionate.

"The date was Nov. 17, 1875. In London, Prime Minister Disraeli sat at his desk, writing a secret memorandum to Queen Victoria. It concerned Ferdinand de Lesseps' Suez Canal, already six years old. The canal was owned and run by an international company with French and Ottoman interests in control. Great Britain had opposed building the canal because she feared it would ruin her maritime supremacy. Disraeli believed the opposition had been a mistake. He wrote:

"The Khedive [ruler of Egypt], on the eve of bankruptcy, appears desirous of parting with his shares in the Suez Canal...[He] says it is absolutely necessary that he should have...four millions sterling by the 30th of this month! Scarcely breathing time! But the thing must be done..."

Victoria agreed. Disraeli bypassed Parliament, borrowed the money from the House of Rothschild and Britain found herself the owner of 44 per cent of the Suez Canal Company.

To the British, the deal meant power and prestige beyond even Disraeli's

dreams. The Suez Canal became Britain's lifeline to the East, the vital artery through which she has shipped her manufactures to the countries east of Suez in exchange for the raw materials and oil which Britain needs for survival.

Actually, the canal has never belonged to England. It has continued to be owned and operated by the Suez Canal Company, an international joint stock company with an Egyptian charter and a lease that is valid until 1968, at which time the canal is legally scheduled to be turned over, free, to the Egyptian Government. Most of the company's stockholders are French; its directors are mainly French and British.

But the British Government, with 44 per cent of the stock, has always been the largest single shareholder and, as such, it has a powerful voice in the operation of the canal and reaps the largest share of the company's proceeds. Last year gross revenues (mainly from tolls) came to \$99 million; net revenues to \$31 million. Annual tonnage through the canal was 102,000,000—more than twice as great as that of the Panama Canal. Ships of forty-eight nations plied the canal, with Britain in first place, United States vessels second.

Politically, Britain's interest in the Suez Canal provided her with a key to the doors of the entire Middle East. Before the end of the last century, British fleets and British troops moved into Egypt to protect their "interests"; from Egypt they fanned out into other Arab lands and secured Britain's "special position" in the Middle East.

By World War II Britain had established the hub of her Mideast defence system in the Suez Canal Zone. There the British built a 1 billion net worth of bases, airdromes, ordnance depots and communications facilities, the whole complex manned by 80,000 British troops.

DR. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY

The publication of the "Dictionary of the English Language" by Dr. Johnson on April 15, 1755 two hundred years ago was a landmark in the history of English studies. Consequently the event is being celebrated widely in the special exhibitions in various universities in U. S. A.

The accomplishment of Samuel Johnson, slaving away in his attic in Gough Square, still remains one of the memorable achievements of the human mind, writes Mr. James Clifford in the *New York Times Book Review*.

"From the start people have poked fun at the definitions and have used them as a sign of Johnson's prejudices and pedantry. But the perverse examples make up only a tiny fraction of the work, and some, like 'oats,' were meant to be amusing. In every way Johnson was far ahead of his rivals. Compare his honest attempt to define 'wheel' with Bailey's evasive phrase 'a round utensil for various uses.' Johnson describes it as 'a circular body that turns around upon an axis.'"

It is customary to laugh over the ponderous way Johnson defines simple objects. But at least he does not avoid the task. "Network" is a celebrated example—"any thing reticulated or decussated, at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections." "Cough" is another which has provided much merriment: "a convulsion of the lungs, vellicated by some sharp serosity. It is pronounced *coff*."

The inexorable march of language has rendered many of his judgments obsolete. Today we would scarcely call "lesser" "a barbarous corruption of less," or "tiny" "a burlesque word." Most of us accept "prig," "ruse" and "shabby" without question. We do not disapprove so strongly as did Johnson of "tiff," "ignoramus" and "stingy." Yet we may smile to find "lingo" included, and agree that it is "a low cant word."

Johnson's greatest contribution, however, did not come in the verbal part of the work. He may jokingly have referred to himself as "a harmless drudge," but he had a more exalted ideal always before him. In addition to being a linguistic authority, his "Dictionary" was to be a great storehouse of philosophy, theology, history and literature. By the judicious choice of quotations he meant to instruct and inspire his readers, so that the man who casually looked up the meaning of even the

homeliest word would also be provided with some practical or moral guidance. Occasionally the application may make us smile. Thus Johnson illustrated the use of the noun "table" by a sentence from the philosopher John Locke: "Children at a table never asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them." And the entry for "razor" contained a quotation from Richard Hooker: "Zeal, except ordered aright, useth the razor with such eagerness, that the life of religion is thereby hazarded." Johnson's own strong opinions are reflected everywhere in the selections. As Carlyle put it, "Had Johnson left nothing but his 'Dictionary,' one might have traced there a great intellect, a genuine man."

In this way the "Dictionary" became an extensive anthology of English prose and verse. No wonder people regarded it as much more than a reference work. Robertson, the Scottish historian, is said to have read it through twice. Robert Browning, so says one of his biographers, qualified himself for the profession of literature "by reading and digesting the whole of Johnson's Dictionary." Others used it for general education, as well as to enlarge their vocabularies.

Doubtless, few people today pore over Johnson's huge volumes. But his work, in all its forms and revisions, did dominate the field for more than a century, and Noah Webster even complained that its reputation had "the effect which Newton's discoveries had in Mathematics, to interrupt for a time the progress of this branch of learning." Though now superseded, Samuel Johnson's "Dictionary" still stands out as a major achievement in the development of modern man.

KATHAKALI

"The art of Kathakali belongs not merely to Kerala where it originated, but also to other parts of India" is the view of Guru Kunchu Kurup the recipient of the President's award for Kathakali" says Mr. V. Madhavan Nair writing in a recent issue of the *Hindu Weekly Magazine*.

Many people are of the opinion that Kathakali is only a dance pure and simple. The writer in giving the view of Guru Kunchu Kurup says that to define Kathakali as a dance would convey the implication that it excludes elements not normally associated with dance. Most connoisseurs outside Kerala

do not even seem to be aware of the existence in Kathakali of a vast body of beautiful literature, a complicated system *hastha mudras*, enormous possibilities of portrayal of emotions etc. Some who ought to know better are apt to ignore them. This is a sorry state of affairs; and people have to bestow greater attention than now on these aspects to ensure proper understanding and appreciation of Kathakali. Refuting the view that Kathakali is an "Oomaiyattam or dumb show," Mr. Kurup says:

It is true that Kathakali is a dumb-show, for the actors do not speak a word during a performance lasting a full night. But this absence of speech is it so very ridiculous after all? Without speech do not Kathakali actors perform miracles of emotional expression? Is that not enough? And Guru Kunchu Kurup said that recently, on seeing a Kathakali performance, one of the greatest artistes of India told him that for the first time he saw an art which gave eloquent tongues to finger-tips! Why speak at all, asked the Guru, when a man wants to convey ideas to another? Only man has the power of speech. What about other creatures? They communicate ideas to each other not through speech, but through other media of expression. And the Guru went on to narrate how, years ago, he saw two doves exchanging their emotions in a manner more eloquent than words could ever convey, and how he stood rivetted to the spot fascinated by the power of expression of mere birds. Imagine a person standing erect, hands hanging down, showing no emotion on his face and no fluctuation in his voice making love to the woman of his choice or abusing his inveterate foe: the whole thing falls flat and appears ludicrous. This means that gestures are of vital importance in communicating ideas to others even when speech is there to help. And when Kathakali has in its possession a vast repertoire of *mudras*, more eloquent than the finest of speech, it is absurd to stamp it as a mere dumb-show. In a way it is a dumb-show, but, what a fascinating dumb-show! Moreover, the language of gestures is a universal language. If you speak in Malayalam or Tamil or English or any other language under the sun, only those who know that particular language can ever understand what you are saying. To others it is mere gibberish. All this the Guru said to drive home his point: do not blame Kathakali because it is a dumb-show.

NAPOLEON AND THE PRESS

The nineteenth century missed the really original achievements of Napoleon, the most effective of which was the invention of propaganda in all its forms, beginning with a fraudulent press, says a writer in *Manas*. It was during the French revolution that newspapers began to acquire a political power in war and peace. Of all the revolutionary leaders, none understood better nor utilized to a greater extent the new instrument than Napoleon. It was Napoleon who first conducted the entire press like an orchestra and made it into a gigantic gramophone that every day played the same record for his subjects and his enemies: that he was infallible and invincible. It was Napoleon who first transformed the administration into a machine able to manufacture enthusiasm: speeches, demonstrations, processions, triumphant arches, orders of the day illustrated vindictory pamphlets, gifts of city keys, torrents of flowers, public receptions. It was Napoleon who first organized mass movements into a state monopoly, taking them away from the parties."

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Millions of persons in the Soviet Union cling to their religious beliefs despite 38 years of Communist atheistic propaganda, according to Harry Schwartz, an American press correspondent who had returned from an extensive tour of the U.S.S.R.

Despite recent Communist declarations that religious belief is compatible with Soviet patriotism, religion suffers from many handicaps in the Soviet Union. Relatively few churches and synagogues hold services and some denominators have no facilities for training clergymen. Organized religious education for children outside the home is almost non-existent. Mr. Schwartz reports.

Communist party members fear to be seen at religious observances and even some ordinary citizens reported that they felt it wise not to attend church or synagogue. Mr. Schwartz says "After all, I can pray to God in my own home and no one need know I believe," said one Russian who feared "trouble" if he should be marked down as religious. Many Jews, who cling to the Yiddish language and tradition, complain bitterly about anti-Semitism and express a desire to emigrate. "We are not wanted here" as we feel as though we live with a rope around our necks" were typical comments made by Schwartz.

STUDENTS AND EXAMINATIONS

The need to end the existing discrimination between students appearing for examination through recognised institutions after completing the courses of study and those appearing privately has been emphasised by H. H. the Jeer of Ahobilam Mutt. The Jeer in a statement to the press suggests that such a step will not only stop the migration of families from villages to towns for the purpose of education, but will also reduce the present rush for admission to recognised institutions and avoid the necessity to apply the communal ratio devised by Government.

His Holiness says it is imperative that Government and the Universities should at once consider the scheme and take immediate steps to implement it.

Following is the text of the statement :—

"The Madras Government have recently placed before the Legislature a White Paper, giving their views and decisions on the recommendations for educational reform made by the committee set up by them for the purpose. Therefore, this is the proper time to draw the attention of the masses, legislators, Government and Universities of the several aspects of the educational problem.

"Education means imparting knowledge. Any scheme for development of education should aim at imparting knowledge to students in particular subjects with the help of the right type of books and the right type of teachers. It is also important to improve the physical health of students and promote a sense of discipline and character among them.

"Discipline is more than good conduct; it connotes righteous conduct or dharma, as prescribed by one's religion.

"We will have to realise from experience as well as the wise utterances of our elders that mere development of knowledge divorced from discipline would not help one either in this or the other world. Therefore, we should endeavour to give priority to development of discipline and character, assigning a suitable place to the imparting of knowledge.

"In ancient India emphasis was laid on cultivation of discipline and character and, to achieve this end the Gurukula type of education was imparted. These Gurukulas gradually transformed into educational institutions of the present type.

"At present, educational institutions in the country are being run by Government or by local bodies under their control and by private managements receiving Government grants. Under this system, only candidates trained and presented by these institutions are allowed to appear for Governmental and University examinations and private candidates, who do not go through a course of study in these institutions, are prohibited from appearing for such examinations directly. But as examinations are intended only to measure the degree of knowledge acquired by students, the educational authorities would do well to end the discrimination between students appearing for examinations through recognised institutions, on the one hand, and privately, on the other, by removing restrictions at present imposed on private students. If necessary, the authorities may, on the recommendation of their inspecting officers, allow Gurukulas run under private auspices to send up their students for examinations.

"To deny the right to private students to appear for examinations is opposed to the intention of the Constitution and the cause of education. Is it not the fundamental right of a citizen to go through a course of prescribed study through his own efforts or with the help of teachers either at home or at a private institution free from Government control, appear for examinations after paying the prescribed fees and receive the certificates awarded to students educated at recognised institutions? Will any rules infringing this right be constitutional? If necessary, the authorities may levy a special fee in addition to the examination fee on these exempted students.

"People living in villages migrate to towns for the sake of educating their children after selling away their property to defray the high cost of education and living. This one way traffic to urban areas has led to the neglect of villages. Also, after going through the trials and tribulations, only ten per cent of the students get employment after passing out. The students fall a prey to bad habits and lose faith in their own religions.

"If and when the authorities remove the aforesaid restrictions on education, teachers, both young and retired, will be enabled to teach students, however small their number

may be, and wherever they are and prepare them for examinations in accordance with the prescribed syllabus. There will be mutual understanding between the teacher and the taught and teacher's lot will also improve. Villages, too, will improve as students will have opportunities to lend a hand to rural reconstruction by developing land, if they own any, and participating in cottage and small-scale industries.

"The proposed scheme will also reduce the present rush for admission to recognised institutions, avoid the necessity to apply the communal ratio devised by Government for admissions and free Government from the charge of encouraging communalism. The scheme will also augment the revenue of the Government from the levy of examination fees.

"Students trained under the scheme will earn the goodwill of the rural folk and have the character and ability to shoulder responsibilities as future citizens and take the country to the goal of economic prosperity.

"It is, therefore, imperative that the Government and Universities at once consider the scheme and take immediate steps to implement it. If anyone feels that the cause of education would suffer under the new scheme, he may forward his reasons and he will be answered. If his views are convincing, we will also change our stand."

SARVODAYA WORK

Writing under the heading "The New Task" in a recent issue of the English weekly *Bhoodan* Acharya Vinoba Bhave says that only when people accept Sarvodaya ideology wholeheartedly as something practicable there is hope of its succeeding. The Acharya observes—

"All agree that Sarvodaya is an excellent ideology. But it is not enough to pay lip service to it. They worship Sarvodaya as an ideal; but they doubt its practicability. They think that it is an Utopian idea. Only when people accept Sarvodaya ideology wholeheartedly as something thoroughly practicable then there is some hope of Sarvodaya succeeding."

"This deep confidence has led me to believe, right from the start, that Bhoodan will evolve into Gramdan. A little land for the landless

was my first demand. I then took the next step: I began to demand one-sixth land in Bhoodan. Now I ask Gramdan and five years' work has given us one thousand villages in their entirety," he added.

"What result should we hope for from Gramdan? This is an important question. First, every village that has been given in Gramdan is a transformed village, a village with new resolves, new minds and new hearts. With the new outlook, Gramraj, Gramodaya and the rest can be easily established in the village."

Acharya Vinoba is of opinion that unless the villages resolve to be different from what they are at present, the constructive programme could make no progress.

Every village must therefore first resolve to be almost self-sufficient and then it must proceed to establish a co-operative shop where the produce of all the villages would be sold. It was only when a village resolved to be completely self-sufficient that the "problem of the machine" would be solved. "We may then boycott the big machines. What is essential is the people's action—their determination to use consumers' articles made in their own village," he added.

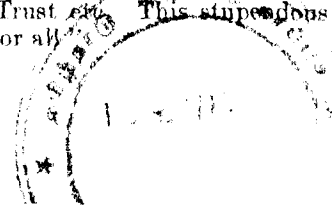
Another urgent problem, according to Bhave, is the eradication of casteism despite stern opposition.

"I have a feeling that in the great task of abolishing private ownership of land and abolition of caste differences, there is hardly a political party that will oppose us.

"These are indeed major problems and there is no better task that could be undertaken by any one," Acharya Bhave says.

He says that it was of supreme importance that we should never forget that the basis of all this was the philosophy of Sarvodaya. The fundamental concept of Sarvodaya was "all in one and one in all." If this was clearly understood and assimilated by all, "the Bhoodan revolution will become a reality overnight."

Appealing to the people to give him their help Acharya Bhave says that "the task ahead of us is immense. We expect and desire help from all and particularly from Government, Community Projects, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Kasturba Trust etc. This stupendous task is of all and for all."



FANATICISM AND TOLERANCE

Much has been said and written about Fanaticism and Tolerance in religion. An academic way of understanding this subject which is the cause of many wars and serious consequences is put in by Prof. Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

The word 'fanaticism' is derived from the Latin word 'fanum' (temple). Originally fanatics were people who were believed to have been brought into religious frenzy by a god. The word is now generally used for all those who advocate with great ardour and zeal their religious or philosophical views. It is evident that no propounder of a new doctrine, no enthusiastic follower of a prophet or a system of thought lacks some fanaticism urging him to spread and defend the opinions which seem right to him. Objectionable and unwholesome is this enthusiasm only when it leads to blind hatred against those who do not share the same belief and when it induces a man to fight vehemently, even with arms, against any opponent or when he even tries to convert him by force. It is this hypertrophic and exaggerated form of fanaticism that we usually have in mind when we apply the word.

The reverse of fanaticism is tolerance. The original meaning of this word connotes only a refraining from prohibition and persecution, it 'suggests a latent disapproval, for it assumes the existence of an authority which might have been coercive, but which, for reasons of its own, is not pushed to extremes. It implies a voluntary inaction, a politic leniency.' At the time when this word was first coined, the idea conveyed by it was not that of complete religious liberty or religious equality, but in the course of time it has acquired this sense.

This short analysis shows, according to the writer that both words comprehend a whole gradation:

The scale of fanaticism is from legitimate enthusiasm to cruel persecution and wholesale destruction of temples while the scale of toleration is from silent disapproval of views which are condemned but against which prohibitory measures are not enforced for some reason or other to the acknowledgment of the full right of private judgment in religious matters.

So the different manifestations of the behaviour of individuals, nations and religious organisations towards other Creeds or persuasions represent, as it were, a scale which like that of thermometer contains a good number of degrees between the two extremes.

SHADOW PLAYS

Shadow plays or Bommallattam as they are called in Tamilnad existed in South India from very ancient times. In other parts of the world also this art existed but it thrived there only very lately and the period may be called the pre-cinematographic age. Writing on this interesting subject in the Sunday edition of *Indian Express* Mr. D. Halder says that in the East, Indonesia and Java claim on the study and development of this art from even earlier times, and historical evidence throws some light on this claim.

In India socio-religious plays were screened in this way.

During festivals, Nambudri and Malabar Kshatrias combined mimicry with shadow-plays. And in Malva this art was alive in ancient days.

Shadowgraphy, as this art is called by the writer, comes once again into its own. This art involves the ten fingers and the two palms. Clerk, Nicola and others used hands only for the shows. But finger angles, especially if the fingers are flexible, produce more accurate and perfect shadows.

Shadowgraphy can go so far as to create a story in which one finger will appear just after the departure of another from the scene and the maximum two figures can come in simultaneously. The time may come when a number of hands may be used to make a shadow-play perfect.

So far research workers on the subject always use a fixed 100-watt lamp and a white cloth screens. The player rests between the lamp and screen having his own body beyond the frame and plays with his fingers to create the desired images.

In recent times attempts are being made to find out more about the development of this ancient art which flourished even during the early decades of this century, says the writer. Even so, shadow play is gradually attracting the attention of many as a form of entertainment today. If it is improved upon it can be part of our culture and put to social use.

SRI RAMANUJA AND VAISHNAVISM

Ramanuja preferred the way of devotion or bhakti as superior to all Sadhanas. Writing on this subject in the organ of the Vaishnava Research Institute, Brindavan, *Indian Philosophy & Culture*, Mr. M. V. V. K. Rangachari says that the Vaishnava creed under Ramanuja did not "degenerate into intrigues for snatching power or playing with crowns, far and near. Any day his system is bound to remain in all humility to serve mankind rather than rule rough-shod over the heads." Comparing the philosophy of Sankara and Ramanuja the writer says:—

Contrary to Sankara's teachings that *jñāna* is the highest goal even above Bhakti which he took to be the ladder whereby wisdom is reached, Ramanuja reversed the engine to reach the state of devotion through correct knowledge. While Sankara held that Karma (action) drops after attaining *gnana*, Ramanuja ordained the form of Karma even for the Sanyasin, observing the Gita texts that none can dispense with action, during life, even for a moment (*Nahi kaschit kshanamapi jatu tishth atyakarmakrit*). Without action even bodily continuance becomes impossible. Following this line Ramanuja sublimates action into devotion and to surrender rather than place them one against other for preferential choice. Man is impelled to action at every turn and Ramanuja did not deceive himself into inaction while pursuing his career as an ascetic (Bhagavan Swami). He did not insist upon the removal of the tuft of hair (*Mundana*) and of the sacred thread (*Sikha Yagnopavita*) nor did he wipe out the vertical mark of the Vaishnava tradition from the forehead. He bore the responsibility of a mendicant's life along with the Tridanda on his shoulders and he bore it magnificently to sustain the triple components of Jiva, Jada and Paramatma-relation in his body beautiful. He is reputed to have lived to the full span of astrological cycle of 120 years by the time his disciples were chanting the Charama Sloka when he passed away in 1137 A.D.

The human basis that Ramanuja gave to his philosophic discourses bears fruit even now.

It only remains to understand the implications of his teachings and conduct, that both the clergy and the laity may profit from that distant instruction. To Ramanuja, God is not only the efficient cause, but also the material cause. (*Brahma kalam na nimitta karanam eva upadana karanam cha*). The recognition of this formula helped to stem the tide of Vedanta interpretation which tended to negate the world.

The works of the Alvars have had their part in shaping Ramanuja's philosophy and his life of devotion. His Visishtadwaita system furnished the parallel to the basic concepts of personality the incarnation and the persistence of the individual soul beyond the grave.

ON NEUTRALISM

The question of neutralism was being debated in both East and West.

In the West, there has been some question about where the United States stands. Some months back the President expressed a sympathetic understanding of the neutralist nations' position. "We were a young country once and [for 150 years] we were neutral," he said. Two days later Secretary of State Dulles attacked neutralism as an "obsolete.....immoral and short-sighted conception."

Subsequently, Vice President Nixon read out what seemed to be the definitive statement of the United States' attitude toward neutralism. He read the speech—which according to *The New York press*, had been prepared for him by the State Department—in Manila where he was attending the Philippines' tenth independence day celebration. It was neither so friendly toward the neutralist nations as the President's statement nor so critical as the Dulles speech. Mr. Nixon said:

We.....feel closer to those who stand with us as allies.....But we.....cherish also the friendship of other nations who share our dedication to.....democracy and freedom even though they have not seen fit to ally themselves with us.....But [toward the] brand of neutralism that makes no moral distinction between the Communist world and the free world.....we have no sympathy.....

SEARCH FOR CANCER CURE

"Scientific brains assisted by financial contributions from Government, the pharmaceutical industry and the General Public are now engaged in a new drive to find a treatment for Cancer cure" says the latest *Bulletin of the United States Information Service*.

For the first time governmental, private and industrial research in the field of cancer therapy by means of drugs will be brought under the guidance of one organisation, the Cancer Chemotherapy Research Foundation in Boston, U.S.A.

Organisations sponsoring this movement are the American Cancer Society, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, the Damon Runyon Memorial Fund for Cancer Research, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, the National Cancer Institute of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Veterans' Administration.

In addition, the drug and chemical industries are brought into the program through an advisory group composed of representatives of leading companies in these fields.

The idea for starting the program originated during Senate Appropriations Committee hearings in 1953. At that time the National Cancer Institute was asked to explore the desirability of a "directed program in the field of cancer chemotherapy." A number of meetings were held between Government and industrial groups and as a result the present voluntary co-operative program was decided on.

"While no chemical cure for cancer yet exists, there are enough promising leads now to justify very intensive research," Dr. K. M. Endicott of the National Cancer Institute said recently. Dr. Endicott is executive secretary of the new research foundation.

Synthetic chemical compounds, chemicals from plants, hormones and viruses are among the materials which the committee considers worth investigating as potential cancer remedies.

The committee will make it possible for scientists working on a particular aspect of the cancer problem to get together and exchange ideas and suggest new lines of approach. In addition, the committee will try to get for the scientists the particular chemical compounds they need to study as possible cancer drugs.

The bulletin says that U.S. Government and private agencies and industries are now spending about 15 million dollars on the search for chemicals to fight Cancer. The

account closes with the hope that the new committee will give the supervision and direction needed to make this investment pay increased dividends in terms of lives saved from cancer.

TAMIL CULTURE IN MALAYA

The Tamils form the majority of our countrymen domiciled in Malaya. It is even said in ancient days a Chola King reigned over Malaya. Writing on "Tamil cultural work in Malaya" Mr. Nilkan Perumal says in *Free India* that Tamil nowadays is not only held in great respect but even the Malayan university is opening up a new Department of Tamil studies. He continues: Tamils in Malaya can well look after themselves. The Tamil Moslems, in particular, are very enthusiastic, and seem to do their very best for the promotion of Tamil culture, and it is something about which we are very happy. The Ceylon Tamils are also said to be helping in Tamil Movements, because somehow, even to them, language seems to be the very breath of life.

Reckoned from various angles, we see that outside Tamilnadu, Malaya will be the one country where Tamil culture will endure for ages, and in that, we all have something to draw consolation. It is again something to be thankful for to note that the Chinese, the largest race inhabiting Malaya today is all warmth towards the Tamils, and with our recently established ties of "Indo-Cheena Bhai Bhai" sentiment, the Chinese support for the Tamils of Malaya stands well assured.

BUDHIST ART—A PILGRIMAGE

In connection with the 2500th anniversary of the Supreme Enlightenment of Buddha *The Unesco Courier* illustrated monthly published by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization has issued a special number devoted to 25 centuries of Buddhist Art and Culture. This special issue gives the reader both a panorama of the great master-pieces of sculpture, architecture and painting of Buddhist art in Asia, and a glimpse of some of the ethical ideals and the message of peace, gentleness and mercy which Buddhism, "one of the noblest edifices of thought ever created by the human spirit" has inspired.

This special edition of the magazine contains over 100 photographic reproductions, besides articles by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and other well-known scholars.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

JOINT DECLARATION ON SUEZ BY KING SAUD AND NEHRU

It is yet possible to reach a negotiated settlement in the Suez Canal dispute between the parties concerned without any derogation from Egyptian sovereignty and authority and maintaining the interests of other countries in the unrestricted use of the Canal as an open waterway, is the hope expressed in a joint statement by King Saud of Saudi Arabia and Prime Minister Nehru of India at the conclusion of the latter's four-day visit to Saudi Arabia on Sept 23. The statement was issued simultaneously in New Delhi and Riyadh.

King Saud and Prime Minister Nehru expressed the hope that there would be no recourse to political and economic pressure in dealing with the Suez problem, as such pressure, they said, would only retard a peaceful settlement "apart from having other undesirable and far-reaching consequences."

The joint statement said:—

Accepting the invitation of His Majesty King Saud during his visit to India last year, the Prime Minister of India has visited Saudi Arabia from September 24 to September 28. On this occasion, His Majesty the King and the Prime Minister considered recent developments in the international situation as well as the further growth of friendly relations between their two countries.

His Majesty the King and the Prime Minister declare their adherence to the declaration made by the Bandung Conference which laid down the principles which should govern international relations. These include respect for fundamental human rights and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, recognition of the equality of all races, abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country and refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country. They are resolved to promote co-operation between their two countries in every field on the basis of these principles.

Both Saudi Arabia and India are deeply interested in a peaceful settlement of the dispute relating to the Suez maritime Canal, which is a waterway of vital importance to their own economic well-being as also of that many other countries in the world. There can be no settlement of the dispute by methods of conflict or by denial of the sovereign rights of Egypt over the Suez Canal. The right of all countries to free navigation through the Canal on payment of reasonable dues has been accepted.

His Majesty the King and the Prime Minister are convinced that, in spite of the difficulties and tensions

that has arisen over this question it is possible to reach a settlement negotiated between the parties concerned without any derogation from Egyptian sovereignty and authority and maintaining the interests of our countries in the unrestricted use of the Canal as an open waterway. They share the hope that there will be no recourse to political and economic pressure in dealing with this matter, as such pressure would only retard a peaceful settlement, apart from having other undesirable and far-reaching consequences.

His Majesty the King and the Prime Minister reiterate their resolve to work together in the common interests of their two countries and of peace, progress and freedom in the world.

THE CONGRESS AND ELECTIONS

The need for affording opportunities to many devoted Congress workers who have not been members of the Assembly for Parliament in order to infuse fresh blood in the legislatures and also giving adequate representation for women and minorities in the list of candidates to be selected as Congress nominees is explained in a circular issued by the A. I. C. C. to the Pradesh Congress Committees on Sept. 26.

The circular states that it is the intention to balance efficiency with experience in the selection of candidates. It points out that at the Central Election Committee meeting, held on September 18, it was decided that 15 per cent of the Congress seats in the legislature should be allotted to women and the proportion of the seats for minorities should be in accordance with the population ratio in the State. Efforts should be made to replace one-third of the sitting Congress members by new members in the legislature. However, the representation to be given to women and the minorities could be taken into account in securing the above quota.

The circumstances in some areas might be somewhat peculiar, requiring certain adjustments while implementing the above decisions. But it is the earnest desire of the Central Election Committee that the overall representation for the three categories, namely woman minorities and fresh candidates, should be as recommended by the Central Election Committee.

The circular adds: "The concepts underlying these recommendations are so obvious that they hardly need any elaboration."

Utterances of the Day

MR. NEHRU ON SUEZ ISSUE

Prime Minister Nehru, in his first public reference to the Suez crisis at Riyadh on Sept. 25, said: "I think that recognising fully the right of Egypt over the Suez Canal and recognising also the right of the Suez Canal being treated as an international waterway, there should be no difficulty in finding a peaceful, friendly and co-operative solution."

Mr. Nehru spoke at a civic reception:

"There is no doubt—and everybody agrees—that the Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt. Everybody agrees that the Suez Canal is an international waterway which should be open to the ships of all nations. If all that is agreed to then, I do not understand why there should be so much argument and controversy," Mr. Nehru said amidst cheers.

The Prime Minister added that the greatest victory was a victory in which no one was defeated.

ASOKA MEHTA ON ELECTIONS

Mr. Asoka Mehta, the Praja-Socialist leader said at Nagpur on Sept. 25 that the coming general elections should be fought by the various political parties from their "major policy planks" rather than on the basis of "ad hoc adjustments."

The coming elections, as well as all elections, should be utilised as a great educational campaign and the P. S. P. National Executive had expressed itself in favour of elections being converted into a great school for democracy, he added.

But such a campaign would be possible only if the Congress Party and Prime Minister Nehru gave the right type of lead, he said.

Mr. Mehta, who was addressing a Press conference, dwelt at great length on the points raised by the Prime Minister in his recent speech at Delhi. He regretted that the Prime Minister was in the habit of lumping all Opposition parties together and tarring them with the same brush. His was a chronic unwillingness to differentiate between progressive democratic opposition forces on the one hand and Communists and communalists on the other, the P. S. P. leader said. No serious political education could take place in the country divided by political forces just into black and white, Congress supporters and opponents.

MR. AJOY GHOSH ON THE CONGRESS

Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, said at Nagpur on Sept. 26 that the thought of ousting the Congress Party from power in the coming General Elections was an impossibility, but, if all left parties rallied together on a common minimum programme, it would still be possible to "reduce seriously" the present majority of the Congress.

Mr. Ghosh told Pressmen that the specific object of all Opposition parties, should be "strengthening of the democratic Opposition and weakening of the monopolistic position of the Congress for the sake of welfare of the masses."

Mr. Ghosh said there was a broad measure of agreement among the Opposition parties on the programme of rapid implementation of agrarian reforms, reduction in the taxation burden of the poor, equitable share for labour and curtailment of arbitrary powers of the Police.

MR. DULLES ON WAR DANGER

Mr. Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State told a television audience at Washington on Sept. 23 that the danger of war had not been ended, but had been reduced as a result of the London conference on the Suez Canal.

He was answering questions on the television programme "Meet the Press" on his return from the London conference.

Asked about the consequences if Britain and France were compelled to use force, Mr. Dulles replied: "There is great danger that a war started there would bog the parties down for an almost indefinite length of time. There would be a terrible drain on their economies. May be, it will have to come to that; I don't know."

He said wars in countries in the Middle-East were harder than fighting a war against organised forces.

Mr. Dulles said he thought American captains would "hesitate a long time before taking a Soviet pilot on board." Some Soviet pilots have been employed by Egypt since she nationalised the Canal.

Mr. Dulles said the use of Soviet pilots on American ships would be contrary to "decent terms" for using the Canal.

Political and Personal

NEPAL'S PACT WITH CHINA

The 14-point Sino-Nepalese agreement signed on Sept. 20 and released at Kathmandu on Sept. 24, abrogates Nepal's 100 year old extraterritorial rights in Tibet, ends the Rs. 10,000 annual subsidy paid to the Nepal Government and special trade facilities to Nepalese in Tibet.

The Nepalese Legation in Lhasa will be raised to a Consulate General and a Chinese Consulate-General will be opened in Kathmandu. The "date for its establishment will be discussed and determined at a later date."

The treaty subjects Nepalese nationals in Tibet in the jurisdiction of the Tibetan Government its laws, regulations and customs.

During the negotiation, a strong deputation of Nepalese traders in Tibet visited Kathmandu and local papers demanded protection for the Nepalese in Tibet from "outdated, inhuman, barbaric" Tibetan customary laws.

The treaty does not allow the Nepalese Government to run its own school in Lhasa. Clause eight says: "The Nepalese primary school in Lhasa shall be changed into a primary school for children of Nepalese nationals and shall complete registration procedures in accordance with the regulations of the Chinese Government."

The treaty, officially called "agreement" and valid for eight years, lays down the five principles of co-existence as the basis of relations between two countries.

Under the treaty no one will be allowed to retain Nepalese nationality while residing in Tibet for generations.

WORLD A-ENERGY CONFERENCE

The Soviet Union called for an invitation to China to attend the international atomic energy conference which opened at U.N. headquarters on Sept. 20.

Ceylon, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Byelo-Russia supported the Soviet request, but since it was not put in the form of a motion, no vote was taken on it and the debate was declared closed.

The call was made by Mr. Georgi Zarubin, chief Soviet delegate, soon after the representatives of 81 nations had been welcomed to the conference by Mr. Lewis Strauss, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Zarubin's proposal was supported by Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, head of the Indian delegation. He said India "greatly deplored" the absence of the correct representatives of China at the conference.

Mr. Zarubin said it was "intolerable" to shut the door to 600 million people. The seat of China at the conference should be occupied, he said, "not by gentlemen who represent no one" (the Chinese Nationalists) but by the "Genuine representatives of the people of China."

The aim of the conference is to draw up a statute for an international agency to act as a kind of broker in the peaceful use of atomic energy providing fission materials for under-developed nations.

The 12 sponsoring nations, who produced a draft statute earlier this year, are Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Portugal, South Africa, the Soviet Union and the U.S. Britain, Russia and America have already stated their willingness to put materials at the disposal of the agency.

LIBERATION OF FORMOSA

Chinese Vice-Premier, Marshal Chen Yi, reiterated at Peking on Sept. 25, that China would never agree to "the two-China plot" regarding Formosa.

In a speech on foreign policy to the eighth Chinese Communist Party's Congress, Marshal Chen said certain countries were "trying to make the Chinese province of Taiwan (Formosa) as another China or as another country with independent existence."

Marshal Chen said China had always stood on the side of nation aggressed and oppressed and fully supported them "whether it be on the question of India's regaining possession of Goa or Indonesia's regaining West Irian or Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal."

EARL ATTLEE

Earl Attlee, former British Prime Minister, will be visiting India by the middle of this month.

According to the present programme, Earl Attlee will arrive by air on Oct. 15, and stay in the City of Madras till Oct. 20. He will be accorded a civic reception by the Mayor. The University of Madras will confer on him an honorary Doctorate degree.

Educational

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDY ABROAD

The Government of India have invited applications for the award of five scholarships for study abroad during 1957-58 to candidates who by birth or domicile are natives of Centrally-administered territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and the Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidevi Islands.

The scholarships are tenable for a period extending upto three years depending on the course of study chosen and are intended for study or research in a foreign country in any branch of knowledge for which suitable facilities do not exist in India. Candidates should possess a first class Master's Degree in Arts, Science, Commerce, Education and Agriculture or a first class Bachelor's Degree in Engineering Technology, Medicine and Veterinary Science and should be below 30 years on Jan. 1, 1957.

The last date for receipt of application in the Ministry of Education is Nov. 5 1956. Application forms and other particulars can be had from the Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division (Section S. I.), New Delhi.

FOREIGN TRAINING FOR ENGINEERS

A new approach towards building up a foreign trained Indian engineering cadre was outlined at New York on Sept 21 by Mr. J. C. Ghosh, a member of India's Planning Commission.

In an interview to the P. T. I. he said that henceforth India will concentrate on sending teams of Indian engineers and technicians abroad to study particular projects, so that on return home they could get up similar projects in India and run them efficiently. The emphasis on sending out teams of engineers instead to prove more useful in the long run.

Mr. Ghosh is in the U. S. to attend the International Conference on Physical Chemistry at Philadelphia. He will later visit the steel industry centre at Pittsburgh and renew contacts with industrial firms in the U. S. He will also visit Canada later.

TEACHING HINDI

Mr. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education indicated in the Legislative Assembly on Sept 25 that the recommendation of Legislature Committee on the White Paper on Education in regard to the teaching of Hindi would be in accordance with the decisions taken at the recent Conference of Education Ministers in Delhi, and there might be no reason to change them.

The Government, he said, would soon take decisions on the recommendations of the Committee.

Mr. K. Aranganathan elicited from the Minister that the Government of India had sanctioned a contribution towards the expenditure incurred from State funds on the grant or stipends to candidates who underwent training in the Pracharak Training Course organised by the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. The grant for 1954-55 was Rs 2,138, and the amount promised for 1955-56 Rs 2,430.

RAISING VARSITY STANDARDS

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of Universities Grants Commission, pleaded for the co-operation of all in the supreme task of reorientating the system of education in the country and raising the standard in the universities and their constituent colleges.

Mr. Deshmukh was addressing a students' gathering at Ambala on, Sept 24.

Mr. Deshmukh described his new post as of a "wandering nature" in which he said, he was acclimatising himself by touring various universities in order to gain a "bird's eye view" of the problems confronting them and the constituent colleges and help solve these problems in a satisfactory manner. Adequate time was needed to study these matters and he would devote himself to it he said and added that equitable and best possible use of the funds available to the Commission would be made.

AMERICAN DOCTORATE FOR INDIAN

Mr. T. K. K. Narayanan Unnithan of India obtained his doctor's degree of Literature and Philosophy at the State University of Utrecht on Sept. 21 on thesis "Some problems of social change in India in relation to Gandhian ideal's". Dr. Narayana Unnithan had already graduated at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague after university studies in India.

Legal

CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS

The Madras Legislative Assembly passed a resolution moved by Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister and leader of the House that the House ratifies the amendments proposed to be made to the Constitution by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, as passed by the two Houses of Union Parliament.

The Minister explained that the Amendment was necessary consequent on the reorganisation of States. As Part 'B' and Part 'C' States had been completely abolished, the provisions in the Constitution relating to them had to be abrogated.

Another set of amendments related to High Court Judges. Till now there was an absolute prohibition against the High Court Judges practising before any Court. This had led to great difficulties and it was proposed that retired High Court Judges should be allowed to practise in the Courts other than those in which they were presiding. The provision relating to ad hoc judges had not been working properly and provision was now being made for Additional Judges and Acting Judges.

COMPARATIVE LAW

Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of India, returned to Madras on Sept 24 by air from Europe after attending the International Congress on Comparative Law, held in Barcelona (Spain).

In an interview with the representative of *The Hindu*, Mr. Patanjali Sastri, explained the objects of the Congress, and said that it was to study the problems of reception of western laws in countries with different social and economic backgrounds. Last year, the Congress met at Istanbul and discussed, how far the social changes in Turkey were influenced by the introduction of continental legal system in that country. This year, one of the subjects that came up for discussion was how far the social, economic and political changes in India were traceable to the impact of English legal system in this country. The Congress sat in three sections and the one over which Mr. Patanjali Sastri presided, dealt with the reception of English Law in India. Several papers by Indian lawyers on the various aspects of the problem were submitted to the Congress.

LEGAL AID TO POOR

The Union Home Minister has invited the opinion of the State Governments on a suggestion to grant free legal aid to poor people on trial for offences punishable with not less than five years' rigorous imprisonment. The suggestion for aid is also understood to cover the appeal and revision stages of the trial.

The Union Home Ministry is tentatively of the view that there is a case for increasing the scope of legal assistance to the poor because Article 14 of the Indian Constitution provides that the State shall not deny any person equality before the law or equal protection of the law. At present, in civil cases, paupers are exempted from payment of the court fees and in criminal cases poor persons tried for offences punishable by death or transportation for life are entitled to free legal aid.

ON INFERENCE FROM FACTS

The issue where an inference from facts of case could be construed as a fact or as a question of law for purposes of appeal was decided on Sept 26 by the Supreme Court.

The court held that an inference from facts, if supported by evidence, could not be taken as a question of law.

This matter arose out of an appeal preferred by the Meenakshi Mills, Madurai, which contested the Income-tax assessment made by the Commissioner of Income-Tax, Madras.

The appeal was dismissed with costs on the ground that the assessment as well as the ratio of assessment of tax found by the Commissioner of I.T. and confirmed by the Appellate Tribunal, Madras, were correct and as such it was not even of academic interest to refer the question back to the High Court. The Supreme Court was of the opinion that the finding of the lower courts was a pure question of fact and as such was not open to reference under Sec. 66 (1) of the Income-Tax Act.

The appellants contended that the assessment for the years 1941-42, 1942-43 and 1943-44 was not correct.

Under the assessment made by the I.T. Commissioner, it appears that the Meenakshi Mills had made profits of Rs. 9,25,364, Rs. 24,709,832 and Rs. 29,13,881 in the periods mentioned above. These profits were revealed in an examination of their account books.

HYDERABAD BANK'S MERGER WITH RESERVE BANK

The President has promulgated an ordinance to transfer with effect from Oct. 22, 1956 the share capital of the Hyderabad State Bank to the Reserve Bank of India and to provide for its proper management and other matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, according to a Government Press release.

A bill for the same purpose was introduced in Parliament in the recent session but could not be taken up before Parliament was prorogued.

The Hyderabad State Bank is constituted under the Hyderabad State Bank Act (No. XIX of 1950 fasli). Fifty-one per cent of the share capital is held by the Hyderabad Government and the rest by private share-holders. The State Government enjoys certain powers in regard to its management.

The Hyderabad Bank constitutes an integral part of the financial banking machinery in the areas comprising Hyderabad State. It is functioning as the agent of the Reserve Bank in the State for conducting Government business. There are 33 centres in the State where the treasury business is conducted by the Hyderabad State Bank and at 25 of the centre it maintains currency chests and small coin depots.

In order to avoid a serious dislocation of the banking and treasury arrangements in the area, says the Press release, it has become urgently necessary to make changes in the constitution and management of the Hyderabad State Bank before the re-organisation of States takes effect.

MR. RAMA RAU ON WORLD BANK

Mr. Benegal Rama Rau, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, in his address to the annual meeting of the World Bank at Washington on Sept. 25 said he was glad to note that in the last year the amount of lending to Asia had substantially increased.

"The countries of Asia are possibly in greater need of urgent economic development than many others," he said. "They are engaged in this task to the limit of their resources. They have in general a sound record in monetary and fiscal affairs and they have now no shortage of projects which are eligible for financing by the Bank."

"I would in the circumstances, urge that Asia is now ripe for a substantial increase in the lending operations of the bank and that these should be vigorously pursued."

Speaking of India's economic progress Mr. Rau referred to fears that India might not be able to find domestic and foreign capital resources to help the nation's Second Five-Year Plan.

The success of the First Plan which was carried through with hardly any inflation in prices, did not make India complacent, he added.

"Rapid development is imperative for us from the economic as well as the political point of view."

"The pathetic contentment of the masses, which a British statesman described many years ago as characteristic of rural India, has disappeared and there is evidently a new outlook on life and a demand for a higher standard of life."

"We have to demonstrate that, within the framework of a democratic structure, we can develop at a pace comparable to that in totalitarian countries."

Mr. Rau said, India was determined to make a supreme effort to reach the target by democratic means and he had no doubt that the nation would succeed with five years of peace and a reasonable measures of foreign assistance.

H. V. R. AYYANGAR ON "RESISTANCE TO HELP"

Mr. H. V. R. Ayyangar, Chairman-designate of the State Bank of India and former Secretary to the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry on Sept. 24 said Governments and big industrial groups in certain countries in Western Europe were really thinking of taking a positive interest in the industrial development of India.

Mr. Ayyangar recently headed a delegation to the Scandinavian countries, and visited the United Kingdom, West and East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, France, Austria, and Switzerland to find out the attitude of big industry in these countries to India, and her plans for industrialisation.

In an informal talk with Pressmen at New Delhi prior to his departure to Bombay to take up his new post, he said that when he visited some of these countries four years ago, big industrial groups there did not come forward to help India to industrialise herself.

But now the situation had changed, and that "resistance to help" had practically disappeared. "In all these West European Countries there is real understanding of our position both politically and economically."

LATE SAROJINI NAIDU

The all-India Women's Conference have a proposal to erect a joint memorial at Delhi for the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Margaret Cousins at an estimated cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Chairman of the A. I. W. C. who was addressing a press conference at Indore on Sept. 22 said the A. I. W. C. was now collecting the necessary funds for this purpose from various organisations and individuals.

Mrs. Menon said the A. I. W. C. did not approach any foreign agency for financial aid as it thought the necessary amount should come as far as possible from Indians, preferably those within the country. However, she was planning to visit East Africa some time next March in this connection.

All the 33 branches of the A. I. W. C. were now engaged in collecting donations for the Memorial and some State Governments had already made donations. The Memorial, she said, would consist of a big hall, a library on the life and work of women in India and other countries, an international hostel providing a comfortable stay at low cost for foreign visitors intending to learn about Indian women, another hostel for working girls, and children's theatres in different parts of the country.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS

Speaking at Indore on women's rights Mrs. Lakshmi Menon said:

"Increasingly we find a tendency on the part of men to infringe the right of equality provided in the Constitution for women." She referred to the changes made in the rules for recruiting women in the Foreign Service and said there was an assurance from the Prime Minister that the new rules would not be enforced. "However," she added, "to have a bad rule is bad. Constitution is based on justice and it should be respected."

"When we have a progressive Government," Mrs. Menon said, "we have nothing to worry. But how do we know that we will always have a progressive Government?" Quoting the instance of the Lok Sahayak Sena, she said no provision had been made to take women in it. "Women had every right to join in such organisations and if they were not taken, the A. I. W. C. will fight it out. The rights of women were always recognised by our tradition and it should be implemented now."

HOME SCIENCE MOVEMENT

The aim of the Home Science Movement was to raise the standard of living of the people and to inculcate a spirit of appreciation for art and culture in rural life, said Dr. (Mrs.) Rajammal Devadasan, Chief Home Economist, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, speaking at a seminar of Home Science Extension Workers held at the USIS Hall in Madras on Sept. 26.

Dr. Rajammal said the Government of India found the need for a national programme for rural women in home science and introduced the scheme for women village level workers or home science gramsevikas to be employed in Community Development blocks.

After the formation of a home science division in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in 1954, 27 home science wings were sanctioned as integral parts of selected extension training centres distributed all over India, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission.

Dr. Rajammal said it was proposed to train 5,000 gramsevikas by the end of the Second Plan so that each of the proposed 2,500 Intensive Development Blocks would have two gramsevikas. Each block consisted of about 100 villages was an approximate population of 66,000. Twenty gramsevikas would be trained every year in each of these centres. These centres would supply, by the end of the Second Plan period, 3,420 gramsevikas. In order to meet the need for remaining balance of 1,760, it was proposed to provide additional facilities in the existing Home Science centres and start a few more wings.

WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES

Mr. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary, A.I.C.C., announced at Lucknow on Sept. 25 that the Central Election Committee had decided to allot 15 per cent of Congress seats in the legislatures for women. The proportion of seats for minorities would be in accordance with the ratio of their population in different States.

DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS ON SUEZ

Mr. Nehru returned to India on the 28th September after a Four-day visit to Saudi Arabia. On his way back to India Mr. Nehru was met by two British press correspondents. Mr. Nehru had told them that India favoured direct negotiations on the Suez dispute even as the Security Council was sitting to debate the issue or after.

Mr. Nehru was in Jeddah on the 27th Sept. The "News Chronicle" correspondent quoted Mr. Nehru as saying, "India wants direct negotiations; Security Council talks are not enough. At the Security Council, the sides fixedly state rigid cases. Direct negotiations should go on at the time of the Security Council talks or after."

The Prime Minister is reported to have told the correspondent of the "Daily Express", "I favour direct negotiations on the Suez. There is no reason why this cannot go on while the UN Security Council sits."

Similar views were expressed by the King of Saudi Arabia. He also said at Riyadh on the 28th that the Canal dispute could be solved by negotiation with Egypt which had sovereign rights over the Canal.

Asked for his views on the Suez crisis, the King said: "We want a solution of the Suez question with complete freedom of movement through the Canal to all ships at all times. There are many details all of which can be solved by negotiation with Egypt who has sovereign rights over the Canal. It appears world opinion is to solve this question by negotiation through the UNO."

ARAB SOLIDARITY ON SUEZ

A joint communique on the week-end talks on Suez between President Nasser, King Saud and President Khouatly in Riyadh on Sept. 24, that the conference "supports" Egypt fully in every attitude she takes and backs Egypt's declared readiness to reach a peaceful settlement which would safeguard her national interests and conform with U.N. aims."

The communique said:

"In an atmosphere of brotherhood and solidarity the conference met in accordance with a decision reached at its first meeting in Cairo on March 7, 1956. A review was made of the latest developments in the international field and in the Middle East during the six months which elapsed since the first tripartite meeting."

"In its reading of events as well as in its logical and practical conclusions, the conference adopted a

single outlook, a fact which inspires confidence in a future in which the Arab nation, (meaning all Arab countries) with Allah's guidance will achieve all its aspirations.

"The conference studied in detail the conditions in Arab States in the light of resolutions adopted at its first meeting (in Cairo). It gave a great deal of its attention to consolidating Arab security, warding off the Israeli threat and taking such steps as to complete the Arab policy drawn up in Cairo, so that its implementation may continue with resoluteness and determination."

"The conference discussed in particular the Suez Canal question. There was complete unanimity on the following: The problem and conditions and circumstances surrounding it concern to all Arab countries. The conference, therefore, supports Egypt fully in every attitude she takes and also backs Egypt's declared readiness to reach a peaceful settlement that would safeguard Egypt's national interests and conform with the aims of the UN."

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In addition there will be six Centrally administered territories—Andaman and Nicobar islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Laccadive and Amindive islands, Manipur and Tripura.

The institution of Rajpramukh will be abolished as also the distinction of States as A, B and C.

Following will be the area and population of the States:-

Andhra Pradesh 110,250 sq. miles and 32.2 million population.

Assam 84,924 sq. miles and 9.0.

Bihar 67,830 sq. miles (approximately) and 88.93, (approx.).

Bombay 188,240 sq. miles and 47.8.

Jammu and Kashmir 92,780 sq. miles and 4.4.

Kerala 14,980 sq. miles and 13.6.

Madhya Pradesh 171,200 sq. miles and 26.1.

Madras 50,170 sq. miles and 30.0.

Mysore 72,730 sq. miles and 19.0.

Orissa 60,140 sq. miles and 14.6.

Punjab 46,616 sq. miles and 16.0.

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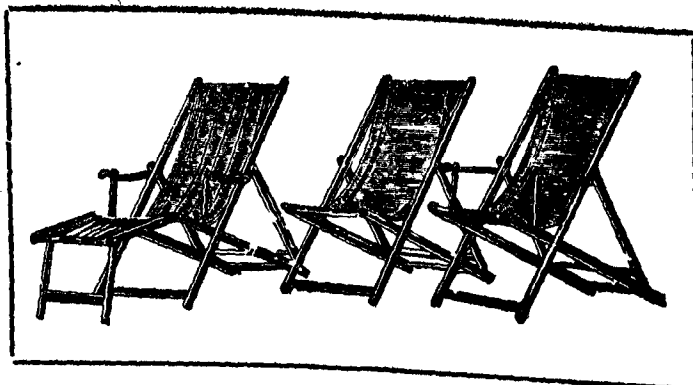
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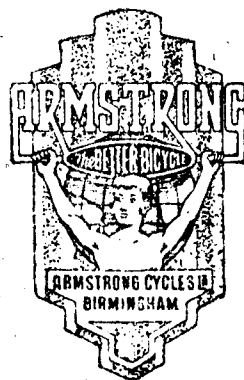
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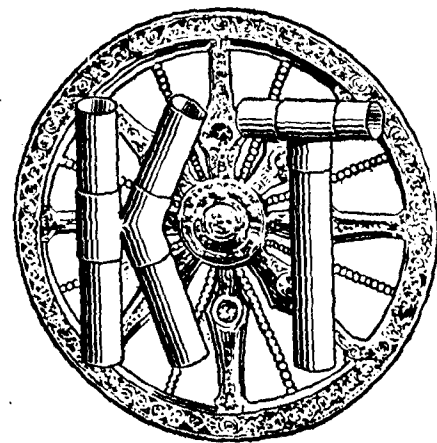
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